West Old Turkic

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WEST OLD TURKIC

TURKIC LOANWORDS IN HUNGARIAN

Part I:
Introduction, Lexicon »A–K«

2011
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Cover illustration: The picture on the cover is from *Cod Clmæ 404* of the *Chronicum Pictum*, now held in the Széchényi National Library, Budapest. On p. 21, we see the Conquest of Pannonia. On the right-hand side, Árpád arrives on a white horse with six captains and lance-wielding armoured warriors to conquer the Carpathian Basin. In the centre, surrounded by Hungarians calling the name of God three times, Árpád drinks the water of the Danube from a drinking horn. To the left stands Kushid with a wooden flagon in his hand for the same purpose. On the left-hand side, the Slav prince Svatopluk on his throne receives Kushid. Kushid's groom leads the white horse with a golden saddle. In the lower right-hand corner, women approach with their children, while herdsmen and castles can be seen at the top. The pictures in the Codex were painted around 1360.

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Preface

The main aim of this work is to contribute to the reconstruction of West Old Turkic. Old Turkic refers to those Turkic languages which were spoken approximately between the 5th and the early 12th centuries. In the 5th century independent sources such as Chinese, Greek and others (see Chapter Three) report about new peoples who start to play important role in Eurasia. They spoke closely related idioms which were the forerunners of the later Turkic languages. In the Eastern part of Eurasia the Turks founded an Empire in 553 A.D. in the territory which is now Mongolia. Even earlier, in 463, Greek sources inform us about the names of Turkic newcomers in East Europe. From the middle of the 6th century Central Eurasia, from the Danube to the Yellow river was under Turkic rule or influence. This lasted until the Mongolian invasion in the early 13th century. We use Old Turkic to denote all varieties of Turkic spoken in this large territory and during this long period. Until recent times it was customary to call Old Turkic (*Alttürkisch*, *drevnetjurkskij*) all languages and dialects of this period. In practice, however, this term covered only those languages spoken in the East of Old Turcia. The ever growing amount of East Old Turkic sources and its deepening research made this understandable. Our aim is to contribute material to the research of the varieties of Turkic languages spoken in the West of Old Turcia, West of the Ural mountain range and the Ural river. The Turkic peoples of East Europe in the Old Turkic times exerted great influence on other peoples living in the area. Among them were the Hungarians, who lived with and among Turks from the 5th to the end of the 9th century, and did not loose contacts until the Mongolian invasion of Hungary in 1241, and perhaps even later. These close contacts are mirrored in a great number of loanwords, and we offer here the results of our research on these loanwords as a contribution to the reconstruction of West Old Turkic.

As a second aim of this book I would mention our contribution to the etymological studies of Turkic. We try to reconstruct the form which has been copied by

the Hungarian speakers. In addition we analyse the morphological structure of the Turkic word, as far as our knowledge permits. If a word is a loan in Turkic, we make attempts to trace its origin.

The third aim is to contribute to the history of the Hungarian language and people. Turkic loanwords have long been used in the reconstruction of the history of the Hungarian language. In light of the great amount of new results in Turkology, the earlier studies need an urgent revision. On the other hand we would like to facilitate the use of the Hungarian data for Turkologists to whom the literature in and on Hungarian is difficult to access.

Language contacts mirror historical contacts, thus we try to exploit the material also for the cultural history of East Europe at the same time.

Last but not least we would like to offer this book to PhD students in Turkology and East European studies. Árpád Berta and I gave lectures on this topic to our PhD students at our University in Szeged. Many of our students had great fun with these types of research and after a time they became our helpers and collaborators. Below we shall give their names. We hope that we can entice new young scholars into this fascinating work.

It is always very difficult to write a book in a team or in a co-authorship. On the other hand it becomes more and more difficult to work isolated and alone. The co-operation of the authors run as follows: Professor Árpád Berta was one of my first students when I begun to teach Altaic studies at the University of Szeged. He first graduated in German and Slavic studies and after having joined the courses of the Department of Altaic studies also graduated there. After having defended his PhD in Turkology he became a faculty member of the Department. He defended his Doctor of Sciences dissertation in 1996 at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and became full professor in the same year. He lead the Department of Altaic studies, founded by me in 1974, until his untimely death in 2008 March.

Our co-operation in writing this book has lasted since the middle of the nineties. We published a paper in which we outlined our undertaking and gave a few sample articles. This appeared in *Acta Orientalia Academiæ Scientiarum Hungaricæ* (Berta–Róna-Tas 2002). We are grateful for the numerous reactions and advices which we got in resonance of our article.

The bulk of the book is the four hundred-odd entries of the Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. I wrote the entries beginning with the letters A, B, Gy, H, I, J, K and Professor Berta the draft of the remaining ones. We were in continuous contact. We sent each other various drafts of the word articles, and got criticism, additional data, new literature, etc., in exchange. In the very few cases where we could not convince the other of a point, we noted this in the text. Professor Berta worked on his part until his last days. I got the last pages a few days before his death. The entire manuscript

left by him to me needed in some parts no essential changes. In other cases it was scattered with notes about further literature, data, doubts and ideas. My first task was to make a preliminary editing work, in most cases shortenings and checking. In cases where my opinion was different I noted his ideas where possible. Then it went to the hands of László Károly a former student of ours, who defended his PhD dissertation in 2008. He is in charge of the final editing work. The chapters 1–3 and 5–7 further the subchapters 8.5–8.9, and 8.11 of the Apparatus are my work, but they contain a lot of ideas which we have discussed with Árpád Berta during our common work.

We asked an international panel of consultants to advise us mainly in the concept and structure of the work. The members of this panel were the professors Éva Csató-Johanson (Uppsala), Marcel Erdal (Frankfurt am Main), Lars Johanson (Mainz), Peter Laut (Freiburg, now in Göttingen), Claus Schönig (Istanbul, now in Berlin), Marek Stachowski (Krakow), István Vásáry (Budapest), and Peter Zieme (Berlin). We were in permanent contact after our first meeting in Szeged 2002, and I offer my sincere thanks for the many suggestions and ideas we got from them. Special thanks are due to Peter Zieme, who made a last check on words occurring in the Old Uyghur sources.

The essence of Chapter Five was used for a series of lectures which we gave together with Professor Marianne Bakró-Nagy, chair of the Department of Finno-Ugric studies, Szeged, during the Fall semester 2007. I owe sincere thanks to her and Professor László Honti, with whom we discussed selected problems of Ugric–Hungarian historical phonology.

Parts of Chapter Six was the topic of a joint intensive course to PhD students in November 2008 which we held with Professor Lars Johanson, Mainz, on linguistic history and language contact. Many ideas put down in this book rose during this fruitful collaboration.

This is the place to thank to our collaborators. Éva Csáki and Előd Kovács helped us in compiling lists of bibliographies. Előd Kovács and Mónika Biacsi took part in the editing of the Lexicon. Mónika Biacsi took care of the clerical work and administration. Our PhD students László Károly, István Lengyel and Sándor Szatmári helped in collecting data. Some of the Old Hungarian data were checked by Balázs Sinkovics. Béla Kempf helped us in Mongolian lexical problems and in editing. We could rely on the PhD dissertation of Éva Nagy concerning Mongolian elements is Chagatay. Many thanks to all of them.

Some parts of the English of my text were corrected by Doug Hitch (White Horse, Yukon, Canada). I am deeply indebted to him not only for his generous help in polishing my English, but also for his several advices and comments on the margin of the text. Items in the Lexicon written by Berta and myself were proofread by Thomas

Williams and Irén Annus. The English of Chapters 3, 5–7 was corrected by Jim Tucker (New York–Budapest).

The work has been carried out in the Research Group of Turkology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the University of Szeged. After the death of Professor Berta the Research group was lead by Professor Ferenc Makk, and since the 1st of October 2009 by Professor Mária Ivanics. Thanks are due to them for their understanding.

The work was partly also sponsored by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA 034955), the National Research and Development Programme (NKFP 5/021), and the publishing by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

I offer our sincere thanks to the Swedish Collegium of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, Uppsala, for fellowships given to Árpád and me in the year 2005/2006. The high intellectual environment and the excellent working facilities helped us greatly to finish the book.

Further acknowledgements are due to Borbála Gulyás, who joined the editing team in 2008.

The manuscript of the work has been closed in the summer of 2009, but works which reached us after 2006 could be only sporadically taken into account. The complicated editing work lasts until the manuscript goes to the Publishing House Harrassowitz. It is my duty to thank to the publishers, and personally to Dr. Barbara Krauß, for her co-operation and understanding, without which the publication of this book would have never been realised.

Professor Lars Johanson was so kind to include this work to the series Turcologica. This and his many advises and his permanent encouragement facilitated in a great manner the finalising works.

Szeged, November 2009 András Róna-Tas

Introduction

Chapter One

Previous research

1.1 A brief overview of previous research on Turkic elements in Hungarian

Comparing Hungarian words with similar Turkic ones is as old as the Hungarian records, chronicles and diplomas. The early Hungarian chronicles (see Róna-Tas 1999: 58), such as the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200) and the chronicle of Simon de Kéza (written 1282–1285), contain mainly Hungarian names claimed to be of Turkic origin. Some titles also crop up. In Anonymous, the ruler of the Danube Bulgars is called *Keanus magnus dux Bulgariæ* (chap. 11), which is a Hungarian rendering for the title *kān*, where the original long vowel is adapted as a diphthong.

The chronicles abound with fantastical popular etymologies in the style common to comparable works in contemporary Europe. The Latin name for the Hungarians, *hungarus*, is derived from a place name, Hungvar, which in fact is a compound formed out of the river name Ung and the Hungarian word *vár* 'castle', while *hungarus* goes back to a Turkic form *onugur* (Róna-Tas 1999: 282–289). The name of Álmos, father of Árpád, the leader of the Conquest and founder of the Hungarian royal dynasty, is derived from the Hungarian word *álom* 'dream', because his mother is said to have been visited in a dream by the (totemic) bird *turul* (Turkic *togrïl*). In fact, the name is Turkic *Almïš*. Popular folk etymologies are used to underpin ideologies and historical claims, as can be observed even up until the recently.

The Ottomans occupied large parts of Hungary (16th–17th centuries) and as a result bilingualism was not unusual among Hungarians. The famous Hungarian poet Bálint Balassi (1554–1594) wrote poems both in Turkish and in Hungarian (Németh 1952, 1955). Hundreds of Turkish words were used by Hungarians in their daily speech or written documents (Kakuk 1973). Comparing Hungarian and Turkic words was nothing special; Ottoman words were written in Latin script but with Hungar-

ian orthography. In the work (1667, 1766[2]) of Laurentius Toppeltinus de Medgyes (1641–1670), Turkic and Hungarian words were compared, with Turkic ones written according to Hungarian orthography, such as *satorlar* 'tents' matched with Hungarian *sátor* id. In the 1763 edition of *Hungaria et Atila* (1536, 1537) by Nicolaus Oláh (1493–1568), Hungarian scholar Ádám Ferenc Kollár (1718–1783) remarked in a note that though the Hungarian language seems to be related to the "Oriental" languages and from among them to Turkic, their structure is more similar than their lexical stock. Kollár had a good knowledge of Ottoman Turkish (Bárczi 1958: 60).

In the mid-18th century, three non-Hungarian scholars made some comments on the relationship between Hungarian and Turkic. Martinus Fogelius (1634–1675) wrote a work entitled *De Turcarum Nephente libri IV., quibus accedit commentatio de affinitate linguæ Turcicæ et Ungaricæ*. Though this seems to be lost, some information about it has survived and we know some of his sources (see Clauser 1935; Kangro 1969: 15–31). Fogel was the first scholar to made a systematic comparison between Hungarian and Finnish, but this for him did not exclude a comparative look at Hungarian and Turkic. Behind these activities, it is not difficult to recognise the influence of Leibniz. Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697–1771) wrote a book (originally a lecture before the Academy of St. Petersburg) *De origine Ungrorum* (written in 1756 and published by A. L. Schlözer in 1770; see the edition by Doerfer 1965a, further Gulya 1967b, 1984, 1994, 1995), in which he stated that the Hungarians, who speak a language near to Finnish, came from Yugria. Yugria is also the ancient homeland of the Yugurs, who were, according to Fischer and Schlözer, the Uygurs, hence the Turkic words in their language. This work had a great influence on later research. His famous *Vocabularium Sibiricum*, on which Fischer laboured until his death, remained unpublished during his lifetime. A first version is mentioned in 1747. The two manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg and Göttingen were used by later scholars. Among his comparisons, we find some which were later "rediscovered" and are still acceptable, such as Hungarian *szél* 'wind' compared with the Turkic word *yel*, as it occurs in Chuvash, Tobol, Kazan, Kacha, Chat and Chulim. Other Hungarian words of Turkic origin are matched with words which have nothing to do with the Hungarian word, e.g. *dél*, which Fischer linked to Samoyed (Selkup) and Georgian items. In his book *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* etc. (1730, see also Krueger in the 1975 reprint), Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg places Chuvash among the Turkic languages along with Yakut and South Siberian Turkic, and together with the languages of the Uzbek, Bashkir and Kirgiz as well as that of the "Turkoman Tatars", who, according to him, are all Turks and have "fast einerey Dialect". This is important, because for a long time afterward Chuvash was regarded as a Finno-Ugric language and placed side by side with Hungarian as such. Strahlenberg correctly compared Hungarian with Finnish, Vogul, Ostyak, Mordvin, Cheremis, (Komi-)Permyak and

Votyak, but their common predecessor was, according to Strahlenberg, the language of Hunni or Unni. Strahlenberg has to be mentioned, because his book was widely used in Hungary in the second half of the 18th century.

Thus it was Fischer who first compared Hungarian and Chuvash words – and *not* Georgius Pray (1723–1801), as claimed by Bárczi (1958: 61). Pray published his comparisons in his books (*Annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarorum et Hungarorum* (1761), *Supplementum* (1764), *Dissertationes* (1775)).

From the late of the 18th century on, many scholars compared Hungarian words with Turkic ones, and slowly it became clear that these words may have been borrowed from one or another Turkic language, and thus cannot be used for determining the origins of the Hungarians. Small steps in methodology were made. Samuel Gyarmathi (1751–1830) depicted the borrowed words as being given Hungarian robes *...a quibus plura vocabula mutuata, hodie civitate hungarica donavimus* in *Affinitas* (1799), cited in Bárczi (1958: 62). István Horvát (1784–1846) seems to have been the first to attempt to clearly distinguish words of Ottoman origin from those which had been copied earlier; see Horvát (1833: 37). In the next phase, scholars refined the chronology of the borrowing, but postulated that the oldest layer shows that the Hungarian language is somewhere in the middle of the continuum of Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages, being related to both. One of the most influential scholars in the second half of the 19th century was Pál Hunfalvy. According to him (1877), Hungarian is somewhere around the midpoint between Finno-Ugric and Turkic, but perhaps "a bit" nearer to the Ugro-Finnic languages. This was when Ármin (Hermann) Vámbéry (1832–1913) joined the discussion.

The next phase of the research is usually called "the Ugric–Turkic War". The scholarly debate was heated, and not devoid of romantic, sometimes nationalistic, overtones. The discussion was accompanied by newspaper debates. (For useful bibliographies on this debate and Vámbéry's life, see Coco 1986; also Kakuk 1971; Hazai 1976; Alder–Dalby 1979). The "Turkic" party defended not only etymologies or the place of the Hungarian language among the other languages, but also the "heroic past", and persons of Hungarian gentry descent accused the other party of endangering the self-confidence of the nation. The central figure of the "Turkic party" was Vámbéry, who had an unprecedented command over modern and historical Turkic languages and vast knowledge of the secondary literature, but at the same time was an autodidact, who had never studied linguistics, and in fact never frequented any course at any university. In 1867, he left Hungary for Turkey and after four years of study and a short interval, he visited (sometimes risking life and limb) the Turkic-speaking peoples of Inner Asia. He was interested as much in the role of Russia and England in Central Asia as in the origins of the Hungarians. The main protagonist of the "Ugric (= Finno-Ugric) party" was József (Josef) Budenz (1836–1892), who was

born in Germany (see Futaky 1968; Lakó 1974, 1980). After having finished his studies at the University of Göttingen, where he was a pupil of Theodor Benfey, among others, he came to Hungary in 1858. Budenz, who first worked in Hungary as a grammar school teacher, was later invited by Hunfalvy to the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He became a private docent in 1868 and full professor of Altaic (in fact Ural-Altaic) Studies at the University of Budapest in 1872.

Budenz conducted a painstaking review (1873) of the first work by Vámbéry on the Hungarian and "Turco-Tatar" word comparisons (1870). In the 1873 publication and in his later papers, Budenz refuted Vámbéry's claim that Hungarian has Turkic words which are part of the genetic inherited stock of the Hungarian lexicon. He said rather that all words which are of Turkic origin are loanwords. Budenz also pointed out that in the enormous material collected by Vámbéry (about 740 etymologies), there are acceptable Turkic etymologies, words whose Turkic origin has to be refuted ("illusive comparisons" and comparisons which are not even "illusive"), "unimportant comparisons" (onomatopoeics, words which are also loanwords in Turkic) and some words of obscure or uncertain origin. According to Budenz, the more or less acceptable loanwords number 146, of which about 30 more have had to be deleted since then.

Even more dangerous was what Vámbéry's opponents sarcastically referred to as "neologisms", Turkic words created by Vámbéry. One of these non-existent "ghost words" even misled some well-known scholars. In his work on the Chagatay language (*Ćagataische Sprachstudien* 1867), Vámbéry gave an item such as *ķazmaķ* with the meaning 'graben, herumirren, herumstreifen; creuser, errer'. To the well known verb *kaz-* 'to dig, dig out; graben', he added a non-existing homophonous word with the meaning 'herumirren, herumstreifen; creuser, errer'. This was derived from Turkic *az-* 'to go astray'. Vámbéry observed that in some cases there do exist doublets with and without an initial *k-* in Turkic, such as *karbuz* and *arbuz*, and he simply created the verb *kaz-* 'to go astray' from the existing *az-*. The ghost word was then incorporated into the Chagatay dictionary by Pavet de Courteille (1870), and from it the word began its history in the scholarly literature. The etnonyms Khazak and Khazar, among others, were derived from this ghost word.

The long debate ended with the "victory" of the "Ugric party". Vámbéry, who became full professor of Turkology at the University of Budapest in 1870, shifted positions during the debate, but remained faithful to his basic ideas until his death (see Vámbéry 1914 and Pusztay 1977). Two clear theses result from the dispute: (1) The Hungarian language is of Finno-Ugric origin while words of Turkic origin in the Hungarian language are all loanwords; and (2) A large number of those words in Hungarian which are of Turkic origin show features peculiar to the Chuvash language.

The work of Budenz was carried on by József Szinnyei (1857–1943), who first taught at the University of Kolozsvár (today Cluj, Romania) and from 1893 occupied the chair for "Comparative Ural-Altaic Studies" at the University of Budapest. In 1883, he wrote a severe review of a book by Vámbéry, published both in Hungarian (Vámbéry 1882a) and in German (1882b). Szinnyei was a Finno-Ugrist. However, his book *Die Herkunft der Ungaren, ihre Sprache und Urkultur* (1920, 1923[2]) was one of the few publications to make the findings of earlier research known to a readership which did not read Hungarian. Szinnyei was also Julius Németh's mentor (see Lakó 1986).

While Szinnyei carried out no original studies in Turkology, Bernát (Bernhard) Munkácsi (1860–1937) undertook fieldwork among the Chuvash in 1885. Munkácsi wrote a long series of works in which he covered Hungarian words of Turkic origin (see Kálmán 1960; Oláh 1967). With their work, Vámbéry, Budenz, Szinnyei and Munkácsi laid the foundation on which Zoltán Gombocz (1877–1935) was able build his.

Gombocz, professor of Altaic Studies at the University of Kolozsvár from 1914 and professor of the Hungarian language at the University of Budapest from 1920, was a linguist who studied the history of the Hungarian and Finno-Ugric languages. However, it became clear to him very early that contacts with the Turks and their languages may offer indispensable data and important solutions to questions otherwise difficult to deal with. He had an excellent command of the comparative and historical Altaic studies of his time (see Gombocz 1912–1913) and worked with original Chuvash material (see Gombocz 1906b, 1921–1925). After a long series of studies on Turkic elements in Hungarian he wrote the first synthesis of Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian (Gombocz 1912b). This German-language book was preceded by two Hungarian publications in 1907a and 1908. The research on Hungarian common words of Turkic origin was rounded out by another monograph on early Hungarian personal names of Turkic origin (1914–1915). He dealt with 231 loanwords in his famous *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache* (Gombocz 1912b), published as a monograph, Vol. 30 in the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* series. The immense scholarly value of this book can also be seen from the fact that after a hundred years of research only about 20 words have to be deleted from his list, while the remaining ones are still acceptable, though not necessarily with the same argumentation. The core list has had 78 entries added, which have been considered by earlier studies as Turkic, but which had not been acceptable for Gombocz as such. Among these, about 10 words turned out to be of Turkic origin.

For Gombocz, the historical implications of the early Hungarian–Turkic linguistic contacts were of paramount importance. He first called the loans "old loans from Turkic", and later "the Turkic loanwords borrowed before the Conquest". The notion

"bulgarisch–türkisch" was due to studies by Ašmarin (1902) on the language of the Volga Bulgars. In his monograph, Gombocz excluded Khazar as a source language. He first suggested the Volga–Kama region and the language of the Volga Bulgars as the place and source language of the borrowing. He suggested the period "after 600" as the time for the beginning of the Hungarian–Turkic contacts (Gombocz 1912b: 205). In 1921, Gombocz changed his opinion and placed the first contacts North of the Caucasus, in the region of the Kuban, its beginnings in the 5th century and its end in the 7th (see Gombocz 1960; Róna-Tas 2000).

The etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language by Slavist János Melich (1872–1963), written from 1914 until 1936 in conjunction with Gombocz and thereafter alone until 1944, reached only the first items beginning with *g-* (Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944). It contains less than a third of the Hungarian word stock but includes proper names, titles etc. of historical importance. Some entries written by Gombocz contain new data and signalled changes in Gombocz's position.

Gyula (Julius) Németh (1890–1976), who was grated a chair in Turkology at the University of Budapest in 1919 (see Róna-Tas 1978), returned to the problems of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian many times. He succeeded in separating the "middle layer" of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian, those words which were borrowed after the Conquest (895) from the Cumans and Pechenegs, who migrated into the land inhabited by the Hungarians (Németh 1921). Also important are works in which he used the newly discovered Old Turkic material, the Orkhon inscriptions and the Turfan material. In some of his writings, he added new data or arguments to the earlier research; in others, he suggested new etymologies (see the bibliographies of Németh 1960 and 1990). Németh regarded his book on the formation of the conquering Hungarians published in 1930 as his *opus magnum*. This was based on the etymologies of the early Hungarian tribal and personal names, the overwhelming majority of which he considered to be of Turkic origin. The posthumous re-edition of this work was published by Berta in 1991.

In his earlier works, Németh placed the first Hungarian–Turkic contacts in the Kuban region, in line with Gombocz's second opinion. Later, he changed his views, and based mainly on some Bashkir tribal and clan names, he returned to the first position held by Gombocz (Németh 1972).

An important step in the comprehensive study of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian was the activity of Géza Bárczi (1894–1975). A former Romanist, Bárczi was a professor of Hungarian linguistics, first at the University of Debrecen and later at the University of Budapest. His paper on the earliest contacts of the Hungarian and Turkic languages (1952) did not find wide acceptance (see Róna-Tas 1988a). In three excellent papers (Bárczi 1965, 1971, 1972), he analysed the adaptation of Turkic loanwords by the Hungarian language. His short etymological dictionary of the

Hungarian language, published in 1941, contained 228 items of Turkic origin from the old and the middle layers. Due to his profound knowledge of Hungarian historical linguistics, his sound critical methodology and his solid knowledge of the secondary literature in Turkology, very few of the 228 items can be said to be unacceptable as being of Turkic origin.

The first large, comprehensive synthesis of the origin of the Hungarian lexical stock was compiled by a group of scholars led by Loránd Benkő, professor of the Hungarian language at the University of Budapest (1921–), and published between 1967–1984 in three plus one volumes. The aim of the work was to take a critical look at the earlier studies. It adds at the same time the earliest items for a Hungarian word, thus uniting the historical data and the etymology in one article. A bibliography at the end of the entry covers the most important earlier Hungarian literature. This work became an indispensable tool for any further studies. The consultant for the Turkic material was Kakuk, supervised by Ligeti. However, Benkő did not accept all of their suggestions.

1993 saw the publication of the first fascicle of the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* under Benkő's editorship. The six fascicles contain about a third of the lexical stock separately treated in the Hungarian forerunner, and include new ideas (among them a few new Turkic etymologies) published since the Hungarian version and in some cases see a shift in Benkő's position. The consultant for the Turkic material prior to the Ottoman period was Róna-Tas. However, he only received words for comment which were considered by Benkő as being of Turkic origin. Nor were all of his suggestions accepted.

The more detailed Hungarian and the very condensed German monographs mark the end of a long period of research. They weighed the works of earlier Turkological research and pointed decisively to the Hungarian side of the etymology, in many cases convincingly demonstrating that notwithstanding the Turkic side, serious problems have to be envisaged on the Hungarian side of a given, earlier suggested etymology. Unfortunately the great progress in Turkology in the last twenty years is not reflected in the two works.

The Turkic elements in the Hungarian language were always in the focus of interest for Lajos (Louis) Ligeti (1902–1987), professor of Central Asiatic languages at the University of Budapest and, for a shorter time, also chair of the Department of Turkology. His first paper, published in 1924, was tied to research on Chuvash, and his first etymological remarks on the etymology of Álmos, a Hungarian name of Turkic origin, appeared in 1926. He later altered his views on the name of Álmos, father of Árpád, the founder of the first Hungarian dynasty (see Ligeti 1978). In 1978, he began to publish a series of studies on old Hungarian names of Turkic origin, which were later republished with his earlier papers on Turkic loanwords in Hungarian in

a two-volume reprint publication in 1979. In the last days of 1986, a few weeks before his death, one of his major works was published on the Turkic ties of the Hungarian language before the Conquest and in the Age of the Árpáds (Ligeti 1986). This book is the summary of his research of more than 50 years.

The main chapters deal with the Chuvash criteria for Hungarian words of Turkic origin, the convergent development of the Turkic and Hungarian historical phonological systems and the main characteristics of the non-Chuvash Turkic languages. One chapter summarises the results of the research on the early contacts of Hungarian with other languages before the Turkic contacts. The longest chapter purports to deal with the mutual influence of Turkic and Hungarian, but in fact only covers the Turkic impact on Early Hungarian. The second part of the book provides the ethnic and historical background of the Turkic–Hungarian contacts. There are no elaborated etymologies in the book (as we can find them in Ligeti's separate papers); the Hungarian words of Turkic derivation are only cited as illustrations of linguistic or historical, cultural statements. Ligeti treated or cited altogether about 280 Hungarian words of Turkic origin. Two things characterised his works. A profound knowledge of all relevant data and a rigorous, always critical methodology. He was one of the very few scholars who never worked with isolated data, but drew on all knowledge which may have been useful to understanding and correctly interpreting the data. He was always keen to present the "background", the historical implications, the cultural setting.

This overview has to mention at least the names of other Hungarian scholars whose work added new etymologies to earlier ones: Tibor Halasi-Kun, Antal Horger, Elemér Moór, Dezső Pais, Lajos Katona, Margit K. Palló, László Rásonyi, Gábor Bereczki, István Mándoky Kongur and István Vásáry. Their contributions are mentioned in the text of the Lexicon or in the bibliographies at the end of the entries.

Even in this very sketchy overview, it is important to mention those scholars who were not Hungarians, but have dealt with Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. Excluding earlier works of only historical interest, it was Paasonen who was among the first scholars interested in the non-Finno-Ugric words in Hungarian. Paasonen's wife was Hungarian and he had an excellent command of Hungarian and the literature written in Hungarian. Of special importance is his review of Gombocz (1912b), which came out in 1913. Two scholars, Poppe and Doerfer, made remarks which went beyond single etymologies. Their work was hampered, however, by the fact that there was no up-to-date history of the Hungarian language available to them in a non-Hungarian language. Of great value is the Turkish etymological dictionary by Eren (1999). Eren was a pupil of Németh and had an excellent knowledge of Hungarian linguistics. If a Turkish word has even a remote connection with a Hungarian word, this is usually mentioned in his dictionary with reference to earlier literature. His review

of the *Hungarian Etymological Dictionary* was published in 1996 and translated into Hungarian in 2002.

Other publications with some bearing on the etymology of Hungarian words of Turkic origin are works on Turkic historical lexicology.

1.2 Works on Turkic historical lexicology

From the vast literature in Turkic historical lexicology only those have been selected which in some way or another have exerted an impact on the etymological studies of the Turkic languages. The first of these, still today one of the most important works on Turkic lexicography, is the *Dīvānu Luġāt-it-Turk* of Kashgari. It was completed in 1077. Only one copy from 1266 has survived. It is cited here in the edition of R. Dankoff and J. Kelly (1982–1985, see also Róna-Tas 1986).

One of the earliest works on Turkic comparative lexicography is the comparative dictionary of the Turko-Tatar dialects compiled by Budagov (*Sravniteĺnyj slovaŕ turecko-tatarskih narečij so vključeniem upotrebiteĺnejših slov arabskih i persidskih i s perevodom na russkij jazyk*, 1869–1871; reprinted in 1960 and 1971). The dictionary contains material from those Turkic languages which had a literary tradition and published dictionaries at that time. It grouped the words into word families and offered also their derivational suffixes. The Arabic and Persian origins of the lemmata are also supplied. Further, the work is arranged according to the Arabic alphabet. The material was later included into Radloff's work.

A book by Hermann (later Ármin) Vámbéry was published in Hungarian in 1877 and in German in 1878 as *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der turko-tatarischen Sprachen. Ein Versuch zur Darstellung des Familienverhältnisses des turko-tatarischen Wortschatzes*. Vámbéry grouped the words under 233 headings. These groups comprise words which are related along with words of totally different origins. For instance, in the group No. 175 headed by **tak**, **taj**, **tog** 'kahl, glatt eben, gleiten, ausgleiten, rutschen' he lists Chagatay *tak-* 'glatt', *toka* 'Regel, Ordnung', *togru* 'in gerader Richtung' etc., and Uygur *tajik* 'schlüpfrig'. In addition, since *t-*, in his opinion, may change to *k-*, he also puts *kajmak* 'gleiten' here, and further since *s-* may be a variant of *t-*, he includes Chagatay *saj* 'seicht, klein (vom Wasser)', Ottoman *sejrek* 'selten' and Chuvash *saira* 'selten'.

Vámbéry's work was far from the standard of his time and added almost nothing to the progress of etymological studies on the Turkic word stock.

Wilhelm Radloff (V. V. Radlov) began to compile his wordlist in 1859–1860 as an addition to his Texts (*Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* 1–10, St. Petersburg 1866–1907, Vol. 7 by Kunos, Vol. 9 by Katanov, Vol. 10 by Moškov). In 1867, the manuscript for the lexicon was returned to him with re-

marks by Schiefner that he had to change the alphabetical order. Though Radloff did not agree with this demand, he reworked the wordlist accordingly and then added all lexical items from his later collected materials. Radloff included, in addition, the words in Budagov's dictionary, Verbickij's *Slovarʹ altajskogo i aladagskogo narečij tjurkskago jazyka* (1884), and some Chagatay dictionaries: the Dictionary of Calcutta (1820), Pavet de Courteille (1870) and Vámbéry (1867) as well as using the Codex Cumanicus in the Kuun edition (1880). He finalised the manuscript in 1888, and it was published between 1893 and 1911. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* is more than a compilation of the lexical items of the Turkic languages then known to Radloff. In most cases, it gives the word formation of the secondary stems and adds the Arabic or Persian origin of the Turkic items. In a few cases, he also cited Mongolic, and even Manchu, parallels. He also attempted to connect words with different forms, but identical origin. The greatest value of the work, though, is the rich material from the South Siberian Turkic languages.

A large amount of comparative lexical material is scattered in various works by Ramstedt (especially Ramstedt 1935, 1949, 1952–1966, but in almost all of his works). The same can be stated of Poppe's works (especially 1960 and 1962; see his bibliographies in Matsumoto 1972 and Cirtautas 1977). It was Ramstedt who inspired the work of Joki, who in the monograph *Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen* (1952) attempted to clear up the historical background of the Turkic words copied by the Sayan Samoyed languages. The Mongolic loanwords in Karaim represented the topic of a paper by Zajączkowski (1960). This was followed by Poppe on the Mongolic loanwords in Cumanian (1962), by Tuna on the Mongolic loanwords in Ottoman Turkish (1972; 1976), by Išberdin on the Mongolic copies in Bashkir (1979), by Róna-Tas on the Mongolic loanwords in the Volga-Kipchak and Chuvash languages (1971–1972; 1973–1974; 1982), by Schönig on the Mongolic loanwords in the West Oguz languages (2000) and by Csáki on the Middle Mongolic loanwords in the Volga-Kipchak languages (2006). Finally, a voluminous monograph on Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan by Khabtagaeva (2009).

It is no coincidence that the title of the book by Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* (1969), echoes the title of Radloff's book. After the publication of his *Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (1920), *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (1923), *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen* (1949), and *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen* (1957), Räsänen began to compile a wordlist, mainly based on Radloff's book, and enriched it with the materials from his books cited above and some Yakut materials. The manuscript (on cards) was ready in 1966 and Kecskeméti edited the manuscript. The proofs were sent to several Turkologists, who were asked to comment. These remarks, sent by Jussi Aro, Gerhard Doerfer, Zsuzsa (Susanne)

Kakuk, Stanisław Kałużyński, Lajos (Louis) Ligeti and Nicholas Poppe, were included in some form or another. Their comments are identified with their initials. Räsänen believed in the genetic relationship of Turkic and the Finno-Ugric languages, therefore, in many cases, he included parallels from Finno-Ugric languages. He indicated the Arabic, Persian, Mongolic or other origin of the cited words or word families. An index compiled by Kecskeméti appeared in 1971. Doerfer wrote a detailed review on this work (Doerfer 1971b), where he offers his idea about an ideal etymological dictionary of Turkic.

The first volume of Gerhard Doerfer's work *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* 1–4 (1963–1975) was defended as a *Habilitationsschrift* in 1960 called *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Volume 1 gives the Mongolic origin for 409 words that occur in Persian. Volumes 2–4 contain 1535 Turkic etymologies, to which additions and further discussions are supplemented in Volume 4. Though the work was originally planned to provide the Mongolic and Turkic background for the Mongolic and Turkic words in New Persian, it became a thorough discussion of the Altaic lexicon, and thus the so-called Altaic theory. In all cases, Doerfer endeavoured to clear up the Mongolic, Tungusic and other relationships of the items. He opts in most cases for borrowing and denies the possibility of a common Altaic protolanguage. Doerfer deals with copies that exist in the neighbouring languages. This is an interesting trial to ascertain the copiability of a given word. On the other hand, he did not distinguish between loanwords and words cited in the Persian sources.

Gerard Clauson published his views on the history of Turkic (which he used to label as "Turkish") in his book *Turkish and Mongolian Studies* (1962). This is a summary of his earlier views and provides a blueprint for his forthcoming historical dictionary. On pp. 126–128, he deals with the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian as a source for reconstructing Old Turkic. At that time, he only had Gombocz (1912b) and a paper by Ligeti (1961) at his disposal. He expressed his hope for a French translation of Bárczi (1941). 1972 saw the publication of his seminal work *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. He was able to use Doerfer's first three volumes (1963–1967), but not the Leningrad dictionary of Old Turkic (*Drevnetjurkskij slovar´*, Leningrad 1969, edited by Nadeljaev, Nasilov, Tenišev and Ščerbak). It is based on all Old Turkic texts available to him, including the *Dīvān* of Kashgari, which he used in the Atalay edition (1939–1941) and the *Kutadgu Bilig* in the Arat edition (1947). In fact, this is an etymological dictionary of Old Turkic with reference to some Middle Turkic sources, an important one being the Chagatay–Persian dictionary *Sanglax*, which Clauson published in 1960.

From the work by Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch, Sprachmaterial der Vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien* (1977–1998), only the first 446 pages have been published. The six *Lieferungen* so far contain the words beginning with

a- and not all which begin with *ä-*. The lemmata are accompanied by rich etymological remarks.

In March of 1975, an important conference was organised on Turkic lexicography in Moscow. In the focus of the discussions was the then recent work by Sevortjan (see below). Ščerbak gave a paper on his ideas for an etymological dictionary of Turkic.

After the publication of two important books on the comparative research into the derivational morphology of the Turkic languages, based on Azeri (*Affiksy glagoloobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke. Opyt sravniteĺnogo issledovanija* (1962); *Affiksy imennogo slovoobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke. Opyt sravniteĺnogo issledovanija* (1966)), Sevortjan began to compile an etymological dictionary of the Turkic languages. The headings were arranged according to the Turkmen forms of the Turkic words, but later words, not present in Turkmen, were added. The first volume (*Ėtimologičeskij slovar´ tjurkskih jazykov. Obščetjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na glasnye* (1974) [published in 1975]) comprised words beginning with vowels. The second volume (1978) contains words beginning with *b-*, the third (1980) with *v-*, *g-* and *d-* initials. At the time the third volume was being compiled, Sevortjan was already ill, but still contributing to the project. With his death on 23 March 1978, his collaborators took over the great work. The chief editor of the third volume was Gadžieva. The fourth volume containing the words beginning with *dž-*, *ž-*, *y-* was edited by Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989). The words beginning with palatal *k-* and some of the words beginning with velar *k-* were published in the fifth volume (Blagova 1997); the contributors were Levitskaja, Dybo and Rassadin. The sixth volume, edited by Blagova (2000), contains the remaining words with the Anlaut *k-*, with contributions by the same three scholars. The seventh volume contains words with *l-*, *m-*, *n-*, *p-* and *s-*. This volume, the last one at our disposal, was edited by Dybo (Dybo 2003) and written by Levitskaja, Blagova, Dybo and Nasilov. Unfortunately, the volumes are not numbered, and can be cited only according to their respective year of publication and from the fourth volume on by the respective editor. The editing policy, reflecting the concept of historical Turkology, was tacitly changed after the death of Sevortjan. The rich material on the contemporary Turkic languages and dialects, sometimes originating from unpublished or inaccessible sources, lends a special added value to the work.

Many so-called collective works have been written in the Turkological department of the Institute of Linguistics of the Soviet (later Russian) Academy of Sciences. The volume *Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskih jazykov* (1961) was published under the editorship of Ubrjatova. This included, among other papers, a chapter written by Ščerbak on the names of wild and domesticated animals in the Turkic languages (*Nazvanija domašnyh i dikih životnyh v tjurkskih jazykah*, pp. 82–172), a study which has been referred to many times. One of the leading figures of these

circles was Dmitriev († 1954), whose collected works were published in 1962. His views on the Turkic lexicon on pp. 433–598 greatly influenced the next generation. He was one of the editors of the volume on the Turkic lexicon in the *Issledovanija po sravnitel´noj grammatike tjurkskih jazykov* series (which only appeared in 1962). This contains a paper written by Ishakov with the title *Opyt sravnitel´nogo slovarja sovremennyh tjurkskih jazykov* on pp. 5–68.

In a new series of collectively authored volumes, the Turkologists of the Linguistic Institute in Moscow offer a comprehensive overview of the latest results of the comparative historical studies on the Turkic languages. The volumes have the common title *Sravnitel´no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskih jazykov*. A volume on phonetics (1984) was followed by ones on syntax (1986), morphology (1988), the lexicon (1997) and regional reconstruction (2002). The last volume has the title *Sravnitel´no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskih jazykov. Pratjurkskij jazyk-osnova. Kartina mira pratjurksogo ėtnosa po dannym jazyka* (2006). The editor-in-chief of all the volumes hitherto published was Tenišev. After his death, his mantle was passed on to Dybo for the last volume.

The volume on the lexicon (1997, second edition 2001) is arranged into semantic groups. Within the groups, subgroups were formed, e.g. living world > wild animals. In the subgroup, the proto-form is reconstructed (X.0), the forms that occur in the Turkic historical sources and languages are collected (X.1), the semantic history and the different meanings are indicated (X.2) and a summary of the etymological literature is provided (X.3). The material is built on the results of the *Ėtimologičeskij slovar´ tjurkskih jazykov* cited above, with the addition of a reconstructed Turkic proto-form ("*tjurkskij praform*"). The volume is enhanced by an index of these proto-forms. In the 2006 volume, the whole concept of the former five volumes was changed.

While the aim of the first five volumes was to work towards the reconstruction of the common Proto-Turkic language through its several linguistic levels, the sixth volume (2006) started out from the hypothesis that Turkic is a member of the Altaic linguistic family. This brought a change not only in the methodology, but also in the terminology. "Prototjurkskij" became the name of the Turkic language which had not yet been separated from the supposed common Altaic proto-language. This language can be reconstructed partly by the inner Turkic reconstruction, partly by the common "Altaic" reconstructed by Starostin, Dybo and others (see Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003 below). "Pratjurkskij" is the name of the language which can be reconstructed only by Turkic sources. Its early phase lasted until the separation of the regional languages, and its late phase began after the separation of the regional languages. The entire material of the volume on the lexicon (1997, 2001) has been reworked based on the "new results" in Altaic studies, and the result was published on pp. 326–765 of the 2006 volume. Unfortunately, these 440 pages should only be

used with the greatest caution. Ad hoc phonological reconstructions, non-existent suffixes and speculations about possible and impossible semantic changes are mixed with interesting proposals and useful hypotheses. The lack of an index, however, makes this book less than user-friendly.

After a relatively long presence on the internet, the three-volume book written by Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak, the *Etymological dictionary of the Altaic languages*, appeared in hard copy in 2003. This is not the place to discuss the methodological and simple logical failures of this voluminous work. Since the authors acknowledge a special and close contact between the Turkic and the Mongolic languages, the rich material, collected under a reconstructed "Altaic" heading, offers in several cases an interesting insight into the history of a Turkic word and its reflexes in Mongolic. This material can be used for Turkic etymology even if one disagrees with the further connection of the word. In many cases, the authors correctly acknowledge the loan character of a Mongolic word, but suggest a second Mongolic word which would be an "Altaic" cognate to the Turkic word. In none of the latter cases dealt with in our present book could we accept such a claim.

Some dictionaries that present one Turkic language supply etymological references. Of great importance is the Yakut–Russian dictionary by Pekarskij (1917–1930; reprinted in 1958). It provides in many cases the corresponding Turkic material from other Turkic languages, and in some cases the Mongolic original. The Yakut words of Mongolic and other origin were the topic of works by Kałużyński (1961, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1985 etc.). This tradition has been continued by Stachowski, who offers comparative lexical material and etymological remarks in his *Dolganischer Wortschatz* (1993) and *Dolganischer Wortschatz. Supplementband* (1998).

Rassadin, who has written many important papers on the lexicology of the Siberian languages (1980, 1986 etc.), published a Tofalar wordlist with ample etymological data in his *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka* (1971).

We find etymological data in the two dialectological dictionaries of Kazan Tatar *Tatar teleneŋ dialektologik süzlege* (TatD1, ed. Mahmutova 1969; TatD2, eds. Zäkiev, Ramazanova and Häjretdinova 1993).

Judahin published two Kirgiz–Russian dictionaries earlier (1940, 1957). His third one (1965) contains not only one of the richest documentations of the lexicon of one Turkic language, but also notes the Arabic or Persian origins of the words. We find references of copied words among others in *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialect von Xarrab)* (1980) by Doerfer and Tezcan, in *Oghusica aus Iran* (1990) by Doerfer, Hesche and Ravanyar and in *Chorasantürkisch* (1993) by Doerfer and Hesche.

Arabic and Persian origins of Turkish words were also mentioned in the Turkish–Russian dictionary by Magazanik (1931, 1945) and by the Turkish–Russian dictionary that continued this tradition (*Turecko-russkij slovar´*, ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1977).

The practice of indicating the Arabic, Persian and occasionally other origins of Turkish words has existed since the compilation of Turkish dictionaries began (Meninski 1680). We encounter it in various dictionaries of which I would select only the best-known and most voluminous dictionary here, which was compiled by Redhouse (1890; many new reprints) and arranged according to the Arabo-Turkish alphabet. Its re-arranged form in the new Turkish alphabet (1968) preserved the references.

The non-Turkic origin of a word is marked in many unilingual dictionaries among them in those published in Turkey (*Türkçe Sözlük*).

The manuscript of the first edition of the *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü* by Eren († 2007) was completed in 1997 and was published in 1998. This was followed by the second edition in 1999. Eren earned a degree in Turkology in Budapest, and left Hungary in 1945 for Turkey. This is the background for the fact that in many cases he is largely elaborating on Turkish words, whose cognates have been copied by Hungarian.

2002 saw the first volume of the etymological dictionary compiled by Tietze (*Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı. Sprachgeschichtliches und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen*). It contains the words beginning with A to E. We can only hope that after the death of Tietze (2003) his work will be continued.

In his Chuvash–Hungarian–German wordlist (*Csuvas szójegyzék* 1908), Paasonen added rich comparative material to the Chuvash words. The great Chuvash–Russian dictionary by Ašmarin (1928–1950) contains almost no hints as to the origin of the Chuvash words. It provides the dialectal variants and the derivatives of the Chuvash words and in this way it offers help on the discussion of their etymology. Egorov published his etymological dictionary of the Chuvash language in 1964 (*Ėtimologičeskij slovar´ čuvašskogo jazyka*). This effort has been continued by Fedotov, who published his work in two volumes under the same title in 1996. Fedotov added the most important derivatives of the given lemmata and showed the relationships between Chuvash vocabulary and the lexicons of the Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages of the Volga region.

Finally, two etymological dictionaries should be mentioned: Ysqaqov–Syzdyqova–Sarybaev, *Qazaq tiliniŋ qïsqaša ėtimologiyalïq sözdigi* (1966) and Tatarincev, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar´ tuvinskogo jazyka* 1–3 (2000, 2002, 2004).

Chapter Two

Historical background

2.1 Turks in East Europe

The historical space and time of the early Hungarian–Turkic contacts can be easily described. Less easy will be the reconstruction of the players and the historical scenario. We namely have to avoid the vicious circle many times repeated by Hungarian scholars: "The early Turkic loanwords of Hungarian had been borrowed from the Bulgar-Turks, because both groups had close contact for a long time. That the Hungarians had long contacts with the Bulgar-Turks we can learn from the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in Hungarian".

After the death of Attila, the ruler of the European Huns in 453, the Huns withdrew from the Carpathian Basin and disappeared from the historical scene. The speculations about their language do not cease. However the three common words which we know from the Hunnish language (*strava* 'funeral feast', *medos* 'honey beer' and *kamon* 'millet beer') give no hint at all to the origin or even the contacts of their language. The ending of the name Attila looks Gothic, like the names of such Gothic persons as Wulfila, Ansila, Hunila or Totila. But this may be due to the massive presence of Gothic people in the Hun Empire, or to contemporary fashion, or to both.

Priskos, the Rhetor, whom we thank for the last description of the Hun Empire, writing on the events following the death of Attila, states that soon after the collapse of the Hun Empire, different tribes sent emissaries to Byzantium. The Greeks learned from them that great changes had taken place on the steppe. It was reported that peoples living on the sea coast had driven out the Avars, the Avars had sent the Sabirs into flight, and the Sabirs had attacked the Saragurs and the Ugors who had therefore left their dwellings and appeared at the entrance to the Caucasus. This all occurred around 463 A.D. From this time on we have more and more sources about the newcomers, who turned out to be, or at least to be lead by, Turks. The new arrivals

assimilated the rest of the Hunnish population, though the name Hun occurs as an archaic name later, and denoted people who followed the Huns.

We know not too much about the language of these Turks. However there is a common feature in their tribal names. They seem to pertain to a larger group named Ogur. The Saragurs may have been the Sara or Shara Ogurs 'White or Yellow Ogurs', the Onogurs were the On Ogurs 'Ten Ogurs', the Uturgurs the 'Thirty Ogurs' and the Kuturgurs, perhaps *Tukur Ogurs, the 'Nine Ogurs'. The system of names of tribal federations, which contains a "White" tribe (the leading group) and the other, and contains a numeral showing the number of the original member tribes, is well known on the steppe. The famous Eastern Turkic tribal confederation, the Uygurs in the 8th century, was named Tokuz Oguz 'nine Oguz'. We know of the Otuz Tatar 'Thirty Tatar' confederation and the Üč Karluk 'Three Karluk'. Though the system of the tribal names is clear, the names have a special feature. In place of the name *Oguz* of the other "Eastern" Turkic tribes, we find *Ogur*, in place of *otuz* 'thirty' we find *utur*, and most probably on the place of Turkic *tokuz* 'nine' **tukur* in a metathetic form *kutur*. In all cases we find an *-r* in place of the later *-z*. At present there is only one living Turkic language among the great number of Turkic languages, which regularly has an *r* in place of *z* of the other Turkic languages and that is Chuvash. This is a language spoken now in the middle of the Volga region. Therefore scholars denoted this language Chuvash-type Turkic, r-Turkic, or as Ašmarin and Gombocz suggested, Bulgar-Turkic, or as Peter Golden called them, Oguric.

Tribal names may give a hint to the language spoken by their members, but it is far from sure that a tribal name or an ethnonym reveals the language of its speakers. We know of many ethnic names which were originally given to a people by foreigners, or which are names of former ethnic entities and taken over for several different reasons by people following them in time but not by language affinity.

The Ogur tribes came to Eastern Europe because they fled from the Sabirs, who caught up with them in the Volga region. After a long struggle, the Sabirs gained hegemony around 506 A.D.

Their hegemony did not last too long, because the Avars overthrew their rule in 555. The Avars first appear in the land of modern Mongolia where they are living when first mentioned in the Chinese chronicles in the year 385. Their name is recorded in different ways, but it can be transcribed in modern *pinyin* (the official Latin transcription used now in China and abroad) as *Ruanruan*. In 546 the Turkic tribal confederation, called *Tiele* in the Chinese sources, rose up against the Ruanruan. The Turks then founded their first Khaganate in Central Asia, and great parts of the Ruanruan fled to the West. A Syriac source appended in 555 to the work of Zakarias the Rhetor, listed many nomadic people living north of the Caucasus, one of them was called Avar. That means that within nine years the people, called Avar

by the Eastern European sources, moved from Mongolia to the Eastern European steppe. This list is interesting also because of the other people enumerated in it. We come across the following names: *Ongur* (Onogur), *Ogur*, *Burgar* (Bulgar), *Kurturgur*, *Abar* (these are the Avars), *Kasar* (Kazar), *Saragur* (Sara ogur), *Dirmir*, *Bagirsik*, *Kvaliz* (Khorezmians), *Abdel*, *Eftaliyt*. Most names will appear later in the history of Eastern Europe.

Already in 561 the Frankish ruler was struggling with the Avars. The Avars conquered the Carpathian Basin and ruled there until Charles the Great crushed their power about 800. But their descendants lived there until the Hungarian conquest of the same territory in 895. There is a scholarly debate on the question of the relation between the Ruanruans of Asia and the Avars of Europe. It is plausible that the leading layer was the same, but different subcomponents may have taken part in the Ruanruan and the Avar Empires. From Chinese sources we learn that the leading tribe of the Ruanruan confederation was called *Yujiulü*. The reconstructed Middle Chinese pronunciation of this name is **Ugur*(*i*). If this tribe remained the leading group of the European Avars, then we may suppose that the leading strata was an Oguric tribe, or at least had a name like other Oguric tribes in Eastern Europe of the same time. On the other hand we can follow the history of the name *Ugur* in East Asia until the 10th century, when a group of these *Ugur*s joined the Kitays. As we shall see, other Onogur Bulgar tribes later joined the Avars in the 70s of the 7th century.

In the second half of the 6th century the Turkic Khaganate in Central Asia, in alliance with the Persians, defeated the Ephtalites and occupied the territory North of the Amu Darya. They took into their service the Sogdians. Sogdians got protection for their trade activities on the Silk Road, and in exchange they helped to build up the Turk chancellery. The first inscription of the Turkic Khaganate was written between 572 and 580 in Sogdian with Sogdian letters. Sogdians were the ambassadors of the Turks. The Sogdian Maniakh led an embassy in 568 to Constantinople.

At the beginning of the 7th century the Eastern Turkic Khaganate expanded to Eastern Europe. At the same time the Avars became a strong power and ruled not only the Carpathian Basin, but parts of the Balkans as well. They attacked Byzantium and extorted huge sums of money to keep peace. The Avars stretched their power over the Eastern European steppe up to the Don. For a short while it seemed that the Eurasian steppe was under Eastern Turkic and Avar rule. The two expanding powers came into contact in the Don–Volga region. Though this situation did not last long, the name Turk was extended over all nomadic tribes who lived under the Eastern Turkic rule in this time. Among them were the Khazars and the Bulgars, who from this time on were sometimes simply called Turks by the Byzantine and other sources.

However around the end of the twenties of the 7th century rapid changes occurred both in the East and in the West. External and internal warfare gradually undermined the Eastern Turkic confederation. The Turkic Khaganate split into eastern and western parts. For a short time the Turkic tribes of Eastern Europe remained under the rule of a western branch of the Eastern Turkic ruling dynasty, but the revolt against the yoke of the eastern Turks had begun.

Here we have to make a short stop. In the literature the western branch of the Eastern Turkic dynasty is called in many cases Western Turk. This has caused terminological chaos. The confusion was increased when it became clear that under the rule of the western branch of the Eastern Turkic dynasty there lived different Turkic peoples. Among them were speakers of Western Old Turkic languages. One of the leading officers of the western branch of the Eastern Turkic dynasty was the *yabgu*. The title *yabgu* was also the title of the leader of the western branch, Ishtemi. The same title was recorded from a Western Old Turkic language as *J̌äbu* (< *ǰäbgu* << *yabgu*).

On the western side of the Don a new empire had established itself under the leadership of Kuvrat. Kuvrat was a noble Bulgar, who got his education in Constantinople, and was baptised there. In the Byzantine court he reached the title *patrikios*. The Onogur Bulgar tribes revolted against the rule of the Avars, and founded a new steppe empire. This was the first Turkic polity, which stood under the rule of a Christian Turk. Later, Nestorian and Syrian-Christian Turks appeared on the scene. Kuvrat rose against the rule of the Avars who drew back their forces to the Carpathian Basin. His kingdom stretched from the Donets to the Dniester or maybe even further to the West. He died around 650. His burial site was found and identified in Mala Pereshchepina, a small place South of Poltava in the Ukraine. The earlier opinion, that the Bulgar kingdom existed along the Kuban, has to be rectified. Kuvrat, according to the sources, left five sons, who began to struggle against each other. This discord was used by the ascending Khazars who crushed the Bulgar empire around 670.

The fate of the Bulgars especially interests us. One of the sons of Kuvrat, Asparukh conquered the eastern part of the present Bulgaria and set up the Danube Bulgarian kingdom. Another group appeared on the shores of the Adriatic. Still another group reached Ravenna in Italy. A not unimportant part of the Bulgars entered the Carpathian Basin and joined the Avars. Their arrival brought intensive changes in the material culture of the Avars. This was later interpreted by the famous Hungarian archaeologist Gy. László as the "first Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin". But even more important is that the bulk of the Bulgars remained in their original homeland between the Danube and the Don under the son of Kuvrat: Bat Bayan. From 670 on they lived under the rule of the Khazars.

After a humiliating defeat of the Khazars by the Arabs in 737, a temporary vacuum of power emerged on the western bank of the Volga. This encouraged the Bulgars to rise against the Khazar yoke and cross the narrow Don–Volga elbow. They slowly moved to the North and reached the Kama at the end of the 9th century. There they established the Volga Bulgarian Empire. This empire was visited by an embassy of the Caliph of Bagdad in 921/922. One of the members of this embassy, Ibn Fadlan, wrote an interesting description of them.

The Khazar ruler adopted the title Khagan after the collapse of the power of the Western branch of the Turkic Khaganate. The first known mention of this is in 652. The Khazars extended their power and moved their capital from the South, where Balanjar and Samandar were their main cities, to the estuary of the Volga. It was named Etil, after the Turkic name of the Volga. The range of the Khazars at that time ran up to the Crimean Peninsula, where the Byzantines managed to retain the city of Kherson in the middle of the 7th century. In 695, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II was banished to Kherson, where he married the Khazar khagan's elder sister, who was baptized as Theodora. However the Khazars did not offer Justinian support. He got back his throne with Bulgar help and reigned 705–711. The Khazars assisted a certain Philippikos Barnades, who led an uprising against the emperor, and this alliance put an end in 711 to Justinian's second reign. As we see by this time the Khazars had become a European power. While they fought against the Arabs, whom they stopped at the mountain passes of the Caucasus, they extended their power up to the eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains. In 737 there was a short intermezzo, when the Arabs hunted the Khazar khagan along the Volga and even forced him to convert to Islam. This was followed by a short weakening of the Khazar power which was used, as we have seen above, by the Bulgars to move to the north. But soon the Khazars made peace with the Arabs and everything went on as before.

The situation changed only in the middle of the 9th century. It is known from the Byzantine sources that the Khazars asked Constantinople for help to build fortresses. Under the direction of Petronas, who came in 842, the famous fortress of Sharkel was built on the lower course of the Don. The name of Sharkel the 'White Fortress' has at least two Chuvash features. The first part of this name has the meaning 'white' only in Chuvash (*šură*), while in all other Turkic languages and even in Mongolian the related word has the meaning 'yellow'. In present Chuvash *kel* is pronounced as *kil* with the meaning 'house'. This word is ultimately of non-Turkic origin and absent from most Turkic languages.

The fact that the Khazars withdrew their borders to the Don and began to build a series of fortresses against enemies coming from the west is a turning point in the history of the Eastern European steppe.

Before we outline the history of the Eastern European steppe after 842, we have to cast a short view on the non-Turkic peoples of the region.

2.2 Iranians in East Europe

Around the 3rd century A.D. the former rulers of the Eastern European steppe, the Scythians, were ousted by the Sarmatians. Among these Sarmatian tribes we find groups which later became independent peoples, the Roxolani, the Aors and the Alani. These peoples were ruling the western ranges of the steppe by the time of Christ. In 227 A.D., a new dynasty took power in Persia, the Sassanians, who held themselves to be the successors of the Achaemenids, the first great dynasty in Persia. In the middle of the 4th century new Iranian tribes attacked Persia. They are mentioned under the name *Var*, *Hyon* and *Hephtalite* or *Ephtalite*. The Ephtal dynasty had the upper hand from the middle of the 5th century. They are called in some sources the *White Huns*. This is of importance, because when the Avars appear in the middle of the 6th century in Europe they had an Ephtalite component. Menander calls the Avars *Ouarkhonitai* (read *Varhon* and the Greek ending *-itai*). The first part is the name of the Avars, the second the *Hon* or *Hyon* are the Ephtalites. This name can be later found among the early Hungarian geographical names as *Várkony*. This was surely not the first intensive contact among Turkic and Iranian tribes, but one of the first which can be traced in the written sources.

On the Eastern European steppe the mightiest group of Iranians turned out to be the Alans. Some sources call them Aors or As, but it is also possible that these names denoted the same tribes under different leading groups. The name As is of interest, because this is the origin of the name of the Ossetians and also of the name Yas, a group of the Alanian people who moved later to the West. A small group of them found its final home in Hungary. There they disappeared in the 16th century, but their name is living today in the regional Hungarian name *Jászság* [Yāššāg]. The Alans frequently appear in the Byzantine sources, because they (or at least their leading group) converted early to the Christian faith. According to a legend, which is preserved for us in the work of Michael the Syrian, in the time of the Byzantine emperor Maurice (582–602) two brothers of Bulgarios, apparently also Oguric tribes, went to the lands of the Alans, which was called Barsilia. This latter name occurs later among the tribes of the Volga Bulgars in the front-vocalic form *Bersül* and figures among the early Hungarian geographic names as *Bercel*.

Later we find the Alans close to the Caspian lake and at the famous gate, the Darial Pass. The latter got its name from the Persians, *Dar-i Alan* ‘the Gate of the Alans’. The Darial Pass lay north of modern Tiflis, and stretched to Vladikavkaz, i.e., along the road to Ossetia. According to Michael the Syrian (wrote in 1199), or rather

his early sources, the Bulgars and the Vongurs (Vogurs) had been Christians earlier, but after a foreign people had taken control of them they were called Khazars, after the name of the older brother of Bulgar, Khazarig. (This seems to be a legendary hint to Kuvrat).

These garbled data on the early Khazar–Alan contacts are followed by more precise ones. Around 760, under the leadership of Ras Tarkhan, the Khazars drove south and attacked the Alans. We have various sources on the role of the Alans and Khazars in the wars against the Arabs in the 8th century. Constantine VII wrote of the Alans in detail. He pointed out that the Alans could still attack the Khazars whose nine richest provinces lay adjacent to the Alan lands, and might wreak great damage on the Khazars. Thus they may be good allies of the Greeks.

Even this very short overview shows that beside the Turks, the Alans were on the scene and in contact with the Turks in Eastern Europe from the 6th to the 10th century. The Alan kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols in 1239.

2.3 Goths in East Europe

The Goths spoke a Germanic language. The first Gothic groups arrived around 150 A.D. on the north shore of the Black Sea. Their settlement was complete by about 230. Around 360 the Eastern Goths (Ostrogoths), under Ermanrich, established a major empire between the Dniester and the Don. They were overthrown by the Huns in alliance with the Alans after 370. The bulk of the Eastern Goths later joined the Huns and fought in Pannonia and Italy. A smaller group converted to Christianity, and remained in the Crimean Peninsula. The earliest records on the Crimean Ostrogoths are from 300. They lived in the vicinity of Kherson (modern Sevastopol). They were subordinated to the Khazar rule in 787, which was displaced by Byzantine power before 795. They featured prominently in the Khazar–Byzantine wars, in Crimean trade, and in the spreading of Christianity. Their last remnants were met by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1560–1562), who set down a small vocabulary and a short linguistic record.

2.4 Slavs in East Europe

It is out of our competence and the scope of this chapter to give even a nutshell history of the ethnogenetic processes and the early migrations of the Slavonic people. They were present on the territory of the present Ukraine since very early times. According to most scholars this was the place where the Slavonic people lived together before they began their slow migrations in various directions of Eastern Europe. They had some contacts with the Iranian people at those early times. For our purposes it is

enough if we mention that the history of the presence of the Slavonic people in Eastern Europe changed after the appearance of the Avars. Some Slavonic groups joined the Avars and other groups used the Avar attacks against Byzantium to move on the Balkans. After the Bulgars of Asparukh migrated to the Balkans they settled down among the local Slavonic population. In general they followed the same policy as the Avars, i.e. they relied on the Slav leaders of the local communities. In the first half of the 9th century the Danube Bulgar rulers, Krum (803–814) and Omurtag (814–831) managed to reimpose central control, and a leading role was still played by the Bulgars. Nevertheless the Slavs gained increasing influence in the Danube Bulgarian Empire. Along with the adoption of Christianity, the Danube Bulgars were slowly Slavicized towards the end of the first millennium. Bulgaria, in 870, subjected itself in ecclesiastical affairs to the authority of Constantinople. Constantinus who got the religious name Cyrill, went to Rome to ask permission to use the Slavonic language in the Christian rituals, but died in Rome in 869. Methodius, his brother, died in 885 in the court of the Moravian ruler Svatopluk, and his pupils had to flee to Bulgaria. There did begin the new Church Slavonic literature which spread with the Christian faith to other Eastern Slavonic peoples.

Around 900 the eastern border of the Slavonic people was the Nizhniy-Novgorod–Ryazan line, i.e. the valley of the River Oka. To the south, during the age of migrations, the Slavs were not present on the steppe of their own accord. They appeared mostly as slaves or conscripted soldiers. The forest region and river valleys, however, provided security, which enabled tribes known as *Polyane*, *Severyane*, *Krivichi*, *Vyatichi* or *Slovene* to survive. The Polyans, the Severyans and the Vyatichs for a while played tribute to the Khazars. In other times other rulers of the steppe extracted tributes from them. The trade with slaves was so typical that the word "slave" goes back to the name of these Slav or Slavonic tribes.

In the 9th century, the flourishing of the Arab Empire and Byzantium stimulated trade, which was controlled by the trading houses and shipping companies. Well organised free bands, incorporating northern (Norman) Germanic warriors acquired great wealth, and it also became important to them that the north–south routes, and the transport of goods along the rivers, be secure. Certain sources mention a Rus Khaganate in the 830s and 840s which clearly had strong links to the Khazars, but whose precise location cannot be determined. Even the title of the later Kiev rulers contained that of *kagan*.

2.5 Hungarians in East Europe

The names of the Hungarians

In the small chapters above we summarized the history of the peoples appearing in, or around the Eastern European steppe in the first millennium A.D. We based our overview on the written sources and only involved those data which may be useful for analysing the main topic of our work. We should close now this part with some considerations on the whereabouts of the Hungarians in these times. This will be much more difficult than the case of other peoples.

The first thing which we have to do is to ascertain under which names the Hungarians could be sought in the sources. In the Byzantine sources they occur under the name *Turkoi*. This is of course the name *Turk* with Greek ending. The name *Turkoi* was used to denote first the people of the Eastern Turkic Khaganate, later those who lived under the rule of the Eastern Turks or their Western branch. Still later it denoted the Khazars, then all people under the rule of the Khazars, especially those who lived a way of life typical to the Turks. The first case where we can be sure that the name Turk denotes the Hungarians is 902, when the court poet Arethas wrote the Emperor a table-hymn of praise in which, without doubt, the name *Turkoi* is applied to the Hungarians. All other cases, where the name Turk is used in reference to the Hungarians without any doubt are later. In the *Tactics* of Leo the Wise and in the very important work *De administrando Imperio* (DAI) of Constantine VII the Hungarians are referred to as Turks. In the DAI there are important historical facts from earlier times. They occur not only in the chapter on the Hungarians, but also in other chapters. A few scattered remarks can also be found in the other work of the Emperor, the *De Ceremoniis aulæ Byzantinæ*. The name of the Hungarians was Turk even in the 11th century. On the so-called Byzantine part of the Holy Hungarian Crown, the Greek inscription calls the Hungarian king Géza (1074–1077) "the faithful king of the Turks". We will return to the Byzantine data below.

In another group of sources the Hungarians are called *Ungri*, *Hungri*, or in the Latinized form *Ungarus* and *Hungarus*. The basic form *Ungri* goes back to a Slavonic form *Ongre*. The form *Ongre* is a plural and we can find it in a few early Slavonic documents, but all of them are extant only in relatively late copies and the originals may have had other forms. The disappearance of the nasalisation of the Eastern Slavonic nasalized vowels was on its way from the second half of the 9th and the 10th centuries. The German speaking people took over the form *Ungri*, and formed from it a singular, *Ungar*. The German form *Ungri* reflects an intermediate stage from the chain *Ongre* > *Ungri* > *Ugri*. Priests of French origin or with French education knew that the *h*- in a Latin word disappeared, though it has to be written. But they were

uncertain in case of foreign names, with vowel at the beginning, whether it should be or should not be written with *h-*. Already in the early 10th century the name was written both as *Ungar* and *Hungar*. The *h-* was perhaps also strengthened by the opinion that the Hungarians were or were like Huns. As to the origin of the Slavonic name *Ongre* most scholars suppose that this originally is the Slavicized form of the name of the Onogurs.

Whatever may be the truth about the origin of the Slavonic name *Ongre*, we have no source which could be safely dated to the time when the Hungarians were still on the steppe. The data in the Old Russian annals are not older than 1037–1039. Of course they speak about earlier times as well, but most of these data come from Greek sources. In those passages which reflect local sources, the names were altered in all extant versions. In any case the Old Russian chronicle, the so called *Povest´ vremennyh let*, was compiled for the first time in 1095 and re-written many times. Thus we have no source written in any Slavonic language on the history of the Hungarians earlier than the Conquest (895). In a few cases in the *Povest´* White and Black Ugors are mentioned around Kiev. We do not know how they are connected to the "Ugrian Hills" around Kiev.

The authors who wrote in Arabic or Persian use two names to denote the Hungarians. One group of these authors writes the name of the Hungarians as Bashkir. At present the Bashkirs live south of the Kama and speak a Kipchak language. Upon closer examination we find three name variants: *Bashjirt* <bšǰrt>, *Bashgird* <bšǧrd> and *Bajgird* <bǰǧrd>. All these forms can be followed back to a form *Bachgird* <bčǧrd>. This is the origin of the recent self-nomination of the Bashkirs which is now pronounced *Bashkort*. This name denotes the Hungarians in the work of al-Balkhi and of those who worked in his steps. This name also was used by Ibn Fadlan (wrote 921/922), al-Masudi (wrote 943–947) and Abu Hamid al-Garnati (travelled in Hungary between 1150–1153).

The other name used by the Moslim authors is Majgar <mǰǧr>. This was used by the Samanid author al-Jayhani and by those who copied or followed him.

Al-Balkhi died in 934, his work having been finished not much earlier. Ibn Fadlan visited the Volga region in 921/922. The key, why the Hungarians were called Bashkirs in certain sources is partly given by Abu Hamid al-Garnati. This scholar was born in Granada, as his name shows, in 1080, and after a long journey went to the Volga Bulgars. From the Volga Bulgars he came in 1150 to Hungary. He spent three years in Hungary, and left an interesting description of the contemporary state of affairs there. He left Hungary, went on further journeys and wrote two books. He died in 1170. Describing his arrival in the country he wrote: "Later I arrived in Unguriya, where there lives the Bashgird people". He calls the Hungarian king, whom he met several times: "The Bashgird king, who is called *Krali*". The title of the Hun-

garian king was and is until now *király* which comes from Slavonic *kral* itself the Slavonic form of German *Karl*. The name of Charles the Great became a royal title as happened with the name of Caesar (*Kaiser*, *Tsar* etc.). But why were the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin called Bashkirs?

The solution of this riddle is that a relatively great group of Hungarian speaking people lived among the Volga Bulgars. They were called Bashkirs by the Volga Bulgars. Al-Garnati, who came from the Volga Bulgars to Hungary used the name of the Volga Hungarians also for the Carpathian Hungarians. The present Bashkirs moved to their current dwelling places after the Mongolian invasion of the territory in 1235. They were simply called Bashkirs by the local people because they occupied the territory of the former Bashkirs, the Volga Hungarians.

The history of the Volga Hungarians is part of the history of the Hungarians on the Eastern European steppe. Without going into great details, we may summarize the history as follows. Other Muslim authors also speak about two types of Bashkirs. In the Balkhi tradition we find that there are two kinds of Bashkirs. One lives beyond the (Volga) Bulgars, under the protection of forest, and are therefore difficult to attack. They are subjects of the Bulgars. These are the Volga Hungarians. The other Bashkirs, the larger, more populous group, live in lands bordering on the Pechenegs. Both the Pechenegs and the greater Bashkir group share borders with the Byzantines. These are the Hungarians, who were already in the Carpathian Basin. In the winter of 1235/1236 the Hungarian monk Julian visited the Volga Hungarians and spoke with them in the Hungarian language. They lived not very far from the "great city" of the Volga Bulgars, near to the river Etil, which was in this time also the name of the Kama. The Volga Hungarian community was destroyed by the Mongols in 1237. The Volga Hungarians fled into the deep forest. A great number of place names has preserved the name of the Volga Hungarians in the form Muchar (*Mučar*), Mozhar (*Možar*) and the like. These forms go back to an earlier form *Maǰar*. In fact the name *Maǰar* has been recently found on a tomb inscription dated to 1311 in the cemetery of Chistopol near the Kama. Plano Carpini, who visited the Mongols and wrote his book between 1247 and 1252 wrote about the territory of the Volga Hungarians: "*…baschart id est Hungariam magnam…*" For a long time, fascinated by the fact that Hungarians lived until the middle of the 13th century in the Volga–Kama region, the idea was spread that this territory was the original homeland, the *Urheimat*, of the Hungarians, who call themselves Magyar (*mad′ar* < *maǰar*). The change in this opinion was brought about the excavations lead by the late E. A. Halikova in the close vicinity of the village Bolshie Tigani, near to the confluence of the Volga and the Kama river. In the early seventies of the last century Halikova unearthed the remains of the Volga Hungarians. The archaeological complex of Bolshie Tigani was first attached to the *Urheimat* hypothesis. She thought that these were

tombs of Hungarians who "remained" in the *Urheimat*. But soon it became clear that the burying ritual, the burying with parts of the horse and other features, are so near to those found in Hungarian graves after the Conquest in 895, that they cannot be much earlier than the end of the 9th century. This was then corroborated by more thorough archaeological research. There remained theoretically only two possibilities. Either the Hungarians came southward from the Volga–Kama region in the last half of the 9th century, or the Volga Hungarians are not those who remained there, but they migrated there from the south and arrived in the territory of Bolshie Tigani in the 9th century.

The opinion of the author of this chapter is the second possibility. My arguments have been published in a book and several papers (see Róna-Tas 1988, 1996, 1999, 2000). According to my opinion the later Volga Hungarians joined those Bulgars who tried to evade the grasp of the Khazar khagan, and after the middle of the 8th century slowly moved to the north. Recent excavations show clearly that the northward migration of the later Volga Bulgarians was relatively slow. They made stops for tens of years. The archaeological finds show that the Volga Bulgars reached the line of the Kama only around 900. Two tombs on the northern bank of the Kama, which pertained surely to border guards, in the Tankayevka graveyard, can be dated to 846 and 892–902 respectively. Chronologically and archaeologically these are from the same time as the cemetery of Bolshie Tigany. An important site of the Volga Bulgars, the cemetery of Bolshie Tarhani, at the bank of the small river Tarhanka, in the region of the rivers Kylina and Svijaga, can be dated by two coins which are the latest in the tomb, an Arab dirhem from between 775–809, and a Khwarezmian Arab coin from between 762–787. They are from the last but one stage of the northward migration of the Volga Bulgars.

The Bulgars asked the Caliph of Bagdad in 918 for help in building fortresses against the Khazars, under whose rule they still formally were. The embassy of the Caliph visited them in 921/922 and Ibn Fadlan described his way there. He met the Bashkirs.

There are, of course, also linguistic arguments, but they cannot be used here, since we would like to make our research in this chapter independent from the linguistic material.

The other name used by the Muslim authors for the Hungarians is written as <mǰġr>, or more precisely <mǰʿr>. As it is known the Arabic letters for *ʿain* and *ġain* differ only in a dot which is put over *ʿain* to get *ġain*. The scholars do not doubt that in this case we have to do with the self-nomination of the Hungarians, in those time *Maǰar* or *Maǰer*. There is, however a debate on the role of the third consonant in the Arabic script, be it *ʿain* or *ġain*. According to some scholars the form <mǰġr> would be the same as <bǰġrd>. The second would be rendered by a Turkic language

which does not have an initial *m-* before consonants other than nasal. A change, or more precisely an adaptation <mjǧr> → <bjǧr> would be possible, but there also has to be accounting for the *-d* in <bjǧrd>. No reason for the appearance of a final *-d* has been given. The newest interpretation of the surplus consonant is given by I. Zimonyi (2006). He supposes a folk etymological tale behind the letter after the *ǰim*.

According to the author of this chapter the name of the Hungarians was originally *Maǰ* going back to a form *mańś*, a name cognate to the self-nomination of the Voguls *mańś* (today *mańśi*) and the name of one part of the Ostyaks (*moś*). Their respective languages are the nearest relatives to the Finno-Ugric language of the Hungarians. The second part had to be *er* with the meaning 'man'. Here the problem is that three different languages have the same word form *er* with the meaning 'man'. Finno-Ugric *er*, Turkic *är* and Indo-Iranian *er* < *arya*. It was surely the Finno-Ugric *er*, which is present in a few Hungarian words (*férfi* 'man', *ember* 'man'), which denoted another group of Finno-Ugric people. The name is present in the Volga region now as *Ar* (a name of the Udmurts or Votyaks). This was the name of another group and after the two groups united, they used the composed name *mans+er*. The disharmonic form of the Hungarian self-nomination was used even at the end of the 12th century in the form *Magyer*. The merchants who met the Hungarians have heard a small initial closure at the beginning of the *e-*. This was due to the change of the back-vocalic pronunciation of the first syllable to the front vocalic one of the second. They recorded this small glottal closure with an *ʿain* and thus they transcribed it as *Maǰʿer*. Later copyists have put a dot on the *ʿain* and caused tremendous problems for the linguists. These types of solutions can hardly be proved or refuted until we have no new data. In any case the Samanid minister Jayhani and his followers used this name for denoting the Hungarians.

Early written sources on the Hungarians

All extant written sources which mention the early history of the Hungarians are later than the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarians in 895–900. However many of them contain data on their earlier history. Latin, Greek, Muslim and Slavonic sources preserved earlier sources. In the best cases the extant text is a copy of an earlier text. The hard work of mining out earlier sources from the later ones has been done by Hungarian scholars. The case of Regino, abbot of Prüm is typical. He wrote a World chronicle where he documented the events following the death of Charles the Great, for which he used verbal statements and contemporary sources. The Hungarians are mentioned for the first time with the year 889, and here the author summarised everything which he could then collect about them, including earlier events. Constantine VII finished the compilation of his work in 951–952,

but he worked on it over several decades. He used and quoted many earlier works, and used also non-Greek sources. Visitors who arrived in Constantinople, among them Hungarian leaders, were questioned, their information was recorded, and used during the compilation. Another type of source is the famous *Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, written by the Caliph's confidant, Ibn Hordadzbeh. His main aim was to collect as much intelligence as possible for use in trade, post and war. His work was later amended, rewritten, and it became a genre. One of his followers was the minister of the Samanid dynasty, resident in Bukhara, al-Jayhani. He collected data from all parts of the world, from travellers and from manuscripts. His book in the genre of Ibn Hordadzbeh contained a paragraph on the Hungarians. Grandfather was followed by son and grandson, all with the name al-Jayhani. They worked in the middle of the 10th century. Their work was lost, but excerpted by different later scholars. To this scanty material we can add a few hagiographical works and others, where the Hungarians are mentioned only tangentially. This material can be completed by those sources, which do not mention the Hungarians, but write on the history of people which, according to the first group of sources, were in contact with the Hungarians. With all these materials we can with more or less certainty reconstruct at least the last century of the history of the Hungarians before they entered the Carpathian Basin.

Here we include a short remark on the Hungarian chronicles written in medieval Latin. There was an *Urtext* or primary chronicle written in the 11th century, but this was lost. What we have now in our hand is the *Gesta Hungarorum* written c1200 by an Anonymous, and the chronicle written by Simon de Kéza between 1282–1285. Later chronicles contain passages from other traditions not in the first two. However all these chronicles were compiled more than 300 years after the Conquest and heavily depend on early literature available in the West at that time. None of them can be considered as a legitimate source of the pre-Conquest history of the Hungarians, even if many of the stories told by them may have historical roots.

The Hungarians on the East European steppe

The earliest historical figure who is mentioned by name in the DAI (*De administrando imperio* written by Constantine VII) is a certain leader called *Levedi*. The text stresses that "the Turks (i.e. the Hungarians) were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince, either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom the first voivode was the above-mentioned Levedi". The Slavonic title *voivoda* 'army leader' is present throughout this text. This is surely due to the Slavonic interpreter. From the text we learn that the old dwelling places of the Hungarians were next to Khazaria. They lived together with the Khazars for three

years, and fought in alliance with them in all their wars. Because of their courage and their allegiance the khagan-prince of Khazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Levedi, a noble Khazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and the illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Levedi had no children by this same Khazar lady. It is clear that this information has been patched together from different sources. First it says that the Hungarians had no prince over them, and later it refers to the marriage of the first of the leaders with a noble Khazar lady. We read that the old dwellings of the Hungarians were next to Khazaria and later that they lived together for three years. Levedi received his Khazar wife because of their courage and allegiance, but also because of his valour and the illustriousness of his race. It is also important that the DAI mentions the seven clans of the Hungarians. In other sources we find the same number and later we find a description of the seven clans in the DAI. In the earliest Hungarian chronicle written about 1200 we come across the Hungarian name of the confederation *Hetumagyer*, in the present Hungarian *Hétmagyar*, the Seven Magyar. Similar structures of names of tribal confederations we came across above, when we dealt with the confederations of the Ogur tribes.

What we can reconstruct from this text is that the Hungarians lived next to the Khazars in a tribal confederation called the Seven Magyars. They were lead by the clan of Levedi. Levedi himself was an ally of the Khazars, and because of his successes and growing importance he was married to a noble Khazar lady but had no child from her. To the passage analysed above more information is added. It is said that the Hungarians lived in a place called Levedia after their leader. In this Levedia runs the river Hidmas, also called Hingilus. The Hingilus has to be the Ingul (or the Ingulec) a left tributary of the Dnieper.

The text of the DAI then continues the history of the Hungarians. It mentions a war between the Pechenegs and the Hungarians. The army of the Hungarians was defeated and the Hungarians split into two parts. One part went eastwards. There is a great debate among Hungarian scholars on the question as to who these Hungarians were, who moved to the east, but we can skip this for now. The other part, together with their voivode and chief Levedi, settled in the western region, in a place called *Etelkuzu*. This is a Hungarian name. The first part is the word Etil, or Etel. This was a Hungarian word of Turkic origin and had the meaning 'river'. In the 5th to the 10th centuries the great rivers of the Eastern European steppe were so called by the Turks. This was the name of the Ural river, later of the Volga and also of the Don. The second part is the Hungarian word *kuzu* 'between' of Finno-Ugric origin, and in modern Hungarian *köz*. *Etelkuzu* had the meaning "Mesopotamia", the place between the rivers.

Most of the Hungarian scholars agree that this "Mesopotamia" was between the Don and the Danube. This is based on the statement of the Emperor, who wrote that *Etelkuzu* is the place where the nation of the Pecheneg now (i.e. at the time of the compilation of the text of the DAI) lives. In the chapter on the Pecheneg this territory is described in detail. There is also agreement in the opinions that while *Etelkuzu* is a Hungarian name, *Levedia* cannot be entirely of Hungarian origin. The name *Levedi* itself is a Hungarian name. It comes from the verb **leve-* 'to be', with the diminutive suffixes *+d* and *+i*. However the end of the place name *Levedia* shows a Greek suffix. *Levedia* is an *ad hoc* place name formed from the name of *Levedi*, and given to some of the eastern parts of the dwelling places of the Hungarians by the Byzantine author. Keeping in mind all the above, the result of a greater discussion in Hungary, there was agreement that *Levedia* was situated around the Dniester and Ingul, and within the borders of the "Mesopotamia" in the larger sense, that is between the Don and the Danube. The story about Levedi was a sign of the move of the centre of power.

This is confirmed by the next part of the DAI on the Hungarians. It is related that the Khazar khagan called Levedi to his court and offered him an appointment to become the prince of the Hungarians with the remark: "...you may be obedient to our word and our command". Levedi, after having offered his thanks answers "...since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you, on the other hand, however there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutsis (Almush), and he has a son called Arpad". He suggests that one of them be made prince. The Khazar khagan accepted the proposal and after a talk with the leaders of the Hungarians, they made Arpad (Árpád) prince according to the custom or '*zakonon*' of the Khazars, by lifting him upon a shield. The term *zakon* is once more a Slavonic word with the meaning 'law, customary law'. The shift of power from the Levedi clan to the clan of Almush, the father of Árpád, founder of the Hungarian royal dynasty (ruled until 1301), is here related in a somewhat euphemistic way, but in essence it follows the historical facts.

What happened here was the same that happened in many other cases. The leader of the army, the second man after the king, took over the power, but needed the legitimacy of the former king. See the instalment of the Carolingian dynasty on place of the Merovingian kings. This situation is also described in the report of Jayhani. He writes (in the excerpt of Ibn Rusta): "Their leader is called *kndh*, but this is only a nominal title, for the name of the man who is actually king over them is called *ǰla* and all the Majġars accept the order of the *ǰla* in the matter of war and defence and the like". The excerpt of Gardizi adds that the *Ǯula* appoints the functionaries. The Hungarian structure of leadership mirrored the Khazar one, since the Khazars had a dual kingship. Here the first king was already sacral, and the second lead the state

affairs. The Hungarian system went not as far, the first ruler was not sacral. But the leader of the army could take over the leadership of the polity.

The clan of Almush reigned originally over the western part of *Etelkuzu*. They lead the war and trade contacts with the West. In 839 they are first mentioned in Western sources in the Lower Danube region. In 861, as we read in the hagiography of Cyrill, the saint met them in the Crimea, where they were on an incursion. In 862, in alliance with the Moravian ruler Rastislav, they encountered the Franks, and by 881 they were near Vienna together with the Kavars. *Kavar* was the name of three rebel tribes who rose against the Khazar khagan and joined the Hungarians. They had to have lived together a long time, because the DAI writes that they learned the language of the Hungarians, but yet spoke their own language. If this can be taken seriously then they joined the Hungarians around 800. In these years there was a great internal fight in Khazaria, partly connected with the conversion of the Khazar leaders to the Jewish faith. In any case the fact that a strong minority of Khazars found refuge with the Hungarians shows that they were already not under the sway of the Khazar ruler. That means that the shift of power to the Almush clan and the first steps towards the independence of the Hungarians from the Khazars had to be around the end of the 8th century. We remember that in 842 Sharkel was built against raids from the west. The raiders could not be other than the Hungarians. The Muslim sources support this.

As we have seen, the Khazars crushed the Bulgar empire founded by Kuvrat around 670. The Hungarians had to move to *Etelkuzu* not much later, if not in connection with these events. The wars, in which the Hungarians were the allies of the Khazars could have been only those against the Bulgars. The migration of the Hungarians displaced the several Bulgar groups farther westward, on which see above. After 700 there is no sign of any essential movement on the Eastern European steppe in the East–West direction. The Volga Bulgars moved to the Northeast 738. The next migration to the West was that of the Hungarians trigged by the attack of the Pechenegs in 895.

Summarizing what we can learn from the written sources on the Hungarians before the Conquest, we can state that the Hungarians lived on the western part of the Eastern European steppe, along the Dnieper and the Eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountain range and the Lower Danube. In the beginning they lived together with a greater group of Bulgar Turks and were under Khazar rule. Later, after 700, they became more and more independent. A significant group of Bulgar Turks moved to the later Volga Bulgarian Kingdom and a group of Hungarians, the later Volga Hungarians, joined them. The power of the Hungarians was at its peak around 800 and later when the Kavars joined them, and when they began to build their relationships to the West.

But from where did the Hungarians, who spoke a Finno-Ugric language, come to the west of the Eastern European steppe, to *Etelkuzu*? We have no written sources. We can make only one more statement. The Hungarians had to have been moved to a nomadic way of life much earlier. They had to have been organized as a horse-breeding army, because otherwise they could not have been victorious on the steppe among the other riding nomads. The historian, who works with written sources has to stop here. He will later be joined by the historical linguist.

Before we do that, we have to cast a short view on the Carpathian Basin before the Conquest. The Hungarian language has been consolidated there. Thus the linguistic and ethnic structure of the Carpathian Basin on the eve of the Conquest has to be briefly summarized.

2.6 The Carpathian Basin on the eve of the Hungarian conquest

Before the Avars two different Germanic people lived in the Carpathian Basin, the Gepidae and the Longobards. The Gepidae were crushed by the alliance of the Longobards and the Avars. The Longobards soon recognized the danger of the proximity of the Avars. They solemnly agreed to withdraw. The event took place on Easter Day in 568. They moved to North Italy, which is still called Lombardy after them. The Avars took possession of the entire Carpathian Basin. We cannot exclude that small groups of the Gepidae and the Longobards remained in the Avar empire. If this was so (and a few archaeological finds may point to this) their number and importance had to be very small. As we have seen above, after 670, the collapse of the Bulgar empire with the feuding of Kuvrat's sons, an Onogur Bulgar group came into the Carpathian Basin and joined the Avars. In 682 one of the Onogur Bulgar leaders, Kuver and his group, decided to move from the Avar Empire to join the Danube Bulgars.

In 768 a new period began in their history. In this year an Avar delegation visited the court of the freshly crowned Charles the Great, king of the Franks. The talks in Aachen could not prevent what followed. In 788 the Franks crossed the river Enns, and from there they began to launch their anti-Avar military operations. These attacks were successful, and the Franks also instigated domestic feuds, which weakened the Avars. The domestic fights ended with the victory of the faction that supported peace with the Franks. Their leader, the second man in the Avar Empire, the *tudun*, in 796 visited the Frankish court where he was baptised.

In 804 the Avar ruler Kapkan Theodorus journeyed to the Frankish court. His name has an Eastern Christian ring, which shows that the Avars tried also to get help from the Byzantine power. He soon died and his son and successor, Abraham, was christened in the River Fischa in 805.

Without going into the detailed history of the last decades of the Avar Empire, we have to mention two facts of importance. The Christianizing mission to the Avars, and of course the ecclesiastic power over the Carpathian Basin caused a heavy debate between the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Passau. The debate was settled in the way that the territories southeast of the River Raba were ceded to Salzburg, the areas northwest of the Raba to Passau. Priests and monks were sent and churches were built. In 870 on the order of the archbishop of Salzburg, Aldwin, an unknown monk, wrote a work titled *Conversio bagoarium et carantanorum* (The conversion of the Bavarians and Carinthians). The purpose of the work was to support the Salzburg see's claim to Lower Pannonia. Here the "Carantans" are the people who populated Transdanubia. This is perhaps the last work which mentioned the Avars (though under the name Hun). The author wrote about the people who remained from the Avars and the Slavs in those parts of Pannonia (*populum qui remansit de Hunis et Sclavis in illis partibus*...).

The other important event was the immigration of the Slavs. It is quite sure that the immigration of the Slavs to the Carpathian Basin began earlier. But their moving remained almost unrecognised. Some sources mention that Slavs took part in Avar raids or Avar delegations but it is unclear what the weight of the Slav population was in the early or middle Avar history in the Carpathian Basin. The situation had to be somewhat different from that of the Danube Bulgars. The three sons of Omurtag (d. 831) already had the Slavonic names Voyin, Zvinitsa and Malamir. From the Byzantine sources we can better follow the Slavicisation of the Danube Bulgars than that of the Avars from the Western sources.

We learn from the sources that in the 820s the population of Transdanubia underwent significant changes. South Slav refugees settled from the Drava region, especially the so-called Timochani, from the River Timok area. Around 830 under the pressure of the Danube Bulgars the Slavonic tribe known as Abdorit crossed the Danube and drove into the region of the Temes river. Omurtag dealt them a defeat and spread his control up to the line of the River Maros. We know that in 892 the Bulgar ruler exercised control over the Maros valley salt mines, and thereby held sway over the local Slavonic population.

In 822 Slavs living in the Moravian region sent emissaries to the Frankish court. There is a debate on the question whether this was Old (or Great) Moravia. At least three places are mentioned in the recent literature, one south to Transdanubia, where does exist a River Morava, the other in the southern parts of the River Tisza, and the third north of Transdanubia, in the region of Nyitra. It is beyond my competence to judge the arguments in favour or against these hypotheses. But for our purpose it is only of importance that in the first decades of the ninth century the "Moravians" were already in the north, around Nyitra. Their first ruler Moymir (830–846) was

followed by his nephew Rastislav (846–870), who had been raised in the Frankish court. In his attempt to reduce his ties with the Franks he wanted to prevent the influence of Frankish missionaries. Therefore he sent a delegation to Constantinople for proselytising priests. Cyrill and Method came to help Rastislav. He also sought alliance with the Hungarians, then living in *Etelkuzu*.

An enemy of Moymir, Pribina fled from Moravia and after having visited the Danube Bulgars for help, he found protection under the Franks. In 840 Pribina was granted extensive estates in Transdanubia, along the River Zala. After a victory over Moymir he got further estates in what is now Burgenland of Austria. He got the title of guard baron of the Drava region. His duty was to gather groups of Slavs fleeing from various directions and keep them loyal to the Franks. He built a new stronghold in the swampy land next to the River Zala, which was called Mosaburg (present Zalavár). He built a church in homage to the Virgin Mary. In the list of the prominent persons who arrived for the consecration, fifteen had Slav names, sixteen German, and one Latin. His son Kotsel tried to help Cyrill and Method in building their relations with Rome.

Summing up the events before the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin we can state that the main tendency was the slow, but steady Slavicisation of the Avars. Transdanubia, the earlier Pannonia of the Roman Empire, was closely under the rule of the Franks and their local allies. Under the leading Frankish and Slavonic layer, the population was mainly slavicised Avars. In the middle and eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin the local Avar rulers also underwent a slow Slavicisation. The Great Hungarian Lowland (Alföld) was called the Avar wilderness (*solitudo avarorum*). In the Southeast Slav tribes from the Balkans (Abdorits) assimilated the local population. This activity spread to the River Tisza up to the town Csongrád (Chongrad < *čorngrad* < *čërnyj grad* 'the black castle'). In the south of Transdanubia, West Slav groups from the west of the Balkans (Timochans) occupied the area. In the north the Moravians occupied great parts of the Carpathian Basin.

For the outer spectators it seemed that the Avars disappeared. Early Slavonic sources preserved the saying: "they disappeared like the Avars". In the Western sources we read about the "solitudo" of the Avars. It remains, nevertheless an open question how far the process of the Slavicisation went.

One of the keys may be in our hands. On the treasure of Nagyszentmiklós, there are inscriptions in Greek, in Greek letters but in a non-Greek language and in a Runiform script. These short inscriptions, in spite of the many attempts, are yet not convincingly deciphered. Perhaps the key is to see there an intermediate stage from Avar to Slav.

2.7 Hungarian–Turkic contacts after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin

The Hungarians occupied the Carpathian Basin in the period between 895 and 902. The main part of the Hungarian army entered the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin in 895 and attacked the Danube Bulgarians. The Bulgarians invited the Pechenegs to attack those Magyar left in Etelköz. These Pechenegs, after their defeat in 893 by the Oguz, had come to the borders of Khazaria (on the details, see Róna-Tas 1999: 234–239, 330–338). It is unlikely that there existed any major contact between the Hungarians and the Pechenegs before the conquest. After the conquest the Pechenegs occupied the vast territory between the River Don and the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, down to the Lower Danube. In the 10th century small bands of Pechenegs joined the Hungarians during their wars against Byzantium. From the 11th century on Pecheneg groups moved to the Carpathian Basin. They settled down and were assimilated by the Hungarians in a very short time.

The territory east of the Carpathian Basin was occupied in the middle of the 11th century by the Cumans. The Cumans maintained good political and trade connections with the Hungarians. Dominican missionaries based in Hungary visited the Cumans. The nature of the contacts drastically changed after the defeat of the Cumans by the Mongols in 1223. The first wave of the Cumans entered Hungary in the 20s of the 13th century. They were followed by a second group in the 30s. From 1233 the Hungarian king bore also the title *rex Cumanorum*. The majority of the Cumans left the Carpathian Basin before the Mongolian invasion in 1241. After the Mongols departed in 1242 the Cumans returned and settled down in central Hungary in the territories later called Cumania Major and Minor. Some Cumanian groups spoke their own Kipchak language until the Ottoman occupation of Hungary in 1526 and maybe for some decades later.

The Ottoman army captured Constantinople in 1453. It took a hundred more years and several battles in the Balkans before the Ottomans reached Hungary and occupied it. This opened a totally new phase of the Hungarian–Turkic contacts which is outside of the scope of this work. On sources and details see Róna-Tas (1999).

Chapter Three

The structure of the lexicon

3.1 General questions

The Lexicon contains all Hungarian words for which we have found a possible Turkic etymology. It is based on the present Hungarian literary language, but also contains archaic words, words used only in the dialects, or words recorded as Hungarian words in earlier sources which have since fallen into oblivion. Our work is based on two fundamental Hungarian etymological dictionaries, both edited by L. Benkő (1967–1984 and 1993–1997, on which see above). The word stock has been somewhat extended with a few dialectal words, mostly from the territory of Hungarian Cumania. In all cases we cite page references from the two etymological dictionaries for access to the opinions of Benkő and the relevant Hungarian literature. We include ethnonyms if they pertain to the early Hungarian word stock, but not those which were taken over through Russian or German or other mediating languages. E.g., *orosz* 'Russian' is a loanword from Turkic and therefore we include it, while *baskír* 'Bashkir' came through Russian and German, and is therefore not included. A Hungarian word is of Turkic origin if we can prove or consider it plausible that the Hungarian word is a copy of a Turkic word. The Turkic word can be a simplex or a complex, consisting of a base and one or more suffixes. A Turkic word can also be a copy of a word of a third language. It sometimes occurs that the base of the Turkic word is of non-Turkic origin while its suffix or suffixes are of Turkic origin. These questions are treated in the section of the etymology of the Turkic word (**E/T**). Of course all actions of copying are at the same time adaptations to the system of the copying language. These problems are treated under the etymology of the Hungarian word (**E/H**).

The material given in the next chapter is of considerable volume. We try to present it in a way which we hope is "user-friendly". All word articles as a rule consist of six units:

1. The "head"
2. Etymological status
3. Database
4. Turkic etymology (E/T)
5. Hungarian etymology (E/H)
6. Bibliography

3.2 The "head"

The head gives a concise summary of the entire etymology. It is divided into segments by vertical lines, thus: |. It begins with the Hungarian word in its present orthographical form in SMALL CAPITAL BOLDFACE. Verbs are not followed by the hyphen in the head. The lemma is followed by the pronunciation in a simplified transcription in [square brackets]. The English meaning or meanings are given according to the best English–Hungarian Dictionary compiled by Országh from its 1998 edition, within 'simple quotation marks'. We quote only the most important or focal meanings. If necessary, other meanings or changes in the meaning, etc., are dealt with in unit 5. Sometimes derivations of the same Hungarian words follow, if they are of etymological relevance: e.g. GYARAPODIK, **gyarapszik**. In this case *-(V)d-* and *-sz-* are variants of the same Hungarian suffix.

In the vast majority of cases, the historical data that follow are cited from the German edition of the Hungarian etymological dictionary (Benkő 1993–1997); in these cases we do not cite the source. If we quote historical data from other sources, we indicate the work from which it is cited. Before the year of the data we use the following abbreviations if necessary: a = *ante* 'before,' c = circa, p = *post* 'after.' Proven forgeries are indicated by the + sign. Of course forged documents are cited only if they were counterfeited in the Middle Ages. If the first Hungarian datum is a geographic name it is preceded by GN; if a personal name, by PN. All historical data are given in the orthography as they occur in the sources. In square brackets we provide a simplified transcription of the assumed contemporary pronunciation (this is sometimes only very approximate) and if necessary a morphological segmentation. For instance at the word *gyárt-* 'to produce, build, fabricate' we cite 1480 PN *Syweg-yartho* [šüveg-d′ārt-ō]. Here we suppose a segmentation *šüveg* 'a kind of cap' + *d′ārt-* 'to produce, manufacture' + *-ō* a Hungarian deverbal suffix. In the orthography one <g> is missing, though we cannot exclude the possibility that the second element

was written as *yartho* [yārtō]. However the form *járt-* [yārt] is a late secondary Hungarian form and does not reflect a Turkic *y-*. The earliest Hungarian data are usually geographic names or personal names, therefore we always quote that source in which the word first occurs as a common word. The meaning(s) of the words occurring in the historical sources are given only if they differ from the first meaning provided. After the historical data we add, if relevant to the etymology, the most important data from the dialects. In most cases we quote the new Hungarian dialect dictionary compiled under the editorship of B. Lőrinczy (1979–1992) of which four volumes have appeared, covering the letters from A to S. If we use other dictionaries of the Hungarian dialects we provide the source.

If the entry comprises more than one etymologically related but morphologically different word, each has its own segments in the head and is separated from the others by double vertical line ||, see e.g. the entry of *borít-*, *borul-*, *borogat-*, *borong-*, *ború*, *burok*, *burkol-*.

After the historical and dialectal data we provide a short etymology. We indicate the reconstructed West Old Turkic (WOT) form with an asterisk *. It is followed by an arrow, which represents "copied to ← from" and on the left side of the arrow is the Hungarian word that shows the first adaptation. For example, for the entry *gyarapodik-*: *d´arapodik- / d´arapsik-* < *d´arap-* {with suff *-(V)d- / -s-* and *-ik-*} < **ǰarap-* < **ǰarpa-* ← WOT **ǰarpa-* is to be read thus: The copied WOT form was the verbal base **ǰarpa-*. It was copied into Hungarian and adapted as **ǰarpa-*, the metathetic form **ǰarap-* evolved in Hungarian, and later Hungarian adapted it into the Hungarian verbal system with the suffixes *-(V)d- / -s-* and *-ik-*. From the Old Hungarian affricate **ǰ*, the present palatalized *d´* evolved, which is orthographically written as <gy>.

After the etymology we give the East Old Turkic (EOT) form if it is extant, or the Middle Turkic (MT) or the New Turkic (NT) form if only they are attested. In many cases the East Old Turkic equivalent of the copied form is not attested, only one of its derivatives. In such cases we cite it with an asterisk, and give the attested form and its relation to the asterisked form. For example, East Old Turkic **yarpa-* 'to be firm, solid' < *yarp* 'firm, solid' > *yarpad-* 'to become stronger, to grow'.

Relevant further data are also cited, or reference is made to other entries.

3.3 Etymological status

In most cases the etymology is clear and no special indication of this is given. But indication will be made if the etymology is debated or problematic, if the Turkic etymology is certain but there remain further lexical or morphological possibilities, or if the etymology is possible but uncertain because of insufficient data.

In a few cases we also deal with words whose Turkic origin must be refuted. Chapter 8.1 collects a few etymologies which are improbable but give some useful insights. I have generally omitted Turkic etymologies, rejected by Benkő (1993–1997) where I concur with his assessment.

3.4 Database

The database aims to be historical and regional. It is broken down into three major parts: East Old Turkic (OT) until the Mongol period of the Chingisids, Middle Turkic (MT) until the formation of the Modern or New Turkic languages (NT). There is a systematic list of the abbreviations and an alphabetic list of them in Chapter 10.

In the East *Old Turkic* part data are cited written in the Old Turkic Runiform script (R), the Uygur script (U), the Arabic script (A) and the Brāhmī script (B). All abbreviations begin with a letter denoting the writing system in which they were written. As a rule, we cite only one datum from each group. The chronology is clear for the monuments written in the Runiform script, which all date from the Old Turkic period. More difficult is the situation with the words written in the Uygur script. In some instances it is beyond doubt that a given source is to be dated before the Mongol invasion. This is the case with the Manichean texts written either in Uygur or in Manichean (M) script. In other cases the dating of the sources is uncertain. We have included only a few Uygur sources which were surely compiled or written in the Middle Turkic period. Their data are cited in the Middle Turkic section. There are two important and long documents written in Arabic script: the *Dīvān* of Mahmud al-Kashgari (AK) and the *Qutadgu Bilig* of Yusuf Hass Hajib (AQB). Though the extant copies of both are from the Mongolian period, the material reflects Old Turkic peculiarities. Some other Old Turkic texts, such as those of the Yarkand documents, are cited only if the word is not present in either of the two long texts. Most of the texts written in the Brāhmī script have proven to date from the Yuan dynasty. However they seem to reflect an Old Turkic dialect or dialects, and therefore it was decided to include them with the Old Turkic material.

Middle Turkic is divided into four parts. First (1) we cite Middle Turkic sources written in Uygur script. This is followed (2) by East Middle Turkic sources from the east of Turcia including Literary Khwarezmian. Then follow the Chagatay sources. The West Middle Turkic sources (3) begin with the *Codex Cumanicus* and are followed by other Kipchak and Mameluk sources, the Armeno-Kipchak sources and the Middle Kipchak sources. In principle, the Volga Bulgarian material would follow the Kipchak monuments, but with the exception of the name 'Bular' (see **bular**), we found no word connected directly with the Hungarian material; hence such a section

is not included. The Middle Turkic material ends with the (4) Ottoman data from the Tarama Sözlüğü.

The material written in the different writing systems is given in transcription. We use transliteration only in doubtful cases and then in <angle brackets>.

The *New Turkic* data are divided into six parts. In the first part we give the Chuvash (Chuv) data, in the second the Northwest (NW) or Kipchak languages, in the third the Southwest (SW) or Oguz languages. This is followed by the Khalaj language (Kh). Members of the fifth group are the languages of Turkestan, or the Southeast regions of Turcia (SE). In the sixth group are the Siberian or Northeast languages (NE). The last data are from Yakut (Y), including Dolgan. For each language we have selected one dictionary which we considered the best available. This is subsumed in the abbreviation of the name of the language. For example, (Chuv) indicates data from Skvorcov (1982), (ChuvA) from Ašmarin (1928–1950), (ChuvP) from Paasonen (1908). If important dialectal dictionaries for a language are available, the abbreviation adds a letter "D", hence (ChuvD) is Sergeev (1968). If there is more than one such dialectal dictionary, these are numbered, e.g. (TatD1), (TatD2). Any other dictionary is denoted by one or more additional letter(s), e.g. (KhakB) is the Khakas dictionary of Butanaev (1999). If a datum is quoted from Radloff then the letter "R" is appended to the abbreviation of the language (in our system, not in Radloff's), i.e. KhakSR means data from the Sagay dialect of Khakas, quoted from Radloff, where it is labelled only as Sag. In those rare and exceptional cases where we encountered a word only in a Russian–Turkic dictionary, we indicate this by a prefixed R, e.g. (RAlt) for the *Russko–altajskij slovar´* (1964).

The New Turkic words are given in most cases in a mechanical transliteration. Thus, e.g., in the case of Hungarian *béka* 'frog' we quote the Tatar word as *baka* and the Bashkir as *baqa* because the official Tatar orthography does not distinguish between the renderings of the two /k/ sounds, while the official Bashkir orthography does. Modern Turkic languages written in the Latin alphabet (e.g., Tt, Turkish of Turkey) are cited in their own orthography.

The meanings of the words are given as they occur in the texts or dictionaries. We have tried to cite only the basic meaning and those relevant to the etymology. Where dictionaries or word lists offer only Hungarian meanings, we give the English translation in [square brackets]. All other translations are kept as they are given, but the Cyrillic script is transliterated by the Latin alphabet. Phraseological units are cited only if they offer special help for the etymology.

All data were taken from the cited texts or dictionaries. In a few cases where we could not, or for whatever reason did not use the original, then we cite the secondary source e.g. (OT UMaitr 198r7, Erdal 1991: 637): here we cite the Maitrisimit text from

Erdal (1991); for (AzSev), we cite the Azeri word after Sevortjan's etymological dictionary (Sevortjan 1974, 1978, 1980).

For possible further connections of the Turkic word we quote Mongolic word(s) which may pertain to the Turkic word. We usually give only the Literary Mongolic form and meaning according to the dictionary of Lessing (L). Where necessary, other Mongolic sources, e.g. the Secret History of the Mongols (SH) or dictionaries are quoted. As a rule, we do not quote Tungusic data in the database.

The Mongolic data are followed by the Ossetic or Slavic data if they are relevant to the etymology. Other Mongolic, Tungusic, Slavic and Ossetic data are quoted only in the **E/T** or **E/H** sections.

In a few cases two different Turkic bases are quoted, if we could not decide which is the only acceptable or possible one. They are separately treated under 1 and 2.

In some cases I quote words in [square brackets] which are not connected with the Turkic etymon of the Hungarian word, but have been quoted by scholars as such, e.g. s.v. *balta* 'hathet, axe', *Chuv* [*purtă* 'topor'].

Below I give a bird's-eye view of the system of the Turkic data. For a systematic list and an alphabetical list of abbreviations, see Chapter 10.

OT Old Turkic
(R) Runiform, (M) Manichean, (U) Uygur, (A) Arabic, (B) Brahmi, (Ch) Chinese, (L) Latin, (G) Greek

MT Middle Turkic
East Middle Turkic: UOg, UY, UHy, UHyS, UCiv, ABF, AGul, AHMA, AHŠ, AHŠF, AIM, AIMI, AKD, AKor, AM, ANeh, ANehF, ARbg, ATef, AYC; ***Chagatay:*** AChag*, AChagAbA, AChagAbV, AChagB*, AChagBL, AChagBud, AChagG, AChagLN, AChagMA*, AChagML, AChagR, AChagS, AChagSC*, AChagŠS*, AChagZ (* Most important sources. Those without an asterisk were consulted only if the item was not found in the former.); ***West Middle Turkic:*** LCC, AAH, AAHI, ABul, ADur, AHou, AKav, AMGh, ATuh, AmTr, AmD, AmCh, AmE; ***Ottoman:*** AOtT

NT New or Modern Turkic
***Chuv* Chuvash**: Chuv; ***NW* Northwest Turkic**: Tat, Bashk, SibTat, Kirg, Kaz, Kklp, Nog, CrTat, Kar, Kum, KrchBlk; ***SW* Southwest Turkic**: Tkm, Az, Tt, Gag, Khor, SOg; ***Kh* Khalaj**: Kh; ***SE* Southeast Turkic**: Uzb, TurkiJ, MUyg, Sal, YUyg; ***NE* Northeast Turkic**: Alt, Khak, FY, Tuv, Tof; ***Y* Yakut**: Y, Dlg

3.5 Turkic etymology

An etymology is given to a word if we can analyse its structure and origin. The structure of a word consists of a base (B) and of no, or one or more derivational

morphemes $B+S_0+S_1+S_2+...+S_n$. The speciality of the Turkic languages is that they lack prefixes and infixes. Special cases as *kara* 'black' > *kap kara* 'very or quite black' and **bi* 'I' > **bän-* (oblique case of the first person singular pronoun), and the like are beyond the scope of this study.

A simplex word in any of the Turkic languages, whether old or currently spoken, may be a copy of a word from another Turkic language. Inner Turkic borrowing is in some cases (e.g. Turkish words in Azeri) very difficult to follow, making it difficult to prove their copied status. In other cases (e.g. Volga Kipchak words in Chuvash) their situation is much clearer.

A simplex word in Turkic may be of non-Turkic origin. The identification of the immediate source is of great importance; we endeavor to establish this wherever possible. Such a copy may be a simplex or a complex word in the lending language; it may also come from a third language. The copy, in most cases, figures in Turkic as a simplex.

In some cases we cannot establish the origin of a word. This may be the case with wandering cultural designations, words that wander with merchandise, caravans or the migration of small groups. Most such words do not fit into the expected general system of sound changes.

Following Johanson (1992, 2002), we call a copy 'global' if all important features of the original are taken over. This is very rare. In most cases the copy reflects a selective copying. The material side – the phonic properties – are in most cases adapted to the phonological structure of the receiving language. Until this happens, it is not a loanword in the proper sense, but merely a foreign word used by a small group of speakers, or even more exclusively only by scribes, men of the pen. The semantic side is never copied in its entirety. Even less is the chance that a word brings with itself its combinatorical properties. It may be that some of its functional properties (in government, e.g.) are imitated, but most of the combinatorical properties are left uncopied. It is also rare that the original frequency of a word is matched by its frequency in the copying language.

A complex Turkic word consists of no, or one or more suffixes. A typical example of a zero derivational suffix is the so-called *nomen-verbum*. There exists a considerable literature on cases where a nominal base and a verbal base do not differ in their phonological form. The grammatical frame-theory with which the scholar works determines how s/he interprets this feature, which is a problem of the lexicon, not the syntax. I suppose that in those cases where there is no traceable difference between the nominal and the verbal form of bases and they show a similar semantic field (e.g. *bay* 'rich' and *bay-* 'to be rich'), one of them (the verb) had a denominal suffix which disappeared early. This is very difficult, but not impossible to prove. In such cases the syntactic and derivational properties help us to distinguish the two bases.

In any case in our Lexicon we have distinguished the verbs from nouns by means of a hyphen (-). The only exception is the Hungarian headword which, following the tradition of Hungarian lexicography, does not receive a hyphen.

Etymology aims to unveil the morphological structure of a word. In this book we have made efforts to integrate the results of recent studies on Turkic morphology. Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish among Turkic and Hungarian derivational morphemes. As a result of the impact of the West Old Turkic languages, Hungarian preserved (and possibly altered) some of the functions of its Ugric suffixes, if they were phonetically and/or structurally similar (see Róna-Tas 1994). In this part I treat the newest relevant opinions on the etymology of the Turkic word. The reader may encounter other views not cited here (including his own), but time and space have restricted my possibilities.

3.6 Hungarian etymology

The Turkic origin of a Hungarian word can be demonstrated if the reconstructed Ancient Hungarian word form and the reconstructed West Old Turkic word form are identical or very similar, and the semantics of the two words are comparable. The first step here is to reconstruct the history of the Hungarian word. This can be done with the help of the historical documents of the Hungarian language and a detailed knowledge of its history. Sometimes the Hungarian dialects help us to recover older forms, and therefore this work focuses on word history. In this we follow the Hungarian traditional etymological school. The short phonetical history of the Hungarian word is given in the head, to the left of the arrow. On the right, the West Old Turkic form is reconstructed. The etymology is laid out in the head, and a more detailed argumentation and short overview of earlier opinions is given in the paragraph **E/H**.

3.7 Bibliography

At the end of all lexical items I offer a bibliography including the works cited in the text, and adding some of the most important papers written on the word and/or problems discussed in the text. I always cite the bibliographical data of the two works edited by Benkő (1967–1976, 1993–1997), where further bibliography can be found. Reference is also made to the relevant sections in the major overview of Ligeti (1986). We do not cite those works which treat our words from other than relevant etymological points of view. The details of the bibliographical items can be found in the Bibliography in Chapter 9.

3.8 Transcription and transliteration

In this book we use a simplified transcription and transliteration system. In the transcription of the data in the database we have tried to represent all letters used by the actual cited alphabet. By contrast, in the text of the etymologies (E/T and E/H) we have used a phonematic transcription. We use e.g. *q* and *k*, *ġ*, *g*, and *ng* in the database, but only *k*, *g* and *ŋ* in the etymological texts. In the notation of the sounds of the suffixes we follow the system generally accepted in Turkology; see Erdal (1979, 1991) and Doerfer (1981, 1982), where X denotes /u, ü, i, ï/ depending on the vocalism of the preceding base. Otherwise A, O, U and I stand for /a, ä/, /o, ö/, /u, ü/ and /i, ï/ respectively. The archiphonemes put in parentheses (X), (O) etc. disappear after open syllables, but are preserved after closed ones. As a rule we do not cite foreign letters, characters or hieroglyphs. If the data in a Semitic script are ambiguous, we use <brackets> and capital letters, e.g. <'DL> is *aleph, dal, lam* converting the original sequence to that of Latin.

We give the Chinese characters where necessary and helpful for an understanding of the reconstruction of the earlier pronunciation of the Chinese word. If not otherwise noted we have always used Pulleyblank (1991). EMCh (Early Middle Chinese) is his E, LMCh (Late Middle Chinese) is his L, and Yuan is his Y. The present pronunciation of the Chinese character is transcribed in *pinyin*, but without indication of tones.

Hungarian words are given in the present-day orthographic form. Hungarian historical data are in most cases given in their original form, where we follow Benkő (1993–1997). The pronunciation of the Hungarian word in the "head" is given in [brackets]. The pronunciation of the historical data is in many cases only approximate because of the limits of early Hungarian orthography. The word stress is on the first syllable in Hungarian; this is not indicated.

Lexicon

Chapter Four

Lexicon »A–K«

A, Á

Ács [āč] ‘carpenter’ | 1222/1550 ? GN *Afu* [āču], 1230 ? PN *Alchï* [alčï], 1233 GN *Alch* [alč], c1395 *alch* [alč], 1533 *aczoknak* [āč-oknåk] | *āč* < **aɣači* ⟵ WOT **aɣaččï* | EOT *ïgaččï* ‘carpenter’, T *agaččï* id. < *agač* ‘tree’ {with suff *+čI*}.

OT *ïġač* ‘tree’ (RMTon), *ïġaččï* (UPfahl 19 before *titigči* ‘mason, wall-maker’), *yïġač* ‘tree, wood’ (AQB), *yïġač* ‘wood, tree or shrub, penis, parsang’ (AK), *ïġačǰïlar* ‘vārddhakina = vardhakina*h*’ (B5: 12); **MT** *ïġač*, *yïġač* ‘Baum’ (UOg), *yïġač* ‘ağaç’ (UYA 76:2,3; UYB 33:7, 34:1), *yïġač* ‘bois, arbre’ (UHy, UHyS), *Aġač* ‘a personal name’ (UCivSA 09), *ïġač* ‘Holz’ (UCivWP 03), *aġač* ‘tree’ (ABF), *aġač* ‘tree, wood, fuel, stick’ (AGul), *aġač*, *yïġač* ‘ağaç’ (AHMA), *aġač*, *yïġač* ‘derevo, derevjannaja palka, mera dliny’ (AHŠF), *aġač yonïčï* ‘obtesyvajuščij derevo’ (AIM), *aġač yonġïčï* ‘dülger’ (AIMI), *aġač* ‘tree’ (AKD), *yïġač* ‘tree’ (AKor), *aġač*, *yïġač* ‘derevo, derevjannaja palka, mera dliny’ (ANehF), *yïġaččï* ‘carpenter’, *yïġaččï yonġučï* ‘carpenter’ (ARbg), *yïġač(č)ï* ‘plotnik’ (ATef), *yïġač* ‘ağaç’ (AYC), *aġač*, *ïġač*, *yïġač* (AChag), ? *yïqač* ‘farsah (mera dliny), derevo plodovoe i neplodovoe’ (AChagB), *yïġač* ‘derevo’ (AChagMA), *yïġač* ‘wood, parsang’ (AChagSC), *aġaǰ*, *yïġaǰ* ‘šejr, dirixt, menzil, musafe’ (AChagŠS), *aġač* ‘Baum’ (LCCI, LCCG), *aġač* ‘bugünkü manasında’ (AAH), *aġaš* ‘bois, gaule, baton’, *ẖurma aġačï* ‘dattier’ (ADur1), *qayyïn aġašï* ‘bois de peuplier ou de bouleau’ (ADur2), *aġač* ‘Baum, Holz’ (AHou), *aġač* ‘Stock’, *alma aġačï* ‘Apfelbaum’ (AKav), *aġač* ‘tree, branch, stem (of a bamboo), pole, wood, wooden part (of a lance)’ (AMGh), *aġaš* ‘palka, les, derevo (material)’ (ATuh), *aġač* ‘arbre, objet en bois, barre, madrier, hampe’ (AmTr), *aġač* ‘sopa, değnek, bir kilometre kadar olan bir uzunluk (ölçüsü)’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *yïvăś* ‘derevo’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *agač ostasï* ‘stoljar’ (RTat), *aġas* ‘derevo’ (Bashk), *aġas oθtahï* ‘stoljar’ (RBashk), *ǰïgaččï*

(*usta*) ‘stoljar, plotnik’ (Kirg), *agaššï* ‘carpenter’ (Kaz), *aġaššï* ‘plotnik’, *aġaš ustasï* ‘plotnik, stoljar’ (Kklp), *aġaš ustasï, aġaš usta* (RKklp), *agaššï* ‘stoljar’ (Nog), *aġač* ‘derevo’ (CrTat), *agac* ‘derevo’ (KarH), *agač* ‘derevo’ (KarT, KarSh), *aġač usta* ‘stoljar’ (KumB), *aġač usta* ‘stoljar’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *agačči* (*ussa*) ‘plotnik’ (Tkm), *agaščï* (RTkmAB), *agajǰïlayan* ‘wood polisher’ (AzM), *aġačči* ‘čelovek, sažajuščij ili vyraščivajuščij derev′ja’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *haġač* ‘Baum, Holz, Stock, Parasange’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yågåč ustasi* ‘plotnik’ (Uzb), *yaġačï, yaġačči* ‘woodworker, carpenter, joiner’ (TurkiJ), *yaġačči, yaġašči* ‘stoljar, plotnik’, *yaġač* ‘derevo, mera dliny, ravnaja 8 km.’, *yiġač* ‘mera sypučih tel’ (!) (MUyg), *aġašči, aġšči, aġačči* ‘stoljar, derevoobdeločnik’ (Sal), *aġašči* ‘menuisier, charpentier, bucheron’ (SalK), *yïġaščï* ‘stoljar’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *agaš* ‘derevo’ (Alt), *agas* (*agač-*) ‘derevo’ (Khak), *agaš, agïš* ‘wood’ (FY), *ïġaščï* ‘lesnik, lesnoj storož’ (Tuv), *ńeš* (*neyi*) ‘derevo’ (Tof), *ńaš, ńaiš* ‘derevo’ (Karagas?, see Radloff 1893–1911/1: 149); ***Y*** *mas* ‘derevo na kornju i srublennoe, kak stroitel′nyj material’, *mas ūha* ‘plotnik’ (Y), *mas, mās* ‘Baum, Holz, Wald’ (Dlg).

E/T The relationship between T *ïgač* and *agač* remains unclear, yet they clearly belong together. If the word *ïgač* is a der of *ī* ‘vegetation’ (see *ï tarïg* ‘Getreide’ USitātapP 187), the suff is *+gAč* (Erdal 1991: 84) and all word forms with initial *y-* are secondary. In this case the form *agač* results fr assimilation. However Kh *h-* may point to a PT **p-*. In this case the *yï-* Anlaut is the earlier: *hï-* > *yï-* (> *ï-*) and *ha-* > *a-*. It cannot be ruled out that the hend *ï ïgač* may, however, go back to an earlier **ï agač* and in this case *ïgač* would be a secondary form which then became independent, developed a *y-* and reinfluenced *agač*. Chuv *yïvăś* points to an earlier **agač*. Some MT sources have *yagač*, and it cannot be determined whether this is due to the omission of a *kasra* or whether it reflects a form close to Turki and MUyg. The *-q-* in the data fr the AChagB seems to be a misreading of the MS. Tof *ńeš* can be traced back to an earlier *ńaš* which probably comes fr **ńāš* < **ńagač* < **yagač*. On this feature of the Eastern dials of Tuv, see also Pal′mbah (1955: 178). In a few cases we find a secondary nasal where there is or was no nasal consonant in the following syllable: cf. Tof *ńīt* ‘molodoj’ < *yigit*. The case of the origin of Y *mas* and Dlg *mas, mās* poses a greater challenge. It is unlikely to share a common origin with Tu **mō* ‘tree, wood’, **mōsa* ‘wood, forest’, Mo *modu*(*n*) id. We can exclude Ch 木 *mu* ‘tree’, which goes back to an earlier form with a final *-k* (EMCh *məwk*). Y final *-s* may be traced back to **-s, *-z, *-š* or **-č*. A protoform **magač* would, however, result in something like **mïas*, while a form **mïgač* would give **mīs*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1160) connected T *ï* with MMo *hoy* ‘forest’ < **poy* but considered *ïgač* unclear. The connection between the T and Mo words, labelled even by the authors as “a rather complicated case”, is phonologically unacceptable.

Some T lgs form the word for ‘carpenter’ with the suff *+čI*, whereas others use the composition *agač ustasï* ‘master of wooden objects’ or similar expressions.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin by all H authorities fr Vámbéry (1882a: 227–228) on. The OH *-l-* results fr hypercorrection alternating with long vowels, see **bölcs**, **búcsú**, **bocsát** etc. and § 5.8.13, 6.2.8. This secondary *-l-* disappeared only after the 16th c. The disappearance of the intervocalic guttural occurred in H. Two early PNs (1222, 1230) quoted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 5), both GNs, can hardly belong here. The H word has denoted 'carpenter' fr the earliest times. In OH the word presumably also meant 'master manufacturing the wooden parts of the yurt'.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 227–228; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 149; Munkácsi 1901a: 190, 196; Gombocz 1912b: 35, 168; Gombocz 1914a: 27; Vámbéry 1914: 136; Gombocz 1938–1940/2: 87, 93; Paľmbah 1955: 178; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 73; Ligeti 1965: 288; Németh 1965: 55; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 94; Räsänen 1969: 7; Clauson 1972: 80; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 71; Ligeti 1986: 298–299; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 216; Róna-Tas 1988a: 755; Erdal 1991: 84; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 5; Stachowski 1995: 270–274; Tenišev 2001: 104; Tietze 2002: 109; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1160.

ÁGOS *dial* 'stream, current' see **ákos**.

ÁGYÚ [ād′ū] 'cannon, catapult' | c1456 *aldeual* [āldē-vål] 'catapult', c1476 *algÿwkwal* [āld′ū-kvål], c1519 *algyoyath* [āld′ō-yāt] 'tool, implement', 1533 *Audee* [āud′ē], 1535 *Alygyw* [āld′ū], 1553 *anyuſagot* [āńū-šāgot], 1590 *Agiu* [ād′ū], 1593 *Ayw* [āyū], 1680 *aggyu* [ad′d′ū], 1779 *Ágyúzó* [ād′ū-zō], dial *álgyú* [āld′ū] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 170) | *ād′ū* < **āld′ū* < **aldaɥ* < **aldaɣ* ⟵ WOT **aldaɣ* | EOT *altag* 'device' < *al* id. {with suff *+tA-* and *-(X)g*}.

OT *altaġ*: *al altaġ* 'Mittel, Hilfsmittel, Kunstgriff, Mittel eines Boddhisattvas zur Rettung der Wesen' (UWb), *yelvi tor al altaġ* 'mit dem Mittel des Zaubernetzes' (UWb), *alda-* 'to deceive' (AK); **MT** *al aldaġ* 'ruse, fraud, tromperie' (UHy), *alda-* 'to deceive' (AGul), *alda-* 'aldatmak' (AHMA), *aldaġ* 'obman, lož′, oboľšenie' (AHŠF), *al dastān* 'guile and plot', *alda-* 'to delude', *aldaġlï* 'one who deludes' (AKor), *al* 'sredstvo, sposob, obman' (ANehF), *aldaġčï* 'obmanščik' (ATef), *aldaġan* 'tromperie' (AChag), *aldaġ* 'deceit' (AChagAb), *aldaġ* 'obman' (AChagB), *aldaġan* 'obmanuvšij = Mo *aldaqsan*' (AChagMA), *aldaġ* 'deceit' (AChagS), *al* 'device, method of doing something' (AChagSC), *aldaġ* 'firib, al, xuda, hile, nirnek' (AChagŠS), *alda-* 'betrügen, trügen' (LCCI, LCCG), *alda-* 'aldatmak' (AAH), *alda-* 'betrügen' (AHou), *aldā-* 'to trick' (AMGh), *alda-* 'obmanivať' (ATuh), *alda-* 'tromper, mentir', *aldawučï*, *aldavučï* 'trompeur, menteur' (AmTr), *aldaġuč* 'aldatıcı' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ultav* 'obman' (Chuv ⟵ Tat); ***NW*** *aldau* 'obman' (Tat), *aldau* 'obman' (Bashk), *aldar*, *altar* 'obmanščik, lgun' (SibTat), *aldam*, *aldō* 'obman' (Kirg), *aldau* 'deception' (Kaz), *aldau* 'obman' (Kklp), *aldavlïk* 'obman' (Nog), *aldav* 'obman' (CrTat), *aldav* 'lož′, obman' (Kar), *aldam* 'obman, plutovstvo, žul′ničestvo' (Kum), *aldau* 'obman' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *āldav* 'obman, mahinacija' (Tkm), *aldanma* 'obman' (Az), *aldanç* 'easily deceived, soft, dupe', *aldangıç* 'trick, tricky device, sharp practice' (Tt); ***Kh*** *allan-*

'betrogen werden' (KhT ← Az); ***SE*** *aldåvči*, *aldåkči* 'obmanščik' (Uzb), *aldam* 'obman', *aldamči* 'flatterer, deceiver' (TurkiJ), *aldakči* 'obmanščik, plut' (MUyg); ***NE*** *aldačï* 'angel smerti, duh, unosjaščij dušu umeršego' (AltQK), *aldag* 'utešenie, ugovarivanie' (Khak), *aldag* 'promah, ošibka, oplošnost' (Tuv); ***Y*** *algas* 'ošibka, obman' (← Mo **algas* > Bur *algad* 'vorbei, vorüber', Mo *algasa-* 'to be distracted', according to Kałużyński 1961: 130).

Mo *alda-* 'to lose, let go, to lose control of, to do something by mistake or by accident, make a slip', *aldas* 'mistake, fault', *aldaġa* 'mistake, error, defect, loss' (L).

E/T The two basic meanings of the T word, 'device' and 'deceit', are present in the base word *al*, see **ál**. The later T lgs preferred the second meaning. It is fr the nominal stem *al* that the verb *alda-* and the secondary noun *aldag* were formed. The Chuv word was borrowed fr Tat. The link between T *alda-* and Mo *alda-* remains unclear. Mo *+dA-* is a den suff, cf. *arga* 'means, method', *argada-* 'to coax, console, comfort, persuade', but no nominal stem like **al* or **ala* exists with this meaning. The Mo word is a lw fr T. This view is also shared by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 288). Mo *aliya* 'playful, mischievous' hardly belongs here.

E/H It was Németh (1921–1925a: 71) who first argued in favour of the T etymology of the word. Earlier it was connected with H *áld-* 'to bless' supposing a semantic derivation 'instrument with which one (is) blessed' > 'instrument'. Németh's proposal was reluctantly accepted by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 108), Ligeti (1986: 316–317) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 13). Benkő considered the der fr H *áld-* as improbable. The meaning of the H word was originally 'instrument, machine', and the semantic relation is similar to Eng *machine* and *machination* (← Lat). The meaning 'catapult, cannon' appears in the 16th c. The H form results fr the change **aldaɣ* > **aldaų̯* > **aldeų̯* (see H dial *aldé*) > **aldių̯* > *ald′u*, *āld′ū* > *ād′ū*, see **borjú**, **gyapjú** and § 6.2.8. The disappearance of *-l-* in this word took place late in H, though some dials still have it. The der fr H *áld-* 'to bless' is unacceptable. See **ál**.

◆ Németh 1921–1925a: 71; Moór 1939: 33; Bárczi 1941: 3; Mészöly 1943: 166–167; B. Ö. 1946: 30; Pais 1952: 67; Kałużynski 1961: 130; Bárczi 1963: 46; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 115; Egorov 1964: 273; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 108; Clauson 1972: 133; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 127; Ligeti 1986: 228, 316–317; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 216–217; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 13; Fedotov 1996/2: 278; Tietze 2002: 146–147; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 288.

AJNÁROZ [åynāroz] 'to fondle, pet, caress' | 1825 *Ajnározni* [åynāroz-ni], 1876 *ajnároz* [åynāroz] 'ordnen' (Pressburger 1876: 471) | *åynāroz-* < **ayan-* {with suffs *-(V)r-* and *-(V)z-*} ← WOT **ayan-* | EOT *ayan-* 'to be treated with respect'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *ayan-* 'verehrt werden, geehrt werden' (Intr. to *aya-* 'to treat (a person *Acc.*) with respect') (UWb); **MT** *ayaš-* 'respecter, témoigner de la révérence' (UHy), *aya-* 'to grudge' (AGul), *aya-* 'žaleť, ščadiť, bereč'' (ANehF), *ayan-* 'byť zapreščennym'

(AChagB), *aya-* 'to treat with respect, to honour' (AChagSC), *aya-* 'dirig etmek, esirgemek, muhafaza etmek, kıymamak' (AChagŠS), *ayan-* 'schonen' (LCCD), *rengi ayna-* 'rengi değişmek' (AAHI), *aya-* 'mettre de côté, cacher, refuser, sefforcer, avoir soin?, pardonner?', *ayamax* 'soin, renonciation, regret, repentir?' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *uya-* 'sobljudaťˊ, počitaťˊ, bereč'' (Chuv); ***NW*** *aya-* 'žaleťˊ, požaleťˊ, ščaditˊ, poščaditˊ', *ayanïč* 'žalkij' (Tat), *ayan-* 'čuvstvovaťˊ žalostˊ, vyražaťˊ sočuvstvie' (Bashk), *ayna-* 'ščaditˊ'' (BashkD2), *ayan-* 'ščaditˊ sebja, projavljaťˊ nerešiteľnostˊ, robeťˊ, bojaťˊsja' (Kirg), *ayan-* 'to spare, to take care of oneself', *ayanïš* 'pity, pitifully' (Kaz), *ayan-* 'ščaditˊ sebja' (Kklp), *aya-* 'sožaleťˊ, ispytyvaťˊ čuvstvo sožalenija' (CrTat), *aya-* 'žaleťˊ, ščaditˊ, bereč'' (Kum); ***SW*** *ayan-* 'öz-özïŋ ayamak' (Tkm), *aya-* 'to respect, to honour' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *aya-* 'to spare, to withhold, to withdraw' (TurkiJ), *ayan-* 'ščaditˊ sebja' (MUyg); ***NE*** *aya-* 'žaleťˊ, ščaditˊ, bereč'' (AltQK), *ayan-* 'žaleťˊ sebja, ščaditˊ sebja' (Khak); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word is *aya-* 'to treat (with respect)', fr which *ayan-* was formed with the refl suff *-(X)n-* (Erdal 1991: 591). The word was connected by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 279) with Mo *aya* 'quality befitting or becoming an object or situation, fitness'. This would be possible only if we supposed a PT noun **ayă*, fr which the T verb *aya-* was formed with the den suff *+A-* (Erdal 1991: 418–429).

E/H The H word has been linked to two different T words. OT *ayan-* 'to pay respect' (< *aya-* 'to treat with respect, etc.') > 'spare, regret' and is present e.g. in *ayaga* (*ayakga*) etc. According to Thúry (unpublished), H copied a T nominal form **aynar*, while in Palló's opinion this was more likely a verbal form **aynar-* (Palló 1982: 14). According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 14–15), the T word copied, was *ayan-* with the H dev suffs *-(V)r-* and *-(V)z-*. The verb *ayan-* is well attested as early as OT (see Röhrborn (1977–1998/4: 297) 'verehrt werden, geehrt werden'); a T nominal form **aynar* can be excluded for morphological reasons. The T verbal base **aynar-* does not exist; the form cited fr LCC is the aorist *aynïr*. The H freq dev suff *-(V)r-* is rare and no longer productive, while the H suff *-(V)z-* is productive. The two H suffs occur extremely rarely together (*toboroz-*, *futkároz-*). However, it is not impossible to suppose the change **ajan-ár-oz-* > *ajnároz-*. Since the word appears very late in the H sources, it is difficult to build a bridge between the meanings 'to regret, spare, to show regret, pity' and 'fondle, caress' – but not impossible. Even more problematic is the etymology offered by Torma (1999), who suggested the word belongs with T *ay* 'moon', and has the meaning 'to behave moonlike'.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 64; Pressburger 1876: 471; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 39; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 111; Röhrborn 1977–1998/4: 297; Palló 1982: 13–15; Erdal 1991: 418–429, 591; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 14–15; Torma 1999: 53–81; Tietze 2002: 233; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 279.

ÁKOS [ākoš], **ágos** [āgoš] *Cum dial* 'stream, current' | 1903 *ákos* [ākoš] | *ākoš*, *āgoš* ← Cum **akïš*, **agïš* | T *akïš* 'flow, current' < *ak-* 'to flow' {with suff *-Xš*}.

OT *ak-* 'fliessen, strömen' (UWb), *ak-* to flow' (AK), *aqïn* 'Flüssigkeit, Strom' (BD 35); **MT** [only for *aqïš* or other der] *aqïš* 'ecoulement de la salive de la bouche' (AChag), *aqïš-* 'to flow together' (AChagSC), *aqïš* 'ağızdan tereşşüh ve seylan eden su' (AChagŠS), *aqïš* 'aus dem Munde fliessendes Wasser' (LChagŠS), *ax-* 'fliessen, strömen' (LCCI, LCCG), *aġïšdïr-* 'zusammen fliessen lassen' (LCCG), *aqar* 'rivière' (ABul), *akar su* 'strömendes Wasser' (AHou), *axïn*, *axn* 'torrent, inondation' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *agïš* 'tečenie' (Tat), *agïš* 'tečenie' (Bashk), *agïš* 'tečenie' (SibTat), *agïš* 'tečenie' (SibTatBR); ***SW*** *akïš* 'flow, course, current' (Tt), *aqïš* 'Fluss (flumen)' (TtR), *akïš* 'flow, course, current' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *åkiš* 'tečenie' (Uzb); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word is a dev noun fr *ak-* 'to flow', which exists in almost all T lgs and is formed with the dev suff *-Xš* (Erdal 1991: 262–275). We find *akïm*, *akïn* or *akar* in most T lgs with this meaning, but *akïš* prevails in Tt and in some Kip lgs.

E/H According to Mándoky, *ákos* survived in Cumania Minor (Kiskunság, Central Hungary) with the meaning 'current, a rivulet with ample water during the floods and drying out in dry weather' while *ágos* prevails in Cumania Major (Nagykunság, East Central Hungary) denoting all types of flowing water, even on streets after heavy storms. The form with *-g-* points to a Kip dial, while that with *-k-* may be an Og (Uz) word. The word may have come under the influence of the old H PN *Ákos* (← T *ak kuš* 'white bird'); in any case, the labialization of the second vowel is a H development.

◆ Räsänen 1969: 13; Erdal 1991: 262–275; Mándoky 1993: 112–113; Tietze 2002: 123.

ÁL [āl] 'false, imitation' | 1215 ? PN *Alus* [āl-uš], p1342/1584 *ál*, *al* [āl], p1416/c1450 *alfagit* [āl-šāgit], 1540–1555 *ál* [āl], 1596 *all* [āll] | *āl* < **āl* ← WOT **al* | EOT *al* 'device, trick, deceit'.

OT *al* '(good) device' (RMToyIII 2v5-6), *al altaġ* 'List, Betrug', *al čäviš bilig* 'listige Gesinnung' (UWb), *al* 'trick, subterfuge' (AK, AQB), *al al[taġsïz]* 'un-(geeignetes) Mittel' (B21 No. 131); **MT** *al* 'ruse, fraud' (UHy), *al* 'fraud' (AGul), *al* 'hile, al' (AHMA), *al* 'hitrosť' (AHŠ), *al* 'podvoh, kovarstvo, hitrosť, ulovka' (AHŠF), *al* 'guile, machination' (AKor), *al* 'sredstvo, sposob, obman' (ANehF), *al* 'deceit, guile' (ARbg, ATef), *al* 'trompie, ruse' (AChag), *al* 'kovarstvo, hitrosť, zlo' (AChagB), *al* 'device, method of doing something' (AChagSC), *al* 'Täuschung' (AChagŠS), *al* 'Kniff' (LCCG), *al* 'deceit', *āl* 'hile' (AAH), *al* 'hile' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *al* 'Betrug' (TatB), *al* 'obman' (Kum); ***SW*** *āl* 'džinn, zloj duh, bes, hitrosť, ulovka, uhiščrenie, lukavstvo' (Tkm), *al* 'ložˊ', (AzD), *al* 'trick, fraud' (Tt), *al* 'desise, dek, hile' (TtDA); ***Kh*** *āl* 'Kindbettkrankheit, böser Geist, Zauber' (KhT); ***SE*** *al* 'hitrosť, ulovka' (MUyg); ***NE*** *al* 'dikyj, mračnyj' (Alt), *al* 'neprohodimyj, dikij, temnyj (o lese)' (AltQK), *al* 'ugovor' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Mo *alasira-* 'agir avec ruse, finesse, astuce' (LMoKow, not in L).

E/T The T word originally denoted "know how". It was fr this that its pejorative meaning of 'deceit, trick' and the positive one, 'device', was extended (see also **ágyú**). Its adj use is now established in Röhrborn (1977–1998/2: 84) *al čäviš bilig* 'listige Gesinnung'. It remains uncertain whether the Sib words belong here, but not impossible ('deceiving' > 'leading astray, fearful' > 'impenetrable (of wood)'). In this case also the Alt lg would have preserved the adj function of the word. The word is absent fr Chuv, but a Tat der has been copied, see **ágyú**.

Mo *alasira-* (which seems to be a hapax) is formed in the same way as *kögsire-* 'to grow old' (< *kögsin* 'old'). The secondary base **alasi* may go back to a noun **alasi*(*n*) (cf. the homophonous *alasi* 'slaughter of animals' < *ala-* 'to kill'). Neither a Mo verb **ala-* 'deceive', nor a noun **ala* 'deceit' can be found, only *alda-*, on which see **ágyú**.

E/H The word was first linked to the T counterpart by Vámbéry (1870: 126). Gombocz (1907a: 23; 1912b: 36) considered the word to be of T origin, but remarked that the T words are nouns, while the H is an adj. This reservation was repeated by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 122). The H word is an adj and also figures in the meanings 'pseudo-, imitation' as in *álarc* 'mask' (*arc* 'face') or *álruha* 'disguise' (*ruha* 'clothes'). Benkő's caution (1993–1997/1: 20) due to the absence of the nominal use of the word in H can be now disregarded on the strength of the OT forms newly associated with an adj function. The connection with H *alak* 'puppet, form' is uncertain. See **ágyú**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 126; Budenz 1873: 76; Vámbéry 1882a: 494; Munkácsi 1887–1890: 36; Setälä 1902: 254; Gombocz 1907a: 23; Gombocz 1912b: 36, 139; Vámbéry 1914: 136; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 55; Räsänen 1937: 251; Bárczi 1941: 4; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 93; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 122; Räsänen 1969: 14; Clauson 1972: 120; Pais 1974: 257–269, 396–406; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 126; Röhrborn 1977–1998/2: 84; Ligeti 1986: 205, 228; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 217; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 20; Tietze 2002: 135.

ALACS [ålåč] *dial* 'pied (of an animals' coat)' | 1328 *alach* [ålåč] (Györffy 1963–1998/1: 244), 1587 *alacz* [ålåč] (Szabó 1975–1995/1: 197), 1684 *alats* [ålåč] (Bakos 1972: 337) | *ålåč* < **alač* ← WOT **alačï*, *alaču/alačo* or *ålåč* < **ala* {with suff +*č*} | EOT PN **Alačï* 'name of a Turkic tribe', EOT *ala* 'parti-coloured, mottled, dappled'.

Of possible Turkic origin.

OT *ala* 'mottled' (RTIrk), *alaču* 'tent' (UUIII 6), *alaču* 'a large tent with two poles, a tent made of coarse fabric', *alaču* 'large tent' (AK); **MT** *alaču* 'Hütte' (UCivSa 06), *alačuk* 'large tent' (AKD), *ala* 'parti-coloured, dappled' (ARbg), *alja*, *alača* 'bigarre, de deux couleurs, espèce d'étoffe' (AChag), *alačuk* 'a tent which nomads make of poles' (AChagS), *ala* 'parti-coloured' (AChagSC), *alača* 'pek karïšïk nakšlar, bir nevi iplik kumaš' (AChagŠS), *alača* 'sehr bunte Stickereien, eine Art Seidenstoff, scheckig' (AChagŠSK), *alačuk* 'Hütte' (LCCI), *alača* 'scheckig, gestrift' (LCCG), *alača* = *ala* 'ala renkli at' (AAH), *alacu* 'çörden çöpten yapılıp eskiden deri örtülen, sonra kıldan, yünden örme adi çul örtülen küçük adi çadır, derim evi' (AAHI), *alaǰa* 'bigarré, pie' (ADur), *alāčā* 'scheckig' (AHou), *ala köz* 'graublaue Auge' (AKav), *āla* 'pegij, pestryj'

(ATuh), *alaǰa* ‘bigarré, bariole’ (AmTr), *alača* ‘karışık renkli, çubuklu kumaş’, *alaǰuk*, *alačuk* ‘göçebe çadırı’ (AOtT).

NT 1 **alača* ‘mottled, piebald’: ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *alasa* ‘s melkimi pjatnami, pjatnystyj, pestryj’ (Bashk), *alas* ‘sybar’ (BashkD), *alaǰaulï* ‘different, uneven, variegated’ (Kaz), *alaǰa* ‘pestryj, polosatyj’ (Kar); ***SW*** *alaca* ‘motley, speckled, variegated, piebald (horse), striped’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *hāla-bula* ‘vielfarbig, bunt’ (KhT); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *alas* ‘der Buntspecht’ (KhakSR, KhakQbR), *alaš* ‘der Buntspecht, der Hirsch’ (AltLR), *alas*, *alaš* ‘(Bunt) Specht’ (Khak, Stachowski 1996: 218), *alasar* ‘pestryj, pjatnistyj’ (AltTK), *alančïk* ‘žolna (ptica)’ (AltQK); ***Y*** –.

NT 2 **alača* ‘material with mottled, many-coloured design’: ***Chuv*** *ulača* ‘pestrjad′, pestrjadina, pestroe domotkanoe polotno’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *alača* ‘pestrjad′, pestrjadina, pestroe domotkanoe polotno’ (Tat), *alasa* ‘pestrjad, pestrjadina’ (Bashk), *alaca* ‘pestraja, polosataja materija iz Srednej Azii’ (SibTat), *alača* ‘polosataja, bumažnaja materija kustarnogo a pozdnee i fabričnogo proizvodstva’ (Kirg), *alaša* ‘homespun rug’ (Kaz), *alaša* ‘palas, domotkanyj kover’ (Kklp); ***SW*** *alača* ‘cvetnaja materija’, *alaǰa* ‘tesemka, svitaja iz černyh i belyh nitok’ (Tkm), *alaǰa* ‘ein Türkmenenzelt aus buntem Gewebe’ (TkmR), *alaǰa* ‘ein rothcarrirtes Baumwollenzeug, das aus Persien in Transkaukasien eingeführt wird’ (AzR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *alača* ‘alača (bumažnaja ili polusjolkovaja materija kustarnogo proizvodstva)’ (Uzb), ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

NT 3 **alačuġ* ‘mottled, tent (covered with a mottle-coloured fabric), tent of low quality, summer tent’: ***Chuv*** *laś* ‘lačuga, letnjaja kuhnja’; ***NW*** *alačïk* ‘lačuga, letnjaja kuhnja’ (Tat), *alasïk* ‘lačuga, letnjaja kuhnja’ (Bashk), *alacïk* ‘Rindenjurte’ (SibTatTR), *alačïk* ‘malen′kaja jurta, lačuga, šalaš’ (Kirg), *lašïk* ‘hut, shanty’ (Kaz), *ïlašïk* ‘lačuga, šalaš, vremennaja postrojka iz kamyša’ (Kklp), *alacïk* ‘jurta iz kory, šalaš, letnjaja kuhnja’ (KarH), *alačïk* ‘jurta iz kory, šalaš, letnjaja kuhnja’ (KarC), *alačïx*, *alačux* ‘jurta iz kory, šalaš, letnjaja kuhnja’ (KarT); ***SW*** *alačïk* ‘nomadic tent, hut’ (AzM), *alacık*, *alaçık*, *alaçuk* ‘felt covered round tent of the nomads, hut made of brushwood’ (Tt), *alancık* ‘felt covered round tent of the nomads, hut made of brushwood’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *alčug* ‘hut, built of reed, straw and branches (MUygTY); ***NE*** *alačï*: *at alačï* ‘konjuša’ (AltTK), *alančïk* ‘Rindenjurte’ (AltTelR), *alančïk* ‘eine dünne Stange’ (AltQKR), *alažïx* ‘konusoobraznyj šalaš (v takih šalašah žili kogda-to hakasy)’ (Khak), *alaǰï* ‘čum, žerd′ čuma’, *alačïx*, *alančïx* ‘starinnoe konusoobraznoe žilišče, pokrytoe berestoj’ (KhakB), *alaǰï* ‘šest′ ostova čuma’, *alaǰï-og* ‘čum, tofalarskaja jurta’ (Tof); ***Y*** *alasa* ‘ujutnost′, udobstvo, obširnost′; usad′ba’ (Y), *alaha* ‘Hof, Bauerngut’ (Dlg).

T ⟶ Mo *alačuka*, T ⟶ ORus *alačuga*, *olačuga* > Rus *lačuga*, T ⟶ Os *alacæg* ‘šalaš (“ohotničnik jazyk”)’.

Mo *alaġ* ‘multi-coloured, motley’, *alaġčin* ‘motley, variegated, parti-coloured, piebald’ (L), MMo *ala* ‘grappled’ (AKD 79), *alačuqa* ‘a type of tent’ (SH).

E/T The basic T word is *ala* 'piebald, motley, variegated', mostly with a connotation of 'non-monochrome' rather than 'multichrome'. The word or its ders such as *alak*, *ala-bula* etc. are present in almost all sources and in the neighbouring non-T lgs. It had an initial *h-* which is reflected in the Tib transcription of EOT (*Dru-gu ha-la yun-log* 'Turks with pied horses', TP1283 91) and in Khal (*hāla-bula* 'vielfarbig, bunt'). The initial *h-* is, however not reflected in Mo. There exist two ders which may come into consideration in connection with the H word: (1) *alaču(k)*, which denotes a tent with a non-white cover. This was borrowed into Mo (SH *alačuka*) and Rus, and (2) *alača* with the meaning 'motley', which became the word for a special motley homespun rug and was borrowed into Pe and reborrowed by many T lgs (see BashkD *alas*). The first, *alaču*(*k*), has such forms as *alaǰï* (Khak, Tof), and *alačïk*, but both are late developments. In a few ModT lgs as in Bashk, and some Sib lgs we find **alač*. According to Tenišev (2001: 497), *alaču* (of unknown origin) would have had the original meaning 'pole, used for constructing a tent' and has to be separated fr the word *ala* 'variegated etc.', and Tkm *alaǰa* 'turkmenskaja palatka iz pestroj materii' is a folk-etymological item. The latter word is absent fr Baskakov–Karryev–Hamzaev (1968), nor can it be found in Vámbéry's work (1867). On the Mo and Kor parallels, see Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 291), who do not reconstruct an *h-*, considering it to be secondary in T.

E/H It was Gombocz (1909b: 421) who first connected the word with its T counterpart, but it is absent fr Gombocz (1912b). Alexics (1910: 80) claimed that the word entered H via Rom. His suggestion is that *alač* is a Rom back formation fr *alača*, whose gender was felt to be of feminine. This was then basically accepted by Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 56–57). Reuter (1983: 331) suggested that the word is of Cum or Pech origin and the T base *ala* took on a H dim suff *+č*. Senga (1993: 328–336) reconstructed a T form *alač*, reflected, according to him, in a tribal name noted by Ch sources (New Tang-shu). The Rom form would be, according to Senga, of H origin. The Ch transcription is, however, neutral to the final vowel, thus this cannot be used as an argument. It is in the pinyin transcription *e-luo-zhi*, MCh *ʔat-la-či* or *ʔat-la-čiă*. If the T form ended in *-č* or *-či*, the Ch would have had to use the syllable *-či* in both cases. Ligeti (1971: 181–182) reconstructed **Ala[k]či*. On the other hand, fr the H point of view it is a matter of indifference whether the T word was **alač* or **alačï*, because **alačï* would regularly become *alač* in H. The only problem is that neither *alač* nor *alačï* is recorded as a common noun or adj. To this we have to add that a T word *alača* cannot be the origin of H *alacs* because the final *-a* would not have disappeared (see **alma**, **béka**, **torma** and § 5.8.19). Nor could the origin be *alaču* 'tent' for semantic reasons. On *alačuk* 'tent', see Andrews (1999: Index). Hypothetically, one could reconstruct a word **alaču* with the meaning 'pied' fr which the word for 'tent' later developed. This would mean that H borrowed the word either

earlier than the semantic change 'motley' > 'tent with a motley cover' occurred, or that it borrowed fr a WOT dial where the semantic change did not occur. A dial variant of *alaču* would be the origin of the tribal name *Alači*. The supposed Rom origin, according to which it was felt to be a feminine form and a masculine back formation *alači* was created (see the literature in Reuter 1983), cannot solve the problem of the H word for chronological reasons. A Rom final *-i* would have been preserved in H. The word forms a basic part of the terminology of animal husbandry and has no direct connection with the 'people with piebald horses' (as claimed by Senga 1993).

Less probable is that H copied a form *ala* and added the old and non-productive H dim suff *+č* (orth *-cs*, as in H *kövecs* 'small stone, pebble' < *kő* 'stone'), because there is no trace of **ala* in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1867; Munkácsi 1884b: 98; Munkácsi 1887–1890: 36; Gombocz 1909b: 421; Alexics 1910: 79–80; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 56–57; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 97–102; Györffy 1963–1998/1: 244; Egorov 1964: 272; Räsänen 1969: 15; Ligeti 1971: 181–182; Bakos 1972: 337; Clauson 1972: 129; Szabó 1975–1995/1: 197; Bakos 1982: 208; Reuter 1983: 331; Mándoky 1993: 133; Senga 1993: 328–336; Stachowski 1993: 79; Stachowski 1996: 218; Fedotov 1996/1: 331; Fedotov 1996/2: 274; Andrews 1999: Index; Tenišev 2001: 497; Tietze 2002: 138; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 291.

ALMA [ålmå] 'apple' | 1009/1404 GN *Almas* [ålmā-š], 1225 GN *Almafa* [ålmå-få], 1235 GN *Olma* [ålmå], 1335 *alma* [ålmå] | *ålmå* < **alma* ← WOT **alma* | EOT *alma*, *alïmla* 'apple' ← IE.

OT *alïmla* 'Apfel' (UWb), *alma* 'apple' (AK, Og), *alïmla* 'apple' (AK, corrected to *alïmala* and read by Dankoff–Kelly as *almïla*); **MT** *alma* 'apple' (ABF), *alma* 'apple' (AGul), *alma* 'jabloko' (AHŠF), *alma* 'jabloko' (AIM), *alma* 'apple' (AIMI), *alma* 'apple' (AKD), *alma* 'jabloko' (AM), *alma* 'jabloko' (ANehF), *alma* 'pomme' (AChag), *alma* 'jabloko' (AChagMA, Appendix), *alma* 'apple' (AChagSC), *alma* 'Apfel' (LCCI), *almā* 'elma' (AAH), *ālmā* 'apple' (ADur), *alma* 'Apfel' (AHou), *alma* 'Apfel' (AKav), *ālma* 'jabloko' (ATuh), *alma* 'pomme' (AmTr), *alma* 'elma' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ulma* 'jabloko' (Chuv); ***NW*** *alma* 'jabloko' (Tat), *alma* 'jabloko' (Bashk), *alma* 'Apfel' (SibTatBR), *alma* 'Apfel' (SibTatTR), *alma* 'jabloko' (Kirg), *alma* 'jabloko' (Kaz), *alma* 'jabloko' (Kklp), *alma* 'jabloko' (Nog), *alma* 'jabloko' (CrTat), *alma* 'jabloko' (Kar), *alma* 'jabloko' (Kum), *alma* 'jabloko' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *alma* 'jabloko' (Tkm), *alma* 'jabloko' (Az), *elma* 'apple' (Tt); ***Kh*** *almata* 'Kiefer (Körperteil)' (KhT); ***SE*** *ålma* 'jabloko' (Uzb), *alma*, *almar*, *amma* 'apple, apple-tree' (TurkiJ), *alma* 'jabloko' (TurkiL), *alma* 'Apfel' (TurkiTR), *alma* 'jabloko' (Sal), *alma* 'jabloko' (YUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *alima* 'apple' (L).

E/T The T word is of IE origin. The oldest known IE form is **šam*(*a*)*lu*, which existed in Hittite. The initial *š-* was regularly lost in all other IE lgs. The word was present in all "Old European" lgs (Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Slavonic, Baltic) in such

forms as **ablu*, **aplu*, **amlu* (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 548–552). The form that was borrowed directly was **amla ~ *alma*, perhaps of Toch origin (personal letter 02. 09. 94. fr Erdal quoting a letter fr Kortlant, on the details see Erdal 1993: 27–36). The Chuv word (also *panulmi*) also has the meaning 'potato'. For geobotanical reasons the word is absent fr almost all Sib lgs. In Europe the northern border of the wild apple is the line of the 11° September isotherm (Nejštadt 1957/1: 410) reaching Nizhnij-Novgorod and Kazan. Fr Kazan it goes down to the Ural river delta. Mo *alima* may be of OT origin, cf. OT *alïmla*.

E/H The H word appears in a GN (*Almas* 'name of a brook') as early as 1009. It has been considered to be of T origin by all H authorities since Vámbéry (1870: 126).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 126; Budenz 1873: 76; Vámbéry 1882a: 222; Munkácsi 1905: 376; Gombocz 1907a: 23; Gombocz 1912b: 36; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 76–77; Vámbéry 1914: 135; Kerényi 1931: 105; Räsänen 1937: 252; Bárczi 1941: 7; Nejštadt 1957/1: 410; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 311; Joki 1963: 1–17; Egorov 1964: 273; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 140; Räsänen 1969: 18; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 138; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984: 637–639; Ligeti 1986: 199–200; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 217; Erdal 1993: 27–36; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 29; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 548–552; Fedotov 1996/2: 278; Tenišev 2001: 145; Tietze 2002: 157.

ÁLTALAG [āltålåg], **átalag** [ātålåg], **ántalag** [āntålåg] 'barrel (wooden container and standard quantity)' | c1395 *althalag* [āltålåg], 1556 *atalagal* [ātålåg-gål] | *āltålåg*, *ātålåg* < *altalag* ⟵ WOT **altïlïg* | T *altïlïk* 'the six, something for the value six, containing six' < *altï* {with suff *+lXk*}.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *altïlïq* 'ǰiyer, šüš' (AChagMA), *altïlïq* 'ǰiyer, šüš' (AChagŠS); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ulttălla* 'všestero' (Chuv); ***NW*** *altïlï* 'šesterka (cifra), šestoj razmer' (Tat), *altïlï*, *altïlïk* 'sesterka' (Bashk), *altïlïk* 'šesterka (kart.)' (Kirg), *altïlïk* 'six (in cards)' (Kaz), *altïlïk* 'šesterka (kart.)' (Kklp); ***SW*** *altïlïk* 'šesterka (cifra)' (Tkm), *altïlïg* 'šesterka', *altïllïk* 'šestigodičnyj' (Az), *altılık* 'pertaining to six, six-piaster piece' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *åltilik* 'šesterka (v kartah), strofa iz šesti strok' (Uzb); ***NE*** *altïlu* 'imejuščij šest′ (let, dnej, nočej i t. p.)' (AltQK), *aldïlïg* 'šestiletnyj (o vozraste)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *altalāx* 'šesti let, šestiletnyj' (Y).

E/T The T word is a der fr *altï* 'six' with the suff *+lXk* (Erdal 1991: 121–130) with the meaning 'to consist of six, etc.'

E/H The H word may be of T origin if it originally denoted a measure of six units. However, no H data corroborates the idea that the word denoted a barrel or other container with six units of an unknown smaller quantity. The final *-g* is also unusual, though see **szúnyog**. The word has a secondary H form *ántalag*, and fr this *antal*. The latter may have developed under the influence of the name *Antal*. Some of these H forms were borrowed by Pol and Rus mostly denoting a barrel of H wine. Benkő's argument (1967–1984/1: 192–193) that the T word does not denote measure is not very strong, because this type of construction may denote measures as Kirg

birdik ‘edinica’, *ölčö birdigi* ‘edinica mery’, and Tt *beşlik* ‘five piaster piece, worth five piasters’. A word with similar semantics was borrowed fr Sl into H: *cseter*(*t*) ‘modius; Schäffel, ein Kornmass’, first documented fr the 15th c. ← *četvьrtъ* ‘Viertel’), see Kniezsa (1955). According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 192–193; 1993–1997/1: 56) the word is of unknown origin. The H word has no other acceptable etymology.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 11; Horger 1942b: 160; Kniezsa 1955: 132; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 192–193; Erdal 1991: 121–130; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 56.

ÁPOL [āpol] ‘to nurse, take care of’ | p1372/c1448 *meg apolyauala* [āpol-yå wålå], 1508 *Apalaffal* [åpål-āššål], 1512 *meg apuluan* [meg-åpul-vān], dial *apolgat* [åpol-gåt] ‘to kiss frequently’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 237) | *āpol-* < *apol-* < **op*(-) {with suff +(*V*)*l*-} ← WOT **op*(-) | EOT *öp-* ‘to kiss; to sip or suck in the air or a liquid’, *op-* ‘to gulp down, swallow’.

Of debated T origin.

1 (Back vocalic verbal stem): **OT** *op-* ‘to swallow’: *azū turūq suv ärsär opāyn̄* ‘oder wenn (es) klares Wasser ist (so) will ich es trinken’ (RTT I:1–3), *op-* ‘to swallow’ (AQB), *ōp-* ‘to gulp down (water or other)’: *är sūw ōpdi* ‘the man gulped down the water (or other)’ (AK); **MT** *op-* ‘(höpürdeterek) içmek’ (AHMA), *op-* ‘baiser’ (AChag), *op-* ‘setr etmek, kapamak’ (AChagŠS), *oparmaq* ‘obsculo’, *opmaq* ‘obsculum’ (LCC, LCCI), *op-* ‘proglatyvatʹ, vypivatʹ srazu, osušatʹ’ (read by Fazylov as *öb-*), *obur* ‘zloj duh, čudovišče’ (ATuh), *op-* ‘baiser, embrasser’ (AmTr, no *ö* exists in Am), *op-* ‘somurup yutmak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vup-* ‘(ust.) portitʹ, napuskatʹ porču, prinositʹ nesčastʹe (o zlyh duhah)’, *vopaška* ‘ovrag’ (ChuvA), *vupăr*, *vupkăn* ‘zloj duh’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *up-* tr. ‘provalivatʹsja (o zemle); (prost.) žratʹ, lopatʹ, treskatʹ’ (Tat), *up-* ‘zasasyvatʹ, zatjagivatʹ’ (Bashk), *opkok* ‘nenasytnyj, prožorlivyj’, *opsor* ‘(čujsk.) žadnyj, prožorlivyj’ (Kirg), *op-* ‘to eat up, gorge, swallow’, *obïr* ‘glutton, insatiable; vampire’ (Kaz), *op-* ‘zasasyvatʹ, zatjagivatʹ, požiratʹ, s″datʹ vse srazu’ (Nog), *op-* ‘pohiščatʹ, pogloščatʹ’ (KarT, KarH), *op-* ‘küssen’ (KumNSev), *uppa* ‘poceluj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *op-* intr. ‘provalivatʹsja, osedatʹ’, *hop-* ‘provalivatʹsja, obvalivatʹsja, obrušivatʹsja (vnutrʹ čego-l.)’ (Tkm), *hop-* ‘vpityvatʹsja’ (Az), *obur* ‘greedy, gluttonous’ (Tt), *up-* ‘to kiss’ (TtD), *obur*, *hobur* ‘prožorlivyj, žadnyj, obžora, (mif.) oboroten′, vurdalak’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ŭp-* ‘celovatʹ’ (Uzb), *opqan* ‘obžora, prožorlivyj’ (MUyg), *opkur* ‘žadnyj, hiščij’ (MUygKh), *op-* ‘celovatʹ’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *opčoniš-* ‘celovatʹsja, pocelovatʹsja’ (AltT), *op-* ‘einsaugen, einziehen’ (AltTelR), *op-* ‘einsaugen, einziehen’ (ChulR), *upqan* ‘livenʹ, silnyj dožd’’ (Tof); ***Y*** tr. *uop-*, *uobV-* ‘bratʹ v rot (ili deržatʹ vo rtu) čto-libo tverdoe ili gustoe – stolʹko, skolʹko možet udobno pomestitʹsja, vkladyvatʹ sebe v rot kusok, klastʹ (bratʹ) sebe v rot pomnogu (pišči), žratʹ, lopatʹ, požiratʹ, pogloščatʹ, hapnutʹ (o vzjatke)’ (Y), *uobu*, *ōbu* ‘Bissen, Happen’ (Dlg).

2 (Back vocalic nominal stem): **OT** –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *op* 'vdyhanie, vtjagivanie dyhaniem v sebja' (Kirg), *op* 'laska' (CrTat), *upay* = *öbüw* 'imja dejstvija' of *öpmek* 'celovat′' (Kum); ***SW*** *xopuk-* 'zadyhat′sja, pugat′sja, strašit′sja, ispityvat′ strah, bojazn′' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *upli-* 'vzdyhat′, ohat′' (MUyg); ***NE*** *xoptak* 'žadnyj, alčnyj, prožorlivyj' (Tuv); ***Y*** *uop* 'kusok, vkladyvaemyj v rot za odin raz, ževok' (Y), *uopča* 'Bissen, Happen' (Dlg).

3 (Front vocalic verbal stem): **OT** *öp-* 'to drink, kiss (the ground)' (AQB), *öp-* 'to sip': *mūn öpdi* 'he sipped the soup (or other)' (AK), *öp-* 'to kiss': *ol mäni öpdi* 'he kissed me' (AK); **MT** *öp-* 'to kiss' (AGul), *öp-* 'öpmek' (AHMA), *öp-* 'celovat′' (AHŠ, AHŠF, AIM, AIMI), *öp* 'kiss!' (AKD), *öp-* 'celovat′' (AM), *öp-* 'celovat′' (ANehF), *öp-* 'celovat′' (ATef), *öpti* 'poceloval' (AChagMA), *öp-* 'küssen' (LCC, LCCG), *öp* '*öpmek* fiilinden emri hazır' (AAH), *öp-* 'baiser, embrasser' (ADur), *öp-* 'küssen' (AHou), *öp-* 'küssen' (AKav), *öb-* 'celovat′' (ATuh), *op-* 'baiser, embrasser' (AmTr), *öpmecik* 'öpücük' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *üp-* 'celovat′' (Tat), *üp-* 'celovat′' (Bashk), *öp-* 'celovat′' (Kirg), *öp-* 'celovat′' (RKaz), *öp-* 'celovat′, rascelovat′' (Kklp), *öp-* 'celovat′, rascelovat′' (Nog), *öp-* 'celovat′, rascelovat′' (CrTat), *öp-* 'celovat′' (KarT), *ėp-* 'celovat′' (KarH), *öp-* 'celovat′' (Kum); ***SW*** *öp-* 'celovat′' (Tkm), *öp-* 'celovat′, pocelovat′' (Az), *öp-* 'to kiss', *höpürdet-* 'to sip noisiliy' (Tt), *öp-* 'celovat′' (Gag); ***Kh*** *ep-* 'küssen' (Kh); ***SE*** *äp-* 'celovat′' (UzbDSev), *öp-* 'celovat′' (TurkiL), *öp-* 'celovat′, ljubzat′' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *uġu-* 'to drink, to eat liquid food, to absorb liquids' (L).

E/T The T word family is of onomatopoeic origin, describing the noise of sipping or sucking. The fact that we find an initial *h-* in some T lgs may be due to the onomatopoeic character of the word and is not necessarily the reflex of an old **p-*. In the later lgs a semantic differentiation occurred. The front vocalic forms were associated with a lighter noise and a higher pitch and hence the semantic connection with 'kiss', while the back vocalic forms with a lower pitch were associated with a somewhat more noisy action, such as swallowing or sipping. The OT data show that the differentiation occurred relatively late; moreover, it is not complete in some lgs. The late and not total differentiation of the front and back vocalic words is also evident fr the fact that the T word for 'lungs' *öpkä* surely belongs here. The meanings 'glutton' and 'evil demons who suck like vampires' developed fr the meaning 'to swallow'. In some lgs the semantic connection with sucking was lost and ders such as MKip *obur* and Chuv *vupăr*, *vupkăn* (the latter a Tat lw) can denote other evil demons as well. The connection of T *obur* with such Sl words as Rus *upyr*, Blg *upir*, Czech and Slvk *upir*, Pol *upiór* and perhaps Grm *Vampir* is debated (see Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 165). The word also denotes the action of imbibing water into the soil. Ders denote places which sip the water such as ravines etc. It is interesting that we find the nominal base *op* and the verbal base *op-*/*öp-* without any morphological differentiation.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1057) connect the T word with PMo **uw(u)*-. Mo *-g-* regularly corresponds to T *-p-*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 28) correctly reconstruct Mo "ɣ" as vanishing *-g-* and as equivalent for PA *-p'-*, but the assumption that non-aspirated *-p-* changed to *-b-* in PT is unclear.

E/H The original form of the H word contained a short *a-* and it denoted 'to kiss'. Then the present meaning 'to care, nurse' developed through the meaning 'to caress'. The old meaning has been preserved in ders. The H word was connected with the T as early as the mid-19th c. The comparison was also mentioned by Vámbéry (1870: 121) and the otherwise severely critical Budenz regarded it as possible (1873: 77). The comparison was later rejected by Gombocz (1912b: 209–210) due to "lautliche Schwierigkeiten". This was surely based on the fact that Gombocz could not see a possibility for T *o* ⟶ H *o* > *a*. However, he himself pointed to such words as H **apró** in which the original *o* became *a* before the second long *ó* (Gombocz 1912b: 147). Fr a phonetic point of view it is important that the H *å* is a labial vowel and therefore a foreign *o* could also be replaced by a H *å*. The chronology of the labiality of H *a* is debated, but it was surely present in OH, see § 5.8.5, 6.3.1. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 165), the word is of unknown origin, and its connection with T is "erroneous". Palló argued for the T origin and it was under the influence of her arguments that Benkő (1993–1997/1: 41) slightly changed his opinion to "Herleitung aus dem Atürk ist kaum warsch[einlich]" and claimed that the word is a der fr a fictitious stem of unknown origin. Horpácsi (1993: 340–341) suggested that the stem of the H word had to be an onomatopoeic one, and Berta (2001d: 395–408) has demonstrated that the T words have to be traced back to an onomatopoeic base. This leaves us with two onomatopoeic bases. On the T side we have *op*(-)/*öp*(-) and on the H *ap*(-) < **op*(-). There is a H den verbal suff +(*V*)*l-* and a dev one. The latter, which has a freq function, was earlier very productive, but is now obsolete. It is unlikely that this dev suff was used here, because the freq suff had been added as early as the 16th c.: *apolgat*. It is more probable that H added a den verbal suff to an onomatopoeic stem.

The T origin of the H word cannot be proved. We cannot rule out that onomatopoeics can be copied, but since these words intended to imitate real sounds, it always remains a possibility that the same or very similar onomatopoeic words appeared independently in different lgs.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 330; Vámbéry 1870: 121; Budenz 1873: 77; Munkácsi 1902: 274; Gombocz 1907a: 23–24; Gombocz 1912b: 147, 209–210; Kora 1913: 281–282; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 111–113; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 165; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 165; Clauson 1972: 4; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 464–465, 539–542; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 237; Palló 1982: 19–21; Kakuk 1985: 268; Horpácsi 1993: 340–341; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 41; Berta 2001d: 395–408; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 28, 1057.

ÁPORODIK [āporodik] 'to decay, putrify, turn stale' | 1588 *meg aporodnec* [meg āporod-nēk] (of food) | *āporodik-* < **oporo-* {with suffs *-(V)d-* and *-ik-*} ← WOT **op(u)ra-* | EOT *opra-* 'to grow old, decay, to wear out' < **op* {with suff *+rA-*}.

Of possible T origin.

OT *opra-* (misspelt as *apra-*) 'to decay' (UTT II 2 16), *opraq* 'zerstörten': *opraq balïq-qa oqšadï* 'einer zerstörten Stadt ähnlich (ist der Körper sündiger Menschen)' (UBT XIII Nr. 16), *opra-* 'the garment wore out' (AK), *qarïmaz … opramaz* '(the man) does not get old or decrepit' (AQB); **MT** *opraq* 'elbise' (UYA 78), *orpaq telük* 'Habseligkeiten' (UCivMi 01 7), *orpaq ayïg̈ sïnuq barïm* 'meine schäbige, schlechte, zerbrochene Besitztümer' (UCivAd 03 15–16), *opra-* 'çürümek, dağılmak' (AHMA), *opra-* 'iznašivatʹsja, razrušatʹsja' (AHŠF read as *ubra-*), *opraq* 'iznošennyj (o platʹe)' (AHŠF read as *ubrak*), *opra-* 'yıpranmak' (AIM), *opradï* 'eskidi, aşındı' (AIMI 96, both read with *-b-*), *örpek* 'rastrepannyj' (ANehF), *opra-* 'wear out (boots)' (ARbg), *eprik* 'vieux, age' (AChag), *opra-* 'to grow old, decay' (AChagSC), *eprik* 'eski, münderis, extijar' (AChagŠS), *opraq* 'Kleid, vestimentum' (LCC), *opra-* 'déployer, répandre, défaire (cheveux)', *opran-* 'dépérir, s'affaiblir, s'étioler, tomber en ruine', *oprat-* 'détruire, user, consumer, dévorer' (AmTr), *opur sapur* 'kırık dökük şeyler, çörçöp' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *opïra-* 'razvalivatʹsja, obvalivatʹsja, razrušatʹsja' (Nog), *upral-* 'istrepatʹsja, iznositʹsja', *upran-* 'rassypatʹsja, iznositʹsja', *uprat-* 'iznositʹ, isterpatʹ odeždu' (CrTat), *uprak* 'odežda' (Kar), *opurak* 'odežda' (Kum), *opurak* 'odežda, roba' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ŭpir-* 'provalivatʹ, obvalivatʹ, obrusivatʹ, razrušatʹ' (Uzb), *upura-*, *uprï-* 'to be worn out' (TurkiJ), *uprï-* 'iznašivatʹsja, vetšatʹ' (MUyg), *upra-*: *pul uprap kaldi* 'dengi rashodovalisʹ, deneg otstalosʹ malo' (MUygKh); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word seems to be absent fr many T lgs. The following Sib words are lws fr Mo: *üre-* 'isportitʹsja, iznositʹsja' (AltTK), *ūra-* 'iznašivatʹsja (napr. ob obuvi)' (Khak), *üre-* 'lomatʹ, razrušatʹ, portitʹ, narušatʹ, rasstraivatʹ' (Tuv), *üre-* 'lomatʹ, razrušatʹ, portitʹ' (Tof), *ürey-* 'razbrasyvatʹ, raskidyvatʹ, privoditʹ v besporjadok (obyčno čto l. složennoe, uložennoe)' (Y), see Mo *üre-* 'to waste, squander, destroy, eliminate' (L).

The T word seems to be a der fr a nominal base **op* and the suff *+rA-* (Erdal 1991: 469–474). The suff only joins monosyllabic stems. This is onomatopoeic if it ends in gutturals (*-g*, *-k*, *-ŋ*). In other cases, as for example in *täprä-* 'to move, to stir, shake', the base is descriptive. That should also be the case here. The word *oprak* 'dress' and its metathetic form *orpak*, which first occurs with such a meaning in the CC, evolved fr an adj construction *oprak tōn* 'shabby or worn, "tattered", clothing or garment' (AK) > 'the worn (thing)' > 'dress'.

In the literature (see e.g. Räsänen 1969: 363) two words, *opra-* and *opur-* have been muddled. While *opra-* (intr) denotes a process during which a normally soft thing becomes tattered, *opur-* (tr) denotes an action which cuts things into small

pieces. See the second word under **apró**. It is uncertain whether *yıpra-* ‘obtrepaťsja, (o tkani), snositťsja’ (TtB) belongs here.

While the word is also associated with property and health in OT, in MT its range is restricted to association with clothing. Front vocalic forms appear in MT. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1057) connect the T word with Mo *obur* ‘appearance’. They attempt to solve the semantic problem with the supposition that it originally denoted ‘bad appearance’ and cite *oburda-* ‘to be arrogant’. The comparison is unacceptable. They reconstruct a PA *-pʻ-* (*opʻá*(*rV*)), which should, according to Starostin, provide the “vanishing” *-γ-* in Mo (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 28). The semantic side is also highly problematic. The Mo word has the meaning ‘outer appearance’. Figurative semantic changes, as shown by Eng *high-headed*, H *nagyképű* ‘self-important, *lit* big-faced’ etc., are the normal patterns if they occur in an attributive compound.

E/H The H word is mostly associated with food, drink or air, but may also be said of clothing. In this case it means, however, that the clothes are not clean and have a bad smell. Its metaphoric meanings, like ‘to be moody’, are secondary. The semantic connection between the T and H words is possible, but not beyond any doubt. Phonetic and morphological doubts noted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 42) are not unfounded. The OH data point to a trisyllabic source. Though trisyllabic forms are present e.g. in Kirg, Nog and Turki, they seem to be secondary there. A connection with H *záp* ‘addled, rotten’ as claimed by Bárczi (1941: 8) can be ruled out.

◆ Gombocz 1914b: 336; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 113; Bárczi 1941: 8; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 165; Räsänen 1969: 363, 515; Clauson 1972: 14; Palló 1982: 22–24; Erdal 1991: 469–474; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 42; Fedotov 1996/1: 131; Berta 2000b: 186–188; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 28, 1057.

APRÓ [åprō] ‘small, tiny’ | 1145/1443 GN *aprokwrthwel* [åprō-kürtvēl], 1268 GN *Oprouscyl* [åprou-sil], 1304/1464 GN *Oprosir* [åprō-šīr], c1395 *aproboÿthoryan* [åprō-boytoryān], 1755 *aprajával* [åprå-yāvål] | *åprō* < **opraų̯* < *opuruγ* ⟵ WOT **opuruγ* | EOT **opurog* ‘things cut into pieces’ < **op*(*p*)*ur-* ‘to cut into pieces’ {with suff -(*X*)*g*} || **apró-cseprő** [åprō-čeprȭ] ‘trivial, trifling, petty’ | 1598 *apróstól czeprőstól* [åprō-štōl čeprȭ-štȭl] | *čeprő* echo word.

OT *opra-* ‘s’user’ (UHamTouHou), *opra-* ‘to be shabby or worn (garment), *oprāk* ‘a tattered garment, or other’ (AK); **MT** *orpaq* ‘schäbig, Schäbiges’ (UCivAd 03), *örper-* ‘vzťerošitť’ (ANehF), *opra-* ‘to wear out’ (ARbg), *opra-* ‘to grow old, decay’ (AChagSC), *opraq* ‘Futter, foratura’ (LCCI), *opur sapur* ‘kırık dökük şeyler, çörçöp’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *opur-* ‘otryvatť, othvatyvatť bolťšimi kuskami’ (Kirg), *opïr-* ‘to pull off, to play havoc, to destroy, to blow up’ (Kaz), *omïr-*, *opïr-* ‘otlamyvatť, razlamyvatť’, *omïrïl-* ‘otlamyvatťsja, razlamyvatťsja’ (Kklp), *omïr-* ‘otlamyvatť, razlamyvatť’, *opïra-* ‘razvalivatťsja, razrušatťsja’ (Nog); ***SW*** *opur-* ‘razrušatť, (peren.) razvalivatť (napr. rabotu, hozjajstvo)’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** *hopruq* ‘zerstört, verfallen’ (KhT); ***SE***

ŭpir- ‘provalivaťsja, obrušivaťsja, razrušaťsja’ (Uzb), *opruq* ‘zerschlagen, zerstückelt’ (TurkiShR), *opur-* ‘prolamyvaťsja’ (MUyg), *opuruluš* ‘prolom, proryv’ (MUygBN); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T This word has to be separated fr the word *opra-* ‘to grow old, decay, to wear out’ (for the semantic and morphological problems see **áporodik**). Forms like *oprak*, having developed fr *opur-*(*A*)*k*, have to be separated fr forms that come fr *opra-*(*O*)*k*, on the latter see Erdal (1991: 240, *oprak* ‘decrepit, worn out’). This is not always easy. In some cases inner T changes may also obscure the picture. For example, Kirg *upura-* ‘razbivaťsja na melkie krupinki’ and *upurak* ‘razmelčennyj, melkij’ seem to be inner Kirg secondary forms evolved fr *opur-* (see above and KirgD *opuruk* ‘obryv, pomytyj vodoj’). The Kirg word also has to be separated fr the verb *ug-*, *uv-* ‘to grind, crush, crumble, reduce to powder’ and its ders like *uvak*, *ufak* etc. though in some cases the three words may have influenced each other. There exist two homophonous words in CC, *oprak* ‘vestimentum’ and *oprak* ‘foratura’. For phonetic reasons it is unlikely that the word *oprak* ‘foratura’ in CC is a Rus lw (cf. Rus *obrók* ‘socage, quitrent’ < Sl **ob* + *rok* → H *abrak* ‘fodder’). It is more probable that CC *oprak* denotes fodder cut into small pieces. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 43) did not separate our word fr *ug-*, *uv-*. The Kh form points to an earlier *h-* and the preservation of *-p-* in the Kip lgs to an earlier *-pp-*. The verb could be a der with the caus suff -(*U*)*r-* (Erdal 1991: 710–734). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 466) cites Tkm *op-* ‘raspadaťsja, treskaťsja, lopaťsja’. Also cf. *op-* ‘provalivaťsja, osedaťsja’ in the TkmR dict. The Tkm explanatory dict has *op-* ‘esasan suv gitmek, ïzgar almak zerarlï ašak čökmek (yer barada)’: *Xovlïnïŋ ileri burčï opdï*. Sevortjan, however, rightly pointed out that the semantic connection between Tkm *op-* and *opur-* is not quite satisfying. Berta (2000b: 183–186) supposed a composite verb fr the onomatopoeic **hopp* and the verb *ūr-* ‘to strike’ (< **hūr-* < **pūr-*) with the meaning ‘to ruin, to break into pieces’. Maybe we cannot go beyond the verb *opur-*.

E/H The H and T words were connected by Vámbéry (1870: 127). This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 37), and by all H authorities since then (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 167; 1993–1997/1: 43 with some hesitation, and mistakenly connected with **áporodik**). The H word is a copy of a WOT form like **opurug*, with the early disappearance of the second vowel. This may have occurred either in T or in H. On the correspondence of H *a* to T *o* see **áporodik**, **ápol**, **arat**. On H final *-ó* [ō] = T *-Vk* see **kanyaró**, **orsó**, **ünő** etc. and § 6.2.1.

The second part of *apró-cseprő* is an echo-word for *apró* and does not occur separately. Its comparison with H *cseperedik-* ‘to grow, shoot up’ or *csöpörödik-*, a secondary form for H *töpörödik-* ‘to shrivel, shrink’ (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 43), is unconvincing. Some earlier H data, such as *apró-csöpű* (1613), *apró-csepő* (1750), *apró-csepű* (1754), *apró-csep* (1766) (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 167) make it plausible that the

second part evolved under the influence of H *csepp* or **csepű**, the latter being of T origin. Also, the word **seprő**[2] 'lees, dregs of wine' may have exerted some influence. Though similar doublets are known in the T lgs (see Vásáry 1994), it is unlikely that the doublet itself, appearing relatively late in H, evolved under T influence.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 127; Budenz 1873–1881: 747; Gombocz 1912b: 37; Vámbéry 1914: 135; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 115–116, 954–955; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 167; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 466; Palló 1982: 23; Ligeti 1986: 13, 201; Erdal 1991: 240, 710–734; Zieme 1991: 202; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 43; Vásáry 1994: 273–293; Berta 2000b: 183–186.

ARAT [åråt] 'to mow' | 1211 PN *Aratas* [åråt-āš], p1372/c1448 *aratnak* [åråt-nåk] | *åråt-* < **orat-* ← WOT **orat-* or **or-* {with suff -(*V*)*t*-} ← WOT **or-* | EOT **or*(*a*)*t*- 'caus of *ora*-' < *or*- 'to mow, reap' {with suff -(*X*)*t*-}.

OT *or*- 'to mow (grass), reap (cereal crops)' (AK, AQB, the aorist is *orar*); **MT** *or*- 'mähen' (UErnteI, II), *or*- 'žať, kosiť, sobirať (ubirať) urožaj' (AHŠF), *orġaq* 'serp' (AIM), *orġak* 'orak' (AIMI), *oraq* 'scythe, sickle' (AKD), *or*- 'žať, kosiť, sobirať (ubirať) urožaj' (ANehF), *or*- 'to harvest (with a scythe)' (ARbg), *ur*- 'vurmak, tevecc üh etmek' (AYC), *or*- 'moissonner' (AChag), *ordï* 'žal' (AChagMA), *or*- 'to mow (grass), reap' (AChagSC), *arïq, oraq* 'tırpan' (AChagŠS), *år*- 'męczyć się, być zmęczonym' (ABul), *or*- 'kosiť, skašivať' (ATuh), *orač* 'laboureur', *arax* 'moisson, récolte' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vïr*- 'žať, ubiraťʼ (Chuv); ***NW*** *ur*- 'žať, ubiraťʼ (Tat), *ur*- 'žaťʼ (Bashk), *or*- 'mähen, ernten, schneiden' (SibTatBR), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Kirg), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Kaz), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Kklp), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Nog), *oraq* 'serp, žatva' (CrTat), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (KarT), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (KarH), *ora*- 'žať, sobirať urožaj' (KarSh), *or*- 'žať, kosiť' (Kum), *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *or*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Tkm), *oragla*- 'žať serpom' (Az), *oraqla*- 'to cut, to crop with a sickle' (AzM), *ora*- 'to reap with a sickle' (Tt); ***Kh*** *hograq, orgaq* 'sickle' (KhM); ***SE*** *ŭr*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Uzb), *or*-, *oy*- 'to cut, mow, harvest' (TurkiJ), *oru*- 'kosiťʼ, *or*- 'kosiť, žaťʼ (MUyg), *or*-, *ur*- 'žať, kosiťʼ (Sal), *ur*- 'kosiť, rezať (travu)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *or*- 'žať, ubirať (urožaj)' (AltL, AltTK), *or*- 'mähen, ernten, schneiden' (AltLR, AltTR), *orgax* 'serp' (Khak), *or*- 'mähen, ernten, schneiden' (KhakShR), *or*- 'rvať, razryvať (napr. bumagu)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *or*-: *oron ïl*- 'obrezivať polukrugom' (Y).

Mo *uru*-, *ura*- 'to tear, rip, to bite' (L).

E/T The T word *or*- is present in almost all T lgs. The word for sickle *orgak* (> *orak*) is also found in such lgs as Az, where the verb seems to be obsolete now and a secondary verb *oragla*-/*orakla*- has arisen. Doerfer (1971: 299) cites the metathetic form *hōgrak* fr Kh. The T word had a mono- and a bisyllabic form. OT *orut* 'withered (grass), year-old dried (grass)' (AK) pertained to the second instead of the expected *ort* (cf. Erdal 1991: 310). The verb is bisyllabic in a few T lgs, such as KarSh, Tt and MUyg. The oldest form of harvesting involved tearing and ripping the crop. This basic meaning is reflected in Tuv and Y. The Mo word belongs to T *or*(*V*)-, see *uru*-

'to tear, rip, to bite' (L), *ur-* 'to tear, rip, scratch' (Khal), *ur-* 'zerreissen, in Stücke reissen' (Kalm), *uru-* 'déchirer, blesser en déchirant la peau, mordre, demêler [la laine]' (Ord), etc.

E/H The origin of the H word has long been debated. Some authors connect the H word *irt-* 'to extirpate' with *arat-* 'to mow', pointing to the fact that *irt-* has an early alternating form *ort-*, and that *arat-* may be a secondary development of *ort-*, *orot-* (see Lakó 1967–1978/2: 325–327 with earlier literature). According to this opinion, H *arat-*, *ort-* and *irt-* are all H developments of the same U verb **šurɜ-* 'schneiden, teilen' (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 503–504, *arat-* with ?). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 172; 1993–1997/1: 45) preferred the U etymology, but Benkő (1993–1997/1: 45), influenced by Palló's suggestion (1982: 25), mentions the T etymology as a second possibility. Lakó (1967–1978/2: 325–327) cited our word only under *irt-*. The basic meaning of the U word is 'to split', the phonetic correspondence is irregular, and there is only one Osty dial in which we find a meaning tied to agriculture.

The T original of the H word may have been the longer base **ora-*. For the correspondence T *o* ~ H *a* see **ápol**, **áporodik**, **apró**, **gyanú**, **kalóz**, **karám** etc. and § 6.3.1, 6.3.4. It is possible that we are dealing with OH -(*V*)*t-*, on which see Róna-Tas (1994: 109). This H suff has both instantaneous and caus functions. In this case, however, we have to suppose that H borrowed the verb **ora-* (which cannot be found in H) and later added a H suff. It is more likely that this is a case of the T caus -(*X*)*t-*, see **bánt**, **bosszant**, **dönt** (see **dől**), **gyújt**, **gyűjt**, though this is rare with this verb in T (cf. however Tt *orat-* caus of *ora-* 'to reap with a sickle'). The H verb *irt-* 'to extirpate etc.' and its dial variant *ort-* do not belong here. On the morphology of T loan verbs in H see § 6.5.8, 6.6.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 127; Budenz 1873–1881: 751; Gombocz 1898: 183; Munkácsi 1902: 273–274; Gombocz 1907a: 24; Gombocz 1912b: 37; Vámbéry 1914: 135; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 123–124; Moór 1939: 37; Bárczi 1941: 9–10; Horger 1942a: 11–16; Egorov 1964: 59; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 172; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 325–327; Räsänen 1969: 364; Doerfer 1971: 299; Clauson 1972: 194; Takács 1973: 355–359; Palló 1982: 25; Ligeti 1986: 287; Rédei: 1986–1991/1: 503–504; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 217; Erdal 1991: 310; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 45; Róna-Tas 1994: 109; Fedotov 1996/1: 137; Tenišev 2001: 469.

ÁRIK [ārik] *arch* 'to decay, putrefy, go bad (of food, water)' | 1878 *Árik* [ār-ik] | *ārik-* < **ār-* {with suff *-ik-*} ← WOT **ar-* > **arta-* || **árt** [ārt] 'to harm' | c1315 *artotlonšaga* [ārt-otlonšāgå], c1448 *arcz* [ārt-s] | *ārt-* < **ārtat-* ← WOT **artat-* | EOT *arta-* 'to putrefy, go bad', *artat-* 'to damage, spoil sg'.

Of debated T origin.

1 *ar-*, *arït-*, *artur-*: **OT** *ar*(*ï*)- 'to get exhausted (horse)' (RTIrk), *ar-* 'müde werden, ermüden' (UWb), *ar-* 'to be weak, tired (man)' (AQB, AK), *āroq* 'müde' (BN 14); **MT** *ar-* 'to grow weak, get tired' (AGul), *ar-* 'yorulmak' (AHMA), *ar-*, *arï-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja' (AHŠF), *arï-* 'utomit′sja', *ardur-* or *ardïr-* 'utomit′' (AIM), *arït-*

'temizlemek', *ardïr-* 'yormak' (AIMI), *arïlmïš* 'tired' (AKD), *ar-* 'to grow tired, become wearied/fatigued', *armaq* 'weariness, fatigue', *armaq* 'delusion' (AKor), *ar-*, *arï-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja' (ANehF), *ar-* 'to get tired, exhausted, weak' (ARbg), *ar-* 'ustavat′, oslabet′' (ATef), *ar-* 'être malade, fatigue' (AChag), *ardï*, *hardï* 'utomilsja' (AChagMA), *ar-* 'to be tired, exhausted, weak' (AChagSC), *ar-* 'zaif, hasta olmak' (AChagŠS), *ar-* 'ermüden' (LCC), *ar* '*armak* fiilinden emri hazır' (AAH), *ar-* 'armak, âciz bırakmak, küvetten düşürmek' (AAHI), *aruq* 'mager' (AHou), *ār-*, *ar-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja' (ATuh), *arïx* 'maigre, faible' (AmTr), *ar-* 'yorulmak, yorgun düşmek' (AOt); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ïr-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja', *ïrtar-* 'utomljat′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ar(ï)-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja', *arït-* 'utomit′' (Tat), *arï-* 'ermatten, müde werden, schlaff, abgestumpft werden' (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *arï-* 'ustavat′', *arït-* 'utomljat′, iznurjat′, izmatyvat′' (Bashk), *arï-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja, iznurjat′sja', *arït-* 'utomljat′, istoščat′' (Kirg), *arï-* 'to become tired, exhausted, to weaken', *arït-* 'to tire out (tr), to cause to become exhausted' (Kaz), *arï-* 'hudet′', *arït-* 'utomljat′, istoščat′', *har(ï)-* 'utomit′sja, vybit′sja iz sil, utomljat′sja, iznurjat′', *harït-* 'utomit′' (Kklp), *arï-* 'ustavat′, iznemogat′, iznurjat′', *arït-* 'obessilivat′, utomljat′' (Nog), *arï-* 'stanovit′sja hudym, toščim, stanovit′sja boleznennym, ustavat′, utomljat′sja, terjat′ sily, iznemogat′, žaždat′, ispytyvat′ žaždu' (Kar), *arï-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja, iznemogat′', *arït-* 'ponud. ot *arï-*' (Kum), *arï-* 'müde werden' (KrchP); ***SW*** *ār-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja', *arrïk* 'hudoj, ishudavšij, toščij, istoščennyj, podžaryj' (Tkm), *arġïn-yorġun* 'tired, exhausted' (AzM), *ar-* 'to be exhausted' (Tt); ***Kh*** *har-* 'erschöpft sein', *harqān*, *harqan* 'mager' (KhT); ***SE*** *hor(i)-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja', *horit-* 'utomljat′' (Uzb), *har-*, *hay-* 'to get tired, to be tired, to feel tired, to tire' (TurkiJ), *har-* 'utomljat′sja, ustavat′, izmatyvat′sja' (MUyg), *har-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja' (YUygM); ***NE*** *arï-* 'ustavat′, byt′ hudoščavym, toščim, boleznennym' (AltL), *arï-* 'toščat′, ustavat′' (AltTK), *ar-* 'hudet′, ishudat′, pohudet′, otoščat′', *arda-* 'portit′sja, isportit′sja, polučit′ povreždenie, uveč′e' (Khak), *ar-* 'hudet′' (Tuv); ***Y*** *ïr-*, *ïïr-* 'toščat′, hudet′, ustavat′, utomljat′sja'.

2 *arta-*, *artat-*: **OT** *arta-* 'to putrefy, go bad (normally of foodstuffs), but occasionally in a more generic metaph. sense', *artat-* 'to damage or spoil sthing' (Clauson 1972: 208), *artat-* 'to destroy, ruin' (RMTerh), *artattimiz ärsär* 'if we have ever corrupted (their heart and mind)' (UChuastVATEC 146:108), *arta-* 'faulen, verfaulen, vermodern, verfallen, zerfallen, missraten, verderben, der Vergänglichkeit anheimfallen, vergänglich sein, vergehen, hinweggehen, sterben, untergehen, zerstört werden, schwach werden, misslingen, sich zum Schlechten entwickeln', *artat-* 'verfaulen lassen, sterben lassen, töten, untergehen lassen, zerstören, verletzen, in schlechter Weise beeinflussen, verführen' (UWb), *arta-* 'to become spoiled', *artat-* 'to corrupt' (AK), *arta-* 'to corrupt, to damage, to go awry', *artat-* 'to spoil, to ruin, to corrupt' (AQB); **MT** *arta-* 'bozulmak', *artaq* 'bozuk, fenâ' (UY), *artaq* 'corrupt, vi-

cious', *artat-* 'to make vain', *artatmaq* 'incitement, insinuation', *artatur* 'corruption' (AKor), *arta-* 'to go bad', *artat-* 'to spoil' (ARbg), *arta-* 'bozulmak', *artaq* 'bozuk, fenâ' (AYC), *arta-* 'to become corrupt' (AChagSC); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *arta-* 'perekisat', perestaivat'' (Bashk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *arta-* 'ušibit'sja, iskalečit'sja, isportit'sja', *artat-* 'ušibat', iskalečit', isportit', povredit'', *artaš-* 'razdružit'sja, poterjat' družbu', *artïġan* 'poganyj, opoganennyj, (ust.) predmet, čerez kotoryj perešagnula ženščina, ščitavšijsja nečistnym' (Alt), *arta-* 'verderben, zu Grunde gehen', *artat-* 'zu Grunde richten, vernichten, verderben' (AltTelR), *arta-* 'portit'sja' (AltQK), ? *arta-* 'udarjat'' (AltK), *arda-* 'zu Grunde gehen, umkommen, verderben', *ardat-* 'zu Grunde richten' (KhakQchR, KhakQbR, KhakSR), *arda-* 'portit'sja', *ardat-* 'isportit', povredit čto-l.' (Khak); ***Y*** *ardaġïr-* 'plesnevet', pokryvat'sja plesen'ju, podernut'sja sloem gnili' (Y), *ardax* 'plesen' (na moločnyh produktah)' (YS).

E/T The two T word families are independent of each other, but both have been connected with the H words and referred to in some of the secondary literature. According to Clauson (1972: 193) and Erdal (1991: 457), *arta-* is a simplex base and likely not derived fr a non-extant nominal base **ar* though the latter does not exclude this possibility. The T verb (*h*)*ar-* 'to be exhausted' has the caus ders *arït-* and *artur-* 'to exhaust' (for the latter, see Chuv *ïrtar-* 'utomljat'). This word has to be separated fr *arta-* 'to putrefy, to go bad' as well as fr T *ar-* 'to deceive, trick' and *āz-* 'to go astray, to lose one's way, deteriorate, go bad'. In the Kip lgs there exists a verb *az-* 'to grow thin' (Kirg, Kaz, CrTat, Kmk, Nog, KrchBlk 'hudet'', also in MUyg, Uzb) which may have some connection to *ar-* 'to be exhausted', and/or with *āz* 'few', but not with *arta-* though the origin of some of these verbs has been muddled up in the literature. On *arït-* 'to clean, etc.' see **ártány**.

E/H The two H words *árik-* and *árt-* have been considered to be of the same origin with *árt-* being a H der of now obsolete *ár-*. This is problematic for semantic reasons. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 180–181) and Rédei (1986–1991/1: 17) suggested that the H words are of FUgr origin. The H verb *ár-* has been compared with FUgr **arɜ-*, which occurs in Vog with the meaning 'müde werden', in Osty 'zerbrechen, zerreißen (ein Kleidungstück)', in Zyr 'abreißen, matt werden, ermüden' and Voty 'abreißen, jäten, ausjäten'. The basic meaning is 'to deteriorate by falling into pieces'. The Vog word looks like a lw fr T though Honti (1982: 129) had no doubts about the Vog word belonging with the other FUgr words. In contrast to the FUgr words, the H word *árik-*, which is now obsolete, has the basic meaning 'to deteriorate by growing foul'. The connection of 'deteriorating by growing foul' and 'deteriorating by falling into pieces' is not impossible, but not obvious. According to this etymology, H *árt-* 'to harm' is a H der fr the basic *ár-* with the old H suff *-t-* forming tr verbs fr intr ones. The semantic development 'to deteriorate by growing foul' > 'to harm' (without any connection to making something foul) is also problematic.

The basic meaning of the T word *ar-* is 'to be exhausted'. FUgr **arɜ-* and T *ar-* have been connected by Munkácsi (1902: 272), Németh (1928–1930: 72–73) and others, but, as pointed out in Róna-Tas (1983a: 337), the semantic and phonetic difficulties can hardly be surmounted. The T verb has a *h-* which, if we suppose a genetic or very early relationship, should be reflected in the FUgr material – but is not. In any case the connection between the H word *árik-* 'to decay, putrefy, go bad' and T (*h*)*ar-* 'to be/get exhausted' is rather improbable for semantic reasons.

Another possibility is slightly more probable: namely that H borrowed *artat-* 'to damage, to spoil sg', then simplified it to *árt-* 'to harm'. The simplification is acceptable if it occurred in such past tense forms as **ártat-ott* (> **árttott* > *árt-ott*) or such ders as *árt-a-tlan-ság* 'innocence' (see the early data fr 1315) (< **ártat-a-tlan-ság*) with the disappearance of the non-stressed second syllable or haplology. This could also have been morphologically motivated, because the form **ártat-* could have been reanalyzed as factitive with the suff *-At-* as in *száll-* 'to fly' *szállat-* 'to let fly', **gyárt** 'to manufacture' *gyártat-* 'to get something manufactured', *irt-* 'to extirpate', *irtat-* 'to get something extirpated'. After the simplification *artat-* > *árt-* a further reanalysis derived the verb *árik-* fr it (as suggested as a possibility by Benkő 1993–1997/1: 50). This would be a stronger possibility if we could detect a form in H resembling **ártat-*. Yet this explanation seems to be the only way to account for the semantic developments in the case of the T origin of the word.

Finally, we can suggest that H *ár-* 'to become putrefied' and *árt-* 'to harm (somebody)' are two independent words, going back to two different T words. The arch H *ár-* is a copy of T **ar-* 'to become putrefied' existing only in OT *arta-*, while H *árt-* 'to do harm' is a copy of T *artat-* 'to damage' and was simplified as demonstrated above.

The der of the word fr T *az-* 'to go astray, lose one's way, deteriorate, go bad' suggested by Munkácsi (1902: 272) and T *ar-* 'to deceive, trick' suggested by Palló (1982: 33) and repeated by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 50, mixed up with *arta-*) can be safely refuted due to even more serious semantic problems.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 123, 128; Vámbéry 1882a: 494; Munkácsi 1902: 272–273; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 132–133; Németh 1928–1930: 72–73; Bárczi 1941: 10; Egorov 1964: 343; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 180–181; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 96–97; Räsänen 1969: 22; Clauson 1972: 193; Palló 1972: 427–429; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 160; Honti 1982: 129; Palló 1982: 28–29, 32–33; Róna-Tas 1983a: 337; Rédei 1986–1991/1:17; Erdal 1991: 457; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 50; Berta 1996: 42–45; Fedotov 1996/2: 472.

ÁRKÁNY [ārkāń] *Cum dial* 'a type of lasso' | 1789 *árkánnyal* [ārkāń-ńål], dial *arkan* 'trap made from rope' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 252) | *ārkāń* < **arkan* ⟵ Cum **arkan* | T *arkan* 'rope, lasso' < **ar-* {with suff *-gAn*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *arqaġ* ‘Querfaden des Gewebes, Schuss’ (UWb); **MT** *arqaġ* ‘osnova (v tkani)’ (AIM), *arqa* ‘spina, zad’ (ATef), *arqan* ‘arkan’ (AChagMA), *arġaç* ‘dokunan bezin enliliğine gerilen ipliği’ (AAHI), *orġan* ‘(grosse) corde, ganse’ (AmTr), ? *arġaj*, *arqač* ‘dokumacılıkta bezin enine atılan iplik, pûd’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *arkkan* ‘arkan’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *arkan* ‘arkan’ (Tat), *arqan* ‘tolstaja verevka’ (Bashk), *argan* ‘arkan, tolstaja verevka, kanat, verevka iz konskih volos’ (SibTat), *arkan* ‘arkan (šerstjanoj, volosjanoj)’ (Kirg), *arkan* ‘cord, rope, lasso’ (Kaz), *arkan* ‘arkan’ (Kklp), *arkan* ‘arkan’ (Nog), *arqan* ‘verevka, kanat, pričal’ (CrTat), *arkan* ‘tolstaja verevka, kanat’ (Kar), *arqan* ‘kanat, verevka’ (Kum), *arqan* ‘arkan’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *arkan* ‘arkan’ (Tkm), *orgen* ‘yük bağlamaya yarayan, keçi kılından yapılmış ip’ (TtD), *organ* ‘dicker Seil’ (TtR), *arkan* ‘arkan’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *aryač* ‘Schußfaden’ (Kh); ***SE*** *aykan* ‘arkan’ (TurkiLSev), *arkan* ‘arkan, kanat, tros’ (MUyg), *argamči* ‘tol′staja verevka iz šersti’ (MUygKh); ***NE*** *argamčï*, *argamjï* ‘arokan, verevka’ (AltL), *armakčï*, *argamčï* ‘Strick aus Pferdehaar’ (AltR, AltTelR), *armakčï* ‘verevka, kanat’ (AltTK), *argamji* ‘arkan, verevka’ (Khak), *argamčï* ‘arkan, korda’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Os *arqan* ‘arkan’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 69).

E/T An OT verb **ar-* ‘to weave, pleat’ has been attested in the nominal forms *arkag* ‘the woof (or weft) of a woven material’, *argač* ‘the woof (or weft) of a woven material’, *arïš* ‘the warp of a woven fabric’. A der fr **ar-* is Tuv *argï-* ‘vjazat′, plesti, tkat′’, Tof *argï-* ‘vjazat′, plesti, tkat′’ (? Khak *arga-* ‘vyšivat′ glad′ju’). It is fr the same verbal base that *ar-gAč*, *ar-Xš* have been formed as well as *arkan*, with the suff *-gAn* with a regular *g* > *k* change after *-r* (Erdal 1991: 382–387). The T word *arkan* seems to have been diffused primarily among the Kip lgs. It has been borrowed by Rus, Pol, Ukr and Rom and reborrowed by some T lgs including Chuv. Mo has *argamji* ‘rope, tether’ (MMo *arkamji*), pointing to a T *arkam* which can be found in Vámbéry (1867: 206). The MUyg and the SibT words are Mo lws.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1151–1152) connect a reconstructed PT **ar-*, which figures in *arkag, arïš* etc., with Mo **(h)or-*, which can be found in *oriya-* ‘to tie round, to wrap’, *orči-* ‘to turn round’, and Tu **por-* etc.; they also reconstruct a PA **pʿi̯áru*. The T and Mo words cannot be connected for phonological reasons: **h-*, T **a-*, Mo **o-*. On the other hand Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 518) also suppose a PT **arka-*, which exists only in *arkan*, and connect it with Mo *arga-*, which occurs in *argamji* ‘rope, tether’ and *arug* ‘woven basket’. Whether **ar-* ‘to twist, to plait’ has anything to do with *ör-* ‘to plait’ is unclear. See further **hurok**.

E/H The H word was first connected with its T counterpart by Munkácsi (1902: 274–275), who considered it to be of Cum origin fr the geographical distribution. This etymology has been accepted and made more precise through later research (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 177; Ligeti 1986: 248; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 48; Mándoky 1993: 99–100). The palatalization of the final *-n* occurred within H (see **görény**, **gyékény**,

kalokány, **örmény** etc. and § 6.2.3). The H word with the meaning ‘a type of lasso for catching horses etc.’ occurs in Cumania Minor and is a word of Cum origin. The word *arkán* ‘a type of bird snare’ noted in Transylvania (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 252) is the same word but came through Rom *arcan*. The form *árkan* of the Csángó Hungarians in Moldavia with the meaning ‘snare for catching wild animals’ is also a separate lw through local neighbouring Rom dials.

◆ Vámbéry 1867: 206; Munkácsi 1902: 274–275; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 135; Bárczi 1952: 357; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 42, 43; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 177; Mándoky 1971: 365; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 175; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 252; Ligeti 1986: 248; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 218; Erdal 1991: 382–387; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 48; Mándoky 1993: 98–100; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 518, 1151–1152.

ÁROK [ārok] ‘ditch, canal’ | 1009/1404 GN *kwarok* [kū̆-ārok], 1055 GN *aruk* [āruk], 1165 PN *arichdi* [ārïk-dī], 1193 GN *quesarc* [küeš-ārk], c1395 *arok* [ārok] | *ārok* < **āruk* ← WOT **aruk* | EOT *arïk* ‘an irrigation canal’.

OT *arïq* ‘irrigation canal’ (AK); **MT** *arïq* ‘ark, su kanali’ (AHMA), *arïq* ‘aryk, kanal, rečka’ (AHŠF), *arq* ‘flowing stream’, *arïq* ‘river’ (AKD), *arïq* ‘river’ (AKor), *arïq* ‘aryk, kanal, rečka’ (ANehF), *arïq* ‘reka, kanal’ (ATef), *arïġ*, *arïq* ‘a water course dug to provide a flow of water’ (AChag), *arïġ* (*arïq*) ‘jedvel, xark’ (AChagŠS), *arq* ‘nehir’ (AAH), *arġ* ‘rivière’ (ABul), *ārïq* ‘aryk, reka’ (ATuh), *ar*(*q*) ‘irrigation canal’, *aqar arïq*, *arïġ*, *arq* ‘su cedveli’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *arïk* ‘aryk’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *arïk* ‘aryk, kanava’ (Tat), *arïk* ‘aryk, kanava’ (Bashk), *arïk* ‘aryk, kanava’ (Kirg), *arïk* ‘irrigation canal or ditch’ (Kaz), *arïk* ‘aryk’ (Kklp), *arïk* ‘aryk’ (Nog), *arïk* ‘aryk’ (Kar), *arïk* ‘aryk’, *ärxä* ‘ložbina’ (← Os, Abaev 1958–1989/1: 185) (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ārïk* ‘aryk, kanava’ (Tkm), *arx* ‘aryk, irrigation ditch, channel’ (Az), *ark*, *arık* ‘irrigation trench, canal’ (Tt), *arık*, *arh*, *arıg*, *arığ*, *aruk* ‘su yolu, ark, dere, çay, fide veya fidan dikilen yer’ (TtD1), *ark*, *hark*, *arık* ‘ırmak, çay, akan ufak ırmak, su cetveli’ (TtDA); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *arïk* ‘aryk, orošitel′nyj kanal’, *ark* ‘krepost′, citadel′, zamok, ukreplannaja čast′ hanskogo ili emirskogo dvorca’ (Uzb), *arïk*, *ærïk*, *æǰïk*, *erik* ‘a ditch, water-feeder, water-channel usually for irrigation purposes’ (TurkiJ), *erik* ‘aryk, orositel′nyj kanal, kanava’ (MUyg), *ārïk* ‘kanal, aryk’ (Sal); ***NE*** *arïk* ‘aryk, orošitel′naja kanava’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *arïk* ‘aryk’ (YS).

Mo *aruġ* ‘irrigation canal’ (L).

Os *aryk, aræk, ærx* ‘ložbina, balka’, see also Kabard, Geor, Arm, Darg, Lezg, Ingush (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 75, 185).

E/T The T word has been confused with *arïg* ‘copse, wood, forest, jungle’ by Malov and by Sevortjan, who derived both words fr a non-extant verb, **ar-* ‘protekat′’ (Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 188), which is unlikely. (See, however, OT *arku* ‘Bergstrom, Tal, Schlucht, Umgebung – einer Stadt –, Bezirk, Provinz’ in Röhrborn (1977–1998/3: 199)). The two words are correctly differentiated in the dicts by Clauson (1972) and Röhrborn. The idea first mentioned by Radloff (1893–1911/1: 269),

that the word is a der fr *ayïr-* 'to separate' cannot be accepted because that verb goes back to OT *adïr-*. It is interesting that the T word is first attested in Kashgari's work. It is likely to be a foreign word in T, but none of the hitherto suggested etymologies is convincing. The forms *arq* 'canal' in Pe and similar words in Arm, Geor, Os and the lgs of the Caucasus (see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 53 and Abaev 1958–1989/1: 75, 185) can hardly be of T origin. At the same time, they can hardly be separated fr the T word which occurs in this form in some T sources. The word appears to be a very old cultural word for 'irrigation channel' and has spread throughout Central Asia. The word has also been borrowed by Rus and reborrowed by some of the T lgs. As a late T lw it occurs in Mo as *arug* 'irrigation canal' (L) and in Mo dials. In some old sources the T word can be differentiated fr the word *arok* 'tired out, exhausted etc.' (< *ar-*, see **árik**) by the second vowel, but in many sources the two words developed the same phonetic shape.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 127), see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 49–50). Ligeti (1986: 255–256) has pointed out that the T word has no etymology. The H word occurs in one of the oldest H documents, the Foundation Deed of 1055 fr the Tihany monastery, near Lake Balaton. The channel is near a small lake (*lacus*) *Turku* which is the name Turk. The channel had a beginning **aruk fee* (*árok feje* 'head of the channel', see T *arïk bašï* [AMA 343 s.v. *tatāl*]) and an end *aruk tue* (*árok töve* 'stock of the channel', see *arïk ayakï* 'stock of the channel'). The fact that it was part of the terminology for describing the geographical setting as early as 1055 shows that it had been borrowed long before. The form *quesarc* (*kües ark*, ModH *köves árok*) in an early H source fr 1183 may be the result of a H inner development and not a reflection of the shorter T form.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 127; Vámbéry 1882a: 253, 348; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 269; Gombocz 1907a: 24; Gombocz 1912b: 38; Németh 1912: 401; Gombocz 1914c: 32; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 141–142; Németh 1921: 24–25; Räsänen 1937: 252; Bárczi 1941: 10; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 75, 185; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 52–53, 469; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 179–180; Räsänen 1969: 28; Clauson 1972: 214; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 188; Röhrborn 1977–1998/3: 199; Ligeti 1986: 255–256; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 218; Róna-Tas 1988a: 755; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 49–50.

ÁRPA [ārpå] 'barley, *Hordeum*' | c950 PN *ἀρπαδή* [ārpā-dī], 1086 GN *Arpas* [ārpā-š], 1329 *arpa lyreukuruel* [ārpå-~], c1395 *arpa* [ārpå] | *ārpå* < **arpa* ← WOT **arpa* | EOT *arpa* 'barley'.

OT *arpa* 'barley' (UWb), *arpa* 'barley' (AK, AQB), *arpa-ġ* 'Gerste' (B 30:16); **MT** *arpa* <'rp'> 'Gerste' (UCivRH 09, M I:14), *arpa* 'barley' (ABF), *arpa* 'barley' (AGul), *arpa* 'jačmen˝' (AHŠF), *arpa* 'jačmen˝' (AIM), *arpa* '(bildiğimiz hububat)' (AIMI), *arpa* 'barley' (AKD), *arpa* 'jačmen˝' (NehF), *arpa* 'jačmen˝' (ATef), *arpa* 'orge' (AChag), *arpa* 'jačmen˝' (AChagMA), *arpa* 'barley' (AChagSC), *arpa* 'inje, barik, arpa' (AChagŠS), *arpa* 'Gerste, ordeum' (LCCI), *arpa* 'bugünkü manasında' (AAH),

arpa ‘orge’ (ABul), *arpa* ‘orge’ (ADur), *arpa* ‘Gerste’ (AHou), *arpa* ‘Gerste’ (AKav), *ārpa* ‘jačmen′’ (ATuh), *arpa* ‘orge’ (AmTr), *arpa bilezik* ‘boğumları arpa biçiminde olan bilezik’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *urpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Tat), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Bashk), *arba* ‘die Gerste’ (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Nog), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Kar), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Kum), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *arpa* ‘barley’ (AzM), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Tkm), *arpa* ‘barley’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *arpa* ‘Gerste’ (KhT); ***SE*** *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (Uzb), *arpa*, *āpa*, *āpe* ‘barley’ (TurkiJ), *arpa* ‘jačmen′’ (MUyg), *arfa* ‘jačmen′’ (Sal); ***NE*** *arba* ‘jačmen′’ (AltL), *arba* ‘die Gerste’ (AltLR), *arba* ‘jačmen′’ (AltQK), *arba* ‘jačmen′’ (AltTK), *arba* ‘jačmen′’ (Khak), *arbay* ‘jačmen′’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The word has an identical meaning in all sources. It has been suggested that the T word is of IE, maybe of Ir, origin (see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 24–25; Clauson 1972: 198 with earlier literature). This is based on Afg *ărb-šah*, Gr *αλφι* and Alb *el′p* for which an IE **albhi-* was reconstructed (Pokorny 1959–1969/1: 29). However, the Afg word can hardly belong with the Gr word, which does not mean ‘barley’ but ‘barley flour’ (see Gr *αλέω* ‘to grind’), and the Alb word may be of Gr origin. According to Morgenstierne (2003: 10), Pash *orb′əša* ‘barley’ may go back to **arpasyā* (cf. Khot *rrusā*, Khwar *rys* ‘barleycorn’) and thus belong to T *arpa*. Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 565) reconstructed IE **yewo-*, on which see Skrt *yáva*, Rus *ovin* etc. as the original IE word for ‘barley’ together with **gˆ[h]rid[h]* on which see Gr *κρι*, Arm *gari*, Lat *hordeum* etc. An Ir **arba* was reconstructed to fit the gap between T and IE. Ligeti (1986: 175) has pointed to some Cauc parallels for T *arpa* (Buduh *arpa* ‘Hafer’). In any case the T word is most probably of foreign origin. The T word has been borrowed by Mo as *arbay* and Man as *arfa*. The Mo form has been reborrowed by some Sib lgs. The final *-y* of the Mo form seems to be due to an inner Mo der. All Mo lgs have it. Perhaps Turki *āpe* reflects a final *-ay*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 312–313) have reconstructed PA *àrpʿá*. They claim that Man *arfa*, though isolated in the Tu lgs, is certainly archaic “and can hardly be explained as a borrowing < Mo *arbai*, despite Rozyczki [1994]: 20”, but then provide no argument. See Sal *arfa*, which may be a reborrowing fr Man. Tuv *arbay* is of Mo origin. The connection with OJpn *apa*, ModJpn *àfá* ‘millet’ is problematic since this is the only word in the whole corpus where PA **-rp-* would have lost its *-r-* in Jpn and we have to suppose a semantic change ‘barley’ > ‘millet’. But even if this could be somehow be accounted for, the fact remains that we are dealing with a very old cultural migratory word which does not fit easily into a regular genetic scheme.

E/H The H word has been connected with the name of the founder of the first H dynasty, leader of the conquest that commenced in 895, under the assumption that the *-d* in his name, *Árpád*, is the well-known OH dim suff *+d* (see e.g. in 1193 *Buzád*

fr **búza** ‘wheat’). This would point to a very old copying of the word. The word has been considered to be of T origin by all H authorities.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 118, 127; Budenz 1873: 77; Gombocz 1907a: 25; Gombocz 1912b: 38; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 143–144; Räsänen 1937: 252; Bárczi 1941: 10; Pokorny 1959–1969/1: 29; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 24–25; Egorov 1964: 276; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 180; Räsänen 1969: 27; Clauson 1972: 198; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 176; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984: 655–656; Ligeti 1986: 175; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 218; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 50; Rozyczki 1994: 20; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 565; Fedotov 1996/1: 286; Tenišev 2001: 461; Tietze 2002: 200; Morgenstierne 2003: 10; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 312–313.

ÁRT ‘to harm, to do harm’ see **árik**.

ÁRTÁNY [ārtāń] ‘barrow’ | 1075/1124/1217 GN *artand* [ārtān-d], 1247 *artan* [ārtān] ‘porcus triennus’, c1550 *artanÿ* [ārtāń] | *ārtāń* < **aritan* ⟵ WOT **arïtan* < **arïton* | EOT **arïtïn* < *arït-* ‘to clean, purify’ {with suff *-Xn*}.

OT *arïġ* ‘pure (?)’ (RMTon 37), *arït-* ‘to clean, purify’ (UWind 35), *arït-* ‘reinigen, saubern, beseitigen’ (UWb), *ol quzï arïttï* ‘he castrated the lamb’ (AK), *arït-* ‘to cleanse’ (AK, AQB), *arït-* ‘reinigen’ (BE 48); **MT** *arï-* ‘temizlenmek’ (UY A23, B 13), *arïġ* ‘fin, beau’ (UHyS), *Arïġ* ‘a personal name’, *arïġ* ‘rein’ (UCivLo 16, 17), *arïġ* ‘clean’ (ABF), *arï* ‘pure, clean’ (AGul), *arït-* ‘arıtmak, temizlemek’ (AHMA), *arït-* ‘čistiť, očistiť, očiščať’ (AHŠF), *arït-* ‘očiščať’ (AIM), *arït-* ‘temizlemek’ (AIMI), *arït-* ‘to purify’ (AKor), *arï* ‘čistyj’ (AM), *arït-* ‘čistiť, očistiť, očiščať’ (ANehF), *arï-* ‘to be purified’ (ARbg), *arït-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’ (ATef), *arï-* ‘temizlenmek’ (AYC), *arït-* ‘purifier, rendre net’ (AChag), *arïtqan* ‘očiščennoe’ (AChagMA), *arït-* ‘to cleanse’ (AChagSC), *arït-* ‘temizletmek’ (AChagŠS), *artïmaq* ‘Reinlichkeit’ (LCCI), *arït-* ‘reinigen’ (LCCG), *arït-* ‘temizlemek’ (AAH), *arïtladï pamuqnï* ‘pamuğu arıtladı, pamuğu ayıkladı’ (AAHI), *arït-* ‘oczyścić’ (ABul), *aru* ‘rein’ (AHou), *aru* ‘rein’ (AKav), *arïn-* ‘to cleanse oneself’, *arïsïz* ‘unclean’ (AMGh), *arït-*, *ārt-* ‘očiščať, snimať korku, čistiť’ (ATuh), *arït-* ‘purifier, nettoyer, traiter, guérir’ (AmTr), *arït-* ‘temizlemek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *ärči-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’, *arula-* ‘očiščať, očistiť’ (Tat), *arït-* ‘čistiť’ (TatD), *ärse-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’ (Bashk), *arït-*, *art-* ‘očiščať, vyčiščať (kiški i želudok zarezannogo životnogo)’ (Kirg), *aršï-* ‘to clean’ (Kaz), *aršï-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’, *arïlt-* ‘očiščať’ (cf. *arïl-* ‘očiščať sja’) (KKlp), *aršï-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’ (Nog), *arït-* ‘čistiť, myť’ (Kar), *arït-* ‘ponud. ot *arï-*’, *arčï-* ‘očiščať (ot šeluhi, kožicy, kory i t.p.), obdirať (šeluhu, koru i t.p.)’ (Kum), *arït-* ‘čistiť, očiščať, poloť, linjať’ (KrchBlk), *arït-* ‘reinigen, schälen’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *art-* ‘čistiť, ubirať, udaljať pokrov, oboločku’ (Tkm), *arït-* ‘to sort out, to clean’ (AzM), *arıt-* ‘to clean, cleanse, purify’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *arut-* ‘reinigen, säubern’ (KhT); ***SE*** *art-* ‘vytirať, očiščať, čistiť’ (Uzb), *ærït-* ‘to get clean’ (TurkiJ), *eřt-* ‘to clean, wipe’ (MUygTY), *ārït-* ‘čistiť’ (Sal), *art-* ‘tereť, vytirať, očiščať’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *arïlat-* ‘zastaviť čistiť’ (AltL), *arïgla-* ‘čistiť’ (AltQK), *ardï-* ‘čistiť, očiščať’, *ardït-* ‘zastaviť čistiť’ (Khak), *arït-* ‘očiščať, vytirať, stirať’, *arïdïr*,

arïldïr ‘čisto, dočista’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *ïrāstā-* ‘čistiť, očiščať, proščať čto-l.’ (Y), *ïrāstā-* ‘saubern, reinigen, putzen’ (Dlg).

Mo *ariġun* ‘cleanliness, chastity’, *arči-* ‘to wipe, clean’ (L).

E/T The T verb *arït-*, *art-* is a well documented caus form of *arï-* ‘to be or become clean’. In Chuv we find *ïră* ‘dobryj, horošij, zdorovyj, svjatoj’, which may be connected with *arïg*. The semantic shift fr ‘clean’ to ‘good, saintly’ may be caused by the Pe lw in Chuv: *tasa* ‘clean’ (← Pe *tāza*), *tasat-* ‘to clean’. The words for ‘barrow’ are *sïsna aśi* or *kastarna sïsna* in Chuv (*kastarna* is a late Rus lw). Paasonen referred to the Mord word *arʻtă-* ‘castrieren’ (fr his own collection), which he considered to be of Chuv origin (Paasonen 1913: 42). The word is also present in the MordM dict by Juhász (*arʻtă-* ‘to castrate (a horse), *arʻtf alaša* ‘gelded horse’). The word *arït-* is old because it entered Mo where it appears as *arči-* (< **arti-*) beside the Mo *arigula-* ‘to cleanse, purify’. The meaning ‘to castrate, to purify, to take out (what is impure, superfluous)’ was documented early in Kashgari and surely exists in more lgs than is recorded. In the Tat dials we find *arulat-* ‘kastrirovatʼ’ and *arulatkan täkä* ‘castrated goat’ (TatD). In Shor we come across *arla-* ‘kastrieren’ and *arlān at* ‘ein Wallach’ (Radloff 1893–1911/1: 304; < **arlagan*). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 518) the Mo words can hardly be regarded as borrowed fr T.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Munkácsi (1902: 275), but its T background has been unclear, hence some doubts have been raised (Benkő 1967–1984/1: 181; 1993–1997/1: 50). The H word has the basic meaning ‘castrated male swine’, but in some dials it denotes only the male swine. The copied word is a der fr *art*(*X*)- or *arït-* with the suff *-Xn* > *-*(*A*)*n*. The change of the vowel is a Chuv feature on which see Levitskaja (1976: 156). See also H **kín**, **börtön**, **szám** etc. Other H words of T origin connected with pig keeping are **disznó** and **serte**. Both have clear Chuv features. This may have motivated Ligeti, according to whom this is a case of the suff *-gAn* with the loss of the *-g-*, typical in Chuv. This is, however, less probable, because in this suff /G/ is preserved in Chuv, as in *-kĂn* see *tarkăn* ‘beglec’ < *tärgin* < *tär-* ‘bežatʼ’ < WOT **tär-* ~ EOT *täz-*.

◆ Budenz 1873: 77; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 304; Munkácsi 1902: 275; Gombocz 1912b: 39; Paasonen 1913: 42; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 146; Zichy 1931: 13; Bárczi 1941: 11; Juhász 1961: 28; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 181; Clauson 1972: 207; Palló 1972: 427–429; Levitskaja 1976: 156; Palló 1982: 28; Róna-Tas 1983a: 337; Ligeti 1986: 284; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 218; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 50; Fedotov 1996/2: 474; Tietze 2002: 195; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 518.

ÁSZOK [āsok] ‘gauntry, gantry (for supporting barrels)’ | 1480 *azokpenz* [āsok-pēnz], 1493 *azzokfath* [āsok-fāt], 1566 *ászkokat* [āsk-okåt] | *āsok* < **ask* < **aski* ← WOT **askï* | EOT **askï* ‘suspender, hanger‘ < *as-* ‘to suspend’ {with suff *-gI*}.

OT *as-* ‘hängen, aufhängen, anhängen’, *asġuq* ‘Banner, Fahne’, *asġu* ‘was man aufhängen kann, Hänge- in *asġu üzüm* <Hänge-Weintrauben>’ (UWb), *as-* ‘to hang,

suspend (something on something)' (AK), *asïn-* 'sich anhängen' (B I:17); **MT** *as-* 'suspendre' (UHyS), *as-* 'asmak' (AHMA), *as-* 'vešat′' (AHŠF), *as-* 'raspinat′, vešat′' (AIM), *as-* 'dar ağacına çekmek' (AIMI), *as-* 'to hang' (AKor), *as-* 'vešat′' (ANehF), *as-* 'vesat′', *asïġ* 'podvjazka, privjazka' (ATef), *as-* 'pendre, suspendre', *asïġ* 'suspendu' (AChag), *as-* 'povesit′' (AChagMA), *as-* 'to hang, suspend' (AChagSC), *as-* 'aufhängen' (LCCI), *as-* 'asmak fiilinden emri hazır' (AAH), *asïl-* 'być zawieszonym, zawiesić się' (ABul), *as-* 'aufhängen' (AHou), *as-* 'aufhängen' (AKav), *as-* 'to hang' (AMGh), *as-* 'vešat′' (ATuh), *as-* 'pendre, suspendre' (AmTr), *asqï küpe* 'sarkan küpe' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *us-* 'opuskat′, opustit′, svesit′', *usăk* 'otvislyj' (Chuv); ***NW*** *as-* 'vešat′, povesit′' (Tat), *asqïlïq* 'dlinnyj šest, votknutyj v zemlju podklonno dlja podvešivanija posudy nad kostrom' (TatD), *aθqaq* 'perekladina (nad kostrom), krjuk (cepljaemyj k perekladine)' (Bashk), *askï* 'poperečnaja perekladina dlja podvešivanija kotelka nad kostrom' (SibTat), *askï* 'skladnoj trenog dlja kipjačenija vody v čajnike, v vedre (obyčno iz treh derevjannyh palok, skreplennyh vverhu)', *askïč* 'prisposoblenie dlja podvešivanija čego-l.' (Kirg), *as-* 'to hang' (Kaz), *asïw* 'vešanie podvešivanie (kakogo-to predmeta)' (Kklp), *as-* 'vešat′' (Nog), *asqï* 'ein Ding, woran man etwas anhängt, Kleiderständer' (CrTatR), *askïc*, *ashïč* 'viselica' (Kar), *as-* 'vešat′' (Kum), *as-* 'vešat′', *asïwču* 'palač' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *asïk* 'serebrannoe ženskoe ukrašenie v forme treugol′nika, priklepjaemoje k kosam' (Tkm), *asqï* 'hanger' (AzM), *askı* 'anything by which another thing is suspended, hanged' (Tt), *askı* 'krjučok, gvozd′, vešalka, ljamka, podtjažki, podvestka, ukrašenie, zanaveska, srednaja stropil′naja stojka, babka (u kriši)' (TtB), *askï* 'Alles was zum Schmucke aufgehängt wird (Kronleuchter, Lampen, Amulette, etc.)' (TtR); ***Kh*** *hasïlġïlï* 'aufgehängt werdend' (cf. *has-* 'aufhängen') (Kh); ***SE*** *ås-* 'vešat′' (Uzb), *asqu* 'peg' (TurkiJ), *asqu* 'vešalka, krjučok' (MUyg), *asqu* 'portemanteau' (SalK), *askï* 'vse to čto vešaetsja, visit' (YUyg); ***NE*** *askïš* 'podvesok, vesy' (AltL), *askïš* 'kol s sučkom, vtykaemyj u ognja dlja kotelka ili čajnika' (AltQK), *askïš* 'ein krummes Holz mit einem Aste, das bei dem Feuer in die Erde gesteckt wird, um daran den Kessel oder die Teekanne anzuhängen' (AltQKR), *asxï* 'krjuk dlja podvešicanija kotelka, polka' (KhakB), *askïš* 'ein krummes Holz mit einem Aste, das bei dem Feuer in die Erde gesteckt wird, um daran den Kessel oder die Teekanne anzuhängen' (KhakShR), *askï* 'vešalka, naves, viselica' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T Most T words are derived fr *as-* with the suff *-gI* (Erdal 1991: 320) with *g* > *k* devoicing after *-s-*. The T word denoted anything on which something is hung, including gallows. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1126), the word goes back to a PA *p'ǻsi*. The initial is reconstructed on the strength of the Kh data, but *h-* is not noted in MMo (see *asabakur* 'krestec' in MA).

E/H The etymology was proposed by Vásáry (1969: 462–466). It was not dealt with by Ligeti (1986), but was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 54). The final, closed H *-i* regularly disappeared (see **ács**, **bér**, **szűcs** and § 5.8.19), the final *-sk* changed

to *-sok*, thus avoiding a final consonant cluster. In some H dials the word has the acc *ászkot*, and the pl *ászkok*. The H word originally denoted the poles on which the wine bag was hung up, and later came to mean poles for hanging or supporting barrels, and then all types of props. Other words of T origin in H viticulture are **bor**, **csiger**, **seprő**[2], **szőlő** and **szűr**.

◆ Gyarmathi 1816: 3; Klemm 1843: 76–77; Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 358; Budenz 1873–1881: 758; Vámbéry 1882a: 588; Budenz 1884: 21–22, 29; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 162; Bátky 1933–1937/1: 122; Bárczi 1941: 11; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 188; Räsänen 1969: 28; Vásáry 1969: 462–466; Erdal 1991: 320; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 54; Fedotov 1996/2: 289; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1126.

ÁTALAG 'barrel (wooden container and standard quantity)' see **általag**.

B

BÁJ [bāy] ‘charm’ | c1395 *bay phÿw* [bāy fū], 1565 *bů̄iel báyal* [bū̄y-yel bāy-yål], 1578 *báj fů* [bāy fū], 1621 *Bái* [bāy] | *bāy* < **bay* ⟵ WOT **bay* | EOT **bay* < *ba-* ‘to tie, fasten’ {with suff *-I*}, cf. *bag* ‘bond, tie’ < *ba-* {with suff *-(X)g*}.

Of possible T origin.

OT *ba-* ‘to tie, to fasten’: *atïġ ïqa bayur ärtimiz* ‘banden die Pferde an Büsche’ (RMTon 27), *baġ* ‘rodovoe delenie naroda’ (RY 24, 27, 38, 41–49), *baġ* ‘magic bond’: *qamaġ yeklerke baġï bolzun* ‘may it become a bond [to bind] all the demons’ (UMI Nr. 185, 15: 20, Clauson 1972: 310), *bāġ* ‘bundle, bond’ (AK, AQ), *baġ* ‘Band’ (BA 35 Nr. 5, B3 Nr. 103); **MT** *baġluġ* ‘umgürtet’, *baġladï* ‘band fest’ (UOg), *baġla-* ‘bağlamak’ (UYB), *baġ* ‘Bündel, Ballen’ (UCiv), *baġla-* ‘to tie, to bind, to fasten’ (AGul), *ban-* ‘bağlanmak’, *baġla-* ‘bağlamak’ (AHMA), *baġ* ‘svjazka, uzel, okovy, set′’, *rasad baġlaġučï* ‘sostavljajuščie goroskopy’, *ban-* ‘obvjazat′ sebja, opojasat′sja, rešit′sja na kakoe-libo delo’ (AHŠF), *baġ* ‘svjazka’ (AIM), *baġ* ‘bağ, ip’ (AIMI), *baġ* ‘tie, belt, cord’ (AKD), *ba-* ‘to bind, tie, strengthen’, *baġ* ‘knot’ (AKor), *baġla-* ‘privjazyvat′’ (AM), *baġ* ‘svjazka, uzel, okovy, set′’ (ANehF), *baġla-* ‘zavjazyvat′, privjazyvat′, zapirat′, zakryvat′’ (ATef), *bayla-* ‘fermer, attacher, charmer’ (AChag), *baġlïġ* ‘kötött, megkötözött [tied]’ (AChagAbV), *baġlïq* ‘zapertyj na ključ, svjazannyj’ (AChagB), *belbagče* ‘öv, melyet régebben a derékra kötve a felső ruha alatt viseltek [belt tied around the waist and worn under the outer garments long ago]’ (AChagBL), *bay* ‘das Band, der Zauber, die Bezauberung’, *bayla-* ‘anbinden, festbinden, zubinden, verpflichten, bezeugen’ (AChagR), *baġla-* ‘to bind’ (AChagSC), *baġ*, *baġu* ‘sargï, čember, kemer’ (AChagŠS), *baġla-*, *bavla-*, *balġa-* ‘binden, zusammenbinden, bündeln’, *bav* ‘Fessel, Kette’ (LCC), *baġla-* ‘raptetmek’ (AAH), *baġla-* ‘zamykać’ (ABul), *baġ* ‘Gurt’, *baġla-* ‘binden’ (AHou), *baġ* ‘Bündel’, *baġla-*, *bayla-* ‘binden’ (AKav), *baġ* ‘belt’ (AMGh), *baġla-*, *bayla-* ‘svjazyvat′, privjazyvat′’ (ATuh), *baġ*, *bah* ‘noeud, liens; botte’, *bayla-* ‘lier, garrotter’ (AmTr), *baġla-* ‘svjazat′’, (*bel*)*baġ* ‘pojas’ (AmD), *baġla-* ‘to bind, to tie, to fasten’ (AmCh), *bayli* ‘lié, tenu à quelque chose, ligatus’ (AmE), *bay-* ‘kanmak, inanmak’, *bayïl-* ‘telaşa düşmek, endişe etmek, üzülmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păya* ‘korotkaja tolstaja verevka’ (ChuvA), *păyav* ‘verevka (korotkaja i tolstaja), bolezn′ gorla’, *kuś păv-* ‘gipnotizirovat′’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *bäy* ‘privjaz′, zavjazka, verevka’ (Tat, Bashk), *bay* ‘privjaz′, zavjazka, verevka’ (TatD), *bäyle-* ‘vjazat′, svjazyvat′, perevjazyvat′’ (Tat, Bashk), *küð bäyle-* ‘okoldyvat′, gipnotizirovat′’ (Bashk), *köz bayla-* ‘otvodit′ glaza’, *köz bōču* ‘tot kto »glaza otvodit«, čarodej, fokusnik’ (Kirg < *boġ*), *bayla-* ‘to bind, tie, tie up, to weave, twist, to dress (wounds), to train (horses)’ (Kaz), *baġla-* ‘svjazyvat′, privjazyvat′’ (CrTat), *bayla-* ‘vjazat′, zavjazyvat′’, *köz bayladï* ‘on zakoldovav ego (bkv. on zavjazal emu glaza)’ (KarT, KarH), *bayla-* ‘privjazy-

vat′, svjazyvat′; obojazyvat′' (Kum), *bayla-* 'binden, anbinden' (KumN), *bayla-* 'svjazyvat′, zavjazyvat′, perejazyvat′' (KrchBlk), *bayla-* 'binden, anbinden' (BlkP); ***SW*** *gözüni bāgla-* 'zavjazyvat′ komu-l glaza, (peren.) gipnotizirovat′' (Tkm), *bag* 'šnur, povjazka', *bagla-* 'zavjazyvat′' (Az), *bayıcı*, *bağıcı* 'sorcerer, witch', *göz bağıcı* 'a sorcerer who binds the eyes' (Tt), *bayıcı* 'uyutucu, kandırıcı' (TtD1), *göz bayılcı* 'čarodej, očkovtiratel′, mistifikator' (Gag), *baġla-* 'binden' (SOg); ***Kh*** *vā-*, *vā*^{a}*-*, *vay-* 'binden' (KhT); ***SE*** *båyla-*, *båġla-* 'privjazyvat′, lečit′ zaklinanijami (kakoj-l. nedug)' (Uzb), *baġla-* 'to tie, to tie together, to tie up, to fasten' (TurkiJ), *bayla-*, *baġla-* 'to bind' (TurkiSh), *baġla-* 'svjazyvat′, zavjazyvat′' (TurkiL), *bayli-*, *baġli-* 'svjazat′, *köz bayli-*, *köz baġli-* 'zakoldovat′, obmanyvat′, vtirat′ očki' (MUyg), *baġla-*, *paġla-*, *paġła-* 'vjazat′, svjazyvat′' (Sal), *paγla-*, *вaylï-* 'lier' (SalK), *paġla-* 'privjazyvat′' (YUyg); ***NE*** *bayla-* 'zapreščat′, predosteregat′, prazdnovat′, ustraivat′' (Alt), *bagla-* 'privjazyvat′', *pāgla-* 'zavjazyvat′', *bay* 'zapreščennyj' (AltQK), *balgï-* 'to tie' (FY), *bagla-* 'privjazyvat′, vjazat′, svjazyvat′' (Tuv), *baġla-* 'privjazyvat′, svjazyvat′, vjazat′' (Tof); ***Y*** *bāy-* 'vjazat′, svjazat′', *bāyī* 'dejstvie po značeniju glagola, svjaz′, zavjazka, perevjazka (rany)' (Y), *bïa* 'Schnur, Seil, Ader, Vone, Bogensehne', *bïala-* 'an-/binden', *bāj-*, *baj-* 'binden, anbinden' (Dlg), *bāj-* 'binden', *bāj* 'Knoten' (DlgS).

Mo *baġ* 'bunch, bundle, bale, package, group, band, team' (L).

Sl *bája* fem. 'čary, sglaz' (SerbCroat), *bája* fem. 'koldovstvo, zaklinanie' (Slvn), *báj, báje* fem. 'mif, basnja, fantazia' (Czech), *báj* fem. 'mif, fantazia, legenda, skazanie' (Slvk), *bájá* fem. 'prozvišče veseloj, govorlivoj ženščiny, rasskazčicy' (RusD), *baj* msc. 'vorožba, koldovstvo, incantatio, očarovanie, čary' (SerbCroat), *báj* msc. 'veselyj rasskazčik, govorun, reč′, sposobnost′ govorit′' (RusD), *baj* msc. 'znahar, koldun' (OUkr), 'skazočnik, zabava, razvlečenie, vesel′e' (Ukr), *baj* msc. 'skazočnik' (Belor). All data fr Trubačev (1974–1995/1: 137–140).

E/T The T noun *bag* is a dev der fr *ba-* 'to tie' with the suff *-(X)g* (Erdal 1991: 172–223). Another noun *bay* was formed fr the same verbal base with the suff *-I* (Erdal 1991: 340–344). In T the semantics of the word *bag* 'bond, tie' developed in some lgs to 'magic bond'. In a Manichean text we come across *bir kamag yäklärkä bagï bolzun* 'be one of (the merits) the bonds of all demons' (Le Coq 1909–1972b/1: 405). Besides the noun *bag*, most T lgs also have the noun *bay* and the den verb *bayla-*. Tt has the verb *bağ-* 'to lay a spell (upon), to charm' as well as the nouns *bağı* 'charm, spell' and *bağıcı* meaning 'sorcerer, witch'. The latter two are pronounced *bayï* and *bayïǰï*, resp, and we find the form *bayı* (also written with the Ar *ya*) besides *bagı* in the Redhouse dictionary. In many other T lgs, as e.g. in Uzb, the two forms *bag* and *bay* and their ders exist side by side. In Y the OT form *bag* appears as *bïa*, while the verb is *bāy-*, fr which the noun *bāyī* was formed. Chuv has *păv-* in the expression *kuś păv-* 'to hypnotize', which goes back to *bag-*, while *păyav* 'a kind of short thick rope' is of Tat origin. All forms go back to the simple verbal base *ba-* and both *bag*

and *bay* are dev nouns. The sequence *V+I* in Chuv is phonetically realized as *V+y*, which is in this case *-a+ï* > *-ay*. We cannot exclude a contamination between the two forms.

According to Trubačev, who deals with the above cited and other Sl forms, the two nouns, one with the feminine and the other with the masculine gender, derive fr the Sl verb *bajati*. The verb has the original meaning 'to speak' and is of IE origin. In certain Sl lgs it also has the secondary meaning 'to cast a spell, to heal by magic words, to charm etc.' In those lgs the nouns **baja* and **baj* have the meaning 'charm, etc.' It may be of interest that the semantic change only occurred in Sl lgs which had early contact with the Turks and the change 'to speak' > 'to cast a spell ' did not occur in the Western Sl lgs. This suggests that we should not exclude the T influence on the Sl semantic development. The IE type of formation would have involved a prefix as in Lat *cantare* > *incantare*. In fact, *zagovorit´*, which means 'to cast a spell', was formed fr *govorit´* 'to speak', **obajati* was formed fr **bajati*, and the noun is *obajanie* 'charm, fascination' in present-day Rus. This may be one argument in favour of the T semantic influence. On the other hand, the T word denotes a magic spell cast by the eyes in most modern lgs (fr which the meaning 'delusion' has developed), while the Sl word denotes the magic spell cast through words.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 319) reconstruct *b*(*i*)*ā-* 'to bind' for PT, where the (*i*) is unfounded. According to them, Mo **bagu-* is of T origin. They claim that Y has a "standard verb modifier (-y)".

E/H The earliest data on the H word show the meaning 'charm, magic' without information as to the kind of charm. Thus there is no semantic evidence to suggest either of the two possible origins T *bay* or Sl *bay*. In present-day H the word *báj* also means 'charm, attraction, comeliness, beauty', but this is a late secondary development under the influence of similar European expressions. The word is frequent in the binom **bűbáj** 'witchcraft, magic', of which the first part is T *bügü*; see **bölcs**. The latter may point to a T origin for H *báj*. Szemerényi (1951: 72) connected the H word with the Sl one. This was refuted by Kniezsa (1955: 792–793). Fr Vámbéry (1870: 129) until recent times, the H word has been connected by most authors with T *bag* (e.g. Benkő 1993–1997/1: 69–70). This etymology is, however, phonetically improbable; fr a form like **bag* we would expect *bū* or *bō*, see **bő** (← *bäg*). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 218–219) has mentioned the phonetic difficulties involved, but without giving any decisive weight to them.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 129; Munkácsi 1883: 92; Munkácsi 1902: 369; Gombocz 1907a: 25; Le Coq 1909–1972b/1: 15, 19–20; Gombocz 1912b: 39–40; Vámbéry 1914: 138; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 230–231; Ligeti 1935a: 210; Räsänen 1937: 251; Bárczi 1941: 14; Szemerényi 1951: 72; Kniezsa 1955: 792–793; Egorov 1964: 152; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 218–219; Clauson 1972: 310; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 137–140; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 234–235; Menges 1979: 82; Ligeti 1986: 210, 272–273; Róna-Tas 1987–1988:

218; Erdal 1991: 172–223, 340–344; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 69–70; Róna-Tas 1995: 437–441; Fedotov 1996/1: 411; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 319.

BAKANCS 'ankle boot' see **boka**.

BALKÁNY [bålkāń] 'soggy place, moor, swamp, marsh' | 1181/1288/1366/16th c. GN *Balkan* [bålkān], 1221/1550 *Bulkan* [bulkān], 1498 GN *Zarazbalkanhath* [zāråz-bålkān-hāt], 1572 *balkan* [bålkān], 1838 *Balkány* [bålkāń], *balkány* [bålkāń] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 326) | *bålkāń* < **balkan* ← WOT **balkan* | MT *balkan* 'marshy' < ? **bal-* 'to become wet, marshy' {with suff *-gAn*}.

OT –; **MT** *balčïq* 'clay, mud, mire' (AGul), *balčïq* 'çamur' (AHMA), *balčïq* 'grjaz' (AIM, AIMI), *balčïk* wa *balïq* 'mud, clay' (AKD), *balčïq* 'clay' (AKor), *balčïq* 'židkaja grjaz' (ANehF), *balïq* 'mud, fish' (ARbg), *balčïq*, *balčuq* 'glina' (ATef), *balčïġ* 'terre détrempée, boue' (AChag), *balqan* 'ein zusammenhängendes Gebirge, Grosser Balkan, kleiner Balkan' (AChagŠSK), *balčuq* 'Lehm, Schmutz' (LCC), *balqan* 'Türk dağı' (AAH); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *balkan*: *balkan tō* 'balkan-gora (razvlečenie, napominajuščee rjažen′e)', *balkan tōdoy* 'gromadnyj' (Kirg); ***SW*** *balkan* 'Balkan, thickly wooded mountain range' (Tt), *balkan*, *balğan*, *balgam*, *balgamlık* 'sazlık, bataklık' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *balčiġ* 'swamp, marsh, mud, clay', *balar* 'sand dunes, sandy elevations separated by groups of brush' (L).

E/T The T word is a der of a verbal stem **bal-* 'to become wet, marshy, moist' with the suff *-gAn*. It is the opposite of *tupra-* 'to become dry', fr which we have *tupragan* (read also *topragan*) 'soft ground that is the bare ground from which the dust rises when it is trodden on' (AK). Parallel to the verb we also have a nominal base **bal* 'mud', for which see *balk*, *balïk* 'mud, wall made of mud, village', *balčïk balïk yogrulur* 'clay and mud pile up' (AK), and also *paluk üy* 'dom iz syrcovyh kirpičej' (YUygM). Perhaps *balïk* 'fish' also belongs here, for which see e.g. Rabguzi *balïk* 'mud, fish'. Many other words are formed fr the same base. For example compare *balčïk* 'mud' in:

MT *balčïġ* 'terre détrempée, boue' (AChag), *balčïq* 'clay' (AKor), *balčïq* 'mud' (ARbg) etc. (see above); NT *Chuv pïlčăk* 'grjaz′', *putlăx* (< *baltlïk*) 'trjasina, top′, močažina', *putlăx vïrän* 'bolotistoe mesto' (Chuv); *NW balčïk* 'grjaz′' (Tat), *balkaš* 'marshland', *balšïq* 'clay, dirt' (Kaz), *balčïq* 'Erde, Koth' (KrchP); *Kh palčoq* 'Lehm, Schlamm' (KhT); *NE balšïk* 'glina, židkaja grjaz′', *palkaš* 'grjaz′, il, zemlja, glina' (AltQK), *balgač*, *balgaš* 'grjaz′' (AltTK, AltL), *malgaš* 'grjaz′, sljakot′ na ulice idkaja grjaz′' (Khak), *balčïq* 'mud′, boloto' (Tuv).

See also the name of Lake Balkhash, *baldïr* 'slime, sludge, ooze, mud, algae' (Kaz), and names of water plants like *balïr* 'nazvanie nekotoryh vodoroslej' (Kirg), *balar*

'tina, il' (Tuv), *palar* 'vodorosl'' (Khak), *balax* 'osoka (obyčno rastujuščaja u vody)' (AzD), *balun* 'trava (okolo vody)' (TurkiL), *baldïrgan*; see **bojtorján**. It is uncertain whether KazD *bal* 'a small irrigation ditch' belongs here, as claimed by Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 60). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 344–345) reconstructed a PT noun **bal* for *balčïk* and connected it with Mo *bulaŋgir* 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids, turbid', which, however, belongs under *bula-* 'to conceal, to plant, to bury'. Mo *balar* 'dark, obscure' etc. also does not belong here but rather with *balay* 'dark, obscure, ignorant'. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1076), PT **bālïk* has to be connected with Mo **bilagu* 'carp, a kind of salmon'. This word, however, does not exist. In the expression *bulū cagān* 'a kind of carp' (Khal), it comes fr *bilagu* 'club, cudgel', denoting the club-like head of the fish. The Bur word *bulūsxay* 'jaz′, soroga (krupnaja)' has the same background, see *bulūsxay tula* 'tajmen′ (v metr i bolee veličinoj)' fr *tula* 'tajmen′'.

E/H The word is obsolete in lit H, but present in the Eastern dials. The fact that the word occurs as a H GN in 1498 excludes the possibility that it is an Ott lw. It was first connected with the T word by Györffy (1935–1939: 470–472), and since then accepted by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 230; 1993–1997/1: 75), but not covered by Ligeti (1986).

◆ Munkácsi 1902: 276; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 259; Györffy 1935–1939: 470–472; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 98–99; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 230; Räsänen 1969: 59; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 59–61; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 326; Róna-Tas 1987–1988: 219; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 75; Tenišev 2001: 374; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 344–345, 1076.

BALTA [båltå] 'hatchet, axe' | 1423 PN *Baltha* [båltå], 1572 *boldát* [boldā-t], 1612 *baltájával* [båltā-yāvål] | *båltå* < **balta* ← WOT **balta* | EOT *balto* 'an axe' ← Ir ← Sem.

OT *baltō* 'an axe, a battle axe' (UMI 20, 13; USuv 544, 6), *baldo* 'an axe (used for cutting firewood)' (AKOguz), 'an axe for slaughtering ox' (AK), *baldu* 'battle axe' (AQB); **MT** *balta* 'axe' (ABF), *balta* 'topor, doloto' (AHŠF), *baltā* 'teber (sic!), balta' (AIMI), *balta* 'axe, hatchet' (AKD), *balta* 'topor' (ANehF), *baltä* 'topor': *baltäni* (ATef), *baltu* 'hache' (AChag), *baltu* 'balta' (AChagAbV), *baltu* 'topor' (AChagMA), *baltu* 'das Beil, die Axt' (AChagR), *baltu* 'an axe' (AChagSC), *balto* 'Hacke, Beil' (AChagŠS), *balta* '(kleine) Axt; manayra, securis', *baltïčaq* 'Hammer' (LCC), *balta* 'balta' (AAH), *balta* 'balta' (AAHI), *balta* 'hache, cognée' (ADur), *balta* 'Axt' (AKav), *balta* 'topor' (ATuh), *balta* 'hache, cognée' (AmTr), *baldu* 'balta' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** [*purtă* 'topor']; ***NW*** *balta* 'topor, kolun' (Tat), [*balga* 'xärbi balta, görzi, zur čükč, kuvalda'] (TatE), *balta* 'topor', [*balġa* 'kuvalda, sekira, berdyš'] (Bashk), [*balġa*, *palkä*, *palġa* 'molotok'] (SibTat), [*palγa* 'der Hammer'] (SibTatBR), *balta* 'topor', [*balka* 'molot, molotok'] (Kirg), [*balġa* 'hammer'] (Kaz), *balta* 'topor', [*balġa* 'molotok'] (Kklp), *balta* 'topor' (Nog), *balta* 'topor' (CrTat), *balta* 'topor' (Kar), *balta* 'topor'

(Kum), *balta* 'topor' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *palta* 'topor' (Tkm), *balta* 'topor, molotok' (Az), *balta* 'axe, hatchet' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bålta* 'topor' (Uzb), *paldu*, *paltu* 'axe' (TurkiJ), [*balqa* 'a hammer'] (TurkiSh), *palto*, *paltï* 'topor' (TurkiL), *baltu* 'das Beil' (TurkiTR), *palta* (dial.), *balta* 'topor' (MUyg), *palto* 'topor' (Sal), *palta* 'hache' (SalK); ***NE*** *malta* 'topor' (Alt), *palta* 'das Beil' (AltLR), *palta* 'topor' (AltQK), *balta* 'topor' (AltTK), *palta* 'das Beil' (AltTelR), *paltï* 'topor' (Khak), *palta* 'das Beil' (KhakQbR), *palta* 'das Beil' (KhakQchR), *palta* 'das Beil' (KhakSR), *palta* 'das Beil' (KhakShR), *palta* 'das Beil' (ChulR), *baldï* 'topor' (Tuv); ***Y*** *balta* 'bol'šoj kuznečnyj molot' (Y), *balta* 'Backenzahn' (DlgS).

Mo *balta* 'big hammer, sledge hammer, axe' (L).

E/T Chuv *purtă* cited hitherto as pertaining to the H word is (together with Zyr, Voty *purt*) of Ir origin (**barto* < **partu* < **paraðu*, see Skrt *paraśú*; TochA *porat*, B *peret* ← OPe **parθu* or **paraθa*, further Saka *paḍä* < **partu* < **paraθu* < **paraǩu*, and Os *færæt* ← OPe) which, according to Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 620–621), goes back to an early **p[h]eleǩ[h]u*. This early lexeme is of Sem origin, cf. Akk *pilakka*, OSyr *pelqâ*, Mandean *pilqa*. The Sem word has the stem *PLQ* 'to split, cleave', cf. Akk *palâqu*(*m*) 'to split, cleave', Ar *falaqa* 'to split, cleave', and the confusion, mentioned by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 256), with a homophonous Akk word for 'spindle', which is of Sum origin, is resolved by Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 620–621). It remains, however, an unresolved question why a Sem *q* is substituted by an IE platalized *ǩ[h]* if not because of the original Sem vocalism. The Sem word entered the common IIr–Gr dials, for which see also Mycenaean *pe-re-ke-we*, Homeric Gr *pélekus* 'poleaxe, axe, double-bladed sacrificial knife'. (For a discussion on this very important piece of Mycenean religious history, see Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 620–621).

If so, the word entered the T lgs twice, where it figures as *balka* (see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 256–257; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 57; also note Mo *haluka* > *aluka* ⟶ MT with a non-Ir mediation), and in Chuv as **barto* > *purtă* through OPe mediation. On the OPe form, see also Szemerényi (1951: 81–82). The question is whether T *balto* has anything to do with Ir **partu*, if it has a Mesopotamian origin, or if it is an original T word. I assume an Ir origin and **palto* < **partu* as a prototype. The change **r* > **l* occurred in some Ir lgs, though in a restricted group of words. We find this sporadic change, e.g. in Parthian (see Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981a: 180, 182), in Saka (see Gercenberg 1981: 245), in MPe (see Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981b: 48) and surely in other Ir lgs as well. I do not see any possibility of tracing the *-t-* in *balta* to Sem or Sum, as has been done by Poppe (1953: 25). An OPe mediation is possible. An IE palatal **ǩ* in the intervocalic and postvocalic positions changed in PIr to *s*, which became *θ* (Avestan *s*) in OPe and *h* in MPe. As Abaev (1958–1989/1: 451) pointed out, the final *-t* in Os *færæt* reflects an OPe form, because PIr *-s* would have given an *s*

in Os, but an OPe *θ* was substitued by *-t* in Os. The same is the case with the final *-t* of Toch *porat*, *peret* (Windekens 1976: 637, citing the Os and Saka data, presumed an "Iranian origin" instead of OPe). According to Adams (1999: 396), TochB *peret* 'axe' is a "borrowing from some Middle Iranian source". Since *-t-* reflects a typical OPe feature, we have to suppose that the *l* > *r* also occurred in an OIr dial identical with or near to OPe. In this case the same word would have entered the T lgs three times. The final vowel was PT *-o*, which changed to *-u* and *-a*, resp. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 898) write "both Iranian and Akkadian origins of Turk **baltu* 'axe' (see Poppe 1953; Menges 1953) seem improbable and its Altaic origin quite possible".

According to the authors T ⟶ Mo *balta* (hence Evnk *balta* etc.). On the other hand, they consider Mo *milaga*, *minaga* 'whip' as genetically related and reconstructed a PA **màli* 'stick, cudgel'. This is acceptable fr neither a phonological, nor a semantic point of view. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1077) also separate MMo *haluka*, Mo *aluka* 'hammer, mallet' fr the above and reconstruct a "Western isogloss" **pălukʹV* 'hammer'. This would be represented in T by Uzb *balga* (Chag), Tat *balga*, Kirg *balga*. They add, however, that it "may be an old «Wanderwort» (cf. PIE **pelekʹu*)", which in fact it is.

E/H The T origin of the H word was first mentioned by Vámbéry (1870: 129) and accepted by all H authorities since then (see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 76). The relationship among the various T data has not yet been cleared up. The H word also occurred as a PN among the Cumans of Hungary.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 129; Gombocz 1912b: 40; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 261; Vámbéry 1914: 138; Rásonyi 1923–1927: 129; Bárczi 1941: 14; Szemerényi 1951: 81–82; Menges 1953: 300–303; Poppe 1953: 25; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 451; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 199; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 256–257; Egorov 1964: 166; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 233; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 57; Windekens 1976: 637; Gercenberg 1981: 245; Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981a: 180, 182; Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981b: 48; Ligeti 1986: 248–249; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 76; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 620–621; Fedotov 1996/1: 447–448; Golden 1998–1999: 77; Adams 1999: 396; Róna-Tas 1999: 189, 367; Schönig 2000: 67; Tenišev 2001: 577; Tietze 2002: 273–274; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 898, 1077.

BÁLVÁNY [bālvāń] 'pagan idol, stone or wooden pillar, vertical beam of different wooden instruments, *dial* strong, corpulent person' | 1001 GN *Baluuanif* [bālvuaniš], 1109 *baluan* [bālvān]: *ibi stat meta lapidea que baluan* [bālvān] *uocatur*, 1519 *balwalt* [bālvāl-t] (JordKod 766), dial *bábán*, *bábány*, *bábina* 'vertical beam of different wooden instruments' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 290, 293) | *bālvāń* < **balvan* ← Sl *bъlvanъ* (Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 121–122) ← WOT **balvan* ← Pe *pählivān* ⟶ PT **balban* > EOT *balbal*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *balbal* 'a stone pillar erected on a grave as a token of the enemy' (RMKT, RMOng), *türk qan balbalï* 'the balbal of the Türk kan' (RY 32:10); **MT** *Balban* 'a person's name' (UCiv), *pählävān* 'wrestler, hero, champion' (AGul), *balvan* 'bloc,

idole' (AmTr ← Pol *bałwan*); **NT** ***Chuv*** *palvan* 'bolvan' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *pählevan* 'bogatyr, silač, atlet, geroj' (Tat), *balban* 'govoritsja o tjaželom na pod′em, sliškom polnom čeloveke ili sliškom upitannom životnom' (TatD1), *balbal* 'balbal, kamennaja babka, kamennyj istukan' (Bashk ← Rus), *bählewän* 'bogatyr, ispolin, atlet' (Bashk), *palvan* 'bolvan', *balïuan* 'pählewan' (BashkD1), *balapan* 'tjaželovesnyj, zdorovjak', *balïvan* 'bogatyr', *balïvan* 'pritužalnik; part of the weaving loom' (BashkD2), *baluan*, *paluan*, *bähäluan* 'bogatyr' (SibTat), *balban* 'silač, borec' (Kirg), *baluan*, *paluan* 'athlete, wrestler' (Kaz), *paluan* 'der Ringer, ein starker Mann, ein Held' (KazR), ? *balpay-* 'kazat′sja bol′šim, gruznym, neuklužym, byt′ tihim, spokojnym', *palwan* 'silač, bogatyr, borec' (Kklp), *palvan*, *peluvan* 'borec, atlet, silač, geroj, bogatyr (v narodnyh skazkah)' (Nog), *pel′van* 'silač', [*balaban* 'bolšoj, krupnyj'] (CrTat), *peglivan*, *pelivan* 'bogatyr, atlet, silač, kanatohodec, akrobat' (Kum), *peliwan* 'bogatyr' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *pälvan* 'borec, silač, bogatyr, ispolin', *pälvan* 'četerye provoloki (kotorym krepjat mačtu k lodke)' (Tkm), *pālvān aġač* 'ukreplenie meždu sohoj i os′ju' (TkmD), *pählävan* 'wrestler, athlete, hercules' (AzM), *pehlivan* 'wrestler, champion, mighty man, valor, hero' (Tt), *pelivan* 'bogatyr, geroj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *paxlavån* 'bogatyr, atlet, borec, silač, geroj, vitjaz' (Uzb), *pählävān*, *pälävān*, *polgan* 'giant, hero, champion, athlete, wrestler, hunter, woodman' (TurkiJ), *pählivan*, *palwan* 'borec, bogatyr' (MUyg), *palgan* 'brave man, hero' (MUygTY); ***NE*** *palaban*, *palaġïr*, *palabar*, *paramon*, *palamor* 'Palagar, imja legendarnogo šamana, vstrečajuščeesja v geroičeskih skazanijah i mifah', *toġïs tūrlig Palaġïr ham* 'šaman imejuščih devjat' bubnov' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Ir cf. Pe *pahlawān* 'hero, champion, brave warrior' < *pahlaw* 'hero, a wrestler, a saint, name of a country where Pehlevi is spoken, Shem, son of Noah' (St). See MPe *pahlawīg* 'Parthian, Pahlavi', *păhlom* 'excellent, best' (MacKenzie 1986: 64), (→ ?) Wahan *palawón* 'bogatyr, borec, ohotnik' (Grjunberg–Stebelin-Kamenskij 1976: 409), Sarikol′ *palun*, *palwun* 'ohotnik' (Pahalina 1971: 122), Os *pelwan*, *peliwan* 'silač (malo upotr.), *pillon*: *pillon wæjyg* or *pillon g₀ymiy* '*pillon*-velikan', Arm *pahliwan*, Geor *palavini*, Kab *pälwan, päjlwan* 'silač' (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 240), Sogd *pγr'w'n'k* (Gharib 1995: 274). See Skrt *pahlava* 'Name eines iranischen Volkes, die Parthen oder Perser' (← Ir), OIr **parθava-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/3: 312) and not to Skrt *bála-* 'Kraft, Leibesstärke, Macht', *bálavant-* 'kräftig, kraftverleihend' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 215) → Ar *bahlawān* 'acrobat, ropedancer'.

Sl OSl **bъlvanъ*, **balvanъ*, Blg *balvan* 'kamennaja glyba, skala, brevno, balka, uvalen', neveža, bolvan', Mac *balvan* 'brevno', SerbCroat *bàlvan*, *bavan* 'balka, brevno', *bòlvan* 'idol, kumir', Slvn *bolvân* 'idol, kumir, glyba', Czech *balvan* 'glyba (kamnja)', Pol *bałwan* 'idol, kumir, snežnaja baba, val, volna (morskaja), bolvan, durak, glyba', ORus, OChSl *bъlъvanъ*, *bolvanъ*, *blavanъ*, *balъvanъ* 'columna, pila, stipa, στηλη, pen′, stolb, ostolop, čurban, bolvan' (from 1073 on), 'idol, stolbec, sosud', Rus

bolvan ‘bestolkovyj čelovek, glupec, durak’, Ukr *bolvan´*, *bovvan*, ‘brevno, derevjannoe izvajanie’, Belor *bolvan* ‘derevjannyj stolb v perednem uglu peči, vsjakij voobšče stolb, durak’, all data fr Trubačev (1974–1995/3: 121–122).

E/T–E/H The H word is most probably of Sl origin. The uncertainty of the origin of the Sl word has led Kniezsa and Trubačev (Kniezsa 1955: 591; Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 121–122) to suggest that both the Sl and the H word could be of T origin, and go back to a hitherto unattested WOT **balvan*. This was repeated by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1084) with the addition that the source may have been a “Bulgarian” lg. The very early occurrence in the H (1001) and in the ORus sources (1073) is important for the chronology of the word. The OT word *balbal* which has no convincing etymology may be due to assimilation (< **balban*). The suggestion made by Tekin (1968: 110) and Doerfer (1985: 165) of deriving the OT word fr Mo *barimal* ‘sculpture, statue’ involves phonetic and chronological difficulties.

We have to separate the relatively late spread of the word which is present where Islam gained ground. This spread was supported by the folklore, where the hero was the strong man (Rus *silač*). The data quoted above fr Butanaev’s Khak–Rus historical–ethnographic dict (KhakB) show that even with distorted forms of the name, the figure found its way fr the folklore of the South SibT lgs, to the folklore of the people who practise Shamanism and Buddhism in the north. The transformation of the figure is shown by the fact that the name appears in the Khak heroic epics (an older layer of the folklore) and denotes the Shaman. A large group of Khak people is now Buddhist; their folklore abounds with Buddhist terminology which came fr Mo. *Palaban* is one of the few features that are not a part of the Buddhist-Mongolic layer of the Khak folklore. A similar pre-Buddhist Khak figure is *Xoǰa xan* ‘maskarad, glavnaja dejstvujuščaja figura sredi rjaženyh’ (KhakB), ultimately fr Pe *xwaǰa*. In all “late” T data the word denotes a person. The Khak name belongs to the earlier layer, and the same is the case with OT *balbal* (< **balban*), cf. *Balban* a name in MT written in Uyghur script (see above).

The T words may have come under the influence of, or be mixed with, the T word *balaban*. This word has the meanings ‘big, tall, high, with great head, strong, full, thick, a man who is short and thick, different predatory birds (which have big heads) etc.’ (see the data in Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 49–50). Another word that belongs here is TatD word *balban* ‘govoritsja o tjaželom na pod˝em, sliškom polnom čeloveke ili sliškom upitannom životnom; so is called a person, who has a heavy weight, who is very thick or has a large paunch’. In Bashk three words can be separated: (1) *balapan* ‘tjaželovesnyj, zdorovjak; heavy (person), healthy (person)’ which belongs with T *balaban*; (2) *balïvan* ‘bogatyr; hero’ which belongs with the T word of Pe origin; and (3) *balïvan* ‘pritužalnik; a part of the weaving loom’, to which we shall come back below.

Tryjarskij (see Daszkiewicz–Tryjarski 1982: 25–26) dealt with the semantics of OT *balbal* and suggested that it originally depicted a slain enemy who followed the deceased ruler into the other world. Later it depicted important people around the ruler.

If we follow the semantics of the Sl data we find the following: (1) stone block, rock face, crag, clod; (2) beam, pillar, column; (3) stele, idol, pagan idol, wooden statue, graven image, snow man; (4) different types of wooden pillars; and (5) clumsy oaf, stupid, foolish man, simpleton. This broad semantic range can be understood if we depart fr the so-called *kamennaja baba*, the stone man, found in the southern parts of Russia. These rock sculptures are very rudimentary in form, in most cases only the head and the arms are distinguished fr the trunk. They are typologically different and belong to different periods, but are not later than the Mo invasion in the early 13th c. Most of the authors connect them, or a great group of them to the Cumans, but according to some authors a group of the *kamennye baby* may be earlier than the arrival of the Cumans, that is fr the 5th–10th c.s. They can be tied to T peoples who preceded the Cumans. Among these people were the Bulgars, Khazars, Pechenegs and Hungarians; on the details see Daszkiewicz–Tryjarski (1982). If the word originally denoted these "stone men", all other meanings can be explained. These figures were like vertical pillars, made of stone mainly, but also of wood. The wooden pillars were used as beams, vertical parts of different objects such as doors, looms or other wooden machines. Relevant to this is a piece of Bashk data *balïvan* 'pritužalnik; a part of the weaving loom'. The meaning 'simpleton etc.' comes fr the outer appearance of people who are similar to the *kammennye baby* and cannot be directly connected with the meaning of the original word in Ir 'strong man, hero, hunter'.

If we compare the meanings of the H word ('idol, stone or wooden pillar, vertical beam of different wooden instruments, *dial* strong, corpulent person'), they are practically the same as the meanings of the Sl word. If we suppose that both the Sl and the H word were borrowed fr a T lg, we have to suppose that both lgs borrowed the word with the meaning 'stone sculpture, stone man, idol' and all secondary meanings developed in the Sl lgs and in H independently. This is not impossible, but requires corroboration. Another possibility may be that H borrowed the word fr T with the meaning 'stone idol' but later the meaning 'wooden idol, wooden pillar etc.' of the Sl word influenced the semantic changes in the H word.

The stone idols came out of use and were used as border stones: 1109 *ibi stat meta lapidea que baluan uocatur*. It may be important to note a text fr 1279 which contains only the Lat word *idolum*, but refers to the Cumans: *Ut Cumanos … ab ydolorum cultura revocando ad fidem catolicam … converteremus* (Szovák 1983–1999/5: 26). As early as 1291, the Lat word *idolum* denoted stone pillar which is used as a border

stone *Ibi sunt tria ydola lapidea pro meta posita, et separant terram Mocha a terre Temerd* (Szovák 1983–1999/5: 26). The H meanings connected with wooden objects developed later.

D. Hitch suggested (personal communication) that some of the T words may be of MIr origin. This appears to be worth exploring, see the East Ir data fr Wahan and Sarikol above. According to Abaev (1958–1989/1: 232–233), Os *bal* 'gruppa, partija, otrjad' is the old Os term for the *druzhina*, the military escort of the ruler or chief of the tribe. This word cannot be compared with Skrt *bala-* 'power, military power' because of the Os *-l*. Therefore, Abaev derived Os *bal* fr **bārya-* which derives fr *bār-* 'to ride' (itself absent fr Os, but present in many other Ir lgs). See also Os *baræg* 'vsadnik'. It may be of importance for our topic that *-βαλος* is frequent as the second part of Sarmatian PNs, and allegedly had the meaning 'Kraft habend' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 215).

We have here a case where the same Ir word was twice borrowed by T. It is beyond doubt that the word **balban* occurring in Southeastern Europe is of Ir origin. Either H ← Sl ← T ← MIr or H ← T (← MIr) → Sl. In any case the WOT word has to be of Ir origin, and this must be separated fr the later Ir → T borrowings.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 211; Gabain 1953: 549; Kniezsa 1955: 591; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 232–233, 240; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 234; Tekin 1968: 110; Pahalina 1971: 122; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 49–50; Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 121–122; Grjunberg–Stebelin-Kamenskij 1976: 409; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 290, 293; Daszkiewicz–Tryjarski 1982: 25–26; Szovák 1983–1999/5: 26; Doerfer 1985: 165; MacKenzie 1986: 64; Gharib 1995: 274; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 215; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/3: 312; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 76; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1084.

BÁN[1] [bān] 'governor of Croatia, governor of the southern marches' | 1138/1329 PN ? *Bandí* [bān-di], 1146 *ban* [bān] | *bān* ← South Sl *bān* ← WOT **bayan* < **bay-* {with suff *-An*} | EOT *deest*.

A T–Sl title borrowed by the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.

OT –; **MT** only the following: *bayan* <BY'N> 'bogatyj' (AIM, according to Battal 'almond', i.e. instead of *bayam* < *badam* ← Pe *bādam*, cf. AIMI 17), *ban* 'ulu, büyük, ileri gelen, bey' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *puyan* 'bogač' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bay* 'bogatyr, sostojatel'nyj, obil'nyj' (Tat), *bay* 'bogatyr, sostojatel'nyj' (Bashk), *pay*: *payïm* 'moj muž' (SibTat), *bay* 'bogač, baj' (Kirg), *bay* 'rich, wealthy, abundant, master, landlord' (Kaz), *bay* 'bogač, baj' (Kklp), *bay* 'bogatyj, zažitočnyj, bogač, muž' (Nog), *bay* 'bogatyj, baj', *baybike* 'gospoža' (CrTat), *bay* 'bogatyj, zažitočnyj' (KarH, KarC), *bay* 'bogač, baj, bogatyj, obil'nyj' (Kum), *bay* 'bogač, baj, (ist.) gospodin, hozjain' (Krch-Blk); ***SW*** *bay* '*arch.* rich, prince, chief', *ban* '*Serbo-Croatian hist.*: title' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *båy* 'baj, bogač, bogatyj' (Uzb), *bay* 'rich, wealthy, rich man, rich people' (TurkiJ), *bay* 'bogač, baj' (MUyg), *bā* 'rich' (MUygTY), *peyan* 'bogač, bogatyr', *payar* 'bogatyj (prič. ot *pay-* 'razbogatet'')' (YUyg); ***NE*** *bay* 'bogač, baj' (Alt), *pay* 'bogač, baj, bo-

gatyj, (v znač. sušč.) kulak' (Khak), *bay* 'rich' (FY), *bay* 'bogatyj, sostojatel′nyj, obespečennyj zažitočnyj' (Tuv), *bay* 'bogatyj, bogač, bogatstvo' (Tof); ***Y*** *bāy* 'bogatyj, imejuščij, bogatstvo' (Y), *bāy* 'Reichtum, reich, ein(e) Reiche(r)' (Dlg).

E/T T *bay-* 'to be rich' and *bay* 'the rich' belong to the group of words in which the verbal and the nominal bases do not differ in the known T material. However Chuv *puyan* < *bayan* preserves the longer nominal form. YUyg *peyan* may be a Mo lw, but also a preserved AT form.

The T word is recorded in the Ch sources (Hamilton 1955: 139) as the name of the second Uyg kagan, who reigned between 747–759, written as 磨延 啜 *Mó-yán chuoθ*, EMCh *ma-yian tç^{h}wiat*, LMCh *mua-yian ts^{h}yat* which rendered the pronunciation *Bayan čur* or more precisely *Bayän čür*. The word occurs in T tribe names. Kashgari mentions the *Bayat* tribe among the branches of the Oguz, *Bayat* being a pl of *bayan*. It is also possible that the other Oguz tribe mentioned by Kashgari, the *Bayundur* with the suff *+dUr* (as e.g. in *Kumandur* (see **komondor**), *Onogundur*), is also related to the word. In Mo we find *bayan* 'rich, richness' with the pls *bayačud* and *bayagud*. In the SH of the Mongols we find the word in PNs such as *Naku-bayan* (chaps. 90, 92, 93, 205), *Šinči-bayan* (chap. 89), *Telegetü-bayan* (chap. 157) and *Torkoljin-bayan* (chap. 3), as well as in the names of the Bayit and the Bayagut clans. The pl *bayagut* occurs in some Uyg texts of Mo origin. In the Byzantine sources the following persons are recorded: *Βαιανος* 'an Avar ruler c568–582', *Βατβαιαν*, *Βαιανος* 'son of Kuvrat, ruler of the Onogur-Bulgars', *Βαιανος* 'brother of the Danube Bulgarian ruler Toktos (died 772)'. The son of the DBulg ruler Simeon (893–927) was also called *Boian* (in Liutprand) (all data fr Moravcsik 1958/2: 83–84). The name occurs on a DBulg inscription in the form *Βαια[νος]* read *Boyan* (Beševliev 1963: 151–152). The name also occurs among persons living in the Byzantine Empire fr the 9th c. on (Moravcsik 1958/2: 84). The name is of BulgT origin. It occurs only in Chuv as *puyan* 'bogač, bogatyj' < **bayan*. In all other T lgs we only find *bay* 'rich'. The Chuv word is a der of the Chuv verb *puy-* 'bogatet′, obogaščat′sja'. The suff *-Xn* is preserved in some Chuv words as in *kilen*, *kin* 'bride, daughter-in-law' fr *kil-* 'to come', though in most of the cases it became *-m* (see Levitskaja 1976: 158). On the special function of the suff *-Xn* forming denotions of persons, see **börtön**, **boszorkány** and 6.6.6.

Mo *bayan* is a T lw, because a verbal or nominal base **baya*(-) does not exist in Mo (see also Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 259). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 340–341) correctly consider Mo *bayan* as a lw fr T, but, according to them, Mo *buǰagay* 'strong, sturdy, tangled, confused' is genetically related with T *bay-*, which is unacceptable for semantic and phonological reasons.

The title *bān* reflects the name of the first Avar kagan and the semantic change "name of ruler" > "title" has such well known parallels as *Cæsar* > *Kaiser* (Grm) and

> *Tsar* (Rus), or *Karl* (the Great) > *kral* (Sl), *király* 'king' (H). The Mo origin of the name as proposed by Pelliot, Ligeti and others (see Ligeti 1986a: 143) is unacceptable.

A name which occurs in ORus sources as *Boyan*, (on which see Menges 1979: 80 (ORus *bajanъ* 'obajateĺ, incantator'), Sreznevskij 1893–1912/1: 46; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 138) belongs with Sl *bajati*; see under **báj**.

The disappearance of the *-y-* occurred in a south Sl lg like Croat where the bisyllable *-oya-* became *ā* as in *poyas* 'girdle' > *pās* (Kniezsa 1955: 75). The earliest data on the title *bán*[1] appear around 950 in the DAI of Constantinos VII (chaps. 30,93 and 31,78) as *βοανος*, *βοεανου* (gen). See further *βαγαιανος* 'protobolgarischer Titel' (Moravcsik 1983/2: 83), *βοιανος* 'bulgarische Festung' (11th c.) (Moravcsik 1983/2: 93). This form reflects the expected *Boyan* which we also come across in Liutprand, in the DBulg inscriptions and in the early Rus sources. The first data on *ban* in Lat script is recorded fr 1029 (Kniezsa 1955: 74). The earliest form in Cyrillic can be found in an inscription in Aboba Pliska fr around 1040 as *Delanъ banъ*, who was the son of the ruler Gavril-Radomir. Fr the 12th c. on, the title *bán*[1] appears in the Byzantine sources as *μπανος* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 204). The title was taken over by the Ott lg fr the 15th c. on.

In Pe dicts, we find *bān* 'a prince, lord, chief, governor' (Steingass 1981: 152) as an independent word and also affixed to a noun. In the latter case it signifies a keeper or a guardian, as in *bāġbān* 'a gardener', *darbān* 'a doorkeeper' (Steingass 1981: 152). The suff appears as early as MPe as *-bān* e.g. in *marzobān* 'margrave, warden of the marches'; see also *šubān* 'shepherd' (MacKenzie 1986: 17, 54, 81), Avestan **fšu-pāna*, further Skrt *go-pā-* etc. On the IE verbal stem **pʰaH-* / *pʰoH*(*i*)- 'guard', see Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 600). According to Horn (1893: 41, n. 1), the Pe word is "nie selbständig… Auf diesen Vullers'schen auch von Darmesteter wiederholten Irrtum hat mich Herr Prof. Nöldeke aufmerksam gemacht". The independent word, noted by Steingass, is absent fr Rubinčik (1970). Since the Balkan word is present in Ott (see also Tietze 2002: 275), it may be that the independent word is of immediately Ott origin (see above), and has nothing to do with the Pe *-bān*. On the distribution of *šuban* → T *čuban* / *čoban* → Pe *čōbān* etc. see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 108–109). This word also has to be separated fr the Sl **pan* 'lord', Blg *pan*; see Georgiev (1971–1979/1: 30), Trubačev (1967: 73–81) and Fasmer (1964–1973/3: 195–196).

E/H *bán*[1] was the title of the Croat governor under H, and later Austrian domination fr 1116–1918. The title was also used in H public administration for other governors of the southern military border area. At present, the word is only used in scholarly literature. Some early H PNs as *Bahan*, *Baan* (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 236), may reflect transitory phases of the change *bayan* > *boyan* > *baan* > *bān*. For phonetic and historical reasons the H title is more likely to be of immediate Southern

Sl rather than of T origin. Nevertheless, the possibility that the title was known to the Hungarians directly fr the Danube Bulgarians cannot be excluded.

◆ Horn 1893: 41; Sreznevskij 1893–1912/1: 46; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 267–269; Bárczi 1941: 15; Hamilton 1955: 139; Kniezsa 1955: 74–75; Moravcsik 1958/2: 83–84, 93, 204; Beševliev 1963: 151–152; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 259, 714; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 108–109; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 195–196; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 236; Trubačev 1967: 73–81; Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 30; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 138; Levitskaja 1976: 158; Menges 1979: 80; Steingass 1981: 152; Erdal 1982: 407; Ligeti 1986a: 143; MacKenzie 1986: 17, 54, 81; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 77; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 600; Fedotov 1996/1: 440; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Golden 1998–1999: 91; Róna-Tas 1998b: 305–309; Tietze 2002: 275; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 340–341.

BÁN² [bān] 'to regret, to be sorry' | p1372/c1448 *megbana* [meg-bān-ā] | *bān-* < **baγin-* ← WOT **bagïn-* || **bánik** 'to deal with somebody/something, to treat/handle somebody/something a certain way' | 1470 *banÿek* [bān-yēk] | *bānik-* < *bān-* {with suff *-ik-*} || **bánt** 'to hurt, to harm somebody' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Bantas* [bānt-āš], p1372/c1448 *bantanÿ* [bānt-åni] | *bānt-* < *bān-* {with suff *-t-*} | EOT *bakïn-* 'to look at (the consequences), to pay heed' < *bak-* 'to look' {with suff *-(X)n-*}.

Of possible T origin.

OT *baqïn-* 'umsehen' (UBuddhUig II), *baqïn-* 'look at the consequences (of the affair and reflect)' (AK); **MT** *aġïzïqa baqïn-* 'jener unterwarf sich' (UOg), *baq-* 'guardare' (UM), *baqïn-* 'bakınmak, bakmak' (UY A88, B39, C37), *baq(ï)n-* 'smotreť, prismatrivaťsja' (AHŠF), *baqïš-* 'smotreť drug na druga, toptať' (AIM), *baqïġlï* 'beholder' (AKor), *baq-* 'smotreť' (AM), *baq-* 'smotreť, obraščať vnimanie, vzgljanuť, brosať vzgljad' (ANehF), *baq-* 'smotreť' (ATef), *baġïn-* 'se reconcilier, faire un arrangement' (AChag), *baq-* 'néz' (AChagAbV), *baqïš-* 'to look at one another' (AChagSC), *baq-*, *bax-* 'sehen, schauen, in einer gewissen Richtung blicken' (LCC), *baq-* 'bakmak' (AAH), *baq-* 'patrzeć' (ABul), *baq* 'regarde' (ADur), *baqïšla-* 'ehren' (AHou), *baq-* 'to look at, to check, (for a lance) to point' (AMGh), *baq-* 'videť, smotreť, rassmatrivať', *baqa qal-* 'byť poraženym, byť izumlennym' (ATuh), *baxïl-* 'être regardé, être soigné' (AmTr), *baġ-*, *bax-* 'smotreť', *baġïla-* 'peredať' (AmD), *baxïn-* 'to look at (around), to regard, to view, to watch', *baġïšla-* 'to present as a gift' (AmCh), *baxïn-* 'contempler' (AmE), *baqïnïl-* 'bakılmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păxăn-* 'podčinjaťsja, porinovaťsja, zaviseť ot kogo-l.' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bagïn-* 'posmotreť, poiskať' (Tat), *baġïn-* 'pokorjaťsja, poklanjaťsja' (Bashk), *baġïndïr-* 'zastaviť poklonitťsja, sdelaťť, pokoriť, podčiniť sebe' (SibTat), *baġïn-* 'pokorjaťsja, poklanjaťsja' (Kirg), *baġïn-* 'to obey, comply, submit' (Kaz), *baġïn-* 'pokorjaťsja, podčinjaťsja, povinovaťsja' (Kklp), *bak-* 'pasti (skot)' (Nog), *baqïn-* 'osmatrivaťsja (vračom)', ogljadyvaťsja, oziraťsja' (CrTat), *baġïn-* 'smotreť, gljadeť, posmatrivať, pogljadyvať, zagljadyvaťsja, zasmatrivaťsja' (Kar), *baq-* 'smotreť, gljadať, utraživať, prismatrivať, lečiť' (Kum), *baġïn-* 'nadejaťsja' (Krch), *baġïn-* 'podčinjaťsja, pokorjaťsja' (Blk); ***SW*** *bakïn-* 'osmatrivaťsja, ogljadyvaťsja, oziraťsja, pasti (dlja sebja), otkarm-

livaťʼ, vykarmlivaťʼ’ (Tkm), *baxïm* ‘nadzor, nadsmotr, nabljudenie, zabota, popečenie’ (Az), *bağım*, *bağın* ‘dependence’ (Tt), *bakïn-* ‘ogljadyvaťʼsja, ozirať sja, uhaživaťʼ za soboj, zabotiťʼsja o sebe, smotreťʼsja (o zerkalo)’ (Gag), *bax-* ‘hinsehen’ (Khor), *bax-* ‘hinsehen’, *baxïm* ‘Gesichtspunkt, Standpunkt’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *vaq-* ‘blicken’ (Kh), *vaq-* ‘sehen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *båq-* ‘smotreťʼ, gljadeťʼ, uhaživaťʼ, vyraščivaťʼ’ (Uzb), *baq-*, *bax-*, *vaq-* ‘to see, to look, to look around, to look after’ (TurkiJ), *baqin* ‘being fattened (corr. from *baqqan* ‘which is looked after’)’ (TurkiSh), *baq-* ‘smotreťʼ, vospityvaťʼ’ (TurkiL), *baq-* ‘schauen, hinschauen, auf etwas schauen, etwas aufmerksam betrachten, sich um etwas kümmern, sorgen für etwas, jemand pflegen’ (TurkiTR), *baq-* ‘smotreťʼ, gljadeťʼ, zabotiťʼsja, rastiťʼ, otkarmlivaťʼ, gadaťʼ’ (MUyg), *pax-*, *pa’-*, *vax-* ‘smotreťʼ, gljadeťʼ, vshoditʼ’ (Sal), *vax-*, *вax-* ‘voir, regarder, garder les malades, guerir’ (SalK); ***NE*** *baġïn-* ‘byťʼ pokorennym podčinjaťʼsja’ (Alt), *paq-* ‘schauen, unterworfen sein, unterthan sein’ (AltLR), *paq-* ‘schauen, unterworfen sein, unterthan sein’ (AltTelR), *paq-* ‘schauen, unterworfen sein, unterthan sein’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *paġïn-* ‘sich umsehen’ (KhakSR), *paq-* ‘schauen, unterworfen sein, unterthan sein’ (ChulR), *ba˝q-* ‘podsmatrivaťʼ, podgljadyvaťʼ, smotreťʼ otkuda-l. sverhu, ljubovaťʼsja’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The word is a dev verb with the medial and refl suff *-(X)n-* (Erdal 1991: 584–633) with meanings like ‘to look after, to care for, to look at the consequences (of the affair and reflect), to obey etc.’ The supposed change would have been T *bakïn-* > **bagïn-* ⟶ **baɣin-* > *bān-*.

E/H The word was considered by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 236) to be of unknown origin. It was Palló (1982: 37–39) who first suggested its T origin. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 76–77). The long *ā* of H is a H development: **aɣi* > *ā*. The earliest documented meaning in the H sources is ‘to regret the evil or sin which one has done’. With the H caus suff *-t-* the verb *bánt-* has the meanings ‘to harm, hurt, insult, annoy’. The verb entered the H *-ik-* conjugation and the verb *bánik-* means ‘to deal with somebody, to use somebody, to treat somebody a certain way’.

The three H words *bán-*², *bánik-* and *bánt-* show a later semantic differentiation within H. The first attestation of the verb with the prefix *meg-* appeared as *megbán-* with the meaning ‘to repent a sin’. If the meaning of the borrowed word was ‘to look after, care for’, the H semantic changes would not be impossible. The supposed T *-k-* > *-g-* might point, however, to a late Kip, practically Cum, origin, which would not allow for a longer H semantic differentiation. For the time being, the T origin of the word has to be considered as uncertain.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 269–270; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Bárczi 1941: 15; Egorov 1964: 150; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 236; Räsänen 1969: 58; Clauson 1972: 316; Palló 1982: 37–39; Erdal 1991: 584–633; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 76–77; Fedotov 1996/1: 407; Tietze 2002: 266.

BARÁG [bårāg] *Cum dial* 'hairy, bushy (of dogs) (as adj); a big hairy dog (as noun)' | 1521 PN *Barag* [bårāg] (Gyárfás 1870–1885/3: 780), 20th c. PN *Barág* [bårāg], *Barák* [bårāk], *Barak* [bårāk] (Mándoky 1971: 368) | *bårāg* < **barag* ← Cum **barag* | T *barak* 'a shaggy dog' ← Ir.

Of Cum origin.

OT *baraq* 'a long-haired dog' (AK); **MT** *barāġ* Ar 'big wide-stepping horse, good steed, one which races a lot', Pe 'thick-maned horse, spotted horse', Mo *geü* 'mare' (AKD, Golden reads براغ *buraġ*), *badaq* (read *baraq*) 'animal d'une odeur fétide et dont le lion a horreur, chien à long poils' (AChag), *baraq* 'tüylü bir cins köpek' (AAHI), *baraq* 'lohmataja sobaka' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *baraq* 'volosatyj, lohmatyj, s dlinnoj šerstʹju', *baraq et* 'dlinnošerstnaja sobaka' (Bashk), *barak* 'lohmatyj, kosmatyj, s dlinnoj šerstʹju', *barak it* 'dlinnošerstnaja sobaka' (Kirg), *baraq* 'a breed of dog' (Kaz), *baraq* 'volosatyj, lohmatyj (o životnom)' (Kklp), *baraq* 'ovčarka, sobaka s lohmatoj šerstʹju (voobšče), volosatyj, mohnatyj, lohmatyj' (Nog), *baraq* 'sobaka, pes' (CrTat), *baraq*: *bašdan baraq* 'bezalabernyj (o čeloveke)' (Kum), ***SW*** *barak* 'kaškaldak, lysuha, vodnjanaja kurica' (Tkm), *barak* 'long-haired dog' (Tt), *barak* 'bir çeşit av köpeği, çok kıllı insan, çok tüylü köpek, beyaz çilli siyah köpek, küçük köpek, fino, köpek, iri köpek, gözünün etrafinda beyaz damga olan köpek' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *baråq* 'lohmatyj, kosmatyj', *baråq it* 'lohmataja sobaka' (Uzb), *baraq* 'lohmatyj, pušistyj', *barq išt* 'lohmataja sobaka' (MUyg), *parvaq* 'imja, golova s vsklokočennymi volosami' (YUygM); ***NE*** *bargak* 'dublenaja šuba' (Alt), *parga* 'ternie, dikaja trava' (AltQK), *parvak* 'lohmatyj' (AltTK); ***Y*** *barāx* 'ptica kulik, petušok (Scolopax gallinago)' (Y).

Mo *barᵃg*, *barᵃg nohā* 'Hothund, Wachthund, eine kraushaarige Hunderasse' (Kalm).

E/T According to Dankoff (1971: 102; also Golden 1991: 50), the word originally denoted the shamanic mount (hence also 'bird') and is a lw fr Sogd or Pahl; see Pahl *bārag* 'mount, horse' and Sogd *bārāk* 'mounted, riding animal'. See also Os *baræg* 'vsadnik', *bajrag* 'žerebenok'. This Ir word goes back to the verb *bār-* 'to ride' (according to Cheung fr **bar-* 'to bring, carry', see Cheung 2007: 6–10). For further data on the word such as Pe *bāragī* 'horse', Sarikol *wərok*, *worak* 'horse' etc. see Abaev (1958–1989/1: 232, 236–237); see also Rastorgueva–Édelman (2000–2003/2: 101–102).

E/H The H word is not noted in B. Lőrinczy (1979–2002/1). According to its dial distribution, the word is of Cum origin. It is known in H Cumania, according to Mándoky (1993: 117–120), as a noun and as an attribute to H *kutya* 'dog'. On the latter, see *barak it* above.

◆ Gyárfás 1870–1885/3: 780; Pelliot 1949: 57–58; Hamilton 1955: 148; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 232, 236–237; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 280; Räsänen 1969: 62, 378; Dankoff 1971: 102; Mándoky 1971: 368; Clauson 1972:

360; Moravcsik 1983/2: 245; Golden 1991: 50; Mándoky 1993: 117–120; Eren 1999: 39; Rastorgueva–Édelman 2000–2003/2: 101–102; Bartha 2002: 59; Tietze 2002: 278; Cheung 2007: 6–10.

BÁRCA [bārcå] 'label, tag' | 1819 *Bartzák* [bårcā-k], 1879 *bárczák* [bārcā-k], dial *bajca* [båycå], *balca* [bålcå], *barca* [bårcå] | *bārcå* < **bāsa* ← Cum **baysa* | MT *bayza*, *bayǰa*, *baysa* ← Mo ← Ch 牌子 *pai-zi* 'a written tablet, a label' (M 4871).

Of possible Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *bayza yarlïġ* 'gramota, svidetel′stvo' (ATef), *paiza* 'eine dem Boten als Zeichen seines Auftrags gegebene goldene oder silberne Platte, mit einer Inschrift' (AChagR = in the Yarlïk of Toktamïš 1392); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *baysa* 'prograničnyj stolb, estafetnaja paločka' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *payǰa* 'signboard, shop-sign, mark' (L).

E/T Ultimately of Ch origin, the word was used by the Mongols, during the Yuan dynasty, in the Golden Horde and in the Crimean Khanate as a learned term for the tablet on which the orders of the ruler were written. The inscriptions sometimes granted the privilege of using post relay horses and any other means to shorten a messenger's journey. The word survived in a few Mo dials such as Ord and Kalm. The Tuv word is of Mo origin, cf. Kalm *päze* (← *payze*).

E/H The word was long considered to be of unknown origin (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 248; 1993–1997/1: 82). Since it was given to whores as an identity card in the late 19th c. and into the 20th, the semantic field has been narrowed in H. However, it was also used for the labels on wagons of trains until recent times. It was assigned a T origin by Mándoky (1993: 14, 113–116). The H word was originally a dial word in Cumania. This makes it clear that it can only be of Cum origin. For similar Mo words transmitted by the Cumans, see **bóda**, **daku**, **nyögér**. The word entered the literary lg during the H lg reform of the 19th c. The *-r-* is a secondary, unetymological H sound, see *varsány* [våršāń] 'name of an ethnic group in Hungary' < *vassan* < *ossan* 'Alan, Ossetian'. The lack of T data and the missing historical background makes the etymology uncertain.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 288; Bárczi 1941: 16; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 239; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 248; Münküyev 1977: 185–215; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 82; Mándoky 1993: 14, 113–116; Dang 2001: 31–45.

BAROM [bårom] 'cattle, livestock' | 13th c. *bormuc* [borm-uk], 1247 GN *Borumlok* [borum-låk], 1305 GN *Baromlak* [bårom-låk] | *bårom* < **barum* ← WOT **barum* | EOT *bar-* 'to exist' or EOT *bar-* 'to go' {with suff -(*X*)*m*}.

Of T but debated origin.

1 *bar* 'existing', *barïm* 'property, livestock': **OT** *barïm* 'property, wealth, livestock' (RMKT), *barïm* 'richesse, bien, avoir' (UHamTouHou), *bārlïġ* 'wealthy' (AK), *barq* 'Habe' (BO); **MT** *barġu* 'Beute' (UOg), *bar* 'var' (UYA 201), *barlïq* 'varlik' (UYA 5), *bar* 'existant, il ya, il existe' (UHy, UHyS), *barïm* 'Besitztum' (UCiv), *bar* 'exis-

tent, it is, there is' (AGul), *bar* 'var' (AHMA), *bar* 'suščestvovanie, bytie, naličie', *bar*: *barïm-yoqum* 'vse moe bogatstvo' (AHŠF), *bar* 'suščestvujuščij' (AIM), *bar* 'var, hazır' (AIMI), *bar* 'the eternal and everlasting' (AKD), *bar* 'being, existing' (AKor), *bar* 'imeetsja, est′' (AM), *bar* 'suščestvovanie, bytie, naličie' (ANehF), *bar* e.g. in: *küči barïnča* 'as hard as he could' (ARbg), *bar* 'suščestvovanie, naličie, est′' (ATef), *bar* 'var' (AYC), *barlïġ* 'riche, existence' (AChag), *bar* 'van, megvan' (AChagAbV), *bar-* 'est′, imeetsja' (AChagB), *barïm* 'die Habe, der Besitz' (AChagR), *bar* 'present, existent, etc.' (AChagSC), *bar-* 'es gibt' (LCC), *bar-* 'varmak', *barlu* 'varlıklı, zengin' (AAH), *bar* 'il y a, il se trouve, il éxiste' (ADur), *barlu* 'reich' (AHou), *bar* 'ist' (AKav), *bar* 'existent, (after nouns with possessive suffixes) to have' (AMGh), *bar-* 'est′, imejuščijsja, naličnyj, suščestvujuščij' (ATuh), *bar* 'tout, le tout, il y a' (AmTr), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja' (AmD), *bar*(*-edi*) 'there was' (AmCh), *bar* 'il y a' (AmE), *var* 'varlığı, mevcudiyeti, hepsi, olancası, mevcudu, olanca, hep, servet, mal, varlık' (AOtT), *var* 'property': *varïm vereyim* 'I would give all my belongings' (AYunus 104); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pur* 'est′, imeetsja', *purlăx* 'imuščestvo, dostojanie, dobro, sostojanie' (Chuv), *pur-* 'sein, vorhanden sein' *purăn-* 'leben' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *bar* 'est′, imeetsja', *barlïk* 'dostatok, bogatstvo' (Tat), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja', *barlïq* 'dostatok, bogatstvo' (Bashk), *bår* 'van' (BashkP), *bar* 'imeetsja, est′', *bardïk* 'suščestvovanie, naličie' (Kirg), *bar* 'is, there is, that which is on hand', *bardam* (local E) 'rich, wealthy', *barlïq* 'all, everything, everyone, property, belongings' (Kaz), *bar* 'bytie, naličie, suščestvovanie' (Kklp), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja, suščestvaet', *barlïk* 'ves, vsja, naličnost′, obilie material′nyh blag, dostatok, bezbednost′' (Nog), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja', *barlïq* 'bogatstvo, sostojanie' (CrTat), *bar* 'suščestvovanie, bytie, bogastvo' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *barlïk* 'blagososotojanie, zažitočnost′' (KarH), *barlïx* 'vse suščestvujuščee' (KarT), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja' (Kum), *bar*: čašče v forme skor. *bardï* 'est′, imeetsja, suščestvuet', *barlïq* 'suščestvovanie, realnost′, naličie, bogatstvo' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bār* 'est′, imeetsja, suščestvuet' (Tkm), *var* 'est′, imeetsja, imuščestvo' (Az), *var* 'existent, present' (Tt), *var* 'est′, imeetsja' (Gag), *öydä war'-ma*, *ẹvdä va'r-am* 'Ich bin im Haus', *ba'r-di*, *va^{r}*, *var'-di*, *vār*, *bar*, *bar-duq'*, *va'r-i*, *bar-ï'dï*, *var-it*, *ba'r-dï*, *ba'r-idi* 'haben, halten, bewahren' (Khor), *var* 'vorhanden, es gibt' (SOg); ***Kh*** *vār* 'sein' (Kh); ***SE*** *bår* 'est′, imeetsja', *bårliq* 'naličie, suščestvovanie, bogatstvo, zažitočnost′' (Uzb), *bar*, *bār*, *baj*, *ba*, *bā*, *var*, *va*, *vār*, *vā* 'existence, being, existent, there is', *barlïq*, *bārlïq*, *bālïq*, *barlïγ*, *barlïy*, *balïγ* 'existence' (TurkiJ), *bar* 'das Vorhanden sein, das Existieren, das Sein, vorhanden, er ist' (TurkiTR), *bar* 'est′, imeetsja' (MUyg), *bar*, *bā*, *va*, *vā* 'est′, naličnost′' (MUygKh), *par*, *bār*, *pa*, *pā*, *para*, *vār*, *vař*, *vār*, *pařař*, *vara*, *vāra*, *varar*, *vārar*, *varara*, *vārara*, *vārař*, *vařa*, *vāřař*, *vařeř*, *vařïř*, *vařeřuř* 'est′, imeetsja' (Sal), *ʙar qïš*, *ʙār qïš*, *ʙăr qïšï* 'homme riche' (SalK), *bar*, *pař*, *var* 'est′, imeetsja', *barłïγ* 'obladajuščij, sostojatel′nyj' (YUyg); ***NE*** *bar* 'est′, imeetsja, naličie' (Alt), *par* 'das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt' (AltLR), *par* 'est′, imeetsja' (AltQK), *bar*,

var ‘est′’ (AltTK), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt’ (AltTelR), *par* ‘est′, imeetsja, naličie’ (Khak), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt’ (KhakQbR), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt’’ (KhakQchR), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt’ (KhakSR), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es giebt’ (KhakShR), *par* ‘das Vorhandensein, vorhanden, es gibt’ (ChulR), *bar* ‘est′, imeetsja’ (Tuv), *bar* ‘est′, imeetsja’, *barlïġ* ‘imuščij, imejuščij, imuščestvo’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bār* ‘suščestvujuščij’ (Y), *bār* ‘ist da, befindet sich, es gibt’ (Dlg).

2 *bar-* ‘to go’: **OT** *bar-* ‘to go away’ (RMKT, RTIrk), *bar-* ‘aller, s’en aller’ (UHamTouHou), *bar-* ‘to go’, *ol äwkä barïmsïndï* ‘he pretended to go home’ (AK), *bar-* ‘hingehen’ (BA, BC, BD, BE, BG); **MT** *bar-* ‘gehen’ (UOg), *bar-* ‘varmak, gitmek’ (UYA 184), *bar-* ‘aller, marcher, s’en aller’ (UHy, UHyS), *bar-* ‘gehen’ (UCiv passim), *bar-* ‘to go’ (AGul), *bar-* ‘gitmek’ (AHMA), *bar-* ‘otpravljat′sja, uhodit′, idti, shodit′, pribyt′, rasprostranjat′sja’ (AHŠF, ANehF), *bar-* ‘yürümek, gitmek’ (AIMI), *bar* ‘go!’ (AKD), *bar-* ‘to go forth/on, depart’ (AKor), *bar-* ‘idti, pojti’ (AM), *bar-* ‘dvigat′sja, idti, ehat′’ (ATef), *bar-* ‘varmak, gitmek’ (AYC), *bar-* ‘aller, s’engager dans un chemin’ (AChag), *bar-* ‘idti, hodit′’ (AChagB), *bardi* ‘pošla’ (AChagMA), *bar-* ‘to go, to behave’ (AChagSC), *bar-* ‘gehen, sich irgendwohin begeben’ (LCC), *bar-* ‘aller’ (ADur), *bar-* ‘gehen’ (AHou), *bar-* ‘gehen’ (AKav), *bar-* ‘to go’ (AMGh), *bar-* ‘idti, dvigat′sja’ (ATuh), *bar-* ‘aller, se rendre à’ (AmTr), *bar-* ‘idti, uhodit′, uezžat′ otprovljat′sja’ (AmD), *bar-* ‘to go’ (AmCh), *bar-* ‘aller, se rendre à’ (AmE), *ba(r)-* ‘gehen’ (AVB), *var-* ‘geçmek, maziye karışmak, gitmek, yürümek, yok olmak, zail olmak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pïr-* ‘idti, ehat′’, *pïrlax* ‘perešeek’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *bar-* ‘idti, pojti’ (Tat), *bar-* ‘idti, pojti’ (Bashk), *bår-* ‘menni [to go]’ (BashkP), *bar-* ‘dvigat′sja’, (Kirg), *bar-* ‘to go, to ride’ (Kaz), *bar-* ‘hodit′, ezdit′, dvigat′sja’ (Kklp), *bar-* ‘idti, pojti, hodit′’ (Nog), *bar-* ‘hodit′, pojti’ (CrTat), *bar-* ‘idti, dvigat′sja, otpravljat′sja’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *bar-* ‘idti, hodit′’ (Kum), *bar-* ‘idti, ehat′, dvigat′sja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bar-* ‘idti, poseščat’, hodit′, ehat′’ (Tkm), *var-* ‘dohodit′, dostigat′, dostič’’ (Az), *var-* ‘to arrive, to reach’ (Tt), *var-* ‘idti, dohodit′, dostigat′’ (Gag), *var-* ‘gehen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *var-* ‘gehen, (vom Wasser) fließen, ähneln’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bår-* ‘idti, pojti, ehat′, hodit′’ (Uzb), *bar-*, *ba·r-*, *var-*, *bār-*, *ba-*, *ba·-*, *bā-*, *baj-* ‘to go, to proceed, to leave, to come, to arrive’ (TurkiJ), *bar-* ‘sich fortbewegen, gehen, fahren, reiten’ (TurkiTR), *bar-* ‘idti, ehat′’ (MUyg), *bar-*, *bā-* ‘hodit′, dvigat′sja, prihodit′’ (MUygKh), *par-*, *bar-*, *pā-*, *pař-*, *va-*, *vā-*, *var-*, *vār-*, *vař-*, *vāř-* ‘idti, uezžat′’ (Sal), *bar-*, *par-*, *pař-* ‘idti, otpravljat′-sja’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *bar-* ‘idti, dvigat′sja, uhodit′’ (Alt), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (AltLR), *par-* ‘idti, otpravljat′sja, dostigat′’ (AltQK), *bar-* ‘idti’ (AltTK), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (AltTelR), *par-* ‘idti, otpravljat′sja, uhodit′, uezžat′, ehat′’ (Khak), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (KhakQbR), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (KhakQchR), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (KhakSR), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (KhakShR), *par-* ‘gehen, fortgehen’ (ChulR), *bar-*

'to go' (FY), *bar-* 'idti, dvigat′sja, ehat′' (Tuv), *bar-* 'uhodit′, uezžat′, otpravljat′sja' (Tof); ***Y*** *bar-* 'idti, ehat′' (Y), *bar-* 'gehen, fahren' (Dlg).

E/T According to Erdal (1991: 292–293), *barïm* 'wealth, property' is not, as hitherto claimed, fr *bār* 'existence, exist'. It is fr *bar-* 'to go, to walk', being the word for movable property, that is livestock. In support of Erdal's point, one can cite Os *qom*, *ğom* 'krupnyj rogatyj skot, stado rogatnogo skota' < **gama* 'iduščij' (see Cheung 2007: 98 **gam-* 'to come', *qom*, *ğom* not cited) – not fr **gauma*. Cf. Abaev (1958–1989/2: 307) with further examples, where 'the moving, the walking' means 'cattle'. According to Cheung (2007: 112–113), Os *ræğaw*, *ærğaw* 'herd, cattle' goes back to *(*fra*)*gau-* 'increase'.

Besides *barïm*, *barï* and *bark* 'movable property', which look like dev nouns, we also find OT *barlïg* 'rich' and **barlïk* 'imušestvo', which are den nouns. Chuv has *purlăx* 'imušestvo' < *pur* 'est′', besides *pïrlăx* (? < *barïklïk*) 'perešeek', cf. *pïr-* 'idti'. However, *bar*, which has remained non-conjugated in most cases as early as OT, and fr many points of view figures as a nominal base, was surely a verb. The forms **bardï*, **barïr*/*barar* can be detected in some sources. The fact that Chuv has *purlăx* 'property', *puran-* 'to live, to exist', but *pïr-* 'to go', *pïrlăx* 'pass' also supports the earlier opinion which connected *barïm* with *bar* 'existence'. The word *barïm* came into being before the nominalisation of the verb **bar-* 'to exist' had been completed. Words like *barlïk* are later developments. Tenišev's view (2001: 326) that *barïm* derives fr a hypothetical verb **barï-* 'to be rich' is improbable.

The T word *bar-* 'to exist' was connected with Mo *bari-* 'to hold, grasp, build' by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 328), which is unacceptable for semantic reasons.

The H meaning 'Hühner' cited by Erdal (1991: 292) based on Zieme is due to a misunderstanding. The Chuv word *puran*, *păran* 'jagnenok, kozlenok', cited by Räsänen (1969: 62) in connection with the words above, is fr Rus *baran*, cf. Tat *bärän*. It has also been claimed that Rus *baran* belongs with the word in question. According to Trubačev (1974–1995/1: 155), who changed his earlier opinion, T only transmitted an Ir **varan* to the Slavs. This is very problematic due to chronological difficulties. The Sl word is more likely of onomatopoeic origin than T or Ir.

E/H In H the word for 'property' is *vagyon* fr *van-* 'to exist' (The base *vagy-* is now only found in the 1st person: *vagy-ok*, *vagy-unk* 'I am, we are') which may have developed under T influence. This would suppose that the verbal form **bar-* 'to exist' was also present in, or known to, H and that *barom* derives fr the latter. On the other hand, the earliest H data point to 'cattle' and this may support the etymology fr *bar-* 'to walk, go', but not necessarily. All in all, it is more probable that the H word is fr *bar*(-) 'to exist', rather than fr *bar-* 'to go'. All H authorities have considered the word to be of T origin without clarifying its T background.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 130; Munkácsi 1902: 277; Gombocz 1912b: 40; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 299; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Bárczi 1941: 16–17; Bárczi 1956: 7; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 307; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 239; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 254; Räsänen 1969: 62; Clauson 1972: 366; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 61; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 155; Ligeti 1986: 278–279; Erdal 1991: 292–293; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 84; Schmidt 1993: 104; Fedotov 1996/1: 444, 465; Tenišev 2001: 326; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 328; Berta 2004a: 9–21; Berta 2004b: 15–28; Cheung 2007: 98, 112–113.

BÁRSONY [bāršoń] 'velvet' | 1221 GN *Barsunos* [bāršun-oš], 1389 PN *Barson* [bāršon], c1395 *barſon* [bāršon], 1411 GN *Barsonyos* [bāršoń-oš] | *bāršoń* < **baršun* < **barčun* ← WOT **barčun* | EOT *barčïn* ← Ir.

OT *barčïn* 'silk brocade' (UMaitr, "Berlin 98", see TTVI p. 170, n. 391), *barčïn* 'silk brocade' (AK); **MT** *barčïn* 'diba' (AIMI), *barčïn* 'brocade' (AKD), *barčïn* 'brocade' (AKor), *barčïn* 'ipekli kumaš' (AAH), *barčin* (read as *berčin*) 'ipekten yapılmış, *dîba* dedikleri kumaş' (AAHI); **NT *Chuv*** *purśăn* 'šelk' (Chuv), *purśïn*, *purśum*, *purśun*, *porśăm*, *purśĕn*, *porśĕn* 'šelk' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *barsïn* 'šelkovaja tkan'' (Bashk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T This item is an old cultural "Wanderwort". Ar *ibrīsam*, *ibrīsim* 'silk' is a lw fr Pe *abrīšam*, *abrīšum* 'silk' (see also *rēšam*, *rīšam* 'silk', Taj *abrišem*). The MPe form is *abrēšom* (MacKenzie 1986: 4). The loss of the initial vowel seen in T may have occurred in an Ir dial. See e.g. Pash *wrx́əm* 'silk', Shugni *wirēxum* 'silk' (Morgenstierne 2003: 92; Horn 1893: 16), Sarikol *varaxïm*, *varaxum* 'šelk' (Pahalina 1971: 186), Wahan *vrəšïm* 'šelk' (Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 486). Clauson's idea (1972: 358) that the word came fr Toch *pāśim* 'treasure' is less probable. According to Horn (1893: 16), the Pe word derives fr the verb *rīštan* 'to spin', see also Cheung (2007: 437): **u̯rais-* 'to turn, to spin' > MPe *'bryšwm*.

The dial variants in Chuv are interesting. The final *-m* may be a secondary Chuv development, or it may preserve an earlier feature. The Bashk word seems to be of Chuv or MBulg origin. The word occurs in ORus fr the 12th c. as *bračina*, *bračinъ*, *bračenъ* 'vid šelkovoj tkani' (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 208). Early on, Gombocz (1928: 344) pointed out the presence of a similar word **barča* 'brocade' in a few T lgs and in Rus, such as *parča*. This word has been connected with Pe *parča* 'cotton or linen cloth'. Gombocz's notion that *barčïn* came fr *barča* with a "diminutive suffix *-n*" is an ad hoc idea and unacceptable. Nor is this a case of the coll suff +(*A*)*n* (Erdal 1991: 91), because this suff is only used with animate beings and the vocalism also does not fit. Whatever the final origin of the word *barčïn* may be, the H word is of OChuv origin. It is also very likely that the word was mediated to other T people and to the Rus by Bulg or Khaz merchants.

E/H The original meaning of the H word was 'a kind of silk'. Since Munkácsi (1883: 121), by all H authorities (see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 85) have considered it to be of immediate T origin without properly investigating its further history.

◆ Munkácsi 1883: 121; Horn 1893: 16; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 300–302; Gombocz 1927: 71; Morgenstierne 1927: 90; Gombocz 1928: 344; Ligeti 1935b: 284–285; Bárczi 1941: 17; Windekens 1941: 88; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 208; Menges 1965: 126; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 254–255; Räsänen 1969: 63; Pahalina 1971: 186; Clauson 1972: 357–358; Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 486; Ligeti 1979: 272; Ligeti 1986: 301–302; MacKenzie 1986: 4; Schmitt 1989; Erdal 1991: 91; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 85; Zieme 1995: 488; Fedotov 1996/1: 447; Tietze 2002: 280; Morgenstierne 2003: 92; Cheung 2007: 437.

BASZIK [båsik] 'to fuck' | 1213/1550 ? PN *Bofou* [bos-ou], 1221 PN *Bozou* [bos-ou], c1422 *bass*(*t*) *nement* [bås-ni ment] | *båsik-* < **bas-* {with suff *-ik-*} ← WOT **bas-* | EOT *bas-* 'to press, oppress'.

OT *bas-* 'to raid, attack suddenly, fall upon, suppress, defeat' (RMTon, RMKT, RMBilg, RMOng), *basïn-* 'to go down, sink', (RTIrk), *bas-* 'unterdrücken' (UTTIII 121), *är qīzïg basdï* 'the man mounted the girl' (AK); **MT** *bas-* 'besiegen, unterwerfen' (UOg), *bas-* 'premere' (UM), *bas-* 'pressen, darbringen' (UCiv), *bas-* 'to attack, to tread on, to overcome' (AGul), *bas-* 'basmak' (AHMA), *bas-* 'nastupaťˊ, nadavlivaťˊ, nažimaťˊ, massažirovaťˊ' (AHŠF), *bas-* 'topaťˊ, toptaťˊ' (AIM), *bas-* 'ayakla çiğnemek, basmak' (AIMI), *bas-* 'to press down' (AKor), *bas-* 'nastupaťˊ' (AM), *bas-* 'nastupaťˊ, nadavlivaťˊ, nažimaťˊ, massažirovaťˊ' (ANehF), *bas-* 'to defeat' (ARbg), *bas-* 'daviťˊ, stupaťˊ, popiraťˊ' (ATef), *bas-* 'fouler aux pieds, vaincre, comprimer' (AChag), *bas-* 'naložiťˊ' (AChagLN), *bas-* 'nastupaťˊ' (AChagMA), *bas-* 'drücken, zusammendrücken, pressen, unterdrücken, beherrschen, besiegen, überrumpeln, überfallen' (AChagR), *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack' (AChagSC), *bas-* 'drücken, treten' (LCC), *bas-* 'galip gelmek, yıkmak (küreşte)' (AAH), *bas-* 'zertreten' (AHou), *bas-* 'drücken, drauftreten, anfallen, ausbreiten' (AKav), *bas-* 'to take (a step), to put (one's foot), to stand (on one's feet), to keep (one's feet)' (AMGh), *bas-* 'stupaťˊ, daviťˊ, molotiťˊ' (ATuh), *bas-* 'marcher sur, fouler (aux pieds), presser, pétrir' (AmTr), *bas-* 'vaincre' (AmE), *bas-* 'altetmek, yenmek, kapatmak, teskin etmek, üstüne oturmak, altına almak, atmak, savurmak, yağdırmak, kaplamak, bürümek, koyup bastırmak' (AOtT), *bas-* 'to copulate (of people)' (AOtT, Nüzhet 1929: 40); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pus-* 'daviťˊ, nadavivaťˊ, nažimaťˊ' (Chuv), *puśar-* 'oplodotvorjaťˊ (o samcah)' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *bas-* 'nastupiťˊ, nastupaťˊ, daviťˊ, nadavlivaťˊ' (Tat), *bas-* 'coire (TatD, see Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 306–307; Tat, Paasonen 1901: 63), *bas-* 'bala čigaru čorïnda yomïrkalar östendä utïru (koš-kort turïnda)' (TatE), *bas-* (*tala-*) 'nabeg' (TatJu), *baθ-* 'statoviťsja, vstavaťˊ, nastupaťˊ' (Bashk), *baθ-* 'urïu, huğïu' (BashkD2), *bala baθ-* 'tojáson ülni, költeni [hatch out egg, brood]' (BashkP), *bas-* 'prižaťˊ, daviťˊ, stupat (nogoj)' (SibTat), *bas-* 'daviťˊ, stupaťˊ', *basïp koy-* 'nasilovaťˊ (ženščinu)' (Kirg), *bas-* 'to suppress, restrain, crush, run over, step, stride, tread upon, step on, stand up, become covered' (Kaz), *bas-* 'daviťˊ, žaťˊ, prižimaťˊ' (Kklp), *bas-* 'daviťˊ, žaťˊ, stupaťˊ, pečataťˊ' (Nog), *bas-* 'daviťˊ, žaťˊ, stupaťˊ' (CrTat), *bas-* 'stupaťˊ, šagaťˊ, nastupaťˊ, toptaťˊ' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *basïp qoy-* 'zavaliťˊ, zasypaťˊ čem-l.' (Kum), *bas-* 'stu-

pat′, nastupat′, daviť’ (KrchBlk), *bas-* ‘drücken, pressen, herauspressen, drauftreten (Mit dem Dativ hat dieses Zeitwort auch die Bedeutung von «coire».)’, *k‘öp bastirūču q‘at‘ïn* ‘eine Frau, die sich den sexuellen Genüssen oft hingibt’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *bas-* ‘daviť, nadavlivat′, žat′, nažimat′, pridavlivat′, stupat′, nastupat′’ (Tkm), *bas-* ‘daviť, napirat′, pobediť, poborot′, odolevat′, brat′’ (Az), *bas-* ‘to tread (upon), to stand (on), to press’ (Tt), *bas-* ‘cinsi münasebette bulunmak, kümes hayvanları, kuşlar, hayvanlar çiftleşmek’ (TtD1), *bas-* ‘nastupat′, perestopat′, topat′, daviť, žat′, nagrjanut′’ (Gag), *bastï* ‘öffnen’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *bas-*, *vas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammenpressen, zusammendrücken, hineinstecken, hineinstoßen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bås-* ‘daviť, nažimat′, nastilat′, pečatat′’ (Uzb), *bas-* ‘to press, impress, print, suppress’ (TurkiJ), *bas-* ‘to press, impress, print, stamp’ (TurkiSh), *bas-* ‘daviť, porožat′’ (TurkiL), *bas-* ‘drücken, zusammendrücken, pressen, sich unkluger Weise Gefahren aussetzen’ (TurkiTR), *bas-* ‘stupat′, daviť, prižimat′’ (MUyg), *bas-* ‘daviť, proizvodiť, besporjadok, stupat′ (nogami)’ (MUygKh), *pas-* ‘daviť, žat′, nasilovat′’, *pās-*, *bas-* ‘daviť, sokrušat′’ (Sal), *pas-* ‘presser, mettre le pied sur qc, marcher qc’ (SalK), *pas-* ‘daviť, uničtožiť’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *bas-* ‘stupat′, šagat′, stanoviťsja, daviť, tiskat′, pečetat′, nasilovat′’ (Alt), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (AltLR), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (AltTelR), *pas-* ‘nastupat′, nastupiť, vysiživat′ (o kurice)’, *pas-* ‘daviť, stupat′, šagat′’ (Khak), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (KhakQbR), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (KhakSR), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (KhakShR), *pas-* ‘drücken, pressen, zusammendrücken, zerdrücken’ (ChulR), *bas-* ‘to press’ (FY), *bas-* ‘daviť, nadavlivat′, vyžimat′sja’ (Tuv), *ba˝s-* ‘daviť, nadavlivat′, nastupat′ nogoj, šagat′, pečatat′, stampovat′’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bat-* ‘gnat′, plodotvoriť, oplodotvoriť (o byke)’, *battā-* ‘daviť, podavljat′, ugnegat′’ (Y), *batt(ā)-* ‘drücken, pressen’ (Dlg).

Mo *basu-* ‘to condemn, to hold in low esteem, disregard, underestimate’ (L).

E/T In the T lgs the secondary meaning ‘to fuck’ is old and present in almost all periods and all lgs (see also Chuv). We may often assume its existence where it is not recorded for euphemistic reasons. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1079–1080), Mo *basu-* is a T lw.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Paasonen (1901: 63; see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 85). Perhaps the T word replaced an older H one for euphemistic reasons. The word entered the H *-ik-* conjugation. Fr the same T base see **boszorkány**. Mac *basa* ‘bit′, šlepat′’, SerbCroat *basati* ‘bit′, udarjat′’ and perhaps Slvn *básati* ‘napihivat′, nabivat′’ are fr T and are not of Sl origin, as supposed by Trubačev (1974–1995/1: 161).

◆ Paasonen 1901: 63; Gombocz 1912b: 41; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 306–307; Nüzhet 1929: 40; Räsänen 1937: 252; Moravcsik 1958/2: 87; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 256; Räsänen 1969: 64; Clauson 1972: 370; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 74; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 161; Palló 1982: 40–

41; Ligeti 1986: 320; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 85; Fedotov 1996/1: 448; Tietze 2002: 284; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1079–1080.

BÁTOR [bātor] ‘courageous, brave, valiant’ | 1138/1329 PN *Bahatur* [baɣatur], [1177]/1202–1203/15th c. GN *Batur* [bātur], 1323 GN *Bathorighaz* [bātor-id′-hāz], p1372/c1448 *batron* [bātr-on] | *bātor* < **baɣatur* ← WOT **baɣatur* | EOT PN *Bagatur*.

OT *Baġatur čiġši* ‘a personal name’ (RTD, IV), *b’ġ̱tr* ‘name of a Khazar Kagan’ (c760, Al Kufi, Golden 1980/1: 155 with further data), *βαγατούρ* ‘a title of the Danube Bulgars’ (Moravcsik 1958/2: 83); **MT** *baġatur* ‘brave, héros’ (UHy), *baġatur* ‘brave, héros’ (UHyS), *bahādur* ‘brave, valiant, hero soldier’ (AGul), *bahadurluq* ‘bohaterstwo, odwaga, dzielnošč’ (AHŠ), *bahādur*, *bahādir*, *bahātūr* ‘otvažnyj, hrabryj, smelyj, geroj, bogatyr′’ (AHŠF), *bahātūr* ‘otvažnyj, hrabryj, smelyj, geroj, bogatyr′’ (ANehF), *bahadur* ‘heroic warrior’ (ARbg), *batur* ‘brave’ (AChag), *batur* ‘muthig, held, tapfer, eifrig, kühn, Krieger, Feldherr’ (AChagŠS), *bahadur* ‘tapfer, brav’ (LCCG), *baġatur* ‘brav’ (LCCI), *bahadur* ‘brave, héros’ (ADur), *bahadur* ‘tapfer’ (AKav), *bahādur* ‘brave’ (AMGh), *bahadur* ‘hrabryj, otvažnyj, smelyj’ (ATuh), *batïr* ‘yiğit, cesur, bahadır, kahraman’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păxattir* ‘bogatyr, sileč’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *batïr* ‘geroj, bogatyr′’ (Tat), *bahadïr* ‘bogatyr′, smelyj’ (Bashk), *bātër* ‘hős [hero]’ (BashkP), *maqattïr* ‘bogatyr′, geroj’ (SibTat), *padïr* ‘der Held, der Starke’ (SibTatBR), *bātïr* ‘bogatyr′, hrabec, geroj’ (Kirg), *batïr* ‘a chivalrous knight of Kazakh epics’ (Kaz), *batïr* ‘bogatyr′, geroj, otvažnyj, smelyj čelovek’ (Kklp), *batir* ‘bogatyr′, geroj, hrabec, molodec’ (Nog), *batïr* ‘bogatyr′, vitjaz, hrabryj’ (CrTat), *batïr* ‘geroj, bogatyr′, smelyj, hrabryj, mužestvennyj’ (KarT, KarC), *batïr*, *matur* ‘tapfer, heldenhaft’ (KarC), *baġatïr* ‘der Held, kühn’ (KarTR), *batïr* ‘geroj, bogatyr′’ (Kum), *batïr* ‘otvažnyj, hrabryj, mužestvennyj, (krč) geroj’ (KrchBlk), *batïr* ‘tapfer, wacker, ein Held’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *batïr* ‘bogatyr′, smeľčak, hrabec’ (Tkm), *bahadïr* ‘bogatyr′, hrabec, grabec’ (Az), *bahadır*, *bahadir*, *bahadur* ‘brave, gallant, valiant, champion, hero’(Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bahådir* ‘bogatyr′, hrabec’ (Uzb), *bahādur*, *vata*, *batur* ‘hero’ (TurkiJ), *batuy* ‘bogatyr′’ (TurkiL), *bahadur*, *batur* ‘geroj, bogatyr′’ (MUyg), *pat‘ïr* ‘geroj, bogatyr′’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *mātïr*, *bātïr* ‘bogatyr′, geroj, hrabec’ (Alt), *pāttïr*, *matïr* ‘bogatyr′, geroj, pobeditel′’ (AltQK), *matïr* ‘geroj, smelyj, hrabnyj’ (Khak), *patïr* ‘geroj, smelyj, hrabnyj’ (KhakB), *matïr* ‘kühn, furchtlos’ (KhakSR), *paġattïr* ‘der Held’ (KhakShR), *bātĭr* ‘hero’ (FY), *mādïr* ‘geroj, bogatyr′, vitjaz’ (Tuv), *bogatyr* ‘bogatyr′, vitjaz’ (Tof); ***Y*** *batïr* ‘doblestnyj, neobyknovenno mužestvennyj, smelyj’, *buxatïr*, *buġatī̆r*, *bukatī̆r*, *buoġatī̆r*, *baġatī̆r* ‘bogatyr′’ (Y), *bātyr* ‘wild, ungezähmt’, *bukatī̆r* ‘Held’ (Dlg).

Mo *baġatur* ‘hero, knight, heroic, courageous, valiant, brave’ (L).

Os *bæğatyr*, *bægatær* ‘hrabyj, bogatyr’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 245).

E/T The T words of the type *bahadïr*, *bahatur* etc. are of Pe origin. The Pe word itself is of T or Mo origin. The word seems to be an old Eurasiatic cultural term, the origin of which is unclear. On the various etymological suggestions and the distribution of the word, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 374–377). In a lecture given in Budapest (30 January 2003) Sims-Williams cited a Bactrian form *Magatur*. See *μαγατορο* (Sims-Williams 2001: Index). We do not know whether the change of meaning was 'hero' → 'title' or 'title' → 'hero', but the meaning 'hero' is very early. On the other hand, the word figures as a title both in the early Ch (莫賀咄 *mo-he-duo*, cf. Chavannes 1900: 347) and in the Byzantine sources.

For the origin of the H word, two items seem to be of importance for chronological reasons.

The first is the Os word *bægatyr*, *bægatær* 'hrabyj, bogatyr'', which, according to Abaev (1958–1989/1: 245–246), occurred as a PN in the Os inscription of Zelenchuk dated to the 10th–12th c.s. The Os word is also present in the Geor chronicles, which call Ossetians *Os-Bagatari* 'Ossetian heroes' and the Os ruler *baqat'ur* fr the 5th c. on (even though the source, the Kartlis Cxovreba, was compiled relatively late, between the 11th and 15th c.s). According to Ibn Rusta (first decades of the 10th c.), the king of the Alans is called *bagatïr* (Golden 1980/1: 156; Alemany 2000: 276; see also Alemany 2002, 2002a).

The other is the ORus *bogatyr* 'hero, figure in the heroic folk-tales', first noted in several redactions of the ORus chronicle (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 183). Both the Os and ORus data point to an early T trisyllabic form, as also reflected in the DBulg inscriptions. The fact that the T word is present both in Khaz and in the lg of the Danube Bulgarians makes it certain that the word existed in WOT.

E/H The H sources show no traces of the word being used as a title. The long vowel is due to H development. Though theoretically the H word may be of Os or OSl origin, its T origin is more probable for phonological reasons. This is the view held by all H authorities (see Ligeti 1986: 66; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 86).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 130; Chavannes 1900: 347; Gombocz 1912b: 41; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 310–312; Thomsen 1922a: 259; Bárczi 1941: 17; Moravcsik 1958/2: 83; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 245–246; Czeglédy 1960: 80; Clauson 1962: 19, 197; Beševliev 1963: 230; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 374–377; Egorov 1964: 144; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 183; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 258; Clauson 1972: 313; Golden 1980/1: 155–156; Ligeti 1986: 66; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 86; Fedotov 1996/1: 391; Golden 1998–1999: 85; Alemany 2000: 276; Sims-Williams 2001: Index; Alemany 2002: 548–552; Alemany 2002a: 77–86; Tietze 2002: 294.

BECSÜL [bĕčül] 'to estimate, to esteem, to appreciate' | p1416/c1450 *bǫlǫlǫm* [böčöl-öm], c1456 *bechelem* [bečel-em], *Bwchwlÿetek* [böčöl-yētek], *bwchwben* [böčü-ben], 1470 *beculetlenfeg* [bečül-etlenšēg], 1532 *bućőletős* [bücöl-etöš] | *bĕčül-* < **bečel-* ←

WOT **bičil-* 'to be cut, to be in agreement, to be ordered in agreement' < **bič-* {with suff -(*X*)*l*-} | EOT *bïčïl-* 'to be cut', *bïčïg* 'agreement'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *bïč-* 'to cut off' (RMBilg), *bïč-* 'to cut' (RTIrk), *bïč-* '(mit scharfem Schwert) zerhieb' (UUII 78: 31), *bïčïl-* 'to be cut, to be cut off' (UHöllen 63; for further data, see Erdal 1991: 655), *bïčïl-* 'to be cut', *bïčïġ* 'covenant, contract', *bïčġas* 'a contract or covenant (among people etc.)' (AK), *bïč-* 'to cut, cut off' (AQB), *bï* 'Messer, Schneide' (BA), **MT** *bič-* 'biçmek' (UYC 38), *bič-* 'to cut out, to reap' (AGul), *bič-* 'biçmek' (AHMA), *bič-* 'kroit′, žat′, sobirat′ urožaj' (AHŠF), *biç-* 'kesmek' (AIMI), *bïč-*, *bič-* 'to reap', *bičmäk käsmäk* 'judgment' (AKor), *bič-* 'kroit′' (AM), *bïč-* 'rezat′, rubit′', *bïčïġ* 'soglašenie' (cited as *bačig*) (ATef), *bič-* 'biçmek' (AYC), *bïč-* 'couper, tailler' (AChag), *bïč-*, *bič-* 'schneiden, zuschneiden, mähen, ernten, schätzen, abschätzen' (AChagR), *bïčïl-* 'to be reaped' (AChagSC), *bič-* 'kroić', *bičin-* 'być skrojonym, być pociętym' (ABul), *bïč-* 'zerschneiden (ein Kleid), mit dem Schwerte entzwei hauen, ernten' (AHou), *bïč-* 'zerschneiden' (AKav), *bič-*, *bïč-* 'delit′, otdeljat′, delit′ na dve ravnye časti, srezat′, kosit′' (ATuh), *bič-* 'kesmek, kökünü kazımak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păś-* 'pilit′' (ChuvA X, 151: *păčăkapa păśap* 'cut with a knife'); ***NW*** *pečel-* strad. ot *peč-* 'halastyt′, kastrirovat′' (Tat), *besel-* 'strad ot *bes-* 'kroit′' (Bashk), *bič-*, *bec-*, *pec*, *pïc-* 'rezat′' (SibTat), *pïc-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, zuschneiden' (SibTatBR), *bïčïl-* 'byt′ kroit′sja, byt′ kastriruemym, byt′ točno opredeljaemyj, točno opredelit′sja' (Kirg), *pïš-* 'to cut, cut out, castrate' (Kaz), *pišil-* 'kroit′sja, vykraivat′sja, byt′ vykroennym, byt′ kastrirovannym' (Kklp), *pïšïl-* strad ot *pïš-* 'pilit′' (Nog), *bič-* 'kroit′, kastrirovat′', *bičil′gen* 'skraennyj, kastrat, skopec', *bïč-*, *pïč-* 'pilit′' (CrTat), *bic-* 'kroit′' (KarH), *bičil′-* 'kroit′sja, byt′ skroennym' (KarC), *bič-* 'kroit′' (Kum), *bičil-* strad. ot *bič-* 'kroit′, planirovat′, kastrirovat′' (KrchBlk), *bičil-* 'geschnitten werden, kastriert werden' (KrchP); ***SW*** *bičil-* 'byt′ vykroennym, skroennym, kroit′sja, vykraivat′sja' (Tkm), *bičil-* 'sžat′sja, skašivat′sja, vykravat′sja' (Az), *biçil-* 'to be cut, reaped', *biçilmiş kaftan* 'fitting well, just the right thing' (Tt), *bičil-* 'byt′ skošennym' (Gag), *bičin* 'Ernte' (SOg); ***Kh*** *bīč-* 'ernten, Korn usw. Mähen schneiden' (Kh), *bič-*, *büč-*, *buč-* 'pflücken (z.B. Beeren)' (KhT); ***SE*** *bičil-* 'kroit′sja, byt′ skroennym, byt′ kastrirovannym' (Uzb), *pïč-* 'to cut, to cut out, to castrate' (TurkiJ), *pič-* 'to cut out any stuff to make garments, to carve' (TurkiSh), *püčüil-* 'rezat′, kroit′' (TurkiL), *piš-* 'schneiden, zuschneiden, kastrieren' (TurkiTR), *pičil-* strad. ot *pič-* 'kroit′, ospokljat′, kastrirovat′' (MUyg), *p'uš-*, *pïš-* 'kroit′, rezat′ na kuski lenty' (YUyg); ***NE*** *bïč-*, *bïčï-* 'rezat′, kroit′' (Alt), *pïč-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, zuschneiden' (AltR), *pïč-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, zuschneiden' (AltLR), *pïč-* 'kroit′, rezat′' (AltQK), *pïč-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, zuschneiden' (AltTelR), *pïs-* 'kroit′' (Khak), *pïc-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, zuschneiden' (ChulR), *bïš-* 'kroit′' (Tuv), *bï″š-* 'kroit′, raskraivat′' (Tof); ***Y*** *bïs-* 'rezat′, srezy-

vaťˊ, srubaťˊ, žaťˊ, sžinaťˊ, božinaťˊ, kroiťˊ (plaťˊe)' (Y), *bïhïn-* 'weg-/zer-/geschnitten, Verlaufen' (Dlg).

E/T T *bïčïl-* is a pass form of *bïč-* 'to cut' (Erdal 1991: 655). The meaning 'to agree, to be in agreement' is an early semantic development fr 'to be cut' (Erdal 1991: 380). Two pieces of wood or of material will have the same length if both are cut in the same way, that is they agree. If one would like to record the length of an object, one has to cut a measure of that object. This is the logic behind such words as *bïčïg*, *bïčgas* 'agreement'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 199) compared the T verb with Mo *bičikan* 'small', *bičal-* 'to smash or squash into a pulp'; see also *biča* 'into small pieces, into pulp' in *biča daru-* 'to crush, smash'. See also **bicska**.

E/H According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 89–90) the H word family is of unknown origin and the T etymology, proposed by Palló (1982: 42–44), fr *bič-* 'to cut' is improbable. The H word *vág-* 'to cut' has similar meanings as in *nem vág ide* 'it does not fit here', *szakmájába vág* 'it pertains to his profession', and *a két dolog vág egymáshoz* 'the two things agree, are in accordance, they fit'. On the other hand, there exists a H noun *becs* 'value, worth, esteem'. If the H verb is of T origin, the noun could have been a false back-formation fr *becsül-*. The H verb is first noted after 1416, the H noun around 1456, which means that we have no clear chronological arguments to suppose a back-formation. However, the semantic change fr 'to bring into agreement' > 'to estimate', though not evident, is far fr improbable. We also have to consider that fr the same base in H we find **bicsak**, **bicska**, which point to a back-vocalic form of the same word. The change *ï* > *i* can hardly be as old as WOT. Taking into account the chronological problems with the noun *becs*, and the phonetic and semantic difficulties, this etymology has to be considered doubtful until we have new data.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 320–321; Bárczi 1941: 17; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 266; Palló 1982: 42–44; Erdal 1991: 380, 655; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 89–90; Tietze 2002: 331, 336; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 199.

BÉKA [bēkå] 'frog' | 1295 GN *Bekafolo* [bēkå-foľō], 1308 ? GN *Bykató* [bīkå-tō], c1395 *beka* [bēkå] | *bēkå* < **baka* ← WOT **baka* | EOT *baka*, *bāka* 'frog' ← *bāk-* {with suff *-gA*}.

OT *baqa* 'frog' (UUII 35, 21, AK); **MT** *baġa* 'frog' (AGul), *baqa* 'ljaguška' (AHŠF), *baqa* 'frog' (AKor), *baġa* 'ljaguška' (ANehF), *baqa*, *baqačanaq* 'tortue, grenouille' (AChag), *qawurčaqlïq baqa* 'čerepaha' (AChagMA), *baqa* 'der Frosch, die Kröte' (AChagR), *baqa* 'frog', *baqa čanak* 'tortoise' (AChagSC), *baqa* 'Frosch' (AChagŠSK), *baqa* 'kurbağa' (AAHI), (*qabïrčaqlï*) *baġa* 'tortue' (ABul), *boġa* (< *båġa*, *baġa*) 'tortue' (ADur), *boġa* 'Frosch, Kröte' (AHou), *baġa* 'frog', *qaburčuqlï baqa* 'tortoise' (AMGh), *baġa* 'ljaguska, morskaja čerepaha' (ATuh), *baġa*, *baha* 'grenouille' (AmTr), *baġa* 'kaplumbağa, kaplumbağanın kabuğu' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *baka* 'ljaguška, (fig.) zapor, derevjannyj zasov (dveri) basovaja klaviša, balansir (pri-

posoblenie na mel′nice)' (Tat), *baqa* 'ljaguška, ulitka' (Bashk), *maġa*, *maqa*, *paġa*, *baxa* 'ljaguška' (SibTat), *baka* 'ljaguška, (fig.) suhoparyj čelovek, čelovek (hudoj) kak palka' (Kirg), *baqa* 'frog' (Kaz), *baqa* 'ljaguška' (Kklp), *baka* 'ljaguška' (Nog), *baqa* 'ljaguška, ljagušačij' (CrTat), *baġa* 'ljaguška' (KarH, KarT), *baqa* 'ljaguška' (KarC), *baqa* 'ljaguška' (Kum), *maqa* 'ljaguška' (KrchBlk), *maq'a* 'Frosch, Kropf' (KrchP); ***SW*** *gurbāga* 'ljaguška' (Tkm), *baġa* 'ob″edinjajuščiee ponjatie: ljaguški i čerepahi' (Az), *bağa* 'tortoise shell', *kurbağa* 'frog' (Tt), *bağa* 'kaplumbağa' (TtD), *kurbā* 'ljaguška, žaba' (Gag), *ġụrbaɣa*, *ġurbaqqa*, *ġurbaɣa*, *ġụrbaɣë*, *ġụrbaqa*, *ġurbaɣï*, *ġurbaqġa*, *ġụrbaqqa*, *ġụrbaqqa*, *ġụrbaqġa*, *ġụrbaqġä*, *ġụrbaġġa*, *ġụrbaɣï*, *ġụrbaɣa* 'Frosch' (Khor), *baqa* 'Frosch' (SOg); ***Kh*** *bāqa* 'Schildkröte', *ġurbāɣa*, *ġulbāɣa*, *ġurmāɣa*, *ġurbāča*, *čur*(*r*)*ubāqa*, *čurpāq/ɣa*, *ǰirmāqa*, *ǰirbāɣa* 'Frosch' (Kh); ***SE*** *baqa* 'ljaguška' (Uzb), *paqa* 'frog' (TurkiJ), *paqa*, *baqa* 'frog' (TurkiSh), *baqa* 'der Frosch, die Kröte' (TurkiTR), *paqa* 'ljaguška' (MUyg), *paqa* 'ljaguška, vulva' (MUygKh), *paga*, *paɣa*, *paqa*, *pagaǰ'ux*, *pagor*, *paɣor*, *paɣoř* 'ljaguška' (Sal), *baqa*, *paqa*, *paɣa* 'ljaguška' (YUyg); ***NE*** *baka* 'ljaguška' (Alt), *paqa*, *paġa* 'der Frosch' (AltLR), *baka*, *paga* 'ljaguška' (AltQK), *paga* 'ljaguška' (AltTK), *paqa* 'der Frosch' (AltTelR), *paga*, *paga-palčax* 'ljaguška' (Khak), *paġa* 'der Frosch' (KhakSR), *paġan* 'der Frosch' (KhakShR), *maġa* 'der Frosch' (ChulR), *paga* 'ljaguška' (Tuv), *baġa* 'ljaguška' (Tof); ***Y*** *baġa* 'ljaguška' (Y), *baga* 'Frosch' (DlgS).

Mo *baqa* 'frog, toad' (L).

E/T The T word is a dev noun fr the onomatopoeic verb **bāk-* (see Berta 2000a: 57). Similar onomatopoeic forms exist in Ir lgs: in the Caspian subgroup of NW Ir *wæk* (Kandelusi, Saravi, Khatirabadi, Shamirzadi, Semnani group), *beq*, *bæq* (North Kurdish [Kumanji]), SW Ir *bæq* (Cauc Tat) (personal communication fr Don Stilo, 12. 11. 2005). Chuv *šapa* 'frog' is a Rus lw (← *жаба*). The claim made by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 920) that the T word (< PA **mi̯ə̀k'o*) has the same origin as Mo *melekey* 'frog' rests on four suppositions: (1) The Mo form goes back to *mekeley* (see Kalm *meklā*). This is unlikely because in the Kalm dict by Pozdneev (1911: 233, apud Krueger 1984a: 598) we find *mekeley*, but in the older text by Jülg (1866) we find *melekey*. If *mekeley* were the original, we would have to postulate a suff *-lAy*, which does not seem to exist, while *-kAy* is well attested. See e.g. *erbegekey* 'butterfly' (cf. *erbeyi-* 'to wriggle like an insect', *erbegen* 'bristling', *erbeger* 'flitting back and forth' < **erbe*); (2) The T initial *b-* had to go back to a PA or PT *m-*; (3) A Tu **moKo*(*lV*) is related, but this means 'bat, chipmunk' and is only extant as *mokolči* 'letučaja myš; bat' in Evnk and *mokotoy* 'burunduk; chipmunk' in Evn. The latter word is surely a Y lw; see Y *moġotoy*, *moxotoy* 'burunduk', as correctly noted by Cincius (1975–1977/1: 544). The Y word is a Y der with the dim suff *+tAy* fr the word *moġoy*, *moxoy*, which is of Mo origin (see Kałużyński 1994: 111). The Evnk word is an inner Evnk der, see *mokolo-* 'prižat', dojti'. Finally, (4) the difference in the vocalism should be, according

to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak, due to a PA **-ia-* in the first syllable. There is no trace of such a sound in T and it is supposed only to underpin the front vocalism of Mo. As to the "unmistakable Korean match" **məkùrí* 'frog, toad', it is well worth noting the onomatopoeic character of most words denoting 'frog'.

E/H The T origin of the word was first noted by Vámbéry (1870: 130) and accepted by all scholars, including Benkő (1993–1997/1: 91). The H GN *Begas tow* 'frog lake' recorded fr 1315 does not belong here but points to a Kip origin. The H historical data (such as *Byka* (see above)) show that we have to suppose a non-labial *a* in the first syllable in the original T lg which was substituted by H *e* (see **disznó**, **gyertya**) rather than assume a H dissimilation.

◆ Jülg 1866: 188; Vámbéry 1870: 130; Budenz 1873: 77; Pozdneev 1911: 233; Gombocz 1912b: 42; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 327–328; Németh 1935–1939: 528; Räsänen 1937: 252; Bárczi 1941: 17–18; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 438; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 269–270; Clauson 1972: 311; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 40; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 544; Róna-Tas 1977: 274; Krueger 1984a: 598; Ligeti 1986: 198, 201; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 229; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 91; Kałużyński 1994: 111; Berta 2000a: 57; Starostyn–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 920.

BÉKLYÓ [bēkyō] 'hobble, shackle, leg-iron' | 1590 *bęklyot* [bēklyō-t] || **békó** [bēkō] 'hobble, shackle, leg-iron' | c1395 *beko* [bēkō], c1560 *békolyok* [bēkō-yok], dial *békó* [bēkō], *bíklou* [bīklou], *bíkó* [bīkō], *bíkou* [bīkou] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 399) | *bēkō*, *bēkyō*, *bēkaų* < *bikaɣ(u)* ← WOT **bïkaɣ(u)* | EOT *bukagu* 'fetters, leg-iron' < **buka* {with suff +(*A*)*gU*}.

OT *buqaġu* 'fetters' (UM III 12:19, UTT III 188:49), *buqāġu* 'the fetters which are put on the thief' (AK), *buqaġu* 'Fessel' (B35 Ab3); **MT** *boġum* 'articulation, jointure, génération' (UHy), *buqaġu* 'bukağı' (AHMA), *buqaġu* 'fetter' (AKor), *buqaġu* 'kandaly, okovy, cepi', *buqaġluġ* 'zakovannyj v kandaly, v okovah' (ANehF), *buqaġu* 'fetter' (ARbg), *boqaġu* 'okovy, kandaly' (ATef), *buxaq* 'bandage qu'on applique sur les plaies', *buxaġu* 'entraves pour les chevaux, fers pour les criminels', *buqaġu*, *buġaġu*, *buġau* 'ceps, fers pour enchainer' (AChag), *buqau* 'okovy' (AChagMA), *boġan* 'die Fesseln' (AChagR), *buqaġu*, *buqaw* 'a chain that they fasten to the legs of animals or criminals' (AChagSC), *buġaq* 'Schlinge, Ring, Fusskette', *buġaġu* 'Fessel, Band, Kette', *buxanxu* 'Gelenk, Knoten, Fussfessel' (AChagŠS), *buvux* 'Gelenk' (LCC), *boġun* 'boğum' (AAHI), *buqaġula-* 'spętać, zakuć w kajdany' (ABul), *buġav* 'fers, chaînes' (ADur), *boġun* 'Gelenk' (AHou), *buvavï*, *buġavï*, *buqaġï* 'uzy, puty, okovy' (ATuh), *bïġov* 'fers, chaîne' (AmTr), *buqaġï*, *buqaġu*, *puqaġu* 'hayvanın ayağına vurulan köstek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păxav* 'železnye puty' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bogau* 'puty, okovy, kandaly' (Tat), *bïgau* 'okovy, kandaly, uzy, puty' (Bashk), *puġau* 'die Fessel' (SibTatBR), *buġau* 'die Fessel' (SibTatTR), *bogō* 'okovy, kandaly' (Kirg), *bŭġau* 'fetters, iron manacles, yoke' (Kaz), *boġav*, *buġav* 'jarmo, petlja', *buġay* 'okovy, kandaly' (Kklp), *bugav* 'okovy, kandaly' (Nog), *buġav*, *buġov* 'kol′co, okovy, kandaly' (CrTat),

buġou ‘uzda, uzdečka, cep′, kandaly’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *buqaġï*, *buġov* ‘kandaly, okovy’ (KarC), *buġuw* ‘die Kette’ (KarLR, KarTR), *buġav* ‘okovy, naručniki, kandaly, cepy’ (Kum), *buġou* ‘puty, naručniki, cepi, kandaly’ (KrchBlk), *buġou* ‘Pferdefesse’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *bukav* ‘ženskoe serebrjanoe ukrašenie, nadevaemoe na šeju’ (Tkm), *bukov* ‘kandaly, okovy’ (Az), *buxov* ‘kandaly’ (RAz), *bukağı* ‘fetter, hobble’ (Tt), *bıxağı*, *bıxo*, *bıkağı*, *bokağı*, *buxağı*, *bukā*, *būk’a*, *bukai*, *bukavu* ‘kaçmaması için hayvanların ayağına takılan zincir, demir köstek’ (TtD1), *bukā* ‘kandaly, železnye okovy’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *buġåv* ‘okovy, kandaly’ (Uzb), *bugax* ‘ceinture’ (Sal); ***NE*** *moġā*, *moġax*, *muġā*, *poġo* ‘derevjannoe kol′co ili duga iz čeremuhovih prut′ev na nartah, sanjah ili borone dlja privjazy ljamki’, *poġbax* ‘derevjannoe kol′co na borone, za kotoroe cepljajut ljamku’ (KhakB), *bogā* ‘kol′co (dlja selkohozjajstvennoj kosy)’ (Tuv), *buġā* ‘braslet (ukrašenie na ruke)’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *buġulġa*, *buulġa* ‘yoke, whipple-tree, horse collar’ (L) < *buġulaġ* ‘shoulder, shoulder bone’, *baġu*, *baġuy* ‘collar (Altan Tobči), forearm, wrist, bracelet’ (L), MMo *baġuġu* ‘cangue’ (SH), *buġiya* ‘hobble’ (SH).

E/T For the OT we have to reconstruct a voiceless *-k-*, which was voiced in many T lgs but preserved its unvoiced character in the SW T lgs and is also reflected in H. The majority of the T data point to a *-u-* in the first syllable. The Chuv data is a lw fr a Bashk (see above) or Tat dial which had an *-ï-* in the first syllable (see Tat *bïgau* in Ašmarin 1898: 84, where it is mistakenly connected with Chuv *păyav*). This delabialisation in the present VKip lgs does not seem to be very old. On the other hand, labialisation after *b-* cannot be excluded either, and in this case both Chuv and H would have preserved the non-labial vowel. The Mo words, often cited together with the T word, are of a different origin because of the consistent *-g-* in the data. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 379) connect PM **bugu* and PT *bukagu* and consider them as “Altaic” without taking into account the problem of the first velar. Some MT and NT data with *-g-* may be of Mo origin. The T word seems to be a der in *+(A)gU* (cf. Erdal 1991: 93–97), however there is no **buk*(*a*) fr which the collective noun could be derived. Even the final vowel of Khak *pogo* seems to be due to a secondary shortening; see Tuv *bugā*. Nevertheless, one has the impression that this is a case of a petrified collective, or more precisely a *tantum plurale* of a word **buk*(*a*), which perhaps never had a sg because fetters were never used in the sg. At present, it has to remain open whether the word can be connected with *bog* ‘knot’ and *bog-* ‘to tie hard, to strangle’, on which see **bog**, **boglya**, **boly**, **bojt**. Because of the early *-k-*, this is unlikely.

E/H The longer and the shorter T forms (**bïkagu*, **bïkag*) existed together and both were borrowed by H as **bïkagu* → **békjó* > *béklyó* (see **borjú**) and **bïkag* → **békó*. The H *j* > *ly* is unusual but not unprecedented. The H word has been consid-

ered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 131). Benkő (1993–1997/1: 95) accepted the T origin, but remarked that the *y* > *l′* (orth *j* > *ly*) change in H is unclear.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Budenz 1873: 95; Ašmarin 1898: 84; Munkácsi 1902: 371; Gombocz 1912b: 42; Munkácsi 1912–1913b: 360; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 332–334; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Gombocz 1920: 4; Ligeti 1935a: 238, 240; Räsänen 1937: 252; Bárczi 1941: 18; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 277–278; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 271; Clauson 1972: 314; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 248; Róna-Tas 1977: 274; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 399; Ligeti 1986: 246–248; Erdal 1991: 93–97; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 95; Fedotov 1996/1: 407; Vértes 2001: 414; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 379.

BÉLYEG [bēl′eg] ‘stamp, bond, mark’ | 1263 ? PN *biluk* [biluk], 1436 *Bylegh* [bileg], c1470 *belegeth* [bēleg-et], dial *billeg* [billeg], *billög* [billög], *billog* [billog], *bilyog* [bil′og], *billyog* [bill′og], *bélag* [bēlåg], etc. (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 428–429) | *bēyeg* < *bēl′eg* < **beleg* ⟵ WOT **bäläg* < **bäläk* | EOT **bäläk*, see *bällük*, *bälgü* ‘sign, mark’.

Of T but debated origin.

1 *belük*: **OT** –; **MT** *bällüg bolsun* ‘zur Kenntnis gelangen’ (UOg, read *bellük*?), *belük* ‘das Zeichen, die Marke’ (AChagR), *bilik* ‘Zeichen’ (AChagŠS), *belek*, *belik* ‘nişane, alâmet, örnek’ (AOtT), *belüwi* (*kü*) ‘his/her sign, funeral inscription’ (AVB); **NT** ***Chuv*** see under **2**; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** –; ***SE*** only: *pelek* ‘znak, predznamenovanie’ (YUyg), *pel′ek*, *pil′ek* ‘primeta, znak’ (YUygM); ***NE*** only: *päläk* ‘das Zeichen’ (Alt-TelR); ***Y*** –.

2 *belgü*: **OT** *belgü* ‘sign, mark’ (RMShin E8), *bälgü* ‘sign, mark’ (RMTerh W2), *bälgülüg* ‘manifest, explicit’, *bälgür* ‘devenir manifest’ (UHamTouHou), *b*(*ä*)*lgü*, *bälgü* ‘Erscheinung’ (UMI, UMII), *bälgü* ‘Vorzeichen, Abzeichen, Merkmal, Eigenart’ (UTTVI), *belgü* ‘mark, sign’ (AK), *belgü* ‘Kennzeihen’ (BI, BO); **MT** *belgülüg* ‘belli’ (UYB 93), *bälgü* ‘signe, symbole’ (UHyS), *belgili* ‘known, famous, eminent’ (AGul), *belgü* ‘işaret, alamet’ (AHMA), *bälgü* ‘znak, priznak, primeta, cel′’ (AHŠF), *belge*, *belgü* ‘sign, mark’ (AKD), *bälgü* ‘sign’ (AKor), *bälgülüg* ‘discernable’ (ARbg), *bälgü* ‘primeta, priznak’ (ATef), *bilkü* ‘signe, marque’ (AChag), *bilgü* ‘jel, bélyeg [sign, mark]’ (AChagAbV), *belgü* ‘primeta (uznavanija), znak’ (AChagB), *belgü* ‘sign, mark’ (AChagG), *belgü* ‘cel′’ (AChagMA), *belgü* ‘das Zeichen, das Kennzeichen, das Wappen’ (AChagR), *belgü* ‘an archery target, poetic pseudonym’ (AChagSC), *belgü* ‘Zeichen, Stempel’ (AChagŠS, read *bilkü*), *bälgü* ‘zahir, aşikâr’ (AAH), *belgü* ‘belgi (bir şeyin izi, nişanesi)’ (AAHI), *belgili*, *bergili* ‘notoire, connu, manifeste, marquant’ (AmTr), *belgili* ‘recognizable, known, notable’ (AmCh), *belgili* ‘notoire, manifeste, marquant, de marque’ (AmE), *belgülü* ‘aşikâr, açık olarak’ (AOtT), see under **1** (AVB); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pală*, *pallă*, *palkă* ‘znak, metka, primeta’ (ChuvA), *palăk* ‘pamjatnik, obelisk, znak, primeta, priznak’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *bilge* ‘metka, pometka, zametka, znak’ (Tat), *bilge* ‘metka, pometka, znak, priznak’ (Bashk), *bilgele* ‘primetnyj’ (Sib-Tat), *belgi* ‘znak, metka, priznak, pometa’ (Kirg), *belgĭ* ‘sign, mark, token’ (Kaz), *belgi*

'znak, primeta' (Kklp), *belgi* 'znak, metka, otmetka, pometa' (Nog), *bel′gi* 'metka, zametka, znak, simvol' (CrTat), *bel′gi* 'znak' (KarT), *bäl′gi* 'znak, priznak, primeta' (KarH, KarC), *bil′gi* 'zanie, primeta, znamanie' (KarC), *bälgi* 'das Zeichen' (KarLR), *belgi* 'znak, značok' (Kum), *belgi* 'znak, uslovnoe, oboznačenie, priznak, primeta, signal' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *belgi* 'tavro, klejmo, metka, znak, značok, ometka, pometka' (Tkm), *belgi* 'sign, mark, ensign' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *belgi* 'znak, značok' (Uzb), *bilgü*, *bɛlgü* 'mark, sign, token' (TurkiJ), *bilgü* 'a mark, an indication, a badge' (TurkiSh), *belgü*, *bölgü*, *bülgü* 'primeta' (TurkiL), *bälgü* 'das Zeichen, das Kennzeichen, das Wappen' (TurkiTR); ***NE*** *pelgi*, *pilgi* 'znak' (AltQK), *pälγi* 'das Zeichen' (AltQKR, AltTelR), *pĭlgĭ*, *pülgĭ* 'znak, metka, pometka, primetka, pečat′' (KhakB), *belgi* 'znak v vide vetočki, paločki, ukazyvajuščij, v kakim napravlenii šel čelovek' (Tof); ***Y*** *bäliä* 'znak, zametka, otmetka, zametnyj, otmetnyj' (Y), *bäliätā-* 'hervorheben, merkieren' (Dlg), *bäliä* 'Kenn-/Mark-/Zeichen, Eigentumszeichen' (DlgS).

3 *belge* (← Mo): **OT** –; **MT** *belge* 'mark' (AKD = Mo *belge*); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *belgä* 'das Zeichen, die Marke, das Merkmal, der Beweis' (KazR); ***SW*** *belge* 'document, certificate' (Tt); ***SE*** *belge* 'primeta' (TurkiL), *bälgä* 'znak, netka, pometka, signal' (MUyg); ***NE*** *belgi* 'gadanie, vorožba' (Tuv); ***Y*** *bilgä* 'primeta, primečanie, zamečanie' (Y).

Mo *belge* 'sign, mark, token, symptom, symbol, prognostic, omen' (L).

Sl *bělěg* (OChSl), *belëg* 'znak' (Rus), *belég* (Blg), *bìleg*, *beleg* 'znak' (SerbCroat), *bẹ̀lẹ̑žen* 'znak' (Slvn) (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 147).

E/T In the T lgs two nouns **bälgü/*bälgi* and **bäläk/*bälük* with practically the same meaning are differently distributed. Both may be derived fr a hitherto unattested verb **bäl-* 'to mark' with the respective suffs *-gI* (Erdal 1991: 320–323) and *-(O)k* (Erdal 1991: 224), and perhaps there also existed a noun **bäl*. See e.g. *bellüg* (UOg), *bellik* 'sm. »belgi«, zamečanie, primečanie', *belle-* 'otmečat′, pomečat′, metit′, oboznačat′, namečat′, opredeljat′', *belli* 'izvestnyj, znakomyj, jasnyj, očevidnyj' (Tkm), *belli* 'evident, visible' (Tt), *belli* 'zametnyj' (Gag), *bildäü* 'znak' (SibTat) etc. WOT had **bäläg*. This seems to be another der fr the verb **bäl-* with the suff *-(X)g* or fr *bäläk* with the WOT voicing of the final *-k*. If we depart fr a noun, then we have to suppose **bäl+lA-(O)k*.

This group of words has to be separated fr the word *beläg*, *beläk* 'gift', *beläk* 'paquet, cadeau envoyé à quelqu'un' (UHamTouHou) (< *belä-* 'to wrap'; see also Erdal 1991: 230), *bilig* 'knowledge' (< *bil-* 'to know'), *bilik* 'a wick (of a lamp)', with which it has been connected by Gombocz (1912b) and Ligeti (1986), resp.

According to Vasmer, the OChSl *bělěg* 'znak, pjatno, belyj strup, podpisannyj blank dlja udostoverenija ličnosti pred″avitelja', also present in Rus, Blg, SerbCroat and Slvn, is a lw fr T **belgü* (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 147). This was not accepted by Kniezsa (1955: 596) and Ligeti (1967b; 1986). Ligeti pointed to a T **bäläk*, which may

have been the original T form borrowed by Sl. Here we may also suppose a WOT **bäläg* < **bäläk*.

E/H The T origin of the word has been claimed since Vámbéry (1870: 131). Kniezsa (1955: 596) raised the possibility of the Sl origin. Ligeti (1967b: 429–437) separated the words derived fr *bil-* 'to know' and **bäl-* 'to mark' but not *bel-* 'to wrap' > *beläk* 'gift'. In a longer paper he finally proposed the Sl origin of the H word. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 85) left open the possibility of both the T and the Sl origin.

The H word can only be connected with T **bäläk* or **bäläg* because, as stressed by Kniezsa, the second vowel *-e-* does not disappear when the word is declined in H. If we started fr *bälgü*, we should expect an acc **bélyget*, but we have *bélyeget*. The H word could be of direct T origin if the change *k* > *g* occurred in the copied form, or if it occurred in H, but we have no phonological reason whatsoever to exclude the Sl origin. The original meaning of the H word was 'a brand, a sign burnt on cattle' (still today in the dials, but sometimes with a split in the forms: *bélyeg* 'sign, stamp', *billog* 'brand'). Since there is no phonological or phonetic argument in favour of either of the two possible origins, the fact that the word belonged to animal husbandry is decisive and favours the T origin, though Ligeti argued that none of the T lgs has this meaning and instead they use the word *tamga* for 'brand'. To the arguments in favour of the T origin, we can add that the supposed form **bäläg*, in the shape **bälüg* is present in the VBulg inscriptions, where the word *bälüwi* <BLWY> is a later form fr **bälüg-i* or **bäläg-i*. The Chuv forms *pală*, *pallă*, *palkă* 'znak, metka, primeta' (ChuvA), *palăk* 'pamjatnik, obelisk, znak, primeta, priznak' may reflect both an OChuv **bäläg* and **bälgü*, but it cannot be ruled out that some of these forms are secondary and developed under Tat influence. One would expect **bälgü* > Chuv *pălă* but also **bäläg* > Chuv *pălă*, while *pălkă* may be a lw fr Tat, and *pălăk* may be a metathetic form of the latter.

The "triangle" Sl *bělěg* ← WOT **bäläg* (< **bäläk*) → H **beleg* in contrast with EOT *bälgü* is of special interest.

The T forms like *bälgä* etc. are Mo lws.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Munkácsi 1883: 93; Gombocz 1907a: 64; Gombocz 1912b: 43; Vámbéry 1914: 139; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 351–352; Gombocz 1921–1925: 84; Németh 1935–1939: 527; Räsänen 1937: 253; Bárczi 1941: 18; Kniezsa 1955: 596; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 217; Egorov 1964: 142; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 147; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 277–278; Ligeti 1967b: 429–437; Clauson 1972: 340; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 108; Johanson 1976: 142; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 428–429; Ligeti 1986: 80, 263–264; Erdal 1991: 224, 230, 320–323; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 85; Fedotov 1996/1: 382; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Golden 1998–1999: 78; Szatmári 2000: 200.

BÉR [bēr] 'wage, rent' | 1121/1420 ? GN *Byr* [bīr], 1138/1329 ? PN *Beris* [bēr-iš], 1214/1550 ? PN *Ber* [bēr], p1416/c1450 *beremèt* [bēr-emet] | *bēr* < **bērü* ← WOT

**berü* | EOT *bergü* ‘something which ought to be given, gift, tax’ < *ber-* ‘to give’ {with suff *-gU*}.

OT *ber-* ‘to give’ (RMBilg, RMTerh), *ber-* ‘to give’ (RTIrk), *bergü*, *bergi* ‘ce qui est à donner ou à payer, ce dont on est redevable, dette, ce qui doit être payé ou donné, don, prix’ (UHamTouHou), *bergü* ‘debt’ (AK), *bér-* ‘to give’ (AQB); **MT** *bergü* ‘Geschenk’ (UOg), *bir-* ‘vermek’ (UYA 254), *bergü* ‘a price ought to be paid’ (/U/FamArch, see Clauson 1972: 362), *bir-* ‘donner’ (UHy), *ber-* ‘donner, v. auxiliaire’ (UHyS), *bergüči* ‘Verkäufer’ (UCiv), *ber* ‘give!’ (ABF), *ber-* ‘to give, to give back, return, to present’ (AGul), *ber-* ‘vermek’ (AHMA), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, predostavljaťˊ, podavaťˊ’ (AHŠF), *bergü* ‘cömert’ (AIM), *bergü* ‘cömert’ (AIMI), *berġil* ‘give!’ (AKD), *ber-* ‘to give’ (AKor), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ’ (AM), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, predostavljaťˊ, podavaťˊ’ (ANehF), *küč ber-* ‘to be useful (person)’ (ARbg), *bär-* ‘datˊ, davaťˊ’ (ATef), *ber!* ‘ver!’ (AYC), *ber-* ‘donner, en costruction avec un autre verbe’, *bergisi*, *bergüsi* ‘il doit donner, il faut qu‘il donne’ (AChag), *ber-* ‘datˊ’ (AChagB), *ötedi borčluq borč bergüčini* ‘dolžnik zaplatil zaimodavcu’ (AChagMA), *bergü* ‘Steuer, Zoll’ (AChagŠS), *ber-*, *bir-* ‘geben’ (LCC), *bir-* ‘vermek’, *birišik* ‘vergi’ (AAH), *ber-* ‘davać’ (ABul), *bär-* ‘geben’ (AHou), *bir-* ‘geben’ (AKav), *bär-* ‘davaťˊ, daritˊ’ (ATuh), *ber-* ‘donner’ (AmTr), *ber-*, *bir-*, *per-* ‘datˊ, otdavaťˊ, naznačitˊ’ (AmD), *ber-* ‘to give, to let, to allow’ (AmCh), *ber-* ‘donner’, *berin-* ‘se soumettre’ (AmE), *vergi*, *virgü* ‘atıyye, ihsan, bahšiš’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *paru* ‘danˊ, podaťˊ’, *paru-ilü* ‘dolgi i plateži, vzaimnye rasčety’, *parăm* ‘dolg, podogaťˊ’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *birü* ‘sdača’ (Tat), *bireü* ‘dača, vydača, podača’ (Bashk), *bergi*, *algï-bergi* ‘vzaimnyj obmen podarkami’, *berӱ* ‘peredača’ (Kirg), *ber-* ‘to give, to give out, issue’, *beresi* ‘debt’ (Kaz), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ’ (Kklp), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, vručeťˊ, otpravljaťˊ’ (Nog), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, sdaťˊ’ (CrTat), *wär-* ‘geben, schenken, ausliefern, übergeben, darbringen’ (CrTatR), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, pozvoljaťˊ’, *berüvčü* ‘dajuščij’ (KarT), *bär-* ‘geben’ (KarLR, KarTR), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, vručaťˊ, sdavaťˊ, ostavljaťˊ’ (Kum), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, vručaťˊ, prepodnositˊ, vydeljaťˊ’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bergi* ‘dolg’ (Tkm), *vergi* ‘nalog, podaťˊ, danˊ, obrok’ (Az), *vergi* ‘tax, tribute, duty’ (Tt), *ver-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, razdavaťˊ, vydavaťˊ’ (Gag), *ber-*, *ver-*, *bēr-*, *vēr-* ‘geben’ (Khor), *ver-* ‘geben’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *vi:ᵊrgü* ‘Schulden’ (Kh); ***SE*** *ber-* ‘davaťˊ’ (Uzb), *ber-*, *be-*, *bē-*, *bey-*, *ver-* ‘to give, pay, land’ (TurkiJ), *bir-* ‘to give’ (TurkiSh), *bey-*, *biy-* ‘davaťˊ’ (TurkiL), *bär-* ‘davaťˊ, otdavaťˊ, otpuskaťˊ’ (MUyg), *bär-*, *ber-* ‘davaťˊ’ (MUygKh), *be-*, *bē-*, *ber-*, *pe-*, *peǐ-*, *pi-*, *piǐ-*, *ve-*, *vē-*, *vēǐ-*, *ver-*, *veř-*, *vi-*, *vī-*, *viǐ-* ‘davaťˊ’ (Sal), *per-*, *ber-*, *peř-*, *pe’ř-*, *pïr-*, *ver-* ‘davaťˊ’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, podavaťˊ’ (Alt), *pär-* ‘geben’ (AltLR), *per-* ‘davaťˊ, prinositˊ’, *perü bēr-* ‘datˊ, davaťˊ’ (AltQK), *per-* ‘davaťˊ, prinositˊ’ (AltTK), *pär-* ‘geben’ (AltTelR), *pir-* ‘davaťˊ, podavaťˊ, sdavaťˊ’ (Khak), *pär-* ‘geben’ (KhakShR), *bĭr-* ‘to give’ (FY), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, vydavaťˊ’ (Tuv), *ber-* ‘davaťˊ, vydavaťˊ, otdavaťˊ’ (Tof); ***Y*** *biär-* ‘davaťˊ, podavaťˊ, peredavaťˊ’, *biärī*, *bärī*

'otdavanie, dannye, dar, darovanie, prinošenie' (Y), *biär-*, *bär-*, *bīr-* 'geben', *biärī* 'Geschenk' (Dlg).

Mo ? *beri* 'daughter-in-law' ("the given" ?), pl *beriyed* < **beriged*, sg *berigen* (L), *berined* 'plural of *beri*', see also *bergen* 'wife of an elder brother' (SH).

Sl *bir* 'nalog, podušnaja podat'' (Rus), *bir* 'census, podat' v pol'zu svjaščennika ili monastyrja, ili gospodina s každogo brakosočetanija' (fr the 14th-c. Croat, Serb, Mac), *bir*, *birka* (Blg c1350, Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 49), *bir* 'Kopfsteuer' (RusD), *birčij*, *birič*, *birjuč* 'glašataj, sudebnyj pristav' (ORus, first recorded in 1229 fr Bessarabia, Sadnik–Aitzetmüller 1955: 281; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 166–167).

E/T The T word has a closed and long *-ē-* in almost all lgs, which is sometimes rendered as an *-i-*. The suff *-gU* is rare, but present in the T lgs (see Erdal 1991: 162–165). Words like **berü* may have evolved fr *bergü* with the loss of *-g-* or fr **berüg*, cf. *perig* 'eine Darbringung, ein Opfer' (KhakShR). The loss of postconsonantal *-g-* seems to be normal in WOT.

It is interesting to note the name for the daughter-in-law in Mo, *beri* – also called *beri öki*(*n*) in the SH. Its pl in the classical lg is *beriyed*. This may go back to an earlier **beriged*, a pl of **berigen*. The pl *berined* in the SH is then a shortening of **berīn* < **beriyen* < **berigen*. The word may be connected with *bergen*, the name for the 'sister-in-law, the wife of the elder brother if she is elder than the member of the family who speaks with or about her'. The pl of this relationship name is *bergečüd*, *berget*, *bergedüt* (see Mostaert 1968: 66). This means that we may reconstruct *beri* < *berī* < *beriye*(*n*) < **berigen* > *bergen* ⟵ T *ber*(*i*)*gän* 'woman given (to another family)'. In T *kälin* 'the bride who is coming [*käl-*]' shows a different point of view; see **kelengye**.

The comparison of the T word with Tu **bū-* 'to give' by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 353) is phonetically unfounded.

The T noun entered the Sl lgs: Croat, Serb, Mac as *bir* 'donation given to the monk or monastery or to the local lord for each wedding (from the 14th c.)'; Bulg *bir*, *birka* (c1350, Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 49); RusD *bir* 'Kopfsteuer' and in ORus we find *birčij*, *birič*, *birjuč* 'glašataj, sudebnyj pristav' first recorded in 1229 fr Bessarabia (Sadnik–Aitzetmüller 1955: 281). The equivalents of the last words can be found in Ukr, Slvn, Czech, Sorb (see Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 167; Trubačev 1974–1995/2: 96). The latter words go back to a form **berüči*, **beriči* 'tax collector' and less probably to Sl **biritjъ*, as claimed by Trubačev. Sl *bir* is hardly a Sl formation fr a Sl **birati* (cf. *sbor*). Sl *bir* seems to be either of T or of H origin. The suff *-či* is clearly of T origin, however the loss of the final closed vowel in Sl *bir* cannot be due to a T development; it may be either a H or a Sl feature. The Sl word has no connection with T *buyur-*, as suggested by Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 167).

E/H The H origin of the Sl *bir* has been claimed by many authors (see Kniezsa 1955: 796; for further literature see Trubačev 1974–1995/2: 96). See also **bíró** below. Due to historical considerations, this seems to be unlikely. The H word has been connected with T words since Vámbéry (1870: 131) but the T background was not properly analysed. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 97) considered both the T and the Sl origin of the word as possible. He adds, however, that the Sl word may be of T origin. Ligeti, who has seen earlier (1967b: 439–441) problems with the T origin, changed his opinion and accepted the T origin of the word (1986: 33). Once more we have the Sl–T–H "triangle".

The length of the *-e-* in the H word may be of T origin; the loss of the final *-ü* or *-i* occurred in H; see **gyöngy**, **szék** and § 5.8.19.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Munkácsi 1883: 94; Melich 1895a: 291; Munkácsi 1902: 279, 372; Gombocz 1912b: 43–44; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 360–361; Vámbéry 1914: 140; Németh 1921–1925a: 76; Németh 1935–1939: 521; Räsänen 1937: 248; Bárczi 1941: 18–19; Kniezsa 1955: 796; Sadnik–Aitzetmüller 1955: 281; Bárczi 1956: 7; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 43; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 166–167; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 280–281; Ligeti 1967b: 439–441; Mostaert 1968: 66; Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 49; Clauson 1972: 354, 362; Trubačev 1974–1995/2: 96; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 353–355; Ligeti 1986: 33, 121; Erdal 1991: 162–165; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 97; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Szatmári 2000: 202; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 353.

BERCEL [bercel] 'name of a people' | 1238 PN *Berchel* [bercel] (Kiss 1988/1: 196), 1281 GN *Bertel* [bertel (copyist's error for *Bercel*)] (Kiss 1988/1: 281), 1335/1818 GN *Berczel* [bercel] (Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974/1: 16) | ? *bercel*, *Bercel* < **Bercel* < **Bersil* ← WOT **Bärsil* 'name of a Turkic tribe mentioned in Central Asia, with the Khazars and later with the Volga Bulgars' | EOT *bärsil*, *bärsül*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *B*(*e*)*rs*(*i*)*l* 'name of an ethnic group' (RMTerh E2), *par-sil* 'the name of a tribe' (TTU, Bacot 1956: 5), *Berzilías*, *Berzélias*, *Berélias*, *Berzílias*, *Berulías* (Theophanes, Chronographia), *Bersílias*, *Berulias* (Nicephorus Patriarcha, Breviarium), *Sarsélt* (read *Barsélt*) (Theophylactus Simocatta, Historia), *brṣwla* (Ibn Rusta), *al-Baršalīyah* (Baladhuri, Futūḥ). For these as well as for the Arm, Heb and all other data, see Golden (1980: 143–147). The name has also been read with back vocalism as *Barsul* and *Barsula*, which should, in any case, be later and secondary. **MT** ? *berlas* 'egy csagataji néptörzs [a Chagatay tribe]' (AChagAbV), *barlas* 'odno iz čagatajskih plemen' (AChagB); **NT** –.

E/T The front vocalism of the ethnic name is now secured by the inscription of Terh. The forms *Bersila*, *Bersilia* etc. are GNs with Gr or Grecized and Ar suffs. Czeglédy (1983: 103) suggested that the final *-a* is a Rus suff. The readings with *-u-* in the second syllable appear in connection with the name of the VBulg tribe and point to variants such as *bersil*, *bersül*. The name occurs in three different places. In Central Asia, in the North of Caucasia and as one of the tribes of the Volga Bulgars

(see Ligeti 1986: 360–361, 371; Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 58–59). Almost all of the data can be read with front vocalism. It is improbable that the ethnic and clan name *Barlas* (also of Tamerlan) has any connection with the ethnic name *Bersil*.

E/H The H GNs have been identified long ago with the T ethnic name because their distribution in the Carpathian Basin shows similarities with other GNs where we are sure of their ethnonymic origin. Seven GNs have been identified by Kristó–Makk–Szegfű (1973–1974/1: 16; see also Ligeti 1986: 362). The T *-rs-* may have been reflected by a H *-rc-*. The identification calls for further research because there is in fact a H dial word *bercel* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 442) meaning 'a place with bushes' that is of unknown origin. This is a dial word now used only in the region of Cumania Minor in Middle Hungary, and thus the T origin of the GN is uncertain.

◆ Németh 1930: 314; Bacot 1956: 5; Kristó–Makk–Szekfű 1973–1974/1: 16; Kiss 1978: 103; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 442; Golden 1980: 143–147; Tekin 1982: 827; Czeglédy 1983: 103; Tekin 1983: 43–68; Ligeti 1986: 360–362, 371; Kiss 1988/1: 196, 281; Róna-Tas 1997a: 186; Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 58–59.

BERTŰ [bertū], **börtű** [börtū], **börtő** [börtō] *tech* 'grain or small globule of precious metal' | 1560 *Běrtěsěk* [bertē-šek], 1572 *bortŵs* [börtü-š], 1635 *bertus* [bertü-š], 1662 *bǒrtůt* [börtü-t] | *bertū̆* < *börtū̆* < **börteu̯* < **bürtiγ* ← WOT **bürtiγ* | EOT **bürtik* 'grain'.

OT *burta* 'gold leaf', *bürčäk* 'forelock (man, horse)' (AK); **MT** (*bü*)*rtük* 'ein Sandkorn' (LCCfacs 57r33, Drimba 2000: 236), *bürtük* 'tane' (AAH), *bürtük* 'grain (de céréales), blé' (ABul), *burturq*, *burtuq* 'petit grain, pépin' (AmTr), *burtuq* 'asık, ekşi (surat), çatık (kaş)' (AOtT), *Alṭn Brt* PN (read *Altïn Börte* ? AVB 1297); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pĕrčĕ* 'zerno, zernyško', *pĕrčĕk* 'zernyško' (Chuv); ***NW*** *börtek* 'krupinka', *altïn börtege* 'krupica zolota', *börček* 'gorošek (na tkani)' (Tat), *börtök* 'zerno', *börtökle* 'zernistyj' (TatJu), *börtök* 'krupinka, krupica', *altïn börtögö* 'krupica zolota' (Bashk), *bürtük* 'komoček, zerno' (Kirg), *bürtĭk*: *bĭr bürtĭk šaš* 'a hair' (Kaz), *bürtik* 'častica, komoček, krupinka' (Kklp), *bürtik* 'zerno, kroška' (Nog), *bürtük* 'zernyško, prijšč' (CrTat), *birtik* 'zerno, zernyško, hleb' (KarH), *birtük* 'zerno, zernyško, hleb' (KarT), *bürtük* 'zerno, zernyško, hleb' (KarC), *bürtük* 'das Korn, das Körnchen' (KarTR), *bürtük* 'točka, zerno, zernyško' (Kum), *bürtük*, *burtuk* 'Korn, Körnchen' (KumN), *bürtük* 'zerno, zernyško' (KrchBlk), *bürt'ük* 'Korn, Samen' (KrchP); ***SW*** *börtük* 'opuholʹ, otek' (Tkm), *börtü böcek* 'vermin' (Tt), *bürtek* 'tane' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *burda* 'kusok, lomotʹ, otrezok, obrezok', *bir burda nån* 'lomotʹ hleba' (Uzb); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *burduk* 'muka, žito, zernovoj hleb, jačmen' (Y ← RusSib *burduk* 'ržanaja ili jačnaja salamata' (Dalʹ) ← T), *burduk* 'Mehl' (Dlg, cf. Y).

Mo cf. ? *börtü*, *börte* 'brindled with spots, mottled, speckled, grey', *börte činua* 'multi-coloured wolf, name of a legendary ancestor of Chinggis Khan' (L).

E/T The T word meaning 'small globule, corn, minute particle' was also used in the T terminology of the goldsmith's craft; see e.g. *altïn börtege* 'krupica zolota'

(Tat) and Mándoky's data in Mándoky (1986: 39–51). Chuv *părčăk* is a lw fr Tat *börček*, cf. Bashk *börsök* 'malen′kaja, krošečnaja častička'. Chuv *pĕrčĕ* in the Viry dials with reduced labial *pŏ̈rčŏ̈k* (ChuvP 'Korn, Körnchen') goes back to an earlier **bürtig* < **bürtik*, which appears in Tat. The suff +*tIk* may be a den suff (Erdal 1991: 44), perhaps fr *bür* 'bud, (small) leaf' (AK etc). Benkő (1993–1997/1: 136) supposed an unattested **bür* 'Körnchen'. There is in fact a T word *bür* 'wheat' (Tt), which seems to be of Ar origin. Fr the same base as *bürtük*, we have *bürčük* 'small pieces of something' (see AK). The word cannot be connected with *bertik* 'Geschwulst' (see Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 70–72)) or OT *burta* 'golden leaf' (AK), see Zieme (2003: 160).

E/H The T origin of the word was first suggested by Munkácsi (1884b: 111) and accepted with a question mark by Gombocz (1912b: 44). It was debated whether the special techn meaning of H craftsmanship is a H development or whether it was already present in the T donor lg. A discussion between Mándoky and Ligeti has made it clear that the H word is a technical expression used by old H craftsmen, but in earlier texts a more general meaning 'globulus, corn' is also attested, nevertheless the word is present as a goldsmith's term in several Kip lgs (Mándoky 1976: 300–307; Ligeti 1977: 146–154; Mándoky 1986: 39–51).

◆ Munkácsi 1884b: 111; Munkácsi 1902: 376–378; Gombocz 1907a: 65; Gombocz 1912b: 44; Paasonen 1913: 43; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 528; Ašmarin 1928–1950/10: 236; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 286; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 70–72, 301; Mándoky 1976: 300–307; Ligeti 1977: 146–154; Hakimzjanov 1978: 188; Ligeti 1986: 318; Mándoky 1986: 39–51; Erdal 1991: 44; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 136; Drimba 2000: 236; Tietze 2002: 382; Zieme 2003: 160.

BESE [beše] 'a bird of prey' | 1130–1140/12–13th c. PN *Befe* [beše], 1138/1329 PN *Befe* [beše], 1364 PN *Besse* [bešše], 1519 *Befeeth* [bešē-t], dial *bese* [beše] 'kite, crow' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 451) | *beše* < **beše* ← WOT **bäšä* | MT *baša* ← Pe.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *Bašaqa* PN (UCiv), *baša* 'sparrow hawk' (AKD, Ar *al-bāšaq*, Pe *baša*), *beşe* 'başkan, emîr, ileri gelen adam, ağabey' (AOt); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *başe* 'sparrow hawk, *Accipiter nisus*' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *baša* 'a sparrow-hawk' (TurkiSh); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Until now, the T word could only be found in the Turki dict by Shaw (1875–1880/2: 43, as cited by Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1551). It is there written as *b'šä* and transcribed as *básha* [baša] but the Turki word could also be read as *bäšä*. Now the word also came up in the Rashulid Hexaglott (AKD). In the transcription by Golden (2000: 227), No. 24 in col. A, on p. 200, reads as follows: Ar *al-bāšaq*, Pe *bāšä* <b'šä>, T *bāšä* <b'šä>, Mo *qirġu*, with the translation of the Ar as 'sparrow hawk'. The word exists in Pe as *bāšā*, written with a final alif, and also with a final *hä*, and as a lw fr Ar as *bāšaq* with the meanings 'a kind of falcon, a hawk, a sparrow hawk'. The Ar <b'šq> is read in Wehr (1974: 39) as *bāšaq*, *bāšiq* and has an Ar pl *baiwāšiq*; it

pertains to the *nomina diptota* (which have only two cases and not three). The Pe word entered Turki and Tt; the latter is marked in Redhouse as Pe and learned. For Pe *bašä*, see also Wahan *bosá* 'hiščnaja ptica (kerečet, kobčik)' (Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 310).

According to Munkácsi (1911–1912b: 356), the T word is of IE origin; see now Skrt *bhāsa-* 'ein Raubvogel', Pāli *bhāsa* id., Prākrit *bhāsa-* 'eine Vogelart' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 263, "Nicht sicher erklärt").

Perhaps to Saka *beiśśä* 'circling' as in *suṭhṭha beiśśä* 'the circling raptor birds' (Bailey (1979: 304): s.v. *baiś-* 'to cause turn' < PIr **u̯art-* 'to turn', cf. Cheung (2007: 423–424)). The relationship of the Ar and the Ir words remains open.

E/H Based on Munkácsi (1911–1912b: 356), Gombocz (1914–1915: 294) pointed out that the word was very frequent as a H PN in the Middle Ages. According to him, the original T word was *baša*, and *bäšä* was a front vocalic variant. He referred to **bölény** and **gödény**. According to I. Györffy (1925: 271), the H form *bese*, a front vocalic form of *baša* is present in geographic and family names in H Cumania. It is important that the bird name occurs in the *Jordánszky codex* (1519) among other H names of birds of prey, among them **keselyű** and *héja*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 288), the word is of uncertain, perhaps T, origin. Ligeti (1986: 296) included the word among bird names which are of T origin without any remark. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 100) added that the T word may be of OInd origin. The word seems to be a bird name used in Medieval falconry. Its early occurrence among the H PNs deserves further research. Until we find the word with front vocalism in Turcia, the etymology of the H word remains possible but uncertain.

◆ Shaw 1875–1880/2: 43; Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1551; Munkácsi 1911–1912a: 194–195; Munkácsi 1911–1912b: 356; Gombocz 1914–1915: 294; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 378–379; Györffy I. 1925: 271; Mayrhofer 1956–1964/2: 499; Aksoy 1963–1977/1: 527; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 288; Wehr 1974: 39; Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 310; Bailey 1979: 304; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 451; Ligeti 1986: 296; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 15; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 263; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 100; Golden 2000: 227; Cheung 2007: 423–424.

BESENYŐ [bešeńȍ] 'Pecheneg, name of a tribe' | 1130–1140/12–13th c. PN *Beseneu* [bešeneü], 1138/1329 PN *Befenehdí* [bešeneɣ-dī], *Befenudí* [bešenü-di], 1211 GN *Beseneu* [bešeneü], 1225 GN *Besneusciget* [bešneü-siget], 1831 *Besenyő-Kúnok* 'a Turkic ethnic group in Hungary, people belonging to this group' | *bešeńȍ* < *bešeneu̯* < **bešeneɣ* ← WOT **bäčänäg* | EOT *Bäčänäk* PN.

OT *bäčänäk* (AK), *Be-ča-nag* (TTU), Ar–Pe *Bäčänäk*, *bäčänäk*; MGr *Patzinakitai, Patzinakoi*, Geor *pačinak-i*; Arm *Pacinnak*; Lat *Pizenaci*, *Bisseni*, *Bysseni*, *Bessi* (see all data in Golden 1992: 264); **MT** *bačanaq* 'deux hommes qui ont épousé les deux soeurs' (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *pečeneglar* 'pečenegi' (Tat), *pečeneg* 'pečeneg, pečenežskij' (Bashk); ***SW*** *pečenegler* 'pečenegi' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The forms in Tat, Bashk, Tkm etc. are learned terms borrowed fr historical literature and reflect the Rus form. The original T ethnonym was front vocalic, and the initial consonant was *b-*. The form with initial *p-* was distributed by the Byzantine authors, who used *beta* for bilabial spirants and therefore transcribed T /b/ as <p>. Whether the name can be tied to the ethnonyms *Beče*, *Beči* (Abu Dulaf), *Bečeni*, *Bečene* (Masudi; cf. Marquart 1903: 75, 78), and/or with the common word *bačïnak* 'brother-in-law, the husband of one's wife's sister' (cf. Chag *bajanak*, Tt *bacanak*, *bacınak*, Chuv *puśana*, and Mo *baja* 'husbands of sisters', fr where the shorter form was borrowed into many T lgs) is possible, but uncertain.

E/H The *š* in place of the original *č* in the H word results fr a H change; see **bársony**, **kis** (**kicsiny**), **sereg**, **sok** etc. and § 6.2.4. The Becheneg or, as they are commonly called in Western scholarly literature, the Pecheneg people have had contact with Hungarians since the 9th c. (see Györffy 1935–1939: 397–500; Györffy 1990: 105; Golden 1992: 264–270; Róna-Tas 1999: 234–239; Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 162–166). One group of them moved into Hungary together with the Cumans in the middle of the 13th c. Since then they are well documented in the H written sources. The H name for the Pechenegs has always been considered to be of T origin (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 288; 1993–1997/1: 100). The possibility that the name did not come fr the Pechenegs themselves has been mentioned by Ligeti (1986: 268) without any argumentation. None of the scholars studying the Pechenegs or their lg and links to Hungarians dealt with the PNs in Hungary: 1248/ PN *Becenek*, 1256/ PN *Becenegh* (*Bechenegh*, *Beceneg*) etc. (Fehértói 2004: 99). Only Györffy (1990: 185) cited the data, but without discussing the problems associated with it. No doubt the form used by the Pechenegs themselves was *Bäčänäg*. In the H sources written in Lat, the Pechenegs are also called *Bessi*, fr the 12th c. on, as well as *Bisseni* and *Besseni*. According to Györffy (1990: 105), this name may be based on a similar pronunciation of the word *beše* (see **bese**), with which their legendary history is connected. It is more likely that the name had the shorter form *Bäčä* (see Abu Dulaf above). Later their name also occurs as *Bäčänä* (Masudi). This may have been a Bulg or Khaz form. The latter names entered the H chronicles through written mediation, and were adapted to H usage.

◆ Marquart 1903: 75, 78; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 379–380; Györffy 1935–1939: 397–400; Bárczi 1941: 19; Kniezsa 1943: 472; Moravcsik 1958/2: 247; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 255; Györffy 1965: 73–81; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 288; Pritsak 1975: 211–235; Kiss 1978: 97, 107; Ligeti 1986: 268; Györffy 1990: 105, 185; Menges 1990: 65; Golden 1992: 195, 264–270; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 100; Senga 1992: 503–516; Róna-Tas 1999: 234–239; Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 162–166; Tenišev 2001: 310–311; Fehértói 2004: 99.

BETŰ [bëtū] 'letter (of the alphabet)' | p1416/c1450 *betęnèc* [betō̄-nek], *bętę* [bötō̄], 1536 *bewtÿk* [bötū̄-k], c1600 *bethwÿ* [betū̄-i] 'text, script, letter' | *betū̄* < **beteu̯* < **bitiγ* ← WOT **bitig* | EOT *bitig* 'letter, text' ← **biti-* 'to write' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}.

OT *bitig* ‘writing, inscription’ (RMKT, RMShin), *bitig* ‘book’ (RTIrk), *bitig* ‘écrit, text, lettre’ (UHamTouHou), *bitig* ‘book, writing, amulet’ (AK), *p*(*i*)*tig* ‘Sutra’ (BO 10); **MT** *biti-* ‘verfassen’ (UOg), *biti-* ‘yazmak’ (UYB 509), *bitig* (*pi-ti*) ‘livre (chou)’ (UHy), *bitig* ‘lettre’ (UHyS), *bitig* ‘Schreiben, Dokument’ (UCiv), *bitig* ‘document, letter’ (ABF), *bitig* ‘kitap, mektup’ (AHMA), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, poslanie, sočinenie, kniga’ (AHŠF), *bitikči* ‘pisec’ (AIM), *bitik* ‘book’ (AKD), *bitig* ‘book, inscription, ordinance, commandment’ (AKor), *bit*(*i*)*kači* ‘pisec’ (AM), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, poslanie, sočinenie, kniga’ (ANehF), *bitig* ‘book, letter’ (ARbg), *bitig* ‘kniga, pisanie’ (ATef), *biti-* ‘yazmak’ (AYC 465), *bitig* ‘écrit, lettre’ (AChag), *bitik* ‘írás, levél’ (AChagAbV), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, to čto napisano’ (AChagB), *bitik* ‘pis´mo’ (AChagMA), *bitik* ‘letter, something written’ (AChagSC), *bitig* ‘Brief’ (AChagŠS), *bitik* ‘Schrift, Buch, Lagerverzeichnis’, *bitiv*, *bitüv* ‘Schrift’ (LCC), *biti* ‘kitap, yazı’, *bitik* ‘kitap, yazı’ (AAH), *bitik* ‘écrit, écriture, livre’ (ADur), *bitik* ‘Schrift’ (AHou), *bitik* ‘Schriftstück’ (AKav), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, kniga’ (ATuh), *bitik* ‘écriture, écrit, lettre, livre’ (AmTr), *bitik* ‘list, gramota, bumaga’ (AmD), *biti*, *bitik* ‘mektup, yazılmış şey, defter-a‘mâl, asenet, belge’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pĕtü* ‘amulet’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *betek* = *yazu* ‘pis´mo, nadpis´, zapis´, zapiska’ (Tat), *beteü* ‘dokument, amulet, obereg, talisman’ (Bashk), *bėtų* ‘írás [writing]’ (BashkP), *bütük* ‘pis´meco, cedulka’, *bötök* ‘nadpis´’ (SibTat), *bičik* ‘(v ėpose) svjačšennaja kniga kalmykov’ (Kirg ← Mo), *bitik* ‘die Schrift, der Brief, das Schriftstück’ (CrTatR), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, pisanie, tekst, rukopis´’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *bitik* sm. *ġaykel* ‘amulet, talisman’ (Kum); ***SW*** *bitik* ‘rubec’ (Tkm), *biti* ‘written document, book, notebook, letter’ (Tt), *bitik*, *bitgi*, *biti* ‘defter, mektup, kitap, vesika, vekâletname’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bitik* ‘(ust. knižn.) nadpis´, pis´mena, pis´mo’ (Uzb), *piti-* ‘to write down’, *pitiglik* ‘written’ (TurkiJ), *pitik* ‘a writing’, *pitkuči* ‘a writer (used only of the manual labour of writing)’ (TurkiSh), *bitik* ‘pis´mo, kniga’, *pütük* ‘tabel’, pis´mo’ (MUyg), *piti-* ‘pisat´’, *pütüklük* ‘pis´mo, zapiska’ (MUygKh), *püt-* ‘to write’ (MUygTY), *pištix*, *piſt´ex* ‘zapiska, ob˝javlenie’ (Sal), *p‘utïγ*, *pïtïγ*, *pïtïq*, *pïčiq* ‘pis´mo, gramota, kniga’, *pïčiġ* ‘pis´mo’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *bičik* ‘gramota, kniga, pis´mo, pisanie’ (Alt), *bijik* ‘die Schrift’ (AltLR), *bičik* ‘pis´mo, dogovor’, *pičik* ‘kniga, pis´mo, gramota’ (AltQK), *biti-* ‘pisat´’, *bijik*, *pičik* ‘kniga, pis´mo, gramota’ (AltTK), *pičik* ‘gramota, kniga, pis´mo, pis´mennost´’ (Khak), *bičik* ‘book’ (FY), *bižik* ‘pismennost´, cirkuljar, pis´mennoe ukazanie, pis´mo, poslanie, zapiska’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *bičik* ‘uzor, ukrašenie, melkie uzory’ (Y ← Mo).

Mo *bičig* ‘anything written (such as letters of the alphabet or characters)’ (L).

E/T Two nouns seem to have been formed fr the verbal base *biti-* ‘to write’, *bitig* and *bitik*, both meaning ‘anything written’. Kashgari already seems to have distinguished between them, adding that it is used as a verbal noun in *anïg bitigi bälgūlüg* ‘his writing is clear’ (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 193). This distinction notwithstanding, the two Ar written forms of the nouns, both written with *keph*,

are practically identical. Thus we do not know whether the semantic differentiation – which is surely a late semantic split – was later bound to the two different forms. However, we find that <BI̱TIK> has the equivalence 'book (*kitāb*)' and the second item, written as <BTIK>, is given as 'writing (*kitāba*)'. These data must be read as *bitig* and *bitik*, resp. The meaning of <BTIK> 'amulet (fr the Og dial)', originally 'a written paper with sacred text protecting those who wear it', is early. In some dials it was associated with forms with *-g*, in others with forms with *-k*; in the Tat dials we find both:

OT *bitig* 'amulet' (AK, Og dial); NT *Chuv pětü* 'amulet' (ChuvA); *NW betek*, *böti* 'amulet, talisman, otvorot' (TatD), *beteü* 'amulet, talisman' (Bashk), *bitik* 'amulet, talisman' (Kum).

This word is also present in those T lgs where the verb for 'to write' is *yaz-*. The Mo *bičig* goes back to a T *bitig*; all T forms with *-č-* are re-borrowings fr Mo.

Opinions vary on the origin of the verb *biti-*. On the Ch, Toch and other IE etymologies, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 262–264) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 155–158). The IE etymologies fail to take into account that *bitig* is clearly a der of the verb *biti-*. The Ch etymology fr 筆 *bi* 'writing brush, stylus', EMCh and LMCh *pit*, MCh dial *pir* → OT *bir*, *bīr* is also problematic, because the den suff *+I-* forms intr verbs (Erdal 1991: 479) that denote 'to be or become something'. Fr a chronological point of view, one should suppose that the Turks twice borrowed the word for 'writing brush', **pit*, which is only documented in T in a later form *bir*. All these problems raise doubts about the Ch etymology. It is also improbable that the verb *biti-* can be connected with the OT noun *bi* 'knife' (with the idea 'something carved with the knife'). This word sometimes occurs in the hend *bi bičgu* (see **bicsak**). Clauson (1972: 291) suggested that the T word *bi* is a lw fr Ch 劈 *pi*s 'to split' (see also Tenišev 2001: 398). This is improbable because the Ch word had a final *-k* in EMCh and LMCh, and it is a verb. (On further and even less probable suggestions for the etymology, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 262–264)). Interestingly, in denoting the activity of writing, *yaz-* is more or less used by Turks who joined Islam, while non-Islamicized Turks use *biti-*. This lexical distribution is relatively old. Kashgari mentions that *yaz-* 'to write' is an Og word. The original distribution seems to have gone according to dials and not culture (see also Clauson 1963: 139–143; Bodrogligeti 1965: 93–117; Róna-Tas 1965: 126–130).

The word itself is very early. In the Ch glosses on the Topa-Wei people (386–534), we find the title **bitegčin* 'secretary' (see Ligeti 1970: 298–304), which may even be a Mo word form.

E/H None of the T lgs seems to have 'letter (of the alphabet)' as the sole meaning of the word; the meanings are rather analogous to Eng *letter* etc., and Mo *bičig* (< **bitig* ← T *bitig*) shows the word was also used to denote 'letter (of the alphabet)'.

The loss of the final *-g* occurred in H. Hungarians used a runiform carved script before they reached the Carpathian Basin; see **ír** 'to write', also a T lw. The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 131) and Gombocz (1912b: 44–45). This opinion has been accepted by later H scholars (see Ligeti 1986: 261; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 101 and Bibliography).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Gombocz 1912b: 44–45; Vámbéry 1914: 140; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 386–387; Bárczi 1941: 19; Bárczi 1956: 7; Clauson 1963: 139–143; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 262–264; Bodrogligeti 1965: 93–117; Róna-Tas 1965: 126–130; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 291; Räsänen 1969: 77; Ligeti 1970: 298–304; Clauson 1972: 291, 303; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 155–158; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 193; Ligeti 1986: 261; Erdal 1991: 479; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 101; Berta 1996: 92; Fedotov 1996/1: 428; Tenišev 2001: 398; Tietze 2002: 358.

BICSAK [bičåk], **bicska** [bičkå] 'pocket knife', **bicske** [bičke] *dial* 'a knife used in viticulture' | 1408 PN *Bichak* [bičåk], c1505 *Bychak* [bičåk], 1522 ? PN *Bÿkcha* [bikčå], 1569 *Biczket* [bičkē-t], 1750 *bitske* [bičke] | *bičåk* < **bičak* ← WOT **bičak*, **bičkï*, **bičkä* | EOT *bïčak* 'knife' ← *bï* 'knife' {with suff +*čAk*}.

More H words borrowed separately.

1 *bïčak*: **OT** *bič-* 'to cut' (RTIrk), *bïčaq* 'Messer' (UUIV 704), *bičäk* 'knife' (AK), *bïčaq*, *bičäk* 'knife' (AQB); **MT** *bič-* 'biçmek' (UYB 376), *bïčaq* 'knife' (AGul), *bïčaq* 'bıçak' (AHMA), *bïčaq* 'nož' (AIM), *bïčaq* 'knife' (AKD), *bïčaq* 'nož' (ANehF), *bïčaq* 'nož' (ATef), *bič-* 'biçmek' (AYC 376), *bïčaq* 'couteau' (AChag), *bïčaq* 'nož' (AChagB), *bïčaq* 'das Messer' (AChagR), *bïčaq* 'knife' (AChagSC), *bïčaq* 'Messer' (AChagŠS), *bïčaq* 'Messer, Dolch' (LCC), *bïčaq* 'pıçak' (AAH), *bïčaq*, *bïšaq* 'couteau' (ADur), *bïčaq* 'Messer' (AKav), *bïčaq* 'knife' (AMGh), *bïčaq* 'nož, kosa' (ATuh), *bičax* 'couteau' (AmTr), *bïčax* 'nož' (AmD), *bïčax* 'knife, (here: dagger)' (AmCh), *bıçağa düş-* 'son çereyi bıçakta aramak, kendini bıçakla öldürmek', *bıçax* 'bıçak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *pïčaq* 'nož' (Tat), *bïsaq* 'nož' (Bashk), *pẻsak* 'kés [knife]' (BashkP), *pïcaq pes* 'lezvie nože' (SibTat), *pïʒaq* 'das Messer' (SibTatBR), *bïčak*, *pïčak* 'nož' (Kirg), *pïšaq* 'knife' (Kaz), *pïšak* 'nož' (Kklp), *pïšaq* 'nož, nožik' (Nog), *pïčaq* 'nož, noževoj' (CrTat), *bïčak* 'nož' (KarT), *bïcak* 'nož' (KarH), *bičax* 'nož' (KarT), *bïcak* 'nož' (KarH), *pïčaq* 'nož' (KarC), *bïčaq* 'nož, noževoj' (Kum), *bïčaq* 'nož' (KrchBlk), *bïcaq*, *bïcax*, *bïcaɣ* 'Messer, Schwert' (BlkP); ***SW*** *pïčak* 'nož, noževoj' (Tkm), *bïčag* 'nož, nožik' (Az), *bıçak* 'knife' (Tt), *pıçak*, *pıçax* 'bıçak' (TtD1), *bïčak*, *bučak* 'nož' (Gag), *pʲčax* 'Messer' (SOg); ***Kh*** *bïčāq*, *bïčå:q* 'kurzer Dolch, Messer' (Kh); ***SE*** *pičåk* 'nož, noževoj' (Uzb), *pïčaq* 'knife' (TurkiJ, TurkiSh), *p*(*i*)*čaq* 'das Messer' (TurkiTR), *pïčaq* 'nož' (MUyg), *pïčaq*, *pičaq* 'nož' (MUygKh), *pičča*x, *pičix*, *pičih*, *p'ïčax*, *p'ïccix*, *p'ïčix*, *p'ičixïr*, *pičihur* 'nož' (Sal), *pïčax*, *pščax* 'couteau, couteau de poche' (SalK), *pïčaq*, *p'uʒaq'*, *p'uʒaq* 'nož' (YUyg); ***NE*** *bïčak* 'nož' (Alt), *pïjak*, *pïčak*, *pïčax*, *p'ïž'ak* 'nož' (AltQK), *bïčak*, *pïžak*, *pïčax* 'nož' (AltTK), *pïčaq* 'das Messer' (AltTelR), *pïčax*

(kyz. *pïžax*) 'nož' (Khak), *pïčaq* 'das Messer' (KhakShR), *pïʒaq* 'das Messer' (ChulR), *bïčax* 'knife' (FY); ***Y*** *bïhax* 'nož' (YS), *bahak*, *bahax*, *bahāk* 'Messer' (Dlg).

2 *bičäk*: **OT** *bičäk* 'a knife' see under **1**; **MT** *bičäk* 'couteau' (UHy), *bičäk* 'couteau' (UHyS); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***SW*** *piček* 'bıçak' (Tt); ***NE*** *bižek* 'nož' (Tuv), *pišek* 'nož' (Tof).

3 *bïčgu*, *bïčgï*: **OT** *bï bïčġu* 'Messer' (UUII 59,4), *bïčġu* 'ax' (AK); **MT** *bïčqï* 'sow' (r: 'saw' AGul), *bïčġu* 'saw' (AKD), *bičkü* 'meč, nož' (ANehF), *bïčqu* 'meč' (ATef), *bïčġï* 'scie' (AChag), *bïčqï*, *bïčġï* 'die Säge' (AChagR), *bïčġï* 'a saw' (AChagSC), *bïčqï* 'Handsäge, Messerart der Schuhmacher' (AChagŠSK), *bïčqï*, *bučqï* 'Säge' (LCC, the second written as *Buçchi* (42v) seems to be a misspelling), *bïčqï* 'scie' (ADur), *bïčqu* 'Säge, Schere' (AHou), *bïčqï* 'Säge' (AKav), *bïčqï*, *bïčqu* 'pila' (ATuh), *bïčxï*, *bčxï* 'scie' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păčkă*, *păśkă* 'pila' (Chuv); ***NW*** *pïčkï* 'pila' (Tat), *bïsqï* 'pila' (Bashk), *pïšqï* 'pila' (Kklp), *pïškï* 'pila' (Nog), *bïčqï*, *pïčqï* 'pila' (CrTat), *bïcqï* 'pila' (KarH), *bïčqï* 'pila' (KarC), *bïčġï* 'pila' (Kum), *mïčxï* 'pila, lesopilka' (Krch), *bïčxï* 'pila, lesopilka' (Blk); ***SW*** *bïčgï* 'nožobka, pila' (Tkm), *pïčqï* 'pila' (RTkmAB), *bïčgï* 'pila-nožovka' (Az), *bıçkı* 'saw, bucksaw, saddler's knife' (Tt), *bıçkı*, *bıckı*, *bığcı*, *bıxcı*, *bıxçı*, *bıhı*, *bıkçı*, *bıkcı*, *bışgı*, *bışkı*, *biçki*, *bikçi*, *bişkı*, *bişki* 'testere, deri ve kösele kesmek için ayakkabıcı ve saraçların kullandığı bir aygit' (TtD1), *bïčkï* 'pila' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***NE*** *piſku* 'pila' (Sal).

4 *bïčga*, *bïčgä*: **OT** *bïčge* 'a cutting weapon' (UKuan27).

E/T The T lgs show a great variety of ders. Erdal (1991: 47) may be right in supposing that *bïčak* and *bïčäk* are den ders fr *bï/bi* 'knife', where the front vocalic forms are secondary. The other possibility, to derive *bïčak* fr the verb *bïč-* and a suff *-k*, is less probable, since this suff has an *-O-* in all cases where the verb ends with a consonant, and we would thus expect **bïčok*. However, the possibility that *bïčak* is a metathetic form fr *bïčka* cannot be excluded. The dim suff *+čAk* also has an affectionate function, which is not very likely for a word for 'knife', but cannot be excluded. Indeed, horses and weapons were always dear to warriors. The noun *bï* and the verb *bïč-* were originally back vocalic, but later became front vocalic as early as OT and in many T lgs and dials. Two dev suffs frequently occur with the verb *bič-*: *-gA*, and *-kI*; thus we have *bïčka* (< *bïč-ga*) and *bičkä* (< *bič-gä* as well as *bïčkï* and *bički*, resp. The connection of the verb *bïč-/bič-* 'to cut' with the noun *bï* 'knife' seems to be semantically probable, but morphologically unclear (Sevortjan 1962: 331–334; 1974–1980/2: 159); see OT *bilä-* 'to sharpen (a knife)', where the morphology is clear. The *+č-* may be a very old, petrified den suff. The link to Mo *bičikan* 'small', suggested by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1099), is improbable for morphological and semantic reasons; see also **becsül**.

E/H In H we find almost all variants. *Bicsak* is first noted as a PN in 1408, and around 1505 as *Bychak*, *bicska* in the metathetic form. We find PN *Bykcha* in 1522, *bitske* in 1750, but ? PN *Bykche* in 1270. Today we come across *bicske* in Western

Hungary, and *bicski* in Eastern Hungary, both dial words fr viticulture. To these we can add *bicskia* ‘shoemaker’s knife’, first attested in 1708, which is of Ott origin and was borrowed through Serb. Metathetic forms also occur in T, but some of the forms may be due to inner H developments. In any case, at least three of the H words seem to be independent lws fr OT. The word also had the meaning ‘dagger’ in early H documents, but it is uncertain which of the meanings comes later.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Munkácsi 1884b: 101; Gombocz 1907a: 66; Gombocz 1912b: 45; Vámbéry 1914: 140; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 395–396; Bárczi 1941: 20; Kniezsa 1955: 798; Sevortjan 1962: 331–334; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 269, 427; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 296–297; Clauson 1972: 293; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 159; Ligeti 1986: 249–250; Erdal 1991: 47; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 104; Róna-Tas 1994: 103; Doerfer 1996: 1–14; Fedotov 1996/1: 409; Tietze 2002: 331, 336; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1099.

BIKA [bikå] ‘bull’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *Bíqua* [bīkå], 1193 GN *biquacut* [bikå-kūt], c1395 *bíka* [bikå] | *bikå* < **bika* ⟵ WOT **bïka* | EOT *buka* ‘bull’ ⟵ **būk-* {with suff *-gA*}.

OT *buqa*, *būqa* ‘bull’ (RMTon 5), *buqa* ‘taureau, nom de personne’ (UHam-TouHou), *buqa* ‘bull’ (AK, AQB), *pūqa* (B79 6); **MT** *buġu* ‘Hirsch’ (UOg), *buġu* ‘cerf’ (UHy), *Buqa* PN (UCiv), *buġa* <BĠH> ‘calf’ (sic! ‘gūsāleh’ ABF), *buqa* ‘bull, ox’ (AKD), *buġa* ‘buffle, boeuf’, *buġu* ‘cerf’ (AChag), *buġu* ‘hím szarvas [male deer]’ (AChagAbV), *buġu* ‘rod gazeli, dikoj kozy’ (AChagB), *buġu* ‘olen′’ (AChagMA), *buġu* ‘bull, buffalo’ (AChagSC), *boġa* ‘Stier, Runstzeit der Thiere’ (AChagŠS), *boġa* ‘Stier’ (LCC), *boġa* ‘erkek tohumluk hayvan’ (AAH), *buġa* ‘taureau’ (ABul), *boġa* ‘junger und kräftiger Stier’ (AHou), *boġa* ‘Stier’ (AKav), *boġa* ‘byk’ (ATuh), *buġa* ‘taureau’ (AmTr), *buġay* ‘taureau, juvencus’ (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *buga*, *bugay* ‘byk’ (Tat), *bugay* ‘nekastrirovannyj byk’ (TatD1), *boġa* ‘plemennoj byk’, *buġa* ‘(s propisnoj) astr. Telec’ (Bashk), *boγå* ‘bika [bull]’ (BashkP), *poġa*, *buġa* ‘byk’ (SibTat), *buka* ‘bugaj, byk-proizvoditel′’, *bugu* ‘samec olenja ili maralja, nazivanie kirgizkogo roda’ (Kirg), *buqa* ‘bull’ (Kaz), *buġa* ‘byk, vol’ (Kklp), *buga* ‘byk’ (Nog), *buġa* ‘byk’ (CrTat), *buġa* ‘byk, byčok, telec’ (KarC), *buġa* ‘bugaj, zdorovennyj (o čeloveke)’ (Kum), *buġa* ‘byk, bugaj’, *buw* (read *bū*) ‘olen′’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *buga* ‘byk-proizvoditel′’, *tohum buga* ‘plemennoj byk’ (Tkm), *bugï* ‘Hirsch’ (Tkm, Räsänen 1969: 86), *buġa* ‘bugaj, byk-proizvoditel′’ (Az), *boğa* ‘bull’ (Tt), *buva*, *buga* ‘byk’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *buqa*, *bŭqa* ‘nehološčennyj byk’ (Uzb), *buqa*, *bu’qa*, *buqa·* ‘bull’, *buġa*, *boġa* ‘deer, stag’, *buġu* ‘Edelhirsch’ (TurkiJ), *buqa* ‘byk-proizvoditel′, bugaj’, *buġa* ‘olen′’ (MUyg), *pugu*, *puġu* ‘olen′’ (Sal), *puqa*, *pïqa*, *bïqa* ‘byk’, *poqa*, *poġa* ‘byk, vol’ (YUygM), *puqa* ‘byk’, *boqa* ‘byk, vol’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *buka* ‘byk-proizvoditel′’ (Alt), *puġa* ‘der Stier, der Bulle’ (AltLR), *buga*, *puga* ‘byk’ (AltQK), *buka* ‘byk’ (AltTK), *puġa* ‘der Stier, der Bulle’ (AltTelR), *puġa* ‘byk-proizvoditel′, samec marala ili olenja’ (Khak), *puġa* der Stier, der Bulle’ (KhakQbR), *puġa* der Stier, der Bulle’ (KhakQchR), *puġa* der Stier, der Bulle’ (KhakSR), *puġa* der Stier, der Bulle’ (KhakShR), *puġa* ‘der Stier, der Bulle’ (ChulR), *buga*, *bugay* ‘byk-proizvoditel′’ (Tuv), *bu″ha* ‘byk, bugaj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *buga* ‘byk’ (Y).

Mo *buġu* ‘male deer’, *buqa* ‘bull’ (L).

Os *boġ boġa* ‘bugaj’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 264).

E/T The two T words *buka* and *buga* are both formed fr similar onomatopoeic bases: **būk-gA* > *buka* and **bū-gA* > *buga*; on the other hand, *-g-* regularly appears in SW and some NW and Sib lgs. The vocalism of the first syllable is **-u-* everywhere with the exception of YUyg. The word for ‘deer, stag’ (originally ‘male deer’; see Mo) may be of a similar origin, since the deer terminology also otherwise shows an influence fr cattle husbandry. However, the word *bugu* ‘stag’ appears only in MT and in T lgs strongly influenced by Mo; thus it may be of Mo origin (Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 300; Tenišev 2001: 152). In any case, the two words may have influenced each other. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 951) join Bur *moxotor* ‘dvuhletnyj izjubr’ and Kalm *moxr* ‘mužskoj polovyj člen’ here and reconstruct PA **mūkʻo* ‘male’, but this is a misunderstanding. In Kalm *moxr* has the meaning ‘korotkij, tupoj; short, blunt’ and, as a partly joking, partly euphemistic metonymy, it is also used to denote ‘penis’. The Bur word has the same origin. Compare Mo *mokotor*, *mokotur* ‘blunt, hornless etc.’, which is also the name of a kind of deer (*Cervus elaphus*), but not specifically the word for a male deer. The words for ‘bull’ have a similar onomatopoeic background in the Ir lgs. They go back to a verb like **bauk-*, on which see Rastorgueva–Édelʹman (2000–2003/2: 151).

The T word was borrowed by ORus in the form *bugaj* (see Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 228), and fr there reborrowed by some T lgs. Sl *byk* ‘bull’ may be an independent inner Sl development fr an onomatopoeic verb (Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 148). The T word exists in the form **buga* in Os, ModGr, Blg, Rom and other Balkan lgs.

E/H The word has been connected with the T word since Vámbéry (1870: 131) and also accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 105). The H word cannot be of Sl origin (**bukъ*, cf. Rus *byk*, likewise of onomatopoeic origin) because of the final vowel in H (see Kniezsa 1955: 798). The *-i-* (< **ï*) is of T origin; see YUyg and also **béklyó**. The word is absent fr Chuv, where *văkăr* and *aśa* have replaced it. See also **buga**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 131; Budenz 1873: 78; Gombocz 1912b: 45–46; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 399–400; Bárczi 1941: 20; Kniezsa 1955: 798; Bárczi 1956: 7; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 264; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 300; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 228; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 299; Räsänen 1969: 86; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 230–232; Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 148; Ligeti 1986: 279–280; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 105; Rastorgueva - Ėdelʹman 2000–2003/2: 151; Tenišev 2001: 152, 437–438; Tietze 2002: 364; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 951.

BILINCS [bilinč] ‘shackles’ | 1558 *Bylynch* [bilinč], c1577 *Belenchÿkeoth* [belenč-iköt], 1580 *Belÿnch* [belinč] | *bilinč* < **bilinček* {with back formation} < *bileček* {with unorg *n*} ← WOT **biläčäk* | EOT **biläkčük* ‘bracelet’ ← *biläk* ‘wrist’ {with suff *+čAk*}, cf. EOT **bilezük*.

Of T origin, but unclear der.

OT *bilerzük* 'bracelet' (USuv), *bilezük* 'bracelet', *bilinčäk näŋ* 'anything stolen which is later found in the hand of the stealer or of someone else' (AK); **MT** *biläzük* 'bracelet' (ABF), *bilezük* 'bilezik' (AHMA), *biläzük* 'braslet' (AIM), *bilezik* 'bileğe takılan halka' (AIMI), *bilezük* 'bracelet' (AKD), *biläzük* 'bracelet' (AKor), *biläzük* 'zapjast′e, braslet' (ATef), *biläkčä* 'carcan dans lequel on passe les mains des criminels' (AChag), *bilezük* 'kol′co' (AChagMA), *bilekce* (AChagS), *bilerzik* 'a bracelet that women wear on their arms' (AChagSC), *biläkčä* 'eine auf die Hände vor Verbrechern befestigte Kette' (AChagŠS), *biläzik* 'bilezik' (AAH), *bilezik urunu* 'bileğin ele yakın ince yeri' (AAHI), *biläzik*, *biläzük* 'bracelet' (ADur), *biläzük* 'Armband' (AHou), *biläzük* 'Armband' (AKav), *biläzük* 'braslet' (ATuh), *bilazuk* 'bracelet, brassard' (AmTr), *bilazuh*, *biläzük* 'braslet' (AmD), *bilekçek* 'kelepçe', *bilezük*, *bülezük* 'bilezik' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *beläzek* 'past′ruki, braslet' (Tat), *beläδek* 'braslet' (Bashk), *beläδek* 'manžet rukava' (BashkA), *biläklek*, *pelälek* 'braslet' (SibTat), *piläzĭk* 'das Armband' (SibTatBR), *biläklĭk* 'das Armband' (SibTatTR), *bilezdik*, *bilezik*, *bilerik* 'braslet' (Kirg), *bĭlezĭk* 'bracelet' (Kaz), *biläizĭk* 'das Armband' (KazR), *bilezik* 'braslet' (Kklp), *bilezik* 'braslet' (Nog), *bilezlik* 'braslet' (CrTat), *bilezik* 'braslet' (KarC), *belezik*, *belizik* 'braslet' (KarT), *biläzik* 'braslet' (KarH), *bilezik* 'braslet' (Kum), *bilezik* '(karač.) gotovaja k irjadeniju šerst′, rovnica (pri ručnom prjadenii šerst' vytjagivajut v vide netugih žgutov, kotoryj namatyvajutsja na levuju ruki, a pravoj krutjat vereteno, (sm. *buwunluq* 'braslet')' (KrchBlk), *bileklik*, *zügönbileklik* 'Zügel' (BlkP); ***SW*** *bilezik* 'braslet, mufta, kol′co, obruč' (Tkm), *bilärzik* 'braslet' (Az), *bilezik* 'bracelet, handcuffs', *bilekçe* 'handcuff, manacle, fetter for the ankle, wrist' (Tt), *bilenzik*, *bilersük*, *bilerzik*, *bilerziyh* 'bilezik' (TtD1), *bilezik* 'braslet' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bilaguzuk* 'braslet' (Uzb), *bilazuk*, *bülazök* 'the wrist, a wristlet, a bracelet, a handcuff' (TurkiSh), *biläizük* 'das Armband' (TurkiTR), *biläküzük* 'braslet' (MUyg), *pilisïq* 'braslet' (YUyg), *pil'ezik* 'kol′co' (YUygM); ***NE*** *pilek* 'zapjast′e' (AltTK), *piläktā* 'das Armband' (AltLR), *pilärĭk* 'die Handwurzel, das Armband' (AltTelR), *pĭlektes* 'braslet' (Khak), *pilektös*, *pilektēs* 'braslet, drema knutovišča' (KhakB), *bilektēš* 'braslet (ukrašenie)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *bihiläx* 'kol′co, persten′' (YS), *bihiläk* 'Ring (Schmuckstück)' (Dlg).

Mo *bilečüg*, *biličeg*, *bilüčeg*, *bilüčüg*, *bilisüg*, *bülečeg*, *bülüčüg*, *büleǰüg* 'finger ring' (L), *behelig* 'peresten, kol′co' (Bur < **beselig* < *bilisüg*).

Sl *běl′čug* (OChSl), *bióčug* (sic!) (SerbCroat), *bělčug* 'zapjastie, kolco' (Serb ChSl); see Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 150).

E/T The T words may somehow be connected with T *biläk* 'wrist', but the ders are obscure. According to Radloff (1893–1911/4: 1672; see also Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 144), *biläk* + *yüzük* > *biläizük* > *biläzik* etc., which Clauson (1972: 345) also accepted, but with some hesitation; see also MUyg *biläküzük*, Uzb *bilaguzuk*. Also, a formation *biläk* + *čük* > *biläčük* can be found which is reflected by a wide range of Mo forms

and which was also the etymon of the Sl forms. The word is absent in Chuv, but the H and Sl forms may go back to a form lost in Chuv (according to Ligeti 1986: 259, PBulg). The Sl and H forms cannot be of Mo origin as claimed by Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 144). The Mo word has no Mo etymology. It is clearly a lw, which is shown by the absence of a Mo word like **bilek*, **bile*, the variation of forms and the narrowing of the semantics in Mo ('finger ring'). Mo *bilisüg* goes back to a T *biläzük*. No doubt this is also a case of two forms crossing. The meaning 'shackles' can be found in some dicts (Sheyh Suleyman, TurkiSh, Tt). Similar ders fr *biläk* are *pilektes* 'braslet' (Khak), *bilektēš* 'braslet (ukrašenye)' (Tuv) and *bilekçe* 'handcuff' (Tt) or *bilekse* 'petlja (na konce privjazi)' (Tkm).

The OSl forms cited above reflect a T form **bil(ä)čük*.

E/H H may have had a form *bilinček* < **biliček* where the *-n-* may be an internal H addition, though it can also be found in Tt dials. The *-k* was felt to be a pl, and was dropped by false analogy, since there were usually two shackles (see **bögöly**). The Sl mediation can be excluded because of the difference in the final gutturals. The hapax *bilinčäk* (AK) is interesting. It was felt to belong with *bilin-* 'to be known'. This may be a popular etymology like so many others in AK. We could also suppose a metonymic change: 'what is known to be in the hand of a thief' > 'what is known to be on the hand of a thief' > 'shackle'? The *-n-* would then be a T internal *-n-* as in *bilenzik* (TtD).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1672; Gombocz 1912b: 46–47; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 401–402; Bárczi 1941: 20; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 313; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 150; Ligeti 1965: 281–289; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 301; Clauson 1972: 345; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 143–144; Ligeti 1986: 202, 253, 259, 541; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 106; Róna-Tas 1993: 298; Golden 1998–1999: 78, 84; Tietze 2002: 344.

BÍRÓ [bīrō] 'judge' | 1306/1359 GN *Byroutelek* [bīrou-telek], p1372/c1448 *Bÿro* [bīrō], 1404 *solgabirak* [solgå-bīrā-k] | *bīrō* < **birō* < **biruɣ* ← WOT **bïrug* | EOT *bïruk* 'a title'.

Of possible T origin.

OT 密錄 *mi-lu* 'the name of an Uighur ambassador in 935' (EMCh, LMCh *mit*, EMCh *luawk*, LMCh *lywk*: read *bïruġ*), *mi lu* 'a person in 967' (EMCh, LMCh *mit*, EMCh *luwk*, LMCh *liwk*: read *bïruġ* in a Dunhuang monument, Pelliot No. 3272), 密六 *mi lu* 'a title in *mi-lu tutuq* in 974', see EMCh, LMCh *mit lêw*: read *bïruġ*), 媚祿 *mei-lu* 'name or title of an Uighur minister' (EMCh *mi*^{h}, LMCh *mi*, EMCh, LMCh *ləwk*: read *bïruġ* all data in Hamilton 1955: 79, 150), *bïruq* 'a title' (Khot, see Bailey 1939: 91; see also Bailey 1979: 258 s.v. *pve*: *uhāva u bīrūka* 'üge-s and bïruq-s', fr Bailey 1945–1967/2: 47), *bïruq* 'name for the one who specifies the stations of courtiers' (AK); **MT** –; **NT** –.

E/T The T title present in AK occurs in Ch and Khot sources. Most scholars, including Pelliot (Pelliot–Hambis 1951: 297–298); Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 362–366);

Clauson (1972: 387) and Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/1: 190), connect this title with the well known title *buyruk*. This opinion goes back to Kashgari, who remarked after the entry *bïruk* "its root-form is *buyruk*, which means 'command', since he commands them to do this". This statement is a folk etymology typical of Kashgari. Erdal's view notwithstanding (1991: 231), the relationship between *buyruk* 'command' and *buyruk* 'commander, minister etc.' is morphologically unclear. For the expected form, see *buyruxči*, *buruxči* in ArmKip (Tryjarski 1968–1972/1: 171). Independently of the problems associated with *buyruk* and its metathetical form *buryuk*, we must agree with Hamilton. After having dealt with Uyg data on the *bïruk*s occurring in Ch sources in the 10th c., Hamilton remarked: "Dans tous ces cas, je crois que nous avons à faire avec un titre *bïruq*, qu'il faudrait sans doute distinguer du titre plus connu de *buyruq*, au sens de «ministre»" (Hamilton 1955: 150). The Ch transcriptions point to a voiced guttural final. The Ch final *-k* disappeared through voicing and spirantization as *-k* > *-g* > *-γ* > *ø*. At the time of our data it was on its way to disappearing. In the work of Kashgari the voiceless final is secured by the Ar *qaf*.

E/H According to the hitherto accepted opinion, the H word is derived fr the H verb *bír-* 'to possess, own, to be able to carry, to be able to bear, to be able to do etc.', itself of unknown origin (though allegedly, but erroneously fr T *buyur-*; see below). This is based on the assumption that the H verb *bír-* also had the meaning 'to reign (beherrschen)' and 'to subdue (unterwerfen)' (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 108). However, only the meanings 'to own, to have, to possess' are documented. The assumption that the H verb *bír-* meant 'to reign, to subdue' is based on two nouns which were tied to this verb: *bírság* 'fine, penalty' and *birodalom* 'realm, empire'. The second, however, had the original meaning 'possession (Lat *possessio*)', hence the possession of a ruler over which he had power (*potestas*) etc. (also gubernatio, regimen, imperium etc.; see Berrár–Károly (1984: 115); Szamota–Zolnai (1902–1906: 73–74); and very detailed in Szabó T. (1976–1995/1: 907–912)); thus this der has to be excluded fr the arguments.

The word *bírság* in the compound *birsagnop* (read *bírságnap*; see *nap* 'day') occurs first as the H translation of the 'Day of the Last Judgement, Doomsday' at the end of the 12th c. (*Funeral Sermon and Prayer*) in the sense of 'judgement'. If *bírságnap* derives fr the same verb *bír-* as *bíró*, then we could suppose that *bír-* had 'to judge' as its first meaning, and *bíró* is an adj der, which later became a noun, something like 'judger' (see *futó* 'runner' < *fut-* 'to run'). Thus we have to investigate whether *bírság* may have been a der fr the verb *bír-*. Besides the well known and very frequent den suff *+sÁg* (see e.g. *bíró* 'judge' > *bíróság* 'jury, court of justice', *kór* 'illness' > *kórság* 'illness', *barát* 'friend' > *barátság* 'friendship'), a dev suff *-sÁg* seems to exist: *imádság* 'prayer' < *imád-* 'to adore, pray', *kívánság* 'wish' < *kíván-* 'to wish', *nevetség* 'mockery' < *nevet-* 'to laugh' (see also *mentség*, *ijedség*, *fáradság*, *gyűlölség*, *tehetség* etc.). But all of these verbs end in a dental or a lateral sound,

and it is highly probable that they originally go back to a participial form such as **imád-t-ság*, **kíván-t-ság*, **nevet-t-ség*, **ment-t-ség*, **fárad-t-ság* etc. and only later by analogy and false analysis did the dev function evolve. In cases when this suff joins monosyllabic verbs with a final *-r* it has the form *-VsÁg*: *nyereség* 'gain, profit' < *nyer-* 'to gain', *vereség* 'defeat' < *ver-* 'to hit, to defeat'. Thus we would not expect *bírság*, but **bíraság*, which does not exist – only *bírság*. Hence *bírság* has to be a den der fr a noun **bir* like *kór* > *kórság* (see above), *vér* 'blood' > *vérség* 'race, lineage', *tér* 'space' > *térség* 'area', *őr* 'a guard, watchman' > *őrség* 'guard, watch'. As we see, there are serious arguments against the supposition that *bírság* is a der fr the verb *bír-* and thus it would have preserved the original meaning of the verb 'to judge'. It has to be mentioned that the older plural of *bíró* is the unexpected *bírák* (1404) and the "regular" one, *bírók*, is due to later analogy. If the word *bírság* is a den der, we have to find the noun fr which it was derived. The noun *bir* does exist in the Sl lgs, for example Croat, Serb, Mac *bir* 'census; podaťv pol′z svjaščennika ili monastyrja, ili gospodina s každogo brakosočetanija' (fr the 14th c.), Blg *bir*, *birka* (a1350, cf. Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 49); and RusD *bir* 'Kopfsteuer'. In ORus we find *birčij*, *birič*, *birjuč* 'glašataj, sudebnyj pristav [herald, executive officer]', first recorded in 1229, and we find its equivalents in Ukr, Slvn, Czech and Sorb (see Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 167; Trubačev 1974–1995/2: 96), all fr Sl **biritjъ*. According to Trubačev (1974–1995/2: 98), this is a der fr *birъ* 'tax, podať' (but see **bér** above). This leaves open, however, the origin of the Rus word *birka* 'tally (notched stick)'. A tally was the wooden stick or other piece of wood on which taxes or debts were marked by notches, or carved. In Blg both *bir* and *birka*, OBlg *bir*, *birok* (OBlg ChSl) have the meaning 'danъk, berija [tax]'; cf. also Blg *birnik* 'tax collector'. Rom *bir* 'salary, tax' was copied fr Blg (according to Tamás (1966: 116) directly fr H *bér*, but more likely the meaning 'salary' is H, while 'tax' is Sl). A similar case is Rom *birnic* 'steuerpflichtig' ⟵ Blg *birnik*, but *biriš* 'Ackerknecht' ⟵ H *béres*. The H word for 'tax' *adó* fr *ad-* 'to give' is a calque of T *bergü* (see **bér**) (less probably of Lat *datio*).

Thus H **bír* in *bírság* 'penalty, fine' is a Sl lw of ultimately T origin (see **bér**). For this, see H *adósság* 'debt' < **adóság* < *adó+ság*.

According to Mándoky (1979: 291–295) and Palló (1982: 45–47), the H verb *bír-* goes back to T *buyur-* 'to order, command'. The supposed change, *buyur-* > *bïyur-* > *bïyïr-* > *bīr-*, as has also been correctly remarked by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 108), can hardly be substantiated. It involves insurmountable phonological and semantic difficulties.

The length of the *i* in the H word will not be covered here. Various documents, which can distinguish vowel length show that it is written either with short or long <i>.

Summing up, H *bíró* or *biró* 'judge' is a T lw. It has been borrowed together with many other T titles which mostly occur in the PNs of early H history, but see also **úr**. In the case of *bírság* 'penalty' we have a T ⟶ Sl–H connection. The origin of T *bïrug* and its precise function remains open, the definition by Kashgari notwithstanding. See also **bér**.

◆ Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 73–74; Gombocz 1912b: 19; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 408–409; Bailey 1939: 91; Bárczi 1941: 20–21; Bailey 1945–1967/2: 47; Pelliot–Hambis 1951: 297–298; Hamilton 1955: 79, 150; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 362–366; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 167; Tamás 1966: 116–117; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 305; Tryjarski 1968–1972/1: 171; Georgiev 1971–1979/1: 49; Clauson 1972: 387; Trubačev 1974–1995/2: 96, 98; Szabó T. 1976–1995/1: 904–912; Bailey 1979: 258; Mándoky 1979: 291–295; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 190; Palló 1982: 45–47; Berrár–Károly 1984: 114–115; Erdal 1991: 231; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 108.

BOCSÁJT 'to forgive' see **bocsát**.

BOCSÁNIK [bočānik] *arch* 'to be forgiven', **bocsánat** [bočānåt] 'forgiveness, remission' | p1372/c1448 *boczanattra* [bočān-åttrå], 1508 *meg bočanik* [meg-bočān-ik] | *bočānik-* < **bočan-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **bolčan-* ⟵ WOT **bolčan-* < **bolča-* {with suff *-(X)n-*} | EOT *bošan-* 'to free oneself (from sin)' < *boša-* 'to make empty' {with suff *-(X)n-*} < *boš* 'empty' {with suff *+A-*}.

OT *boš.n-* 'to free oneself' (RMShin E7; according to Erdal 1991: 594, the reading of the second syllable is uncertain), *bošun-* 'to free oneself' (MHuast passim), *bošun-* 'to free oneself' (UTTIV A 4), *bošan-* 'to become untied (a knot), released, divorced (a woman)' (AK), *bošomïšïg* '…befreit sind' (B 27:17); **MT** *boš* 'boş' (UYA 137), *bošu-* 'pardonner' (UHyS), *bošu-* 'frei lassen' (UCiv, Mi 13–14), *boša-* 'to divorce' (AGul), *bošan-* 'boşanmak' (AHMA), *boša-* 'otpustitʹ, osvoboditʹ' (AIM), *boša-* 'azat etmek, boşamak (karısını boşamak) ve bırakmak' (AIMI), *boša-* 'to divorce' (AKor), *boša-* 'osvoboždatʹ, otpuskatʹ, osvoboždatʹsja, razvoditʹsja' (ANehF), *bošu-* 'to empty' (ARbg), *boša-* 'être faible, se fatiguer, être vide' (AChag), *bošadï, bošaldï* 'osvobodilsja' (AChagMA), *bošadï ew* 'osvobodil dom' (AChagMA), *bošadï saray* 'dvorec osvobodilsja' (AChagMA), *boša-*, *bošan-* 'to be weak, lazy, to be empty', *bošan-* 'to free oneself, to be freed' (AChagSC), *bošan-* 'sich befreien, loskommen' (LCC), *boša-* 'karısını ayırmak, serbest brakmak (sic!)', *bošan-* 'alelumum ayrılmak, karı kocasından ayrılmak' (AAH), *boša-* 'dać rozwód, rozwieść' (ABul), *bošan-* 'to get loose' (AMGh), *bošan-* 'osvoboždatʹsja, bytʹ svobodnym, bytʹ pustym' (ATuh), *bošan-* 'se vider, décharger l'estomac' (AmTr), *bošan-* 'boşalmak, boşkalmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pušan-* 'pustetʹ, oporažnivatʹsja' (Chuv ⟵ Tat); ***NW*** *bušan-* 'osvoboždatʹsja, oporožnitʹsja' (Tat), *bušan-* 'osvoboždatʹsja, oporožnitʹsja' (Bashk), *bošon-* 'oporožnjatʹsja, osvoboždatʹsja, razrešitʹsja ot bremeni' (Kirg), *bosan-* 'to make oneself free, become free' (Kaz), *bosan-* 'osvoboditʹsja, vysvoboditʹsja' (Kklp), *bosan-* 'bytʹ oporožnennym, osvoboditʹsja' (Nog), *boša-* 'osvoboždatʹsja, statʹ svobodnym' (CrTat), *bošan-* 'pustetʹ, stanovitʹsja svobodnym, nezavisimym' (KarC,

KarT), *boša-* ‘pustet′, stanovit′sja pustym, oslabevat′, obessilet′, rasslabljat′sja’ (Kum), *boša-* ‘končat′, zaveršat′, (peren.) izmatyvat′, izvodit′ kogo-l’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bošan-* ‘razvrazat′sja, otvjazat′sja’ (Tkm), *bošan-* ‘razvestit′, vzjat′, polučit′ razvod ot muža’ (Az), *boşan-* ‘to be divorced (from)’ (Tt), *bošan-* ‘osvoboždat′’ (Gag), *boš*, *bọš* ‘schwach, locker, lose’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *bošan-* ‘leeren’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bŭšan-* ‘razresat′sja ot bremeni, rožat′’ (Uzb), *bošæn-* ‘to get loose, to break away’ (TurkiJ), *bošan-* ‘to make oneself empty or free from a task, to acquit oneself, to discharge a duty’ (TurkiSh), *bošan-* ‘sich befreien, frei werden, unabhängig werden, losgehen (von ein Gewehr)’ (TurkiTR), *bošan-* ‘osvoboždat′sja, rožat′’ (MUyg), *boša-* ‘être libre’ (SalK), *bosa-* ‘byt′ svobodnym’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *božon-* ‘otvjazjat′sja, ujti (o lošadi), osvobodit′sja ot kakoj-l. tjažesti’ (Alt), *požon-* ‘otvjazat′sja i ujti (o konjah)’ (AltQK), *požon-* ‘sich befreien, sich loslösen, fortgehen’ (AltTelR), *pozï-* ‘osvoboždat′sja, oporožnjat′sja, oslabnut′’ (Khak), *poza-* ‘sich befreien, lose sein, wacklig sein’ (KhakQbR), *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich sich frei machen, einer Gefahr entgehen, Zeit haben’ (KhakQchR), *pozan-* ‘lose werden, wacklig werden’ (KhakSR), *požan-* ‘sich befreien, sich loslösen, fortgehen’ (KhakShR)’, *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich sich frei machen, einer Gefahr entgehen, Zeit haben’ (ChulR), *božu-* ‘rassatyvat′sja, stanovit′sja šatkim, osvoboždat′sja, oporažnivat′sja, rožat′’ (Tuv), *bo˝ho-* ‘vysvoboždat′sja, osvoboždat′sja’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bī̄san-* ‘osvoboždat′sja’ (Y).

Mo *bošuġ* ‘decree of heaven, command, order (of heaven)’ (L).

E/T The T base is the noun *boš* ‘free, not subject to external control, empty’. Fr this *boša-* ‘to be free’ and *bošu-* ‘to become free’ (always intr) were formed. Then with the suff *-(X)n-* (Erdal 1991: 595) we have *bošan-*, *bošun-* ‘to free oneself, to get free, from impediments of the soul (mainly sin)’.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 368) did not find any Mo parallel, but on the strength of Neg *boltu-boltu* ‘clearly, accurately’ and Man *bolġo*, *bolxo* etc. ‘clear’ they reconstructed an *l* for PT in the stem, that is **bol*. This is unacceptable for semantic and morphological reasons. Mo *busani-* ‘to break up, to be scattered, destroyed’, Kalm ‘arm, leer werden, verschwinden (der Reichtum, Eigentum, Glück usw.)’ belongs with *busag* in *busag keseg* or *keseg busag* ‘small pieces’, Kalm *bus^{u}g kes^{i}g* ‘kleine Stücke, in Stücken, trümmern’ and not with T *boša-*. For Mo *bošug* ← T *bošug*, see **búcsú**.

E/H The H word reflects an OChuv form **bolčan-* ‘to be forgiven, to be freed from sins’ and it entered the H *-ik-* conjugation. Present Chuv *pušan-* is a lw fr Tat, an “original” reflex would be **puśan-* or **pulan-* etc. On WOT *lč*, EOT *š*, see § 6.2.8. The verb *bocsánik-* is now obsolete, but two other ders of *boš*, namely **bocsát** and **búcsú**, are productive. The three H words *bocsánik-*, **bocsát** and **búcsú** were borrowed separately and with their T suffs. All three words were originally connected

with the idea of becoming free fr sins. The H verbs point to a WOT *-a-* in the second syllable.

The earlier attempt to find an etymology for the word failed and it was first Gombocz (1912b: 47–48) who suggested the correct solution. Since then all H authorities have accepted the T origin of the three H words, but have not always analysed their T background.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 47–48; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 428–429; Bárczi 1941: 21–22; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Róna-Tas 1967: 172; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 316; Clauson 1972: 383; Palló 1982: 48–49; Ligeti 1986: 227, 274; Erdal 1991: 594–595; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 113; Róna-Tas 1994: 104; Tietze 2002: 374; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 368.

BOCSÁT [bočāt], **bocsájt** [bočāyt] 'to forgive' | 12th c. *bulſcaſſa*, *bulſaſſa* [bulščāš-šå, bulšåš-šå], p1372/c1448 *boczata* [bočāt-ā], 1514 *megbachassad* [meg-båčāš-šåd] | *bočāt-* < **bulšat-* < **bulčat-* ← WOT **bolčat-* < **bolča-* {with suff -(*X*)*t*-} | EOT *bošat-* 'to release' < *boša-* 'to make empty' {with suff -(*X*)*t*-} < *boš* 'empty' {with suff +*A*-}. On further details see **bocsánik**.

OT *bošut-* 'to have somebody freed or something released' (USuv, Erdal 1991: 767), *bošat-* [6x], *bošut-* [with a damma in a second hand] 'to empty, release, untie' (AK), *bošut-* 'to loosen, to help to purge the bowels' (AQB); **MT** *boša-* 'to divorce' (AGul), *boša-* 'salıvermek, boşamak, azad etmek' (AHMA), *boša-* 'otpustiť, osvobodiť' (AIM), *boša-* 'azat etmek, boşamak (karısını boşamak) ve bırakmak' (AIMI), *bošat-* 'to release, empty' (AKD), *bošat-* 'davať razvod' (ANehF), *bošu-* 'to empty' (ARbg), *boša-* 'être faible, se fatiguer' (AChag), *bošat-* 'osvoboždať' (AChagB), *bošat-* 'osvobodiť' (AChagMA), *bošat-* 'to weaken, to empty' (AChagSC), *bošat-* 'freilassen, auf freien Fuss setzen, vergeben, verzeihen' (LCC), *boša-* 'karısını ayırmak, serbest brakmak (sic!)' (AAH), *boša-* 'dać rozwód, rozwieść' (ABul), *bošat-* 'sich scheiden (von seiner Frau)' (AKav), *bošat-* 'to loosen' (AMGh), *bošat-* 'byť svobodnym, polučať razvod (o ženščine)' (ATuh), *bošat-* 'vider, dévaster, permettre, libérer, pardonner' (AmTr), *bošat-* 'prostiť, osvobodiť ot oplaty' (AmD), *bošat-* 'pardonner' (AmE), *bošat-* 'boşaltmak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *pušat-* 'opražnivať, opustošať' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bušat-* 'vygružať, oporažnivať' (Tat), *bušat-* 'vygružať, oporažnivať' (Bashk), *pušat-* 'otpuskať' (SibTat), *bošot-* 'oporožnjať, osvoboždať' (Kirg), *bosat-* 'to empty, to set free, make free, let out' (Kaz), *bosat-* 'pustiť, zastaviť, osvobodiť, otpustiť' (Kklp), *bosat-* 'osboboždať, oporažnivať' (Nog), *bošat-* 'razgružať, oporožnjať, osvoboždať, razrjadiť' (CrTat), *bošat-* 'oporožnjať, vylivať, vystupať' (KarT, KarC), *bosat-* 'osvoboždať, oporožnjať, otpuskať' (KarH), *bošat-* 'osvoboždať, oporažnivať, razgružať, vygružať' (Kum), *bošat-* 'zastaviť kogo končiť čto-l., osvoboždať kogo/čto ot čego-l.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bošat-* 'oporažnivať, osvoboždať, davať svobodu, razvjazyvat, vystreliť' (Tkm), *bošat-* '(ponud ot *boša-*)' (Az), *boşat-* 'to set loose (an animal)' (Tt), *bošan-* 'osvoboždať' (Gag), *boš*, *bọš* 'schwach, locker, lose'

(Khor), *bošat-* ‘ausleeren’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *bošat-* ‘leeren, räumen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bŭšat-* ‘osvoboždaťˊ, oporažnivaťˊ’ (Uzb), *bošat-* ‘to disengage, to relax, to release, to vacate’ (TurkiJ), *bošat-* ‘to cause to be empty, to empty’ (TurkiSh), *boša-* ‘leeren, leer machen, freimachen, losmachen, loslassen, sich scheiden lassen’ (TurkiTR), *bošat-* ‘oporažnivaťˊ, oporožnjaťˊ, razgružaťˊ’ (MUyg), *boša-* ‘être libre’ (SalK), *bosa-* ‘byťˊ svobodnym’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *božot-* ‘otpuskaťˊ, uvolnjaťˊ, osvoboždaťˊ, oslabjaťˊ, rasslabjaťˊ, razgružaťˊ, oporožnjaťˊ’ (Alt), *pušat-* ‘osvoboditˊ’, *požot-* ‘losmachen, frei machen, loslassen, befreien’ (AltLR), *požot-* ‘osvoboditˊ, otpustitˊ, oslabitˊ’ (AltQK), *požot-* ‘končaťˊ, puskaťˊ’ (AltTK), *požot-* ‘losmachen, frei machen, loslassen, befreien’ (AltTelR), *pozït-* ‘osvoboditˊ, otpustitˊ, oporožnitˊ, oslabitˊ’ (Khak), *poza-* ‘sich befreien, lose sein, wacklig sein’ (KhakQbR), *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich frei machen, einer Gefahr entgehen, Zeit haben’ (KhakQchR), *pozat-* ‘lose machen, leer machen, befreien’ (KhakSR), *požat-* ‘losmachen, frei machen, loslassen, befreien’ (KhakShR), *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich frei machen, einer Gefahr entgehen, Zeit haben’ (ChulR), *božut-* ‘rassšatyvaťˊ, oporažnivaťˊ, pomogaťˊ pri rodah, prinimaťˊ rodu’ (Tuv), *bo˝hyut-* ‘vysvoboždaťˊ, osvoboždaťˊ’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bīsat-* ‘(caus of *bīsā-* ‘osvoboždaťˊ kogo-l.)’ (Y), *boskolō-* ‘frei machen, befreien’ (Dlg), *bosko* ‘frei’ (DlgS).

E/T The T verb is a caus form of *boša-* with the suff *-(X)t-* (Erdal 1991: 767); a few forms may go back to *bošu-*. On further details, see **bocsánik**.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 132). It was only the relationship between the H words (**bocsán**, **bocsát**, **búcsú**) that was debated. The H verb has been borrowed together with the suff *-(X)t-*. On H *č* in place of WOT *lč* and T *š*, see § 6.2.8. The *-j-* in *bocsájt-* is a H development. Together with **bocsánik** and **búcsú**, the word formed part of the religious vocabulary of the OH lg. On the details, see also **bocsánik** and **búcsú**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Gombocz 1912b: 47–48; Gombocz 1914a: 27; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 428–429; Bárczi 1941: 21–22; Bárczi 1956: 7; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 316; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Palló 1982: 48–49; Ligeti 1986: 213, 227, 274; Erdal 1991: 767; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 113; Róna-Tas 1994: 104; Róna-Tas 1997b: 52; Tietze 2002: 374.

BÓDA [bōdå] *arch* ‘buckler with handle, handle of different arms’ | c1395 *bolda* [boldå], 1585 *bóda* [bōdå] | *bōdå* < *boldå* < **baldaw* ⟵ Cum **baldaw* | MT **baldaw* < MT **baldag* id. ⟵ Mo *baldag* ‘knob, hilt of a sword’.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *baldaq* ‘anneau auquel le ceinturon du sabre est attaché’ (AChag), *balčaġ* ‘konec rukojatki (ėfesa) meča’ (AChagB), *baldaq* ‘der Säbelgriff’ (AChagR), *balčaġ/q* ‘hand-guard, hilt (of a sword)’ (AChagS), *baldaq* ‘Säbelgriff, Stiel’ (AChagŠSK), *balčaq* ‘guard (of a sword)’ (AMGh), *balčaq* ‘kılıç sapı’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *baldak* ‘kolʹco, kolečko’ (Tat), *baldaq* ‘kolʹco, kolečko (bez kamnja)’ (Bashk), *baldak* ‘ėfes, kostylʹ, podstavka pod ruku u ohotnikov s lovčej pticej’ (Kirg), *bal-*

daq ‘crutch, (finger)ring’ (Kaz), *baldaq* ‘kostyl′, podstavka’ (Kklp), *baldak* ‘rukojatka kinžala’ (Nog); ***SW*** *baldak* ‘stebel′’, *balǰak* ‘ėfes sabli’ (Tkm), *baldak* ‘suspensory ring of a sword scabbard or belt’ (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *båldåq* ‘gladkoe kol′co (bez kamnja)’ (Uzb), *baldaq* ‘bar, cross-piece, ladder-peg, step of a ladder’ (TurkiJ), *baldaq* ‘a mace or truncheon with a wrist-strap’ (TurkiSh), *baldaq* ‘matica-ženď pod potolkom, gde ženščiny sohranjajut moločnye produkty, verhnjaja polkaperekladina u ljul′ki, podstavka dlja lovčej pticy’ (TurkiL), *baldaq* ‘zadvižka, zasov, stupenka’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *bartax*, *battax* ‘poduške u stolbov v domah, na kotoroju kladetsja matica ili perekladina, kostyl′, veselka’ (Y).

Mo *baldaġ*, *bardaġ* ‘knob, hilt of a sword’ (L).

E/T The T word also has such forms as *balčak*, *barčak* etc. (see Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 52; also note some lws in the Sl lgs and some earlier but unacceptable etymologies by Korš and Sevortjan). All these words point to a nominal base **bal*, which seems, however, to be absent fr the known lexical material. Chuv has a word *păl* ‘vytjažnaja truba’ and fr it *păltăr* ‘dupljanka na konce derevjannoj truby v kurnyh izbah, žestjanoe naveršie pečnoj truby, kolpačok gorelki lampy, otkidnaja kryška kuritelnoj trubki’. Both point to an *-u-*, for which see Cher *puldïr* ‘seni’ (CherM), *pïldïr* ‘perila’ (CherH) both in Fedotov (1996/1: 396), and RusD *buldyr′* ‘dom, stojaščij na otšibe, dymohod’ (Dal′ 1863–1866/1: 140). The Cher word, according to Fedotov (1996/1: 396), is of Chuv origin. According to Räsänen (1938: 136) and Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 238) the RusD word is also fr Chuv, but in any case the Chuv words do not belong here. But see Rabguzi *baldur* ‘lower part of the stem’ and Ott *baldïr*, *baldur* ‘bitki gövdesi, saak’ (AOtT).

At the present moment we cannot further analyse the word *baldag* in T because there is no T suff **±dAg*. In Mo there does exist a dev suff *-dAg* (Poppe 1964: 94), forming in most cases the nomen usus (see *yabudag* ‘someone who usually goes’ < *yabu-* ‘to go’). The suff also has another function, however: it forms nouns and adjs denoting something which is like the action as in *mokudag* ‘blunt, dull’ fr *moku-* ‘to be blunt etc.’, *burgildag* ‘stormy’ < *burgila-* ‘to frequently rise in clouds’. Since Mo has both *bardag* and *baldag* with the very specific meaning ‘hilt of a sword, knob’, we may suppose that the Mo word is an inner Mo development *baldag*, *bardag* < **baridag* < *bari-* ‘to hold’. It entered the T lgs as a term for military weapon.

Also, the distribution of the word in the T lgs points to their Mo origin as already supposed by Räsänen (1969: 60). The final *-k* in the present NW and other T lgs may be due to two different Mo transmissions (Cum **baldag* ⟵ Mo *baldag* ⟶ T *baldak*). The irregular T *-k* shows that the word was transmitted through a West Mo dial (see Kalm *baldăG* ‘Griff, Stiel (des Schwertes)’).

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 349), Mo *baldag* is a T lw, while T **balčak* is of Mo origin. They reconstruct a PA **bi̯ŏla* and discover a cognate for

T **baldak* in Mo **bolčagu*. Though *bolčagu* is absent fr Kowalewski's and Lessing's dicts, it occurs in several Mo lgs, e.g. Khal *bolcū*, *bulcū*, Bur *bulsū*, Ord *bolčoŋ*, *bolčogor*, meaning 'blunt end (of an arrow)'; see also **bolčoyi-* 'être bombé avec une point au sommet' (Ord *bolčō̃-*). The borrowing Mo *bolčagu* ⟶ T *balčak* is unlikely because of the vocalism of the first syllable, and the lack of the final *-u* in T. Mo **bolčagu* and *baldag* are independent words.

E/H The T origin first suggested by Munkácsi (1893: 272; 1902: 379) has been questioned by Gombocz (1912b: 213) due to phonetic problems. It was not dealt with by Ligeti, but accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 114) with the remark that the T lg and the time of the borrowing is uncertain. The first H occurrence in the *Wordlist of Beszterce* (1395) excludes the possibility that the word is of Ott origin (absent fr Kakuk 1973). Though it is not noted in CC, we can not rule out its being a Mo word transmitted to H through Cum; see **daku**, **nyögér**.

The *o* < *ol* < *al* is a normal H development. For the final *-a* in place of T *-ag*, see **eke**, **dara**, **kozma**. This correspondence is more likely if we suppose a MKip source **baldaw*, **baldau*.

◆ Dal′ 1863–1866/1: 140; Simonyi 1890–1892: 525; Melich 1893: 176; Munkácsi 1893: 272; Tagányi 1893: 314; Munkácsi 1902: 379; Gombocz 1907a: 69; Gombocz 1912b: 213; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 430; Beke 1930: 241; Beke 1931: 151–152; Horger 1935: 47; Pais 1935: 268; Räsänen 1938: 136; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 114, 238; Poppe 1964: 94; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 317; Räsänen 1969: 60; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 52; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 114; Fedotov 1996/1: 396; Fedotov 1996/2: 36; Schönig 2000: 66–67; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 349.

BOG [bog] 'knot, bend' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Bogu* [bog-u], 1522 *agath bogath* [āgāt-bogāt], 1578 *bugia* [bug-yå] | *bog* < **bog* ⟵ WOT **bog* < EOT *bog* 'package, bundle'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *bōġ* 'package, bundle', *boġ-* 'to strangle', *boġla-*: *ol tōn boġladï* 'he packed the garment' in its case. They distinguish between packing a garment and tying up anything else by putting *naṣb* (A) on the *bā'* of the latter (i.e. *baġla-*), and *raf'* (U) on the former [in the MS "latter" and "former" are reversed]', *boġul-* 'to strangle', *boġun-* 'to choke', *boxtāy*, *boxtūy* 'a bag for clothes' (AK); **MT** [*ba-* 'bağlamak'] (UYAB), [*baġlï* 'bound'] (AGul), [*baġ* 'bağ, bez, sargı'] (AHMA), [*baġ* 'svjazka, uzel, okovy, set′'] (AHŠF), [*baġ* 'svjazka'] (AIM), [*baġ* 'bağ, ip'] (AIMI), [*baġ* 'knot, bond'] (AKor), [*baġ* 'svjazka, uzel, okovy, set′'] (ANehF), [*baġ* 'povjazka, perevjaz′'] (ATef), [*ba-* 'bağlamak'] (AYC), [*baġ* 'lien, plaie': *baġlïġ* 'attaché'], *boġ* 'suffocation, trompette, enveloppe, écorce d'arbre'], *boġ-* 'étrangler, suffoquer', *boġma* 'inflammation de la gorge' (AChag), [*baġ* 'bond, fastening, cord'] (AChagSC), [*baġ ve baġu* 'kamar ve kamarče'], *boġ* 'band, halqa', *boġ-* 'sïqmaq, baġmaq' (AChagŠS), [*baġ* 'Hülle, Bande, Ouaste, Bündniss'], *boġ* 'Baumrinde' (AChagŠSK), [*bav* 'Fessel, Kette', *beliġab* 'Leibgurt' (*bel-i-bag* ? or *bel bagi*)] (LCC), [*baġ* 'bostan (far.);

bir şeyin bağı'], *boġdï* 'boğmak fiilinden mazi' (AAH), [*baġ*: *bel baġï* 'Leibgurt'], *boġ-* 'erwürgen' (AHou), [*baġ* 'Bündel'] (AKav), *bo-*, *boġ-* 'boğmak' (ATuh), [*baġ* 'noeud, liens, botte'], *boġ* 'étrangler, engouer, noyer' (AmTr), *boġ-* 'to drown (trans.)' (AmCh), *boġ-* 'noyer' (AmE), *boġ* 'bohča' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păv-*, *pu-* 'daviť, dušiť' (Chuv), *pu* 'zavjazka' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *bu-* 'prudiť, zaprudiť, dušiť, zadušiť', *buwïl-* 'daviťsja, dušiťsja' (Tat), *bïw-* 'zatjagyvať, podpojasivať, prudiť, dušiť', *buta* 'pojas, pojasok' (Bashk), *bu-* 'dušiť' (BashkD2), *bō* 'verevka, zavjazka', *köz bōču* 'tot kto »glaza otvodit«, čarodej, fokusnik' (Kirg), *buu* 'packing', *buï-*, [*buwï-*] 'to tie, to tie together, to pack' (Kaz), *buw-* 'zavjazyvať, dušiť' (Kklp), *buw-* 'zatjagivať, zavjazyvať, dušiť' (Nog), *bog-* 'dušiť, topiť' (CrTat); ***SW*** *boğ* 'bundle', *boğ-* 'to choke, strangle, suffocate, to constrict by binding', *bohça* 'bundle in a wrapper' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** [*buoy-* 'zapreščať, nalagať ← Mo *bogu-* 'to stop, restrain' ← T *bok-*] (Y). For the other T data, see **boglya**.

Mo *boġu-* 'to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop', *boġol* 'slave, serf, bondsman', MMo *buġi* 'string' (SH; de Rachewiltz 2004: 1031), *bogtu* in *bogtu čimügen* 'radius (marrow bone with nodule)'.

E/T In OT there were two verbs *ba-* 'to tie, to fasten' (on which see **báj**), and **bo-* 'to tie, fasten strong, to strangle, choke'. The dev noun *bag* 'bond, bundle' was common in OT. The verb **bo-* is hitherto attested in OT only in the der *bog* 'bundle', fr which was formed, e.g. *bogla-* 'to pack, e.g. clothing, as baggage', *bogïm*, *bogum* also *bogun* 'knuckle (of a finger), knot (of a reed), articulation (in the limbs)', *bogmak* 'button', *bogok* 'the strangled', *bogča* 'package' (⟶ Mo *bogča*, *bogču*, *boguča* id.) etc. and perhaps *boguz* 'throat', which had already appeared in the earliest runiform and Uyg texts. The semantics 'throat' comes more probably fr 'something that can be choked' than fr 'something that can be strangled'. A verb *bog-* 'to strangle, choke' also exists (cf. Mo *bogu-* 'to bind, tie, bundle'), which surely belongs with *bog* but their relationship is unclear. It may be a nomen-verbum or even a der with a suff *-(X)g* which functioned both to form dev nouns and dev verbs, or this is a case of a suff which was added to the noun *bog*, but later disappeared. Fr the verb *bog-* we have *boguš-* 'to strangle each other'. In Mo *bogtu* 'with nodules, nodes': *bogtu čimügen* 'radius'.

E/H H *bog* was long considered to be of FUgr origin and has been connected with FUgr **pɜŋɜ* (Ligeti 1935a: 229; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 107; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 320–321; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 404; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 116). The fact that a *b-* is present instead of the expected initial *f-* was explained by the ad hoc claim that the *p-* was voiced before *g* < **ŋk*, hence was preserved and did not become an *f-*. This claim, however, involves several difficulties. In the case of H *fog* 'tooth' (< **piŋe*), *fog-* 'to catch' (< **puŋe-*), *fogoly* 'partridge' (< *püŋe* or *piŋe*, for which see Tu **piŋki*) the **p-* >> *f-* change occurred before *-g*. The H verb *fúl-*, where *-l-* is a dev suff, was reconstructed

as FUgr **puŋɜ-* and also related by some scholars (see e.g. Räsänen 1969: 78) to T *bog-*, which is not acceptable. The argument that in the case of *bog* we have to reconstruct a FUgr *-ŋk-* but only a *-ŋ-* in the other is irrelevant fr our point of view, because the preservation of *b-* is said to be due to *-g-*, which also appears in *fog*, *fog-* and *fogoly*. There are also semantic problems. The FUgr word has the meaning 'Knollen, Beule, Unebenheit' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 404) and the semantic field is 'something small and round'; see in Finn *punka* 'kleiner, korpulenter, dicker Mensch', Osty *puŋkĕl* 'festgebackener Schnee etc.', while H *bog* is connected with 'to tie' (see H *bogoz-* 'to tie knots'). The final *-g* of *bog* in the case of the suggested T origin of the H word is problematic. The final T *-g* disappeared in most cases, and even in one case in a monosyllabic word; see **bő** (← T *bäg*). There are, however, a few words where the final *-g* of whatever origin is preserved as in **barág**, **bélyeg**, **köpönyeg**, **sereg**, **serleg**, **sőreg**, **szúnyog**, **tőzeg**. We also find the *g* preserved in **boglya** (← **bogol*), while the same T word also appears in a form where the *-g-* disappeared; see **boly** (← **bogol*). The T word *bogol* is a der of *bog-*. Several other members of the T word family are present in H (see **boglya**, **boly**, perhaps also **béklyó**) while OT *ba-* can be found in **báj** and **boka**.

◆ Ligeti 1935a: 229; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 341–343; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 320–321; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 107; Räsänen 1969: 78; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 404; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 116; Rachewiltz 2004: 1031.

BOGLYA [bogyå] 'stack of hay' | 1291 ? PN *Bogla* [bogl'å], 1454 ? GN *Boglyafalwa* [bogl'å-fålvå], 1561 *boglia* [bogl'å], dial *bagja* [bågyå], *baglya* [bågl'å], *bagla* [båglå], *bogla* [boglå], *bugja* [bugyå], *buglya* [buglyå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 514, 522) || **bugolya** [bugol'å] 'tuft, crest' | 1799 *bugollyákkal* [bugol'ā-kkål] || **boklyó** [bokl'ō] *dial* 'tuft, crest' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 522) | *bogyå* < *bogl'å* < **bogul'a* < **bogul* {with suff +*A*} ← WOT **bogul* | EOT **bogul* 'stack of hay' < *bog-* 'to strangle' {with suff -(*X*)*l*}.

Of possible T origin.

OT *boġul-* 'to be strangled, choked' (AK); **MT** *boġum* 'articulation, jointure, génération' (UHyS), *boġïš* 'boğum eklem' (AHMA), *boġul-* 'to be strangled' (AKor), *boġun* 'sustav, sočlenenie' (ANehF), *boġun* 'uzly, svjazki v sustavah' (AChagB), *boġul-*, *buġul-* 'erwürgt werden, ersticken' (AChagR), *buġun* 'sustav' (AChagMA), *boġun* '‹a joint or articulation› in the limbs of a man, or the trunk – *tana* – of a tree' (AChagSC), *boġluġ* 'zsákmadzag; a string used for binding a sack' (AChagBL), *boġul-* 'ertrinken' (LCC), *boġun* 'boğum' (AAHI), *boġun* 'Gelenk' (AHou), *boġun* 'joint (of a bamboo)' (AMGh), *bovun*, *boġun* 'sustav, sočlenenie' (ATuh), *boġum* 'articulation, membre, membrum' (AmE), *baġ* 'demet, bağlam', *boġun* 'boğum, mafsal' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *bogïl* 'stog' (Tat), *bïuïn* 'sustav, (bot., teh.) koleno' (Bashk), *buwën* 'íz, ízület [joint]' (BaskP), *moġïl* 'kopna' (SibTat), *muġul* 'der Heuhaufen'

(SibTBR, SibTTR), *mūn* ‘sustav, sočlenenie’ (Kirg), *buïn* ‘joint, generation, (gram.) syllabe’ (Kaz), *buuïn* ‘sustav, koleno, zveno, pokolenie’ (Kklp), *buwïn* ‘sustav, snop, vjazanka’ (Nog), *buġum* ‘sustav, zveno (sostavnaja časť cepi)’ (CrTat), *buvun* ‘časť tela, člen, sustav’ (KarT, KarH), *buvum* ‘sustav, sočlenenie, otrez, kusok’, *buġum* ‘sustav’, *bügüm* ‘sustav, zveno’ (KarC), *buvun* ‘sustav’ (Kum), *buwun* ‘zapjastʹe, ruka, manžeta obslag, (teh.) koleno’ (KrchBlk), *bu’un* ‘Gelenk, Handgelenk’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *bogun* ‘sustav, uzly, slog’ (Tkm), *boġul-* ‘zadyhatʹsja, čustvovatʹ uduš́e, davitʹsja, tanutʹ, utanutʹ’ (Az), *boğum*, *boğun* ‘knot, joint, segment between two joints, (anat.) ganglion’ (Tt), *buğum* ‘boğum, budak’, *buğun* ‘bilek’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** *bọxča* ‘Bündel, Reisebündel’, *buɣun-* ‘ersticken (veraltetes Wort)’ (Kh); ***SE*** *buġum*, *buġun* ‘sustav, sočlenenie’ (Uzb), *boɣul-* ‘to be choked, to be strangled’ (TurkiJ), *buġun*, *buġum* ‘a joint or articulation’ (TurkiSh), *boġum* ‘pokolenie, sustav, sočlenenie, (gram.) slog’ (MUyg), *puɣum* ‘phalange’ (Sal), *pʻoɣ-*, *poɣ-* ‘svjazatʹ, privjazyvatʹ’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *bugul* ‘kopna’ (Alt), *puġul* ‘der Heuschober, der Heuhaufen’ (AltLR), *pugul*, *pugïl* ‘stog sena, snop, kopna’, *pugula-* ‘zavjazyvatʹ’ (AltL), *pugul*, *bugul* ‘kopna sena’, *pul* ‘kopna’ (AltQK), *bogul* ‘kuča, kopna’ (AltTK), *pūl* ‘der Heuhaufen’ (AltTelR), *poġ-* ‘zavjazyvatʹ (mešok)’, *pōs* ‘podvjazka’ (Khak), *pōlbax*, *pōlčax* ‘uzelok, utolščenie’, *pōn*, *pūn* ‘sustav, sočlenenie, žilu sočlenenij konečnostej’ (KhakB), *pōn* ‘das Gelenk, das Glied’ (KhakQchR), *būn*, *pūn* ‘das Gelenk, das Glied’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *muġul*, *puġul* ‘der Heuhaufen, der Heuschober’ (ChulR), *bu˝hul* ‘kopna (sena)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bugul* ‘kopna (sena), stog’ (Y).

Mo *buqul* ‘haystack’ (L), *buqal*, cf. Khal, Bur *buxalʹ*, *boġol* ‘slave, serf, slavery’ (L), *boġulta* ‘tying, wrapping, the thing which one ties: cord, rope, wire, bandage, the thing tied: bundle, bale, parcel, package’ (L), cf. *boġu-* ‘to bind’ (L).

E/T Fr T *bog-* ‘to strangle’ < ‘to strongly tie, to bond’ > *bogul* ‘what is tied strongly together’, the word denotes a more intensive action than *ba-* ‘to tie’; see also **bog** and **báj**. The T word *bogun*, *bogum* ‘a joint or articulation’ is another der with the sense ‘what ties together’. In Nog the word *buwïn* (< **bogun*) has both the meanings ‘joint’ and ‘sheaf’. T *bogun* is *mūn* (< **mogun*) in Kirg, which points to a verb **boŋ-*; see also the SibTat forms. The dev suff *-(X)l* (Erdal 1991: 330–332) is rare, but present in the word in Tat and most of the Sib lgs. The regular Mo correspondence is *bogul*. This means ‘slave, servant’, perhaps fr ‘who is bound’, i.e. the captive. This can be corroborated by such Mo ders as *bogolta*, on which see above. Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 212) has no etymology for the word. The existing Mo counterpart to the H word is *bukul* and its similar meaning ‘haystack, rick’ clearly shows that both the Mo and the H words are lws fr the same or similar T words. However, some SibTat words may be reborrowings fr Mo. Sib **bukul* ← Mo *bukul* ← T *bokul*, *bogol* → Mo *bogol*.

E/H It is very unlikely that the H word is a der fr the H noun *bog* ‘knot’, as claimed by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 322; 1993–1997/1: 116), which has an uncertain FUgr origin

(see Lakó 1967–1978/1: 107–108: FUgr **pəŋkɜ*, which would produce H **fog* or the like) and may itself be of T origin; see **bog**. In T and Mo we have the word *bogol*, *bogul* with exactly the same meaning as in H. The problem with the Auslaut, mentioned by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 116), can easily be solved. The final word is due to a lexicalized poss form *bogol* > **bogoly* > (*széna-*)**bogolya* 'stack (of hay)' > *boglya* fr such very frequent compounds as *széna-*bogolya* > *boglya* 'haystack, stack of hay'.

There is a dial word in H *bogolya*, *bugolya*, *boklyó* 'tuft of hair, crest (of birds)', which may belong here as a semantic shift caused by similarity. Uncombed hair is also called *boglyas haj* (*haj* 'hair') in Standard H. In this case the intermediary form *bogolya* has also been preserved.

There remains one problem, mentioned by Ligeti (1935a: 230). Why did the T *-g-* remained unchanged, while many other cases saw the disappearance of the T *-g-* in the intervocalic position (see **ács**, **bölcs**, **bű** (**báj**), **gyúr** etc.)? This may be why Ligeti did not include this word in his last work (Ligeti 1986). The stop character of the guttural is also reflected in Mo *bukul*, *bukal*, Khal *buxal´* (with a palatalized final *-l*, which may suggest an earlier form **bukali*, but may also be due to a secondary palatalization) etc. The unvoiced stop in these forms contrasts with Mo *bogol* which is *bōl* in the most Mo dials, but *bogōl* in Bur.

The expected form would be *bōly* in H. Now in fact this word does exist. At present in Standard H *boly* has the meaning 'anthill' (see the H data s.v. **boly**) and according to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 122) has no obvious etymology. The form of an anthill is very similar to a haystack. In the Trans-Danubian dial *boly* is used to denote a haystack (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 535; *ëgy boly szénát* 'one stack of hay') and a der *bolyván*, *bolyvány* has the meaning 'straw gathered on the stubble-field' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 537).

Now we are confronted with two proto-forms OT *bogol* and **bokol* (→ Mo *bukal*). While the first became *bogol* > *bōl* in Mo and T *bogol* → *boɣol* > *bōl* > *boly* in H, the second is reflected as *bukal*(*i*) > *buxal´* in Mo and *bogol* > *bogoly* > *boglya* in H. In H the two words went through a semantic split 'hay stack (usually bound with a rope made of hay)' → 'something similar in form to a haystack, anthill'. In Mo 'hay stack' → 'slave, bound people' (on the semantics, see Eng *bond* 'thing restraining bodily freedom, imprisonment, in slavery, not free', *bondage* 'slavery, serfdom', OEng *band* and *bonda*, *bunda* 'husbandman').

The palatalization of the final *-l* in both words is a H development.

Less probable is the origin fr a T **boglag* 'something bound' suggested by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 322; but already not in 1993–1997/1: 116).

In case of the FUgr origin the final *-la* > *-lya* would be a very rare suff.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Munkácsi 1902: 286; Gombocz 1912b: 49; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 445; Ligeti 1935a: 221–230; Bárczi 1941: 22; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 212; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 322; Lakó 1967–

1978/1: 107–108; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 233–242; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 514, 522, 535, 537; Erdal 1991: 330–332; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 116, 122; Tietze 2002: 366.

BOJT [boyt] 'tassel, fringe, tuft, node' | 1181 ? PN *Buhtudi* [buxt-u-di], 1327 GN *Bohtustulgfa* [buxt-uš tuld'fa], 1595 *buitos* [buyt-oš] | *boyt* < **buyt* < **buxt* < **buɣt* < **buɣut* ← WOT **bogut* | EOT *boxtay* 'bag for clothes' < *bog-* 'to strangle, to tie strong' {with suffs *-(U)t* and *+Ay*}.

Of possible T origin.

OT *boxtay*, *boxtuy* 'bag for clothes' (AK); **MT** *boġnaq* [read *boġtaq*] 'tresse de soie, en forme de boucles de chevaux, que les Mongols s'attachent à la tête et que les femmes cousent tout à l'entour de leur coiffeure' (AChag), [*boġču* 'baġlamaz ip, baġ'] (AChagŠS), [*buta* 'Bündel, Schössling, wohlreichendes Kraut'] (AChagŠSK), [*butluġ*, *butluq* 'eskiden elbise üzerinden giydikleri şalvar, zıhrın şalvar kısmı'] (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** [*buta* 'pojas'] (TatD1), [*buta* 'pojas, pojasok'] (Bashk), [? *boto* 'povjazka na šeju'] (Kirg ← Ar), *buda* 'bunch, bundle' (Kaz), *buwat* 'vjazanka, svjazka, kipa' (Kklp); ***SW*** *bogtak* 'eine hohe verzierte Mütze' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** [*pota*, *bota* 'ein Gurt, ein Shawl'] (TurkiTR); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *bogtu*: *bogtu čimügen* 'radius (marrow bone with a nodule)', *boġtu*, *boġta* 'cap worn by married women', *boġtula-*, *boġtala-* 'to put the boġtu cap on a woman, i.e. to marry her off', MMo *bogtag* 'headdress of married nobel women (SH), MMo *boqtaq* id. (MA, IM), Mo *bogutuu* 'turban' [> *bōtū*] ← Ch 包頭 *bāotou*, EMCh *pawdəw* ← EOT **bogtag*.

E/T The reconstructed form **bogut* was derived fr the verb *bog-* 'to tie strongly' (see **bog**) with the suff *-(U)t* (Erdal 1991: 308–316). It has been hitherto identified only in Kklp *buwat* < **bugat* < **bogat* fr *buw-* 'zavjazyvat', svjazyvat', dušit'' < **bog-*. However, the word for the Mo high cap of women *bogtag* described fr the 13th c. on (see the bibliography in Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 210–212) is a der fr *bogut+(A)k* > *bogtak* ⟶ *bogtag*. The final *-g* in Mo is a substitution for a final *-k* in T. If the word were of Mo origin, we would have a final *-g* in the early T data (see, however, Chag, TtR which are reborrowings). The T word *bota*, *buta*, *pota* 'girdle etc.' is of Ar origin, but may have been mixed with or influenced by this word. See Kaz *buda* 'bunch, bundle' or Kirg *boto* 'povjazka na šeju'. The word was borrowed by Ch, which used two characters in the transcription meaning 'wrap' and 'head'. The Mo word *bogtu* in *bogtu čimügen* pertains to **bog**.

E/H The H word was hitherto considered to be of unknown origin (Benkő 1967–1984/1: 325–326; 1993–1997/1: 118). The T *-gt-* H *-yt-* represents a regular correspondence; see **bojtorján**. T *-o-* was substituted with *-u-*, which later became *-o-*.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 23; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 210–212; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 325–326; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 118; Erdal 1991: 308–316.

BOJTORJÁN [boytoryān] ‘burdock, *Arctium sp.*’ | 1237–1240 GN *Buhturuyan* [buyturuyān], c1395 *boÿtorían* [boytoryān], c1405 *baytõyan* [båytoryān], dial *bajtarján* [båytåryān], *bajtirgyán* [båytird′ān], *bujtorján* [buytoryān] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 519) | *boytoryān* < **balturγan* ← WOT **balturgan* | EOT **baltïrgan* ‘a kind of plant, *Heracleum*’ < **bal+dUr+gAn*.

OT –; **MT** *baldïṙgan* ‘origan (plante)’ (AChag), *baldïṙgan* (AChagS), *baldïṙgan* ‘ein Pflanzenname’ (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pultăran*, *pultran* ‘(bot.) borščevik, borščovnik’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *baltïrgan* ‘borščevik’ (Tat), *baltïṙgan* ‘borščevik’ (Bashk), *batïrgan*, *baldïrkan*, *baltïrkan* ‘kupyr (rastenie)’ (Kirg), *baldïṙgan* ‘a plant with a succulent, sweet stem’ (Kaz), *baltïrgan* ‘borščevik’ (Nog), *baltïṙgan* ‘(bot.) anis’ (KrchBlk), *baldïrγan* ‘assa fœtida’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *baldïrgan* ‘buzina’ (AzD), *baldıran* (*otu*) ‘poison hemlock (*Conium maculatum*)’, *baldırgan* ‘asafetida plant (*Ferula assafoetida*) (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *båltiriq* ‘klopovnik polžučij, klopovnik sirokolistnyj’ (Uzb); ***NE*** *baltïrgan* ‘(bot.) djagil’ (Alt), *paltïrgan* ‘djagil’ (AltQK), *baltïrgan* ‘djagil, borščevnik (trava)’ (AltTK), *paltïṙgan* ‘djagil’ (Khak), *maltïṙgan* ‘das Bärenkraut (*Heracleum sibiricum*)’ (KhakSR), *maldïrgan* ‘djagil, borščevik’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *balčirġana*, *baldarġana* ‘*Heracleum dissectum* (plant)’ (L).

E/T These plant names probably have something to do with **bal* ‘marsh’ and not with **bal* ‘zelenyj, molodyj’, as claimed by Tenišev (2001: 123). This is borne out by *balïr* ‘nazvanie nekotoryh vodoroslej’ (Kirg), *balar* ‘tina’ (Tuv), *palar* ‘vodorosl′’ (Khak), *baldïr* ‘slime, sludge, ooze, mud, (bot.) algae’ (Kaz) and the like (more data in Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 56, and see also **balkány** above). On the T suff *+gAn*, Mo *+gAnA* used in forming plant names, see Erdal (1991: 85–89). Though all T data and Mo *balčirgana* point to an *-ï-* in the second syllable (see, however, Mo *baldargana*), Chuv *pultăran*, *pultran* does not and may go back to a **balturan* < *balturgan*. Thus we have to reconstruct secondary bases like **baltïr*, **baltar*, **baltur*. The suff *+tXr* is perhaps the same as the first constituent of the T suff *+dUrXk* (Erdal 1991: 104–105). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 349) connected Mo **baltirgana* with PT *bąlgin* ‘tamarisk’ and consider the H word to be of Mo origin. They somehow missed the fact that the word is present in Chuv and that the word is of WOT origin in H.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Munkácsi (1902: 287–288) and has been accepted by all H authorities. The Chuv, T and Mo plants pertain to the *Genus Heracleum*. On H *-rj-* in place of T *-rg-*, see **borjú**, **gyapjú**, **herjó** and § 6.2.2. On the correspondence of H *o* T *a*, see **boszorkány**, **koporsó**, **orvos** and § 6.3.4. The semantic shift among the plant names in this range is normal, e.g. *Heracleum* ⟶ *Arctium*.

◆ Munkácsi 1902: 287–288; Gombocz 1912b: 49; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 452–453; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Bárczi 1941: 23; Ligeti 1947: 12; Bárczi 1951: 51; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 326;

Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 56; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 519; Ligeti 1986: 71, 197; Erdal 1991: 85–89, 104–105; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 118; Fedotov 1996/1: 444; Tenišev 2001: 123; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 349.

BOKA [bokå] 'ankle' | 1193 ? GN *Boka* [bokå], 1211 ? PN *Boca* [bokå], c1405 *boca* [bokå], dial *bȧkȧ* [bȧkȧ] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 520) | *bokå* < **baka* ← WOT **baka* || **bakancs** [båkånč] 'ankle boot' | 1519 *bokanczot* [bokånč-ot], ? 1565 PN *Bakanch* [båkånč] | *båkånč* < **bokå*, **båkå* {with unorg *n* and suff +*č*} ← WOT **baka* | EOT *bakayak*, *bakańak* 'the "frog" in a horse's hoof' < *bakań*, *bakay* 'tibia, name of several bones above the hoof etc.' < **baka* > *bakalčak* 'anklebone'.

OT *baqāčuq* 'the muscle of the arm', *baqāyaq*, *baqānaq* 'the space between the two sides of a cloven hoof or one of the two sides of a cloven hoof', *baqāyuq*, *baqānuq* 'the frog of the horse's hoof' (AK); **MT** *baġanǰaq* 'partie inferieure de la jambe du cheval', *baqay* 'tibia de mouton' (AChag), *baqay* 'das Schienbein des Schafes' (AChagR), *baqalǰaq* 'der Fesselknochen am Hufe der Zweihufer', *baġanǰaq* 'untere Hälfte des Knies beim Pferd' (AChagŠSK), *baqanaq* 'çatal tırnaklı hayvanların tırnakları' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pakălčak* 'ščikolotka, lodyžka' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bakay* 'atnïŋ toyak öste söyäge, at ašïgï' (TatE), *bäkäl* 'ščikolotka, lodyžka, putovaja kostʹ (u lošadi)' (Tat), *bäkäy* 'putovaja kostʹ', *bäki* 'putovaja kostʹ', *bäkäl* 'častʹ nogi čeloveka, čutʹ povyše ščikolotki, ščikolotka, u dvukopytnyh, odna dolja kopyta' (TatD), *bäkäl* 'ščikolotka (u čeloveka), babka (u životnyh)', *bäkälsäy* 'putovyj sustav, babka (u životnyh)' (Bashk), *paġayaq* 'golenʹ' (SibTat), *bakay* 'babka, kozon (nadkopytnaja kostočka lošadi ili rogatogobskota)', *bagalčak* 'nadkopytnyj sustav lošadi, mesto meždu kopytom i ščikolotkoj, golenʹ', *bakpayak* 'nadkopytnaja častʹ nogi (meždu ščetkoj i kopytom)' (Kirg), *baqay* 'ankle-bone, talus of horse', *baqalšaq* '(dim.) anklebone, talus of a horse' (Kaz), *baqï* 'der Knöchel' (KazR), *baqay* 'nadkopytnyj sustav, mesto meždu stupnyj ili kopytom i ščikolotkoj, ščikolotka', *baqayšïq* 'babka' (Kklp), *bakay* 'babka, kazanok (nadkopytnaja kostočka lošadi ili rogatogo skota)' (Nog), *baġïnčaq* 'kopyto' (KarC), *baġïnčaq* 'lodyžka, ščikolotka', *baqay* 'babka, nadkopytnaja kostʹ' (Kum); ***SW*** *bakan* 'babka' (Tkm), ? *baġa* 'kopytnoe zabolevanie (opuholʹ) u lošadi', *baġanax*, *baġanǰaġ*, *baġančanaġ* 'sustavy' (Az), *bakanak* 'cloven hoof' (Tt), *bakamak* 'hayvanın mahmuz tırnağı', *bakanak*, *baxanax*, *baxanak*, *bakïnak* 'geviş getiren hayvanların körelmiş tırnakları, geviş getiren hayvanların körelmiş tırnakları arası', *bakanak* 'at bileği', *pakanak* 'tek tırnaklı hayvanlarda tırnakla ayak arasındaki bölüm' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *baqalåq* 'babka' (Uzb), *baqalčaq* 'the pastern bones of a cow or sheep' (TurkiSh), *paqalčaq* 'das Schienbein' (TurkiTR), *paqalčaq* 'častʹ nogi niže kolena, golenʹ' (MUyg); ***NE*** *paqpayaq* 'das Handgelenk' (AltLR), *päkäyäk* 'das Handgelenk' (AltTelR), *päktāk* 'ein Knöchel zum Spielen' (AltTelR), *maxayax* 'lodyžka', *paġayax* 'ščikolotka, lodyžka' (Khak), *maxpayax*, *paxpayax*, *paġayax* 'lodyžka, kožannye tapočki (odevaemye do lodyžek), noski' (KhakB),

paqpa ‘der Knöchel (zum Spielen)’ (KhakQchR), *makpalčïk* ‘babka (nadkopytnyj sustav)’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *bägälčäk*, *bägälčik*, *bägärčik*, *bägäččik* ‘zapjasťe ruki, kisť ruki, sustav ručnoj kisti’ (Y).

Mo *baġu*, *baġuy*, *buġuy* ‘forearm, wrist’, *buġulaġ*, *buġuluġ* ‘the humerus, shoulder, shoulder bone’, *baġalǰaġur* ‘throat, gullet, trachea’ (L).

E/T All T words go back to the form **baka* and are derived fr it by one, or in most cases by more than one, dim suff (*+ń* > *+n*/*+y* ~ *+ńAk* > *+nAk*/*+yAk* ~ *+ńčAk* > *+nčAk*/*+lčAk* etc.). The front vocalic forms (*bäkäl* etc.) are secondary. In spite of the semantic parallels, the connection with **bāka* ‘frog’ is unlikely, as demonstrated by Berta (2000a: 66) who remarked that it may be necessary to assume a *-kk-* cluster in this word. This can now be substantiated if we suppose that *baka* ‘ankle bone’ is a der, and goes back to *ba-* ‘to tie, join together’ > **bak* > **bakka* > **baka* ‘joint’ with the suff *-(O)k* and an old dim suff **+kA*, that is *ba-(O)k+kA*. This would be the reason for the *-k-* in place of the expected *-g-* in some NW lgs.

The background of the Mo word *bagu*(*y*), which belongs with T *ba-* ‘to tie’, *bag* ‘joint’ is similar; see **báj**. Mo *bag* ‘bunch, bundle, bale, package, group, band, team etc.’ (L) is either a T lw or a Mo der in *-(V)g* (see Poppe 1964: 45) fr the same verb *ba-*. Mo *baguy* may be derived fr *bag* as *aglag* > *aglaguy* ‘secluded’, or *arig* > *ariguy* ‘clean’ (*Erdeni-yin tobči*). The corresponding Mo basic verb cannot be found for any of these three words, but they exist in T: *agla-* ‘to be deserted, abandoned’, *arï-* ‘to be or become pure’. Man *bakalaǰi*, *bakalǰi*, *banilǰi* ‘nazvanie kosti (vyše kopita i niže ščetok), kosť i ščetki vmeste, ščetki (u kopyt lošadi)’ (Cincius 1975–1977/1: 67), ‘a bone above the hoof of a horse or a cow’ (Norman 1967: 35), occurs only in Man and is of T origin, perhaps Uyg ⟶ Ju > Man, but is not found in the known Ju lexica. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 324) reconstructed a PA **bǎkV* ‘knucklebone’; however, the word exists among the Tu lgs only in Man (see above). Nan *bagdixi* ‘myščy (bedra), muscles of the thigh’ seems to be a separate word. They reconstructed **bagul* ~ **bugul* for Mo and *bakań* for T, where Mo *-l* and T *-ń* are suffs, resp. In addition, Mo forms corresponding to LMo **bagalǰag*, **bagalčag* (Bur, Kalm, Mngr) are of T origin.

E/H The H word preserved the basic T stem **baka* rather than the form *bakay*, as was supposed hitherto by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 327; 1993–1997/1: 118). The vocalism of the first syllable in the H word is a H development. The original vocalism has been preserved in the word *bakancs* ‘ankle boot’. The *-n-* is an unetymological H sound, the *-cs* [*č*] a H den suff. The T word was originally part of the animal anatomy, but its meaning was generalised, maybe before H copied it.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Munkácsi 1902: 275; Gombocz 1912b: 210–211; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 453–455; Bárczi 1941: 23; Ligeti 1947: 12; Egorov 1964: 141; Poppe 1964: 45; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 327; Norman 1967: 35; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 43–45; Cincius 1975–1977/1:

67; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 520; Ligeti 1986: 313; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 229; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 118; Fedotov 1996/1: 380; Berta 2000a: 63–66; Tenišev 2001: 286–287; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 324.

BOKLYÓ *dial* 'tuft, crest' see **boglya**.

BOLY [boy] 'anthill' | 1213 ? GN *Bolu* [bolu/bol′u], 1221 ? GN *Bol* [bol/bol′], 1331 ? GN *Boly* [bol′], 1536 *bolyaba* [bol′-ābå] | *boy* < *bol′* < **boγol* ← WOT **boγul* | EOT **bogul* 'stack of hay' < *bog-* 'to strangle, to bind strong' {with suff -(*X*)*l*}.

Of possible T origin.

For the T data, see **boglya**.

E/T See **boglya**.

E/H In the earlier literature the H word was considered either to be of unknown origin (Bárczi 1941: 24) or connected with the stem of the H verbs *bolyong-* 'to roam, wander' and *bolygat-* 'to disturb' (see Benkő 1965: 403) under the assumption that the basic meaning could have been something like 'to swarm'. It was Pais (1944: 66; 1953: 494) who first mentioned the possibility that the word could be of the same origin as *boglya* and thus of T origin. This was repeated by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 335; with earlier literature), who mentioned that it could be a T lw, the base of which would be the same as that of **béklyó** and perhaps of **boglya**. The main problem that Benkő saw was that the semantic change 'something bound, stack of hay' > 'heap, mound' > 'anthill' cannot be substantiated by the data on the history of the H word. In fact, in the first occurrence of the word as a common noun in 1536, it clearly denotes an anthill. However, in the Chango dial of Andrásfalva, collected fr the speakers after their migration to Transdanubia (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 535), we find the expression: *egy boly szénát* 'one *boly* (of) hay'; that is the word has preserved the meaning 'stack of hay' here. That means that in the peripheral dials the old meaning of *boly* has been preserved (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 122).

◆ Bárczi 1941: 24; Pais 1944: 66; Pais 1953: 494; Gulya 1964: 379–382; Benkő 1965: 403; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 335; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 535; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 122.

BOR [bor] 'wine' | 1086 ? PN *Bor* [bor], 1127–1131 PN *Burd* [bur-d], 1378 GN *Borhordouth* [bor-hordōūt], c1395 *bor* [bor] | *bor* < **bor* ← WOT **bor* | EOT *bor* 'wine'.

OT *bor* 'wine' (UHeilkI 17, 53, 70 etc.), *borluq* 'vignoble, jardin fruitier, nom de personne' (UHamTouHou), *bōr čȭpi* 'the dregs of wine' (AK), *bōr* 'wine' (AQB), *bor* 'Wein' (BI 11); **MT** *bor* 'şerap' (UYB 409), *borluq* 'jardin' (UHy), *bor* 'Wein' (UCiv), *borlaq* 'vineyard' (ARbg), *bor* 'şerap' (AYC), *bor* 'Wein' (LCC), *borla* 'üzüm' (AAH), *bor* 'sücü, şarap' (AAHI), *bor* 'Wein' (AHou), *borla*, *bȯrla*, *borl̇a*, *bȯrl̇a* 'raisin' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *borla* 'vinogradnaja loza' (Nog), *borla* 'vinogradnik, vinogradnaja kist′, vinograd' (KarC, KarH, KarT), *yüzüm borla* 'vinogradnaja loza'

(Kum); ***SW*** *bor* ‘üzüm bağı için elverişli yer’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *por* ‘vino’ (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo MMo *bor darasun* (SH), cf. *darasun* ‘sweet wine made from fruit or grain’ (L).

E/T Gabain’s view (1954: 87) that the T word is of MPe origin (MPe *bōr*) is reinforced by Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 2) and Clauson (1972: 354). According to Bailey (1979: 340; see also Emmerick–Skjaervø 1982–1985/1: 105–106), it would be the same word as IE **medhu* ‘honey’ (→ FUgr > H *méz* ‘honey’) > Ir **madu*. In fact, in some Ir lgs the word has the meaning ‘spirituous liquor, wine, intoxicant drink’, originally ‘honey’, ‘drink made from honey’, Parthian *mad* ‘wine’, Avesta *maδu* ‘wine, honey’, Sogd *mwδy*, *mwδ* ‘wine’ (Henning 1939: 98–99; Gharib 1995: 210, 220), Sogd → Pe *mul*, and Saka *māy*, *mau*, Pahl *may* (MacKenzie 1986: 55), Pe *mai* (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 134–135). Later, in some IE lgs, the link to honey was lost (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 517–518). Os *myd*, *mud* ‘honey’ preserved the old meaning (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 134–135). Ch *pútáo* ‘grape, grape wine’ was originally written as *pú* ‘reed’ and its EMCh pronunciation was *bɔ-daw*, which is a fairly good transcription of *modu* (Pulleyblank 1991: 242 (140: 9); see Chmielewski 1958: 7–45). It looks like an early Sogd lw. The Ch word was reborrowed by YUyg as *puto* ‘vinograd’ (YUygM). In ModCh ‘wine, grape’ is *pú* (Mathews 1956: 5389) but this word had no final consonant. On the history of wine in Central Asia, and earlier literature, see also Laufer (1919/1967: 220–245).

Until now, the source of Gabain’s “Middle Persian *bōr*” could not be traced. In a paper read at the 47th meeting of the PIAC in Cambridge, 2004, Róna-Tas suggested that T *bor* is a copy of Pe *bor* ‘dark red, the colour of wine’ (< PIr **baura-* ‘gnedoj, krasnovato-koričevnoj’, Rastorgueva–Ėdel′man 2000–2003/2: 151–153; see Os *būr*/*bor* ‘želtyj, latun’). This was based on the fact that OT had two words for ‘wine’, *bor* and *čagïr*. The latter is also present in H as **csiger**. The OT word *čagïr* is a der fr the verb *ča-* ‘to be white’ and *bor* and *čagïr* would have been “red wine” and “white wine”. It is interesting that the CC uses a third word for wine, *šira*, which seems to be of Pe origin; see *šīra* ‘new wine, an intoxicating kind of drink’ (Steingass 1981: 774) but this reminds one of the Mo word for ‘yellow’.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 132); see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 125).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Gombocz 1912b: 49–50; Paasonen 1913: 43–44; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 473–475; Laufer 1919/1967: 220–245; Munkácsi 1921–1925: 233; Henning 1939: 98–99; Bárczi 1941: 24; Gabain 1954: 87; Bárczi 1956: 7; Mathews 1956: 5389; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 134–135; Chmielewski 1958: 7–45; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 2; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 341; Clauson 1972: 354; Bailey 1979: 340; Steingass 1981: 774; Emmerick–Skjaervø 1982–1985/1: 105–106; Ligeti 1986: 235; MacKenzie 1986: 55; Pulleyblank 1991: 242; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 125; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 517–518; Gharib 1995: 210, 220; Zieme 1997: 436–438; Rastorgueva–Ėdel′man 2000–2003/2: 151–153.

BORÍT [borīt] ‘to cover, to overturn’ | c1456 *burehatok* [bureǵ-ǵātok < bureǵt], 1508 *el boreita* [el-boreyt-ā], 1513 *elboritozom* [el-borīt-ozom] || **borul** [borul] ‘to overturn into, to get overturned, get overcast’ | c1512 *borula* [borul-ā], 1552/1554 *borulanac* [borul-ānåk] || **borogat** [borogåt] ‘to put on (a cold compress etc.)’ || **borong** [borong] ‘to brood, be overcast’ || **ború** [borū] ‘cloudiness, gloom’ || **burok** [burok] ‘cover’ | 1332/1332 ? GN *Borok* [borok], *Burok* [burok], c1405 *biborburuc* [bībor-buruk], c1456 *Burogban* [burog-bån], dial *bürök* || **burkol** [burkol] ‘to cover’ | *bor°*/*bur°* < **bur-* {with suffs *-īt-*, *-(V)l-*, *-(O)gAt-*, *-Ong-*, *-(V)k*, *-(V)k+Vl-*} ← WOT **bur-* | EOT *bur-* ‘to turn over’.

OT *bürünčüklüg* ‘with a veil’ (UMaitr 128r21), *burqï* ‘wrinkle’ (UHt VII 12a 20), *burqï* ‘wrinkle’, *burquġ* ‘a wrinkle in the skin’, *bür-* ‘to twist, wind round’ (AK, AQB), *burqï* ‘runzlig’ (B); **MT** *bur-* ‘to twist’ (AGul), *bürünǰük* ‘bürüncek’ (AHMA), *bur-* ‘krutiť, zakručivať’, *burul-* ‘krutiťsja’, *bürünčüklüg* ‘pokryvalo, čadra’ (AHŠF), *bürünčük* ‘kadınların baş örtüsü’ (AIMI), *bürünčük* ‘cloak, veil’ (AKD), *bürge-* ‘to wrap’, *bürünčüklüg* ‘veiled’ (ARbg), *bur-* ‘tordre, plier’ (AChag), *bur-* ‘to wind, to twist up’ (AChagSC), *burulġun* ‘gekrümmt, gedreht’ (AChagŠSK), *bur-* ‘drehen, winden’, *burul-* ‘sich winden, sich aufrollen’ (LCC), *burdï* ‘ipi ördü’, *bürček* ‘alnın üzerine enen saç’ (AAH), *bürček* ‘alnın üzerine enen saç’ (AAHI), *bur-* ‘kręcić, skręcać nić’ (ABul), *bur-* ‘drehen’, *bürček* ‘Franze’ (AHou), *bur-* ‘drehen’ (AKav), *bur-* ‘to twist’, *burïl-* ‘to turn’, *burul-* ‘to be twisted’ (AMGh), *burġï* ‘buravčik’, *bür-* ‘viť, zakručivať, krutiť, prjasť’ (ATuh), *bur-* ‘tourner’ (AmTr), *bur-* ‘bükmek, sarmak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păr-* ‘povertyvať, povoračivať’, *pĕrke-* ‘zakutyvať, pokryvať’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *bor-* ‘vertеť, povertyvať’, *bör-* ‘delať (sdelať) sborki, skladki’ (Tat), *bor-* ‘povoračivať, povertyvať, zakručivať’, *boro-* ‘povoračivať, povertyvať’, *börö-* ‘delať sborki’ (Bashk), *purau* ‘svertnutye svjazki iz talʹnika’ (SibTat), *pur-* ‘drehen, verdrehen, zusammendrehen, schrauben’ (SibTatBR), *bur-* ‘vertеť, povoračivať, svoračivať’, *bürkō-* ‘pokryvať, zakryvať’ (Kirg), *bŭr-* ‘to turn’, *bürke-* ‘to cover’ (Kaz), *bur-* ‘povertyvať, povoračivať, svoračivať’, *bür-* ‘delať skladki, sborki’ (Kklp), *bur-* ‘povoračivať, zavoračivať, svoračivať, zavodiť’, *bura-* ‘krutiť, skručivať’, *bürke-* ‘pokryvať’ (Nog), *bur-* ‘krutiť, zavinčivať, zakručivať’, *bur’-* ‘delať skladki, sobirať v skladki’ (CrTat), *bur-* ‘vertеť, vraščať, krutiť, zavernuť’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *bürel-*, *bürül-* ‘wälzen’ (KarLR, KarTR), *bur-* ‘vertеť, krutiť, zakručivať, povoračivať, povertyvať’, *büre-* ‘okrugljať (guby), zakručivať’ (Kum), *bur-* ‘krutiť, vraščať čto, vvinčivať, vkručivať, povoračivať’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bur-* ‘zakručivať, zavinčivať, zakryvať, povoračivať, ščipať, uščipnuť’, *büre-* ‘nakryvať, pokryvať’ (Tkm), *bur-* ‘krutiť, zakručivať, skručivať, zavivať, povernuť, vintiť, holostiť’, *bür-* ‘kutať, oblegať, okružať’ (Az), *bur-* ‘to twist, screw, wring, (archaic) to wind, wrap (around)’, *bürü-* ‘to cover up, to wrap, enfold’, *bürüm* ‘fold’, *bürgü* ‘kerchief, veil, woman’s cloak’ (Tt), *bur-* ‘gnuť, vertеť, morščiť, kastrirovať’, *bürünčük* ‘šelk’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *bur-*

‘mittels des »buryuč« eine Strähne herstellen’, *burġuč* ‘hölzernes Werkzeug, 200 cm lang, womit man Strähnen (Knäufel, »kalāf«) dreht, und eine Art Knoten bindet’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bur-*, *bŭr-* ‘povoračivat′, povertyvat′, zavoračivat′’ (Uzb), *bụrụ-* ‘to wrinkle’ (TurkiJ), *bura-* ‘to wring’ (TurkiSh), *pürkä-* ‘verschleiern’ (TurkiTR), *buy-* ‘vertet′, povoračivat′’ (TurkiL), *bur-* ‘povoračivat′, povertyvat′, zakručivat′, othodit′’, *bürki-* ‘nakryvat′, pokryvat′’ (MUyg), ***NE*** *buru-* ‘otvoračivat′, povoračivat′, svoračivat′, povoračivat′ nazad’ (Alt), *pur-* ‘drehen, verdrehen, zusammendrehen, schrauben’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *burul-* ‘vozvraščat′sja’, *pür-* ‘nagnut′’, *pürkö-* ‘zakryvat′, pokryvat′’ (AltQK), *bur-* ‘povoračivat′, povernut′, vernut′’, *buru-* ‘otvoračivat′, povoračivat′’, *bürke-* ‘pokryt′’ (AltTK), *pürkä-* ‘verdecken, zudecken’ (AltTelR), *pür-* ‘pokryvat′, makryvat′’, *pürge-* ‘okružat′, obstupat′, obvertyvat′’ (Khak), *pürkä-* ‘verdecken, zudecken’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *bur-* ‘vertet′, svertyvat′, vintit′’ (KhakShR), *bürge-* ‘obružat′, obstupat′, obvertyvat′’ (Tuv), *bü″rhe-* ‘zavoračivat′, obertyvat′’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bür-* ‘obkladyvat′’, *bürüy-* ‘zakryvat′’ (Y), *bürüy-* ‘zu-/bedecken, zuschichten, überziehen’ (Dlg).

Mo *burgi-* ‘to rise in clouds, to whirl (as dust, water, or smoke)’, *burǰiyi-* ‘to curl, frizzle’, *büri-* ‘to cover, envelop’, *bürküge-* ‘to cover, veil’ (L).

E/T The basic meaning of the T word *bur-* is ‘to twist, wind around, wrinkle, turn over’ and hence ‘to wrap around, to cover’. It has back and front-vocalic forms in the T lgs with semantic differentiation, which is also reflected by the Mo words. In Tt *bur-* and *bürü-* both have the meaning ‘to wrap’. In the SW T lgs we also find *büz-* ‘sokratit′, suživat′, stjagivat′’ (Tkm), ‘stjagivat′, sžimat′, morščit′’ (Az), ‘to contract, constrict, make narrow’ (Tt). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1097) connect PT **burki* ‘wrinkled’ with Mo *boruga* ‘arrowhead consisting of a perforated bone button that produces a whistling sound when in flight, bone callosity’. According to Kőhalmi (1953: 50), the Mo word *boruga* is derived fr the onomatopoeic verb *bur-* and is the word for a “whistling” arrow. This is not very likely, since the verb (see Kalm *bur-* ‘murmeln, brummen’) describes a sound with a low pitch whereas the whistling of an arrow is a high one. The meaning ‘bone excrescence’ has to be the primary meaning; see Khal *borōlo-* ‘for a bone excrescence to form or appear’. Nevertheless, bone callosity and wrinkle are not semantically comparable. Of these Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 385–386) separate T *bürü-*, *bürke-* ‘to cover up’, which they tie to Mo *bürü-* ‘to cover, dusk, darkening’.

E/H The T verb *bur-* was borrowed by H, where it took different H suffs. The change *u* > *o* is a H development. That the basic verb **bur-* was sometimes present in H can be seen not only fr the H dev verbs *borít-*, *borul-*, *borogat-*, *borong-*, but also fr the dev noun *burok* ‘cover’ and its front vocalic dial form *bürök*. The verb *burkol-* ‘to wrap, cover’ is most probably a den form fr *burok*, and not a dev verb fr **bur-*. The T origin of the word suggested by Vámbéry (1870: 133) was accepted and

analysed by Gombocz (1912b: 50–51) and has been accepted by all H authorities; see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 127).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Munkácsi 1902: 288; Gombocz 1912b: 50–51; Bárczi 1941: 24; Kőhalmi 1953: 50; Bárczi 1956: 7; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 344–345; Palló 1982: 52–53; Ligeti 1986: 213; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 127; Berta 1996: 115–122; Fedotov 1996/1: 398; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 385–386, 1097.

BORJÚ [boryū] 'calf' | 1211 GN *Bureuohul* [bureu-oɣul], 1231 ? GN *Buryasfuca* [bury-åš-fukå], c1395 *borÿw* [boryū], 1399 PN *Borgyas* [bord′-åš] | *boryū* < **buryu* < **buraɣu* ← WOT **buraɣu* | EOT *buzagu* 'calf'.

OT *buzaġu* 'calf' (RTIrk 61), *buzaġu* 'Kalb' (UM I 8:5, 18v:3), *buzaġu* 'calf' (AK), *būzāġu* (BC 6); **MT** *buzaġ* 'Kalb' (UOg), *buzaġu* 'cow' (ABF), *bïzaġu*, *buzau* 'telenok', *buzaġu* 'calf' (AKD), *buzaġu* 'calf' (AKor), *buzaġu* 'telenok' (ANehF), *buzaġu* 'telenok' (ATef), *buzaw*, *buzaq*, *buzaġu* 'veau, jeune buffle, jeune rhinocéros' (AChag), *buzawu*, *buzau* 'telenok' (AChagMA), *buzaġu*, *buzaġ* (sic!), *buzaw* 'the young of a cow, buffalo, or rhinoceros' (AChagSC), *buzav*, *buzov* 'Kalb' (LCC), *buzaġu*, *buzavu* 'buzağı' (AAH), *bïzavu* 'petit du cerf, faon', *buzaġu* 'grand veau' (ABul), *buzaġu* 'veau' (ADur), *buzaġu* 'Kalb' (AHou), *buzaġu* 'Kalb' (AKav), *buzaġu*, *buzaġï*, *bïzaġu*, *buzaqï* 'inek ve benzer hayvanların yavrusu' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păru*, *părăv* 'telenok' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bozau* 'telenok, telačij' (Tat), *bïzau* 'das Kalb' (TatKR), *bïðau* 'telenok' (Bashk), *boðåu* 'borjú [calf]' (BashkP), *posau* 'telenok' (SibTat), *puzau* 'das Kalb (im ersten Jahre)' (SibTatBR), *buzau* 'das Kalb' (SibTatTR), *muzō* 'telenok-sosunok, telenok olenja v vozraste goda' (Kirg), *buzau* 'calf' (Kaz), *buzaw* 'telenok-pervogodok' (Kklp), *buzav* 'telenok' (Nog), *buzav* 'telenok' (CrTat), *buzov* 'telenok' (KarT, KarH), *buzuv*, *bïzuv* 'telenok' (KarC), *buzav* 'telenok' (Kum), *buzav* 'telenok' (KrchBlk), *buzou* 'Kalb' (KrchP); ***SW*** *buzav* 'telenok' (Tkm), *buzov* 'telenok do šesti mesjacev' (Az), *buzağı* 'calf (not yet weaned)' (Tt), *bıza*, *bızā*, *beza*, *bısık*, *bızāb*, *bızağ*, *bızağa*, *bızağı*, *bızap*, *bızav*, *bızık*, *bızo*, *biza*, *bizav*, *bizo*, *bizof*, *bizov*, *bozağ*, *bozṻ*, *buzah*, *buzak*, *buzalax*, *buzavu*, *buzo*, *buzov*, *buzoy* 'buzağı' (TtD1), *buzā* 'telenok' (Gag), *bezo* 'Kalb' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *buzåq* 'telenok, prostak, prostofilja' (Uzb), *mozay* 'calf' (TurkiJ), *buzaġ*, *buzaq*, *buzak*, *buzao* 'a calf' (TurkiSh), *buzu* 'telenok' (TurkiL), *mozay* 'das Kalb' (TurkiTR), *buzu*, *mozau* 'telenok' (MUyg), *mozoy* 'telenok' (MUygKh), *mozo*, *mozay*, *mozoy* 'calf' (MUygTY), *puzo*, *pūzï* 'telenok' (Sal), *puzā*, *buzā* 'veau' (SalK); ***NE*** *bïza*, *bozu* 'telenok' (Alt), *pozu*, *pozū* 'telenok v pervuju vesnu po roždenii' (AltQK), *pozū* 'das Kalb im ersten Frühlinge nach der Geburt' (AltQR, AltTelR), *bōzu* 'telenok' (AltTK), *pïzo*, *pïzā* 'telenok' (KhakB), *pïzō*, *pïzā*, *puzū*, *puza* 'ein einjähriges Kalb' (KhakSR), *puzā* 'das Kalb' (KhakShR), *buza* 'bull' (FY), *bïzā* 'telenok (do goda)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *boruosku* 'telenok s potemevšej šersťju' (according to Pekarskij < *boruor* 'sumerki mrak, temnyj'), *boruor-* 'temnet′' (Y).

Mo *biraġu*(*n*) and MMo *bura'u* 'calf in its second year' (L).

E/T The T word has unusual forms in some lgs, which may be due to the influence of onomatopoeic words imitating the bleating of the calf, which may also be the origin of this word, perhaps **bu-z+AgU* (Erdal 1991: 162–165). The connection of the T word with Ir Saka *basaka-* 'calf' (Harmatta 1997: 75) is unclear. On this Ir word, see Bailey (1979: 274) < IE **u̯et-* 'year'; see Lat *vetus* 'old', *vitulus* 'calf'. The reconstruction suggested by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 353–354): PA **bi̯ŏru* 'calf, lamb' based on Tu **biaru* 'sheep' has to be excluded. It only occurs in Evnk and it is clearly a der of Evnk **be-* 'to bleat'; see *bebe-* 'blejat´', *bebevki*, *bēru*, *bēranki*, *bērutkān*, *borē*, *borēksa* 'sheep, lamb' (Cincius 1975–1977/1: 78). This is an inner Evnk development of typical onomatopoeic origin.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 132); see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 127). The H word points to a T form **buragu* > **buryu* > H *borjú*. On *-rg-* > *-rj-*, see **bojtorján**, **gyapjú**, **herjó** and § 6.2.2.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Gombocz 1912b: 51; Paasonen 1913: 43–44; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Beke 1930: 241; Bárczi 1941: 24; Bárczi 1956: 7; Ligeti 1961: 19; Egorov 1964: 149; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 345–346; Clauson 1972: 391; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 78; Bailey 1979: 274; Ligeti 1986: 68–69; Róna-Tas 1988a: 752; Erdal 1991: 162–165; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 127; Fedotov 1996/1: 402; Harmatta 1997: 75; Eren 1999: 65; Tenišev 2001: 438–439; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 353–354.

BOROGAT 'to put on (a cold compress)', **borong** 'to brood, to be overcast' see **borít**.

BORS [borš] 'pepper' | 1075/†1124/†1217 GN *Borsu* [boršu], 1215/1550 GN *Burs* [burš], c1395 *bors* [borš] | *borš* < **burč* ← WOT **burč* | EOT *murč* 'pepper', MT *burč* id.

OT *murč* 'pepper' (UHI 7 149, II 1 46), *mïrč* 'pepper' (UHI 134, II 1 114), *murč* (UTT VII 22,3), *murč* 'pepper' (AK); **MT** *murč* 'poivre noir' (UHy), *burǰ* 'poivre' (AChag), *burč* 'Pfeffer' (AChagR), *burǰ*, *burč* 'fulful' (AChagS), *burǰ* 'Pfeffer' (AChagŠSK), *burč* 'Pfeffer' (LCC), *burč* 'kara biber' (AAH), *burč* 'poivre' (ABul), *burč* 'poivre' (ADur), *burč* 'Pfeffer' (AHou); **NT *Chuv*** *părăś* 'perec' (Chuv); ***NW*** *borïč* 'perec' (Tat), *boros* 'perec' (Bashk), *buruc* 'perec' (SibTat), *murč* 'černyj perec' (Kirg), *bŭrïš* 'pepper' (Kaz), *burïš* 'perec' (Kklp), *burïš* 'perec' (Nog), *burc* 'perec' (KarH), *burč* 'perec' (KarT), *burč* 'perec' (RKum), *purč*, *burč* 'perec' (KrchBlk), *burc*, *burš* 'Pfeffer' (KrchP); ***SW*** *burč* 'perec' (Tkm), *burç* 'mistletoe, *Viscum album*' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *murč* 'černyj perec' (Uzb), *murč*, *mūč* 'pepper' (TurkiJ), *murč* 'perec' (MUyg); ***NE*** *mïrč* 'perec' (Alt), *mïrč*, *pïrč*, *purč* 'perec' (AltQK), *mïrs* 'der Pfeffer' (KhakSR, KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *burš* 'Pfeffer' (Kalm ← Kaz).

Os *byrc*, *burcæ* 'černyj perec' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 281–282, ← T).

E/T Of Ind origin (cf. Skrt *marīca* 'pepper' though this is of foreign origin; see Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 321), the word came through Ir (see below). Fr the T data

we can reconstruct the inner T history of the word. The original form was *murč*. In most T lgs an initial *m-* is possible only before the nasals *-n* or *-ŋ*. In all other cases the foreign *m-* was replaced by *b-*. Thus the second step was a change fr *murč* to *burč*. The final *-rč* is rare, but existed in OT; see, e.g. *kurč* 'tough, hard', later in *kurč temür*, and also as a free-standing word, 'steel', *yurč* 'one's wife's younger brother', *sürč-* 'to stumble' and in a few onomatopoeic stems. In some lgs an epenthetic vowel was inserted because of the bisyllabic tendency and also because of the unusual final cluster and thus *burč* changed to *buruč*. The final *-č* regularly changed in some T lgs into *-c* (some Tat and Kar dials), into *-š* (Kaz, Kklp and Nog) and into *-s* (KhakSR). In some T lgs we can observe a delabialisation *u* > *ï*. Chuv has a bisyllabic form with a regular *č* >> *ś*, change, **buruč* >> *părăś*. The earlier Chuv form is, however, a secondary one. It developed fr *burč*. This can be seen in Os *byrc*, which clearly points to a final *-rč*, and the *č* > *c* is an inner Os change. It is important to note that T *kävrič* (⟶ H **kőris**) 'ash-tree' is in Os *kærz* or *kærzæ* 'jasen''. Here Os *-z-* reflects a WOT sibillant (most probably an *ś̊*), that is a T form like **kärïś̊* and not *kävrič*, which would have become **kærc*. This means that Os *kærz* is a later copy than Os *byrc*, *burcæ*. The following steps in the change can thus be reconstructed for Chuv and H: *murč* > *burč* (⟶ Os **burč* > *byrc*, *burcæ* and ⟶ H **burč* > *burš* > *borš*) > WOT *burč* > **buruč* >> Chuv *părăś*.

Mayrhofer (1992–2001/2: 321) is surely right when he stresses that this word is not of IE origin, but there is no need to follow the further history of this word to South East Asia. It surely came into Central Asia through Ind mediation. The Tib *mar-rci* 'red pepper, guinea pepper' also cited by Ligeti (1986: 303) fr Das (1970: 1270, s.v. *su-ru phan-tsha*), is a Tibetanized and vulgar form under the influence of *mar* 'butter' and *rci* 'fruit', and goes back to the form **ma-ri-ca*. The usual Tib word for black pepper is *pho-ba-ri*, going back to the same word as Eng *pepper*. This word is known in many lgs of Central Asia, but let us put this aside.

It is more interesting to note the Ir forms: Pe lit *marič* 'pepper' (Steingass 1981: 1211), Taj lit *murč* 'black pepper' and Pe dial *murč*, Afg *murč*, *märč*, *mräč* cited by Ligeti (1986: 303); see also Pash *meğ́āna, meğýāna* 'cayenne pepper', Wanetsi *merǰ́āne* 'pepper' (Morgenstierne 2003: 48; Pash *mrəč* 'pepper' is a more recent lw), Khot *mirêjsya*, Sogd *marēnčka* (Gharib 1995: 216), the data fr the Ir dials of the South East: Ishkashim *mərč* (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 282), Sarikol *mïrč*, *murč* (Pahalina 1971: 105), Wahan *mïrč* (Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 394) and the data on several Cauc lgs: Avar *purč*, Chechen *burč*, Ingush *burč*, Kabard *burč* all cited in Abaev (1958–1989/1: 282) and coming through T ⟶ Al mediation into the lgs of the Caucasus. TochB *mranco* 'Piper nigrum' (Adams 1999: 477) belongs with the Saka and Sogd forms, which seem to go back to a form like **marinča*. Without going into the details of the inner Ir relations, it is clear that there are two traditions, the older one

with a nasal (Saka, Sogd, Pash, Wanetsi and TochB fr one of them) and the later one without the nasal. The T follows the forms without a nasal, present in the Pe and the South East Ir dials. Since the word is surely a word of trade, a migrating word, it is possible that the exact route of mediation will never be clear. See also Hindi *mirc*, Panjabi *miric*.

However, it is possible to point to the chronology of the word. Of Ind origin, it must have been borrowed before the MPe loss of the vowel of the last syllable about the 3rd c. A.D. (see Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981b: 51). Ind *marica* ⟶ Ir **mariča* > MPe *marič* > *mïrč* > *murč*. The borrowing into T (MIr *murč* ⟶ T *murč*) had to occur before the 5th c. because it is present in both EOT and WOT, but only after the 3rd c. because it reflects the loss of the final vowel in the Ir word. This is the beginning of the Sassanid period, which, as we learn through archeology, is marked by a great revival of trade. The borrowing into H can be dated only after the 5th c., because of the T change *m* > *b*, which is reflected not only in H, but also in Os. The word was borrowed into H somewhat later than it was copied by Os, after the OChuv change *č* >> *ś*, but before the word became disyllabic. This points to the 6th–7th c.s. Of course, all these dates are relative, and the only certainty is their sequential order.

The Kalm word is clearly a Kaz lw; the word does not exist in other Mo lgs.

E/H According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 349; 1993–1997/1: 129), the earliest H data for *bors* 'pepper' first appeared in a GN in the form *Borsu* in a document written in 1075, but copied many times and preserved in a copy fr the year 1550. The second piece of data is fr 1215 and copied in 1550, also in a GN as *Burs*. As a common noun it appeared in 1395 as *bors* 'pepper, black pepper'. It is doubtful that the first H item, the GN *Borsu*, belongs here. Not because of the final vowel – this could be accounted for – but because of the vowel *-o-* in the first syllable. The *-u-* > *-o-* is a regular MH development: *borš* < OH **burš* < **burč* ⟵ WOT **burč* < EOT *murč*.

The H word was copied fr a T lg which had no initial *m-* and so substituted *b-*. The change *u* > *o* occurred in H. The final *-š* is of H origin; see **borsó**, **kis** (**kicsiny**), **kos**, **orsó**, and § 6.2.4. The word has been considered by all H authorities to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 133).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Munkácsi 1905: 377; Gombocz 1912b: 51–52; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Bárczi 1941: 25; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 282; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 349; Das 1970: 1270; Pahalina 1971: 105; Clauson 1972: 771; Grjunberg–Steblin-Kamenskij 1976: 394; Rastorgueva–Molčanova 1981b: 51; Steingass 1981: 1211; Ligeti 1986: 56, 302–303; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 321; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 129; Gharib 1995: 216; Fedotov 1996/1: 400; Adams 1999: 477; Morgenstierne 2003: 48; Róna-Tas 2005a: 259–263.

BORSÓ [boršō] 'pea, *Pisum sativum*; bean (1584)' | 1229/1550 ? GN *Burfors* [buršo-rš (scribal error instead of buršō-š)], 1254 ? GN *Bursoteluk* [buršō-telük], 1268 GN *Bursos* [buršō-š], c1395 *borfo* [boršō] | *boršō* < **buršaɣ* < **burčaɣ* ⟵ WOT **burčaɣ* | EOT *burčag* 'pea, bean'.

OT *qara burčaq* 'schwarze Bohne' (UTTVII 14 60), *burčaq* 'beans, beads of sweat' (AK), *purčāhk* 'Bohnen' (BI 14); **MT** *burčaq* 'pois, fève' (UHy), *burčaq* 'lentils' (AKD), *burčaq* 'vesce, *Vicia sativa*' (AChag), *burčaq* 'goroh' (AChagMA), *burčaq* 'a kind of pulse like chick-peas of a greenish colour' (AChagSC), *burčaq* 'ein der Kichererbse ähnliches Korn' (AChagŠSK), *burčak* 'Hagel' (LCC), *burčaq* 'vesce' (ABul), *burčaq* 'Erbse' (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** *părśa* 'goroh' (Chuv); ***NW*** *borčak* 'goroh' (Tat), *borsaq* 'goroh' (Bashk), *borsåk* 'borsó' (BashkP), *porcak yawïm* 'grad' (SibTat), *būrčak* 'goroh' (Kirg), *bŭršaq* 'peas, beans, kidney beans' (Kaz), *buršaq* 'rastenie, iduščee v pišču verbljuda' (Kklp), *buršak* 'goroh' (Nog), *burčax* 'goroh' (KarT), *burčaq* 'goroh' (KarC), *burcacïk* 'goroh' (KarH), *burčaq* 'fasol'' (Kum), *burcaq*, *burcax*, *burcaγ* 'Erbse' (BlkP); ***SW*** *burčak-burčak derle-* 'sil'no poteť' (Tkm), *burçak* 'common vetch, *Vicia sativa*' (Tt), *borčak* 'goroh' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bŭrčåq*, *burčåq* 'gorošina' (Uzb), *purčaq*, *pučaq* 'peas' (TurkiJ), *burčaq*, *purčaq*, *pučaq* 'goroh' (MUyg), *pičax*, *piččax*, *piččïx* 'goroh' (Sal), *pïčax* 'petits pois' (SalK), *pïrčaq* 'goroh' (YUyg), *pïčaq*, *pčaq*, *purčaq*, *porso* 'goroh' (YUygM); ***NE*** *pïrčak*, *mïrčak* 'goroh' (Alt), *pïrčïx*, *mïrčax* 'goroh, boby' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Mo *buġurčaġ*, *burčaġ* 'pea(s), bean(s)', cf. *bögere* 'kidney, testicle', *bögerele-* 'to castrate' (L).

E/T The suggestion made by Clauson (1972: 357) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 276) that the word was derived fr the verb *bur-* 'to steam, to be fragrant' is problematic because of the absence of a dev suff *-čAk* in OT, and also for semantic reasons, as neither peas nor beans are especially fragrant. The suff *+čAk* is a den dim suff (Erdal 1991: 44–47). The base **bur* is not clear. There is a word *bür*(*ü*) with the meaning 'buds and young sprouts, leaves and the like' in LCC and in most NW and Sib lgs:

MT *bür* 'Knospe' (LCCG); NT *böre* 'počka (bot)' (Tat), *börö* 'šiška nekotoryh derev'ev, serežka u berezy' (TatD1), *börö* 'počka (bot)' (Bashk), *böre* 'vetka' (SibTat), *bür* 'molodye listočki' (Kirg), *büri* 'needles of a conifer' (Kaz); also *bür* 'list, listva na derev'jah' (AltQK), *pür* 'list' (Khak), *bürü* 'list' (Tuv), *bür*(*ü*) 'list, listva' (Tof).

Fr this base with the dim suff *+čAk* in Kaz we find *büršik* 'nap (of velvet etc.), bud, cone (of a tree)' (< **bürčik*); see also *börček* 'gorošek', *börček-börček* 'v krapinku, v gorošek (o tkani)' (Tat), *bürčük* 'katyš na šerstnoj tkani nizkogo kačestva' (Krch-Blk), *pürčük* 'počka' (KhakB) etc. It is interesting that Kirg *būrčak* and Mo *bugurčag* both point to a long *ū*. In the words for 'bud' there is no long vowel or any hint of an earlier *-g-*.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the words for 'bud' and 'kidney' in Rus are both *počka*, though, according to Fasmer (1964–1973/3: 348), they are not etymologically connected. The T word for 'kidney' is *bögür* (cf. Mo *bögere* 'kidney, testicle', 'beads of a rosary'). It was later replaced by *bögräk* (*bögür* with a dim suff *+Ak*), but in some T lgs the original form was preserved; see Y *büör*. Nevertheless,

with our present knowledge, *bür* 'bud' and *bögür* 'kidney' cannot be tied, but see Mo *bögere* above. It can only be suggested that the presumed base of *burčak*, **bur*, is a hitherto unattested back vocalic form of *bür* denoting a small, green vegetable substance. That such a word existed may be seen fr Tt dials, where we find *burǰ* 'sürgün, tomurcuk', *burç* 'dallardaki taze yaprak ve filiz, kışın hayvanlara yem olarak verilen söğüt, kavak gibi ağaçların yeşil kabuğu, filizi' (TtD1; see also Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 276). The suff +(*X*)*č* usually only occurs with names of living persons (Erdal 1991: 44–45) and the exceptions are rare, e.g. *kapuč* 'Beutel' (LCCI) fr *kāp* 'sack, leather bag'. Perhaps this is also one of these exceptions.

If we depart fr a hitherto unattested **bur*, the connection with Mo *bugurčag* seems to be doubtful. The vowel is long in Khal, Bur, Kalm, but short in Ord and all archaic Mo lgs (Dagur, Dongxian, Baoan, Mngr and Shira Yögur). The lit forms do not help us here, because the writing <BWĠWRČ'Ġ> is only a learned rendering of the spoken form *būrčag*. The fact that the word has a short vowel in both the *Hua yi yi yü* of 1389 (*burčax*) and the arch dials point to the fact that the first vowel was originally short.

The LCC meaning 'hail' describes hail big as peas; cf. H *borsónyi jég* 'ice big as peas, hail'.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 379–380) depart from a PA **bŭkrV* with the remark that it is "[p]honetically a rather complicated case because of the rare medial cluster **-kr-* with non-standard reflexes. (…) Another derivative from the same root may be the Turk.–Mong. name of various kinds of berries: PT **bögürtlen* 'blackberry' etc., Mong. **böγerel*(*ǯi*)*gene* 'raspberry etc.'" According to them, Mo "[v]ariants without *-γ-* (WMo *burčaγ* etc.) should be regarded as Turkisms, but those with *-γ-* can hardly be explained in this way, despite Clark 1980, 43…" (379). It must be stressed that there are no spoken Mo forms with *-g-*, only with a long vowel. Medial *-g-* in LMo only has a graphemic function. We either have to suppose a secondary lengthening in some Mo lgs, which is rather unusual, or we may depart fr an originally long *ū* in **būr*, which was only preserved in some Mo lgs. The reconstruction by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak is unacceptable because the T forms do not show a *-kr-* in this word. The Tu word reconstructed as **boKari* cited by them is **boko-* (in most lgs with the coll suff **+kto*) and has the basic meaning 'cone, nut, bud' but nowhere does it mean 'pea'. Sol *boxrō* 'pea', Nan and Man *boxori* 'pea' have to be separated fr the former (see Cincius 1975–1977/1: 90–91). Here *-ri* is an old Tu pl (< **ril*); see Man *mama* 'grandmother', *mamari* 'grandmothers', Evnk *hute* 'child', *huril* 'children', Neg *huyil* < **huril* 'children' etc. (Cincius 1975–1977/2: 357). We would have to reconstruct Tu **boko+ril* and this cannot be reconciled with T *burčag*.

E/H H *borsó* has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 133). The T word occurs with both meanings, 'pea' and 'bean', and the two meanings in H are

both of T origin. The H meaning ‘bean’ is not of South Sl origin, as claimed by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 129).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Gombocz 1912b: 52; Bárczi 1941: 25; Bárczi 1956: 7; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 281; Egorov 1964: 149; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 348; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 349–350; Clauson 1972: 357; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 276; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 90–91; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 357; Ligeti 1986: 56; Erdal 1991: 44–47; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 129; Fedotov 1996/1: 401; Tenišev 2001: 32; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 379–380.

BORÚ ‘cloudiness, gloom’, **borul** ‘to overturn into, to get overturned’ see **borít**.

BORZ [borz] ‘badger, *Meles meles*’ | 1131–1141 GN *Borz* [borz], 1219 PN *Burz* [burz], c1395 *barʒ* [barz] | *borz* < **borsi* ← WOT **borsï* | EOT *borsuk* ‘badger’.

OT *borsmuq* ‘a small animal resembling the monitor lizard, it is proverbial for fatness, the Oghuz drop the mīm and say »borsuq«’ (AK); **MT** *borsuq* ‘espèce de fouine à fourrure rayèe de blanc et de noir, dont la peau sert à faire des pelisses très solides’ (AChag), *porsuq* ‘badger’ (AChagSC), *bursuq* ‘ein dem Hunde ähnliches Thier, mit schwarzweissem Fell, aus welchem Pelz verfertigt wird’ (AChagŠSK), *borsuq* ‘porsuk’ (AAH), *borsuq* ‘blaireau’ (ABul); **NT** ***Chuv*** *purăš* ‘barsuk’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *bursïk* ‘barsuk’ (Tat), *burhïq* ‘barsuk’ (Bashk), *borsïq* ‘badger’ (Kaz), *porsïq* ‘barsuk, malenkij tolstyj rebenok, karapuz, butuz’ (Kklp), *borsïk* ‘barsuk, polnyj, tučnyj, ožirevšij’ (Nog), *porsuq* ‘barsuk’ (RKum), *borsuq* ‘barsuk’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *torsuk* (sic!) ‘barsuk’ (Tkm), *porsuġ* ‘barsuk’ (Az), *porsuk* ‘badger’ (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bŭrsiq* ‘barsuk’ (Uzb), *borsuq* ‘barsuk’ (MUyg), *porsux* ‘blaireau’ (SalK); ***NE*** *borsuk*, *porsuk*, *porsok*, *morsuk*, *morsok* ‘barsuk’ (AltQK), *borsuk* ‘barsuk’ (AltTK), *moršïx*, *porsïx*, *morsïx* ‘barsuk’ (KhakB), *morzuk* ‘barsuk’ (Tuv), *borsuq* ‘barsuk’ (Tof); ***Y*** *barsuk* ‘barsuk’ (RY ← Rus).

Mo *borki* ‘old badger’, Kalm *bork^{o}* ‘Dachs, alter grosser Dachs, syn.: »bors^{o}g«’, Bur *burxi tarbagan* ‘tarbagan samec’.

Sl *barsuk*, *borsuk* ‘badger’ (Rus ← T).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 369), this is a foreign word in T because of the frequent *p-*. But the *m-* of the South Sib data, the Chuv *purăš* and the Mo short form *borki* suggest that the word is not foreign. Clauson may be right, however, that the verb *borsi-* ‘to smell foul’, present in a few NT lgs (see Kirg *borsu-* ‘vonjať stať zathlym, izdavať neprijatnym zapah’), may be a back formation fr the word for the animal, though in Kirg the word is in fact absent and *kaškulak* is the word for badger. See also Kaz *borsu-* ‘to become stale, to deteriorate, rot, to start to rot, to soften’.

Räsänen (1969: 81) claimed that this animal term goes back to **bor* > *boz* ‘grey’ (see also Bang 1916–1917: 136–137; Tekin 1986: 157–158). In this case we have to depart fr *bors+mUk* (Erdal 1991: 100–101), where *boz* became **bors* before suffs like *+mUk* and *+ki*. Ramstedt (1935: 52) suggested a basic word **bor* ‘gefrässig, fett’, which would exist in Mo *bordo-* ‘to fatten animals, to fertilise the soil’ (see *bordag*

'gras, bien nourri', *borda-* 'être gras et bien nourri' (AChag), *bordakï* 'fattened for slaughter (of cattle)' (Kaz) etc.). Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 284) suggested that the basic form was **bors* and hence the Chuv and the H forms. He also suggested that H *borz* is a secondary form fr **borzok*, which was reinterpreted as a pl. Though this second suggestion is not impossible (see **bilincs**, **bögöly** and OtT *čardak* → H *csárdák* > *csárda* 'village, wayside inn, country tavern'), the early H data do not support it – as was pointed out by Ligeti (1986: 307). The T word entered several other lgs, for which see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 284); the Rus word is a relatively late lw fr T.

We have three ders fr a hypothetical base **bor*: T *bor-sXk* (*smXk*), *bor-si*, Mo *borki*. The Kalm *bors°g* is a late T lw. Mo *borgi* 'strong, robust' may be a part of the same word family. The Mo word *bordo-* had the original meaning 'to feed the animals well, to fatten them', while 'manuring, fertilizing the soil' is a secondary meaning. On the strength of these data and following Ramstedt (1935: 52), we have to suppose a base: **bor* 'fat' which would fit Kashgari's description and the metaphoric meanings in Kklp and Nog.

E/H The Chuv word goes back to a form **borsï* and this is the form copied by H, where the final close vowels disappeared after the T–H intensive contacts; see **bér**, **kis** (**kicsiny**), **úr**. The *-rsi* > *-rz* change occurred in H. The unclear background of the T and Mo words does not cast doubt on the T origin of the H word, which has been considered to be of T origin by all H authorities; see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 129).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Gombocz 1912b: 52; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Munkácsi 1914–1915: 347–348; Bang 1916–1917: 136–137; Ramstedt 1935: 52; Bárczi 1941: 25; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 284; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 350; Räsänen 1969: 81; Clauson 1972: 368–369; Ligeti 1986: 307–308; Tekin 1986: 157–158; Erdal 1991: 100–101; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 129; Fedotov 1996/1: 446; Tenišev 2001: 164.

BOSZORKÁNY [bosorkāń] 'witch, sorceress' | 1552 *boszorkanyok* [bosorkāń-ok], 1582 *Bozorkansagban* [bosorkān-sāgbån], dial *boszorka* [bosorkå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 567) | *bosorkāń* < **basarkan* ← WOT **basarkan* | EOT *basïrkan* 'the one who is oppressing (during sleep), nightmare, the one causing a nightmare' < *bas-* 'to press' {with suffs -(*X*)*rkA-* and *-Xn*}.

OT –; **MT** *basïrġan-* 'avoir un sommeil agité' (AChag), *basïrġan-* 'aus dem Schlafe auffahren, einen schweren Traum haben' (AChagŠSK), *basdïr-* 'pressurer, (faire) empreindre' (AmTr), *basır-* 'bastırmak, kapatmak, saklamak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pusar-* 'daviť, pridavlivať, prignetať, uplotnjať, utapivať, podavljaťʼ, *pusarkăś* 'gruz, gnet' (Chuv), *pusarlăk* 'vyvodok (napr. cyljat)', *puśar-* 'oplodotvorjaťʼ (o samcah)' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *bastïr-* 'daviť, podavljať, staviť, posaviťʼ, *bastïrgïč* 'press, gnet, slega' (Tat), *baθïr-* 'pridavlivať, pridaviť kogo/čto', *baθtïr-* 'staviť, podavljať, pomeščať pod press' (Bashk), *basïrġa-* 'daviť (o domovom)' (SibTat), *basïrïk* 'davlenie' (Kirg), *bastïr-*: *ayaqtï bastïr-* 'to thresh' (Kaz), *bastïr-* 'ponud ot »bas-«: daviť, žať, prižimaťʼ (Kklp), *bastïr-* 'ponud ot »bas-«, molotiť, tomiťʼ (Nog), *bastïr-*

‘molotiť, otpečatať, posadiť (na sedku)’ (CrTat), *bastïr-* ‘daviť, nažimať’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *basïr-* ‘horoniť, peredavať zemle, zaryvať, zakapyvať, ukryvať, pokryvať’ (Kum), *basïr-*, *basïrt-* ‘zakapyvať, zaryvať, prjatať’ (KrchBlk), *k‘öp bastirūču q‘at‘ïn* ‘eine Frau die sich den sexuellen Genüssen oft hingibt’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *basïr-* ‘kryť, prikryvať, vualirovať, sažať na jajca (napr. kuricu), zakvašivať’ (Tkm), *basïrïg* ‘tesnota, nagromoždennesť, mnogoljud′e, tesnyj, navalennyj’ (Az), *basırgan-* ‘to have a nightmare’ (Tt), *bastır-* ‘kız ya da kadınla güç kullanarak cinsel ilişkide bulunmak’, *basırgan-* ‘uykuda korkup, sıçrayarak uyanmak’ (TtD1), *bastïr-* ‘zastaviť (veleť) nadavlivať (sdavlivať, nažimať), pressovať’ (Gag), *bastï* ‘öffnen’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *basurma* ‘Dachbedeckung aus Zweigen und Gesträuch’, *bastur-* ‘pressen, unterdrücken lassen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *båsiriq* ‘košmar’ (Uzb), *basïrġan-* ‘to have bad dreams, to have a nightmare’, *basïrġan* ‘a witch’ (UzbD, Qongrat fr Afghanistan, Ligeti 1947: 12, 14), *bastur-* ‘a cause to tread’, *basuruq* ‘an instrument for using pressure’ (TurkiSh), *bastur-* ‘drücken lassen, stampfen lassen’ (TurkiTR), *bastur-* ‘staviť na nogi, traviť, gubiť, pečetať, podavljať’ (MUyg), *pasïr-*, *pāzïr-*, *pezel-* ‘nadavlivať, pridavlivať’ (Sal), *pasïr-* ‘daviť’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *bastïr-* ‘zastaviť, vstať na čto-l, zastaviť, daviť, pečatať’ (Alt), *pazïr-* ‘unterdrücken, bedrücken, zerschlagen, überwältigen’ (AltTelR), *pastïr-* ‘drücken, pressen lassen, gehen lassen, drucken lassen’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *pastïr-* ‘zastaviť, daviť, nadaviť’ (Khak), *pazïr-* ‘unterdrücken, bedrücken, zerschlagen, überwältigen’ (KhakShR), *pastïr-* ‘drücken, pressen lassen, gehen lassen, drucken lassen’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *pastïr-* ‘drücken, pressen lassen, gehen lassen, drucken lassen’ (ChulR), *bas-* ‘to press’ (FY), *bazïn-* ‘unižať, glumiťsja, oskorbljať, izdevaťsja’, *bastïr-* ‘toptať, daviť, zadavlivať’, *bastïrïk* ‘gnet’ (Tuv), *ba˝s-* ‘daviť’ (Tof); ***Y*** *batar-* ‘zastavlať hodiť, davať žiť, po čašče otricateľnoj forme’, *battïk* ‘davlenie, balans, gnet, nakladka’ (Y), *battat-* ‘niedergedrückt werden’ (Dlg).

E/T On the basic word, see **baszik**. The structure of the word is *bas-*(*X*)*rkA-Xn* (Erdal 1991: 300, 463). On the details, see below and **sárkány**.

E/H The H word belongs to the type of witch who comes in a nightmare. Her connection with sexuality (see **baszik** ‘to fuck’) is present in the earliest texts. The H word points to a der with *-k-*, (*-rg-* would produce *-rj-*; see in **bojtorján** < **baltirgan*) and therefore it is necessary to point to the rare dev suff of the *verba sentiendi* -(*X*)*rkA-* (Erdal 1991: 463). The H dial form *boszorka* may be a parallel lw or a secondary form evolved in H. Fr this stem the dev *-Xn* (Erdal 1991: 300) formed a noun. In many T lgs *-rk-* became *-rg-* in this suff, but H preserved the fortis *-k-*. As the Chuv factitive -(*A*)*r-* shows, the vowel of the second syllable was an open one, not *-ï-* as claimed hitherto, not *basïrgan* but **basarkan* < *bas-* with WOT **-(*A*)*rkA-An* ‘the one who brings the feeling of being pressed, as by a nightmare’ as opposed to EOT *basïrkan* < *bas-* and -(*X*)*rkA-Xn.* The verbs **basirka-* (Uzb), **basïrga-* (SibTat

fr Tobol, Gig), **basïrgan-* (Chag, Tkm, Tt) belong with the same suff without or with the refl -(*X*)*n-*. A similar case is *bušurkan-* in *bušan- bušurkan-* 'trevožit′sja bespokoit′sja' (USuv, Nadeljaev 1969: 128; see also Erdal 1991: 464), cf. Chag *bušurgat-* 'causer de la peine, du trouble' (AChag). Chuv *păšărxan-* 'rasstraivat′sja, byt′ podavlennom sostojanii, toskovat′' is a lw fr Tat *pošïrgan-*, cf. Tat *pošïrgalan-* = *pošïn-* 'bespokoit′sja'.

The *a* > *o* and *n* > *ń* are H changes.

The Voty words *busturgan* 'Alp (Hausgeist, der sich auf die Brust schlafenden setzt und sie drückt, dagegen dem Lieblinge die Haare oder den Bart kraust)' (Munkácsi 1896/1990: 633), *bustïrgan* 'zloj duh, domovoj, košmar, košmarnyj son' (Vahrušev 1983: 59) are not connected to Chuv *pus-*, as hitherto claimed by Munkácsi and Gombocz, because the Chuv caus suff is -(*t*)(*A*)*r*; see *pustar-* 'zakazat′ svaljat′ (valenki)' < *pus-* < *bas-*. Nor is it related to **buztïrgan* < **buzturgan* (< *buz-* 'to destroy'); see Tat *bozdïrgïč* 'sretsva dlja porči (v pover′jah)' (< **buzturguč*) and *păstar-* 'pozvoljat′ narušit′' < *păs-* 'portit′' ← *buz-*. Voty *busturgan*, *bustïrgan* goes back to a Tat **bastïrgan* and the Voty *u* is a regular development fr **a*. Because of the vocalism of the second syllable, the Voty word has to reflect a Tat original.

◆ Munkácsi 1886–1887: 467–470; Munkácsi 1896/1990: 633; Gombocz 1908: 23; Gombocz 1912b: 30, 53; Bárczi 1941: 25; Ligeti 1947: 10–17; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 351–352; Nadeljaev 1969: 128; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 567; Vahrušev 1983: 59; Ligeti 1986: 271; Erdal 1991: 300, 463–464; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 130.

BOSSZANT [bossánt] 'to annoy' | p1416/c1450 *bozzant′a* [bossánt-yå], c1456 *bozontho* [bossánt-ō] || **bosszankodik** [bossánkodik] 'to be annoyed' | 1470 *bozzonkodvan* [bossonkod-vān], c1500 *bozonkodyk* [bossonkod-ik] | *bossan°* < **busan-* {with suffs *-t-*, *-kOd-ik-*} ← WOT **busan-* | EOT *busan-* 'to grieve, to be sorrowful' < **busa-* {with suff -(*X*)*n-*} || **bosszú** [bossū] 'revenge' | p1372/c1448 *bozzoſagokual* [bossō-šāgokvål], c1456 *bozo alas* [bossō āllāš], *bozuallas* [bossū-āllāš] | *bossū* < **bossoų* < **bosuγ* ← WOT **bosuγ* | EOT **busag* < **busa-* {with suff -(*Xg*} || **bosszúság** [bossūšāg] 'annoyance' | *bossūšāg* < *bossū* {with suff +*sĀg*}.

OT *busanč* 'grief, pain', *busušluġ* 'grieved': *är busušluġ täŋri bulïtlïġ boltï, bulït ara kün tuġmïš busanč ara mäŋi kälmiš tir* 'the man became depressed, the sky [became] cloudy, (suddenly) the sun rose among the clouds and joy came in the midst of depression' (RTIrk), *busan-* 's'affliger, se faire en souci' (UHamTouHou), *busar-* 'to become covered with mist (sky)' (AK), *busan-* 'traurig sein' (BA 36); **MT** *bus-* 'hiddetlenmek' (UY), *busan-* 'se fâcher' (UHyS), *pus* 'à la mine renfrognée' (AChag), *busul-* 'se disperser, se dissiper, être poursuivi' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *busan-* 'iznemogat′, iznemoč, vybivat′sja iz sil, ne nahodit′ sebe mesta (iz-za bolezni, ot bespokojstva)', but *buïl-* 'davit′sja, dušit′sja' (Tat), *boθlan-* 'prevraščat′sja v par, isparjatsja, zapotevat′', *boθra-* 'podnimat′sja klubami (o pare)' (Bashk), *pusa-* 'bespokoit′, nadoedat′' (SibTat), *bū* 'par', *būla-* 'parit′, deržat′ v paru, pokryvat′ po-zolotoj', *būlan-*

'pariťsja' (Kirg), *busan-* 'to perspire', but *bula-* 'to steam, evaporate (trans.), to disinfect by steam', *bulan-* 'to evaporate (intrans.)' (Kaz); ***SW*** *pus-* 'to crouch down, to lie in ambush, to become downcast, grieved, or offended, to become very quiet, to become misty', *pusar-* 'to become misty' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *pusan-*: *teŋir pusan-* 'pogoda hmuritsja, mgla okutala nebo' (YUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** ? *bïhïn-*: *itīrgā̈n sïlbam bïhïnna*, *itīrgīn muŋu kördüm* 'ja iznemogaju ot žary' (Y).

E/T There are two nouns in T, *būs* and *bug*, both with the primary meaning 'fog, mist etc.' For the data, see **búsz**. Clauson (1972: 374) and Erdal (1991: 464) mention a possible connection with **busa-* 'to cause sorrow etc.' fr which further ders are the well attested *busan-* 'to be sorrowful' as well as *busuš* 'grief, sorrow' and *busanč* 'grief, sorrow'. (The word *busgak* 'Angst', cited in Benkő 1993–1997/1: 130, seems to be a misreading of *bušgak*, on which see Erdal 1991: 394). The metaphoric use of 'misty, clouded' for 'sorrowful, depressed' and 'sunny' for 'joyful' is very common in most lgs (cf. also Eng *gloomy* 'nearly dark, depressed') and is well attested in the *Irk Bitig*. The H word *ború* (see **borít**) has both the meanings 'cloudiness' and 'gloom'. It remains an open question whether the verb *bus-* 'to hide, lie in wait, set up an ambush (for someone)' can be tied to this base since fog is a natural aid to ambush in war. At least in the case of Tt *pus-* 'to crouch down, to lie in ambush, to become downcast, grieved, or offended, to become very quiet, to become misty', it is difficult to decide whether we have two homophonous verbs or the two meanings were both preserved. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 264), T *bus-* 'to hide' has no Mo parallel and has to be separated fr the noun *bus*.

E/H H *bosszankodik-* and *bosszant-* are H ders fr an early **bosan-* < **busan-* with the meaning 'to be annoyed' and 'to annoy', resp. The semantic change fr 'to be sad' > 'to be annoyed' and 'to cause sorrow' > 'to annoy' may have occurred in H. It is interesting that T has a verb *buš-* 'to be annoyed', which has been mixed up with the word in question in some OT text editions.

H *bosszú* 'revenge' (earlier *bossō*; see 1372 *bozzofag*) had the earlier meaning 'anger, irritation', which is preserved in the der *bosszúság* 'annoyance'. H *bosszú* may be a copy of a yet undocumented **busag* (< **busa-*(*X*)*g*) rather than fr **busug*, as claimed by Ligeti (1986: 228), or fr **busuk*, as claimed by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 130). On the final sound, see **dió**, **disznó** and § 6.2.2.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Gombocz 1912b: 52–53; Vámbéry 1914: 141; Bárczi 1941: 25; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 103; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 352–353; Clauson 1972: 374; Palló 1982: 54–55; Ligeti 1986: 227–228; Erdal 1991: 394, 464; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 130; Tenišev 2001: 34; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 264.

BOT [bot] 'stick, cane' | 1131 ? PN *Butca* [but-kå], 1138/1329 ? PN *Both* [bot], *Butu* [butu], p1372/c1448 *bottual* [bott-vål] | *bot*/*but* < **buti* < **butī* ~ **butu* < **butiɣ* ← WOT **butïɣ* | EOT *butïk*, *butak* 'branch of a tree, twig' < **but* 'thigh, leg' {with suff

+(*A*)*k*, +(*I*)*k*} or < *butï-*, *buta-* 'to prune (a tree), to throw out branches' {with suff -(*O*)*k*} < ? *būt* 'thigh, leg (<*twig>)'.

OT *budl(u)l(ï)ġ*: *altun budlulïġ* 'with a golden nose peg (of a camel)' (RTIrk 5 read by Tekin *budla-*, but see AK), *budïq* 'branch' (UMaitr 57v2 etc.; all data with *-d-*, see Erdal 1991: 43), *būt* 'thigh', *butan-* 'to prune (a tree)', *butïq* 'branch of anything', *butaq*, *butïq* 'branch of a tree', *butlu* 'camel's nose peg' (AK), *but* 'thigh' (AQB), *budhïhkïṃ* 'Zweig' (BK10 read *butïq-*); **MT** *butaq* 'ramo' (UM), *but* 'jambes, cuisse' (UHy), *bataq* 'branche, numérale des objets longs' (UHyS), *but* 'thigh', *butaq* 'branch of a tree' (ABF), *butaq* 'twig' (AGul), *but* 'bacak, but', *butaq*, *budaq* 'dal' (AHMA), *but* 'noga', *butaq* 'vetv′, otvetvlenie stvola' (AHŠF), *butak* 'budak' (AIMI), *but*, *bud* 'thigh, leg', *butaq* 'branch' (AKD), *buta* 'stalk', *butaq* 'bough, branch' (AKor), *budaq*, *butaq* 'vetka, vetv′' (ANehF), *but* 'thigh', *butaq* 'branch' (ARbg), [?] *budaq* 'vetka, suk' (ATef), *but* 'la partie de la jambe comprise entre la cuisse et le bout de pied, cuisse', *buta* 'pousse des arbres et des plantes, but d'une flèche', *budaġ* 'branche d'arbre' (AChag), *butaġ* 'vetv′, vetka, pobeg' (AChagLN), *but* 'bedro', *butaq* 'vetka' (AChagMA), *but* 'Schenkel' (AChagŠS), *but* 'Schenkel; cosia', *butaq* 'Zweig' (LCC), *but* 'bud', *butaq* 'budak' (AAH), *budaġ* 'ağaç dalı' (AAHI), *butaq* 'branche' (ABul), *but* 'hanche, fémur', *budaq* 'branche' (ADur), *butaq* 'Zweig' (AHou), *but* 'Schenkel' *butaq* 'Ast' (AKav), *but* 'thigh', *butaq* 'joint (of a tree)' (AMGh), *but* 'ljažka, bedro', *budaq* 'vetka, vetv′', *butaq* 'vetv′' (ATuh), *butax*, *butaġ*, *buxat* 'branche, pousse, rejeton' (AmTr), *budaq*, *butaq* 'dal, şube, teferruat' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păta* 'gvozd′, kol, kolyšek' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bot* 'ljažka, bedro', *bota-* 'rubit′ sučki, vetki', *botak* 'vetv′, vetka' (Tat), *bot* 'bedro, nožka', *bota-* 'obrubat′ suč′ja', *botaq* 'vetv′, vetka, suk, sučok' (Bashk), *botåk* 'ág, gally [branch, stick]' (BashkP), *pota-* 'obrubat′ vetki so spilennogo dereva' (SibTat), *but* 'noga (čeloveka, ljažka)', *butak* 'vetv′, vetka, otvetvlenie, sučok' (Kirg), *bŭt* 'thigh (of men), post, pillar, support', *bŭta-* 'to hew, hack, chop (tr) (of logs, firewood)', *bŭtaq* 'branch of a tree, twig, knot (in wood)' (Kaz), *put* 'noga, ljažka', *putaq* 'vetv′, vetka' (Kklp), *but* 'bedro, ljažka', *butak* 'suk, tolstaja vetv′, vetka' (Nog), *but* 'ljažka, bedro', *pïta-* 'obrezat′ vetki', *pïtaq* 'vetka, vetv′, otrasl′' (CrTat), *butaq*, *budaq* 'vetv′, vetka' (KarC), *butak* 'vetv′, vetka' (KarH), *butax* 'vetv′, vetka' (KarT), *butaq* 'vetv′, suk, pritok (reki), (anat.) pridatok, otrog' (Kum), *butaq* 'vetka, otvetvlenie' (KrchBlk), *butaq*, *butax*, *butaɣ* 'Ast, Zweig' (BlkP); ***SW*** *pūdak* 'otrostok, vetka, vetv′, (peren.) oblast′' (Tkm), *budag* 'vetka, vetv′, suk' (Az), *budak* '(arch.) branch, twig' (Tt), *butak* 'dal, budak' (TtD1), *budak* 'sut, čot, vetka' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *butåq* 'vetv′, vetka' (Uzb), *putaq*, *potaq* 'knar, knot (in wood), shoot, branch' (TurkiJ), *putaq* 'a branch, a twig' (TurkiSh), *putaq* 'der Zweig' (TurkiTR), *putaq* 'vetv′, vetka, suk' (MUyg), *pūtax* 'vetv′, vetka' (Sal), *вudax*, *putax*, *putax*, *putəx* 'branche' (SalK); ***NE*** *budak* 'suk, vetka (dereva)' (Alt), *pudak* 'der Ast, der Zweig' (AltLR, AltTR), *pudak* 'vetv′, suk, otrasl′', *puda-* 'oblamyvat′ vetvi, očiščat prut′ja' (AltQK), *pudak* 'vetv′',

putak ‘prut, vetka’ (AltTK), *put* ‘ljažka’ (Khak), *pudak* ‘der Ast, der Zweig’ (ChulR), *bu˝duk* ‘sut, vetka’ (Tuv), *bu˝tuq* ‘sut, vetka’ (Tof); ***Y*** *mutuk* ‘suk, vetv́ (dereva), sučok’, *mutā-*, *mïta-*, *bïta-* ‘obrubat́ vetvi, očiščat́ suk drevesnyj’ (Y), *mutuk* ‘Astansatz’ (Dlg).

Mo *buta*, *butu* ‘bush, brushwood, thicket, lump, clump, bunch’ (L).

Sl *batog* ‘palka, dubinka’ (Rus), *batig* id. (Ukr), *batog* ‘korotkij knut’, *batoh* ‘bič’ (Czech). According to Vasmer, not of T origin (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 134).

E/T Erdal (1991: 44) is right in claiming that the verb *buta-* ‘to prune, to chop, hack logs, firewood, cut branches of a tree etc.’ is a den verb fr the noun **but* with the suff *+A-*. Semantically, however, it is interesting that *but* has the primary meaning ‘thigh’, and that ‘prop, post, pillar etc.’ is a secondary meaning. Either we suppose that there were two words *būt*[1] and *būt*[2], the first denoting ‘thigh’ and the second meaning ‘twig’, or we opt for the solution that these are one and the same word with an early semantic differentiation. The latter looks more probable. According to Erdal (1991: 43), OT *budïk* ‘branch’ is not likely to come fr *but* ‘leg’. First, it must be stated that the *-d* and *-d-* in *bud* and *budïk*, *budak*, resp, are due to early dial weakening, and do not point to an etymological *d*, as clearly shown by the T material quoted above. On the other hand, we have to suppose that *butïk* is a den der fr *but* with the suff *+Ik* (Erdal 1991: 40–44) just as *butak* and *budak* are *+Ak* ders. The other possibility is that we have a dev noun fr the verb *butï-* with *-(O)k*, i.e. **butï+ok* > *butak*, *butuk* etc. It is irrelevant for our purposes whether *buta* ‘bush, stalk’, Mo *buta*, *butu* ‘bush, brushwood, thicket, lump, bunch’ does or does not belong with the word in question. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 380) reconstructed PT **būt* ‘thigh, leg, foot’ and connect it with PTu **begdi*, **bugdi* ‘leg, foot’. The *-u-* in the second PTu form is reconstructed on the strength of Ju *bodi-xe*, cited fr Kiyose (1977: 125, No. 505), where we in fact find *budihe*. In the Bureau of the Translators material (Kane 1989: 316) we come across *be-tie*, which rather matches Man *betxe* ‘foot’ and thus we have to reconstruct **betixe* for Ju. If we take into account all Tu data (see Cincius 1975–1977/1: 118–119), only the PTu **begdi* or **betki* seems to be acceptable. The PT and PTu forms **būt* and **begdi*, **betki*, resp, cannot be linked through a hypothetical PA **bű́ktV*.

E/H The H word is a copy of the WOT word **butïg* < *butïk*. The H word was earlier connected with Sl *batъ* (see Rus *batog* ‘stick’ and Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 167–168), but, as demonstrated by Kniezsa (1955: 801–802), the H word cannot be of Sl origin because of serious phonological problems. This was acknowledged by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 353), who cited the H verb *botoz-*, which now has the meaning ‘to beat with a stick’ but it also occurs with the meaning ‘to cut the twigs of a willow-tree’. This would favour the T origin of the word. However, he left open the question whether the word is of T or Sl origin. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word. The

doubts raised by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 353; 1993–1997/1: 131) because of the lack of the base word in T can now be removed.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 25–26; Kniezsa 1955: 801–802; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 329; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 134; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 353–354; Trubačev 1974–1995/1: 167–168; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 118–119; Kiyose 1977: 125; Kane 1989: 316; Erdal 1991: 40–44; Mándoky 1993: 135–136; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 131; Tenišev 2001: 282; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 380.

BOZA [bozå] *Cum dial*, *arch* 'a kind of beer, alcoholic beverage' | p1422 *boza* [bozå], 1519 *bozaath* [bozā-t], 1647 *bozza-sër* [bozzå-šer] | *bozå* < **boza* ⟵ Cum **boza* | MT *boza* 'a kind of beverage'.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *boza-xane* 'korcsma [pub]' (AChagBL), *buza* 'ein aus Hirse bereitetes Getränk, ein aus Gerste bereitetes Getränk' (AChagR), *boza* 'boza' (AAH), *buza* 'boisson (faite d'orge ou millet), espèce bière' (ADur), *buza* '(Mo) berauschendes Getränke der Mongolen aus Palmwein oder anderen Säften zubereitet dem Biere ähnlich' (AHou), *boza* 'aus Weizen bereitetes geistiges Getränk' (AKav); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *buza* 'buza (napitok)' (Tat), *buða* 'buza (napitok)' (Bashk), *buza* 'ein aus Gerste bereitetes Getränk' (SibTatTR), *poza* 'Getränk aus Gerste' (SibTatBR), *bozo* 'buza (rod domašnego alkogol′nogo hlebnogo napitka)' (Kirg), *boza* 'a beverage made from sour milk' (Kaz), *boza* 'buza' (KklpD), *boza* 'buza, hmel′noj (o napitke)' (Nog), *boza* 'buza (napitok iz prosa)' (CrTat), *boza*, *buza* 'buza, siker (legkij hmel′noj napitok iz prosa)' (KarC), *boza* 'buza (spritnoj napitok iz perebrodivšego jačmenja)' (Kum), *boza* 'buza' (KrchBlk), *boza* 'ein kwassartiges Getränk, hauptsächlich aus Wasser und Kleie' (KrchBalkN); ***SW*** [Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 338 cites Az, Tkm *buza*, which I do not find in my dicts. According to Doerfer, these two pieces of data are re-borrowings fr Pe, because of the *-u-*], *boza* 'beverage made of fermented millet' (Tt), *boza* 'buza (napitok)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bŭza* 'buza (alkogol′nyj napitok, izgotovljaemyj iz prosa, melkogo risa i t. p.)' (Uzb), *boza* 'a weak intoxicating liquor made from various grains' (TurkiSh), *taŋ boza* 'a dish' (TurkiJ), *boza* 'buza (p′janjaščij napitok iz risa ili prosa)' (MUyg); ***NE*** *bozo* 'buza, braga' (Alt), *pozo* 'Getränk aus Gerste' (AltQR, AltTelR), *buza* 'buza', *pozo* 'braga, pivnoj zator, braga iz jačmenja' (AltQK), *poza*, *poǰa* 'barda' (Khak), *poza* 'buza – braga iz ržanoj muki' (KhakB), *bože* 'boža (ostatki hojtpaka posle izgotovlenija araki)' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *bojo* 'dregs, sediment after distillation, whey' (L).

E/T The word is present in many Sl lgs, in Pe, Ar, ModGr etc. On the other hand, it is not hitherto attested in pre-Mongol times. The Mo word is clearly of T origin. Nevertheless, Mo may have played an important role in the spreading of the word. In some cases, the word may be a re-borrowing fr Rus or Pe.

The Chuv word cited by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 356; 1993–1997/1: 132) as *pŭrə̑* (read *pură*) does not exist. It was reconstructed by Räsänen (see 1969: 82, not in 1920, first

perhaps in 1952: 241 or 1946: 195, accepted by Benzing 1959: 716, citing Toivonen 1932: 311, and also accepted by Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 339). This reconstruction is based on Cher *pürö* 'braga', MordE *pure* 'medovyj kvas, medovka' and Chuv *păraka* 'barda'. There are, however, serious phonetic problems with this suggestion. Chuv *păraka* 'barda' is either an originally front vocalic word (**büräk/gä*) or a lw most probably fr Rus *braga*. Both the Cher and the Mord words are front vocalic, which Räsänen tried to explain by supposing a palatalized *ŕ* in Chuv, which has no foundation. The front vocalism of the Chuv word is also in the background of the idea that Grm *Bier* could (through Hunnic) belong here. Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 175) is probably right in supposing that Chuv *păraka* is a lw fr Rus, though, according to Vasmer, Sl *braga* is of Chuv origin (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 205). Whatever the origin of the Cher and Mord words may be, it does not help us to reconstruct the origin of T *boza*. According to Laufer (1919/1967: 575), Mo *boǰo* is of Pe origin. This is unlikely; the Pe word is of T origin.

According to Agyagási (2002: 1–5), Cher *pura* 'pivo, kvas' is an early (14th c.) lw fr a MBulg **bura* < **bora*, a perfect match for OT *boza*. MBulg **bura* took on a dim suff +(*A*)*k* and the final stop has been voiced and become spirant: **burak* > **buraɣ*. This form was adapted by ORus with a final *-a* (see Rus *sevrjuga* 'sturgeon' ← T **sivrig*, Rus *lačuga* 'summer kitchen' ← T **alačug*, see also **könyv**). The processes were: **buraɣ* → ORus **bъrága* > *brága*. Rus *brága* was copied by Al; see Os Iron *byræg* 'braga' and Chuv as *păraka*. Thus Chuv *păraka* is a Rus lw, but the Rus word in turn is a copy of an earlier and now disappeared VBulg word. Agyagási's argumentation is reasonable and points to an early T word which existed before the split of the *r-* and *z-* T lgs. Mo *boǰo* is a late copy of T *boza*, see § 6.2.9.

E/H The H word is clearly a Cum lw, as suggested by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 356) and Mándoky (1971: 367; 1993: 100–101) and demonstrated by Ligeti (1986: 92).

◆ Laufer 1919/1967: 575; Toivonen 1932: 311; Räsänen 1946: 195; Räsänen 1952: 241; Benzing 1959: 716; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 337–341; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 205; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 356; Räsänen 1969: 82; Mándoky 1971: 367; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 173, 175; Ligeti 1986: 92; Mándoky 1993: 100–101; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 132; Agyagási 2002: 1–5; Ö. Bartha 2002: 58–59, 130.

BŐ [bə̄] 'rich; abundant, roomy' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Beus* [beü-š] and *Behi* [beɣ-i], c1200 *Beuldu* [beül-dü], 13th c. *Vsubu* [üsü-bü], 1222/1550 GN *Beu* [beü], c1380 *bo̊w* [bə̄] | *bə̄* < *beu̯* < **beɣ* ← WOT **bäɣ* | EOT *bäg* 'head of clan or tribe, a title'.

OT *bäg* 'lord, chief, ruler' (RMTon), *bäg* 'seigneur' (UHamTouHou), *bēg* 'emir, husband' (AK), *bä:g* 'Herr' (BG 56); **MT** *bäg* 'bäg' (UOg), *bäg* 'signore' (UM), *beg* 'bey' (UYA 69), *bäg* 'fonctionnaire (»kouan«)' (UHy), *bäg*, *Bäg* '(Titel) Ehemann, PN, Herr' (UCiv), *beg* 'prince, lord, chief' (AGul), *bäg* 'bey, emir' (AHMA), *beg* 'pan' (AHŠ), *bäk*, *bek* 'bek, pravitel'' (AHŠF), *bäg* 'knjaz'' (AIM), *beg* 'commander, prince' (AKD), *bäg* 'chief, prince' (AKor), *bäk*, *bek* 'bek, pravitel'' (ANehF),

beg ‘warden’ (ARbg), *beg*, *bäg* ‘pravitelʹ goroda, oblasti’ (ATef), *beg* ‘seigneur, chef’ (AChag), *beg* ‘prince, princess’ (AChagG), *beg* ‘knjazʹ’ (AChagMA), *Biy* (AChagS), *bek* ‘Befehlshaber, Berühmt’ (AChagŠSK), *beg* ‘Fürst; princep’, *bey*, *biy* ‘Herr’ (LCC), *bäk* ‘bey’ (AAH), *beġ* ‘sultan’ (AAHI), *bäg*, *päk* ‘émir, prince, seigneur’ (ADur), *bä*, *bäg*, *bäk*, *bäy* ‘Fürst, Emir’ (AHou), *biy*, *bäy* ‘Fürst’ (AKav), *beg* ‘lord’ (AMGh), *bi* ‘bek’, *bi bi* ‘o, bek (obraščenije)’ (ATuh), *biy* ‘seigneur, prince, roi, Dieu’ (AmTr), *bey*, *bi*, *biy* ‘gospodin, sudʹja’ (AmD), *beg* ‘title in *Ferenc beg*’, *biy* ‘Prince, Lord, nobleman’ (AmCh), *beg*, *bey*, *biy* ‘seigneur, prince, roi, maître’ (AmE), *beġ*, *bek*, *biġ* ‘zevce, koca’, *beġlik* ‘küçük devlet başkanlığı’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** ***pü***: *ĕmpü* ‘knjazʹ, carʹ’, *pike* ‘barišnja, barynja, gospoža’ (Chuv), *pikeś* ‘gospoža’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *bi*, *bik* ‘(ust. knižn.) knjaz, velʹmoža, dvorjanin’, *bikä* ‘(ust.) dama, gospoža, barynja, hozjajka’, *bikäč* ‘molodaja žena’ (Tat), *bey* ‘(ist.) bej (titul melkih feodalov)’ (Bashk), *pige* ‘staršaja sestra muža’ (SibTat), *bek* ‘bek (feodalʹnyj vlastitel, niže)’ (Kirg), *bek*, *bi* ‘bej, bek’ (RKaz), *bī* ‘der Fürst, der König, der Herr’ (KazR), *bek* ‘bej, bek’, *biy* ‘sudʹja, bij’ (Kklp), *biy* ‘bej (titul feodala)’ (Nog), *bey* ‘gospodin, bej’ (CrTat), *bäg* ‘der Beg, der Beamte’ (CrTatR), *bäg* ‘gospodin’ (KarC), *bäy* ‘gospodin’ (KarC), *biy* ‘gospodin’ (KarC, KarH, KarT), *bī* ‘der Fürst, der König, der Herr’ (KarLR, KarTR), *biy* ‘(ist.) knjazʹ’ (Kum), *bek* ‘bek’, *biy* ‘(ist.) bij, bej, knjazʹ, bogač, vlastelin, pčelinaja matka’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *beg* ‘(ist.) bej, bek (starejščina u turkmen)’ (Tkm), *bäy* ‘bek, dvorjanin, novobrašnyj ženih’ (Az), *beğ*, *bey* ‘gentleman, sir, Mr.’ (Tt), *bey* ‘pomeščik’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *bäg* ‘Beg, Oberhaupt’ (Kh); ***SE*** *bek* ‘bek (titul znatnogo lico, pravitelʹ kakogo-l. rajona ili goroda v sredneaziatskih hanstvah v ėpohu feodalizma’ (Uzb), *beg* ‘a native official, appointed by Chinese local authorites in Eastern Turkestan, often used as an official interpreter’ (TurkiJ), *beg* ‘a chief, a governor’ (TurkiSh), *bäk*: *Gül Sämär bäkni* (rodit. p.) *xotun bar idi* ‘u Gjul Samar beka byla žena’ (TurkiL), *bäg* ‘der Beamte, die Beamten der Tarantschi’ (TurkiTR), *bäg* ‘bek, gospodin’ (MUyg), *pex*, *peg*, *pek* ‘knjazʹ, načalʹnik’ (Sal), *pʻeɣ*, *peɣ* ‘načalʹnik, pravitelʹ, knjazʹ’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *biy* ‘činovnik, gospodin’, *Erlik-Biy* ‘(mif.) Erlik sudʹja (ėpitet Erlika)’ (Alt), *pī* ‘der Herr, der Beamte’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *päg* ‘der Fürst’ (AltLR), *piy* ‘bij’ (AltTK), *pig* ‘(ist.) činovnik, gospodin, načalʹnik, vyššijčin’ (Khak), *päg* ‘der Fürst’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *beg* ‘(ist.) bek, svekor, deverʹ (tolʹko o staršem brate muža)’ (Tuv), *beg* ‘načalʹnik, predsedatelʹ, direktor’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T Some anomalies in the phonetic form of the word stem fr its socio-historical background. The OT word has only been preserved in Chuv in the second part of the word *ĕmpü*, originally ‘velikij knjazʹ’; see **eŋ* ‘a quasi superlative’. The other Chuv words are lws fr Tat. The original long vowel is uncertain. There are a great many etymologies, both fr Ch and Ir (see Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 97–101), which are very difficult to judge, because of the lack of sufficient data on the T word before the second Khaganate. Mo titles like *beyile*, *beyise* are of Man origin. The latter are

isolated in Man, and have no connection with T *boyla*, as claimed by Cincius (1975–1977/1: 120). They are most probably of Ch origin. There may be a contamination with the T word *bärk* 'firm' > *bäk*. (See Mo *beki* 'strong, firm (also in MMo names)', *berke* 'difficult, hard, skilful, fit', which figured in T names and were considered a title). The idea posited by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1083) that T *bäk* 'strong' is a cognate of Mo *yeke* and that both go back to a PA **pə̌kʻi* is unacceptable; the reconstruction abounds with hypothetical forms.

E/H The H word has been connected with the T title by Pais (1927) and others. The semantic change is the same as in H *dús* 'abundant' << It *doge*. The earlier form **beu̯* (> *bő*) and the later copy of the same T word realised as *beg* occur very early in the H onomasticon both as GN and PN (1156 GN *Bec*, *Beu*, 1229/1550 PN *Beg*, 1254 PN *Beu*), but they do not occur in the H sources as a title. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 356–357; 1993–1997/1: 132) reluctantly accepted Pais's etymology, but Ligeti (1986) did not cover it.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Vámbéry 1914: 142; Pais 1927: 502–508; Pais 1931: 174; Bárczi 1941: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 356–357; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 97–101; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 120; Györffy 1983: 103, 468, 521; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 132; Tenišev 2001: 320, 664; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1083.

BÖGÖLY [bögöy] 'horsefly, gadfly' | c1550 *bogol* [bögöl], 1604 *bógóly* [bögöl′], 1862 *böglyök* [bögl′-ök], dial *bögő* [bögő̄], *bögű* [bögű̄], *bögőt* [bögő̄-t], *bögők* [bögő̄-k] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 581) | *bögöy* < *bögöl′* < **bögöl′ök* {by back formation} < **bögölök* ← WOT **bögöläk* | EOT **bögöläk* 'horsefly'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *böke* 'a dragon (with seven heads)', *bō̆g*, *bō̆y*, *bī* 'a poisonous spider' (AK); **MT** *büġelek*, *büvelek* 'sïğïr sineği, eğrice' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păvan* 'slepen′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bögälčän* 'ovod' (Tat), *bögelje* 'slepen′' (TaD2), *bögäläk*, *bögälsän* 'ovod želudočnyj, ovod lošadnyj' (Bashk), *bögölsän*, *bügülsän* 'a barmokat csipkedő légy, bögöly [fly that bites livestock, horsefly]' (BashkP), *bögönök* 'muha želtovotogo cveta' (Kirg), *bügelek* 'horsefly, gadfly' (Kaz), *bügöžök* 'der Pferdebremse' (KazR), *büklesin* 'ovod (samka), glista' (Kklp); ***SW*** *bökelek* 'ovod, slepen′' (Tkm), *böyäläk* 'ovod' (Az), *böäläx*, *büäläx* 'slepen′' (AzD), *bög* 'a kind of venomous spider', *böce*, *böcek* 'little creeping beast, vermin, bug, beetle, worm, insect, louse', *büğe*, *büğelek* 'gadfly, *Tabanus bovinus*' (Tt), *böğelek*, *bigelek*, *bogerlek*, *bögelek*, *bögülek*, *böğlek*, *böğülek*, *böhenek*, *bökelek*, *bölek*, *bövelek*, *böylek*, *buğelek*, *bū̆lek*, *bunelek*, *buvelek*, *bügelek*, *bügülek*, *büğelek*, *büğlek*, *büğülek*, *büğürtlek*, *bükelek*, *bükenek*, *bükülek*, *bülek*, *bünelek*, *büvelek*, *büven*, *büvenek*, *büyek*, *büyelek*, *büylek*, *büzelek* 'sığırları rahatsız eden bir çeşit sinek, gübre sineği' (TtD1), *bű̄rek*, *bű̄lek* 'ovod' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bŭka*, *bŭkalak* 'ovod' (Uzb), *bökä* 'ovod' (MUyg); ***NE*** *bökönök* 'komar' (Alt), *pökönök* 'die Mücke' (AltTelR); ***Y*** *bügüläx*, *bügüyäx* 'osa, ovod' (Y).

Mo *bököne* 'horsefly, gadfly' (> Khal *böxnö*), *bögesün* 'louse' (L), **bökügüne* > *bökūne* 'Mücke' (Kalm).

E/T The T word family is onomatopoeic in character. The frequent suff *+lAk* seems to be the same as that which primarily forms names of birds (Erdal 1991: 89–90). As a base we can suppose an onomatopoeic verb **bö-* ~ **bü-* and fr this a noun *bög* (see AK and Tt) and also **bök* etc. It is less likely that this is also a case of a nominal base **bö*, as claimed by Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 213), based on *bö*, *böy* 'zehirli örümcek' (OttT); rather the latter data look like abbreviated written forms of *bög*. More or less all the forms can be explained in terms of nominal bases with different dim suffs, keeping in mind that the phonetic variants do not always follow the main rules due to the onomatopoeic nature of the word. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 358, 1099–1100) consider PT **bōg*, **bögän*, **bōgčäk* genetically related with Mo *bögesü* 'louse' and "partly contaminated with *»*böke-l*« <gadfly>". Here they reconstruct PT **bökäläk* 'gadfly' with *-k-* based on the Tkm data and disregarding all others. They correctly compare the latter with Mo *böküne* 'gadfly', but ignore the onomatopoeic character of the stem.

E/H The H word comes fr **bögöläk* ⟶ *bögölök* ~ *bögölyök* > *bögöly*. Through back-formation **bögölyök* was reanalysed as pl and a new sg *bögöly* was created (see **bilincs** and Ott *čardak* ⟶ H *csárdák* > *csárda* 'countryside inn'). The hitherto accepted suggestion (Ligeti 1986: 308) that H copied the form **bögel* is less probable. Here the suff *-l* would replace *-n* fr the form **bögän* as in T *kögäl* and *kögän* 'blackthorn'. The idea posited by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 133) that H may have copied a form **bögön* followed by the change *n* > *l* in H is improbable. The example *lenǰen* > *lengyel* 'Polish' is due to dissimilation: *n–n* > *n–l*. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 459; 1993–1997/1: 133) considered the H origin of the word as equally probable. In this case it would come fr the H onomatopoeic base *bőg-* 'to cry, howl' and a suff *-(V)ly* as in H *sirály* 'gull' and *fogoly* 'partridge'. The base of the second, however, is not an onomatopoeic verb, but a U noun **piŋe*, **püŋe* 'Haselhuhn' (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 383; cf. Tu **piŋki* in Cincius 1975–1977/2: 325 > Evnk *hinukī* 'rjabčik etc.').

H has a very old den suff that forms nominal stems. Its form is *+(V)l*, which also appears very early as *+(V)ly* (see e.g. *személy* 'person' fr *szem* 'eye', *fogoly* 'partridge' and see above). On the suff, see Bárczi (1951: 152–153), but the example *körtvély* cited there does not belong here (see **körte**, D. Bartha 1958: 113). A dev suff *-(Á)ly* (*aszály*, *akadály*, *veszély*) also exists, which almost disappeared but was revitalized during the H neologistic movement (as in *tartály*, *tekintély* etc.). As has been shown by D. Bartha (1958: 83–84), this suff goes back to one that forms verbal nouns, *-i̯*, and combined with the den *+(V)l*, it always has a long vowel due to the original diphthong **iV* (an exception seems to be *fogoly* 'captive'). In *bögöly* the second vowel is short. The word *sirály* 'gull' may come fr the verb *sír-* 'to weep', but in this case

we would expect **síraj* (see the onomatopoeic nouns *zsivaj*, *dörej*, *robaj*, *ricsaj* etc.). *sirály* 'gull' has also been connected with FUgr words like Vog *śirä* 'gull'. H *harkály* 'woodpecker' also has good parallels in Vog and Osty as Vog *kharkhaj* etc. (Lakó 1967–1978/2: 267), and if the H word *harkály* has a H suff, it is den. What makes the T origin of the word *bögöly* more probable than the inner H development is partly the fact that 'gadfly, horsefly' is tied to animal husbandry and partly that the H suff +(*V*)*ly* is a den suff and not a dev one.

◆ Gombocz 1907a: 105; Gombocz 1912b: 53; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 516–517; Ligeti 1933a: 277; Bárczi 1941: 26; Bárczi 1951: 152–153; D. Bartha 1958: 83–84, 113; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 459; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 267; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 212–213; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 325; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 581; Ligeti 1986: 308; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 383; Erdal 1991: 89–90; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 133; Fedotov 1996/1: 394; Tenišev 2001: 184; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 358, 1099–1100.

BÖJT [böyt] 'fast(ing)' | 1181 ? PN *Buhtudi* [büx́t-üdi], 1358–1359 PN *Behtus* [beх́t-üš], p1372/c1448 *beytfew* [beyt-fō̃], *bwytrewl* [böyt-rū̃l], 1510 *bevhtet* [beüxt-et] | *böyt* < *büχt* < **büγte* ← WOT **büγtä* | EOT (*buyan*) *bügtä* 'act of religious merit' ← Sogd *bügte*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *buyan bügtäg qïlurbïz* 'we are performing a meritorious act (Hend.)' (MHuast 141–142), *buyančï bügtäči arïg dïndarlarqa* 'to the meritorious (Hend.) pure Elect' (MHuast 66–67, Clauson 1972: 325, 326); **MT** –; **NT** –.

E/T The T word has hitherto only been recorded in the Huastuanift. The word is of Sogd origin, as pointed out by Erdal and Zieme (personal communication); see Gharib (1995: 114) *βwγ* 'salvation' > *βwgt-* 'to save, to be saved' > *βwγtk* (*βuγdē*) 'saved'. The Sogd word goes back to an earlier Ir form **bauga-*; see the Pahl *bōxtag* 'salvation' (MacKenzie 1986: 19; Cheung 2007: 18 has **bauǰ-*, Bact *βoγ-* (pret. stem) 'to save'). It would be less likely to assume a noun *büktä* fr the verb *bük-* 'to bend, to bow', with the meaning some kind of religious prostration. In this case the ending is unclear. See, however, OT **yarta* (**ǰarta* ⟶ H *gyertya*) and *yartu* 'wood chip, board (on which one writes)' (AK; s.v. **gyertya**). Historically, it would be highly unlikely for a relatively late Sogd lw in T to have come into H through WOT. Nevertheless, it is of special interest that so many H words of T origin falls within religious terminology (**búcsú** 'farewell, indulgence, annual parish-feast', **bűn** 'sin', **egyház** 'church', **erkölcs** 'moral', **gyón** 'confess', **ünnep** 'feast', etc.), see § 7.3.

E/H The OH data point to a form like *büxt*. The final *-e*, like all close vowels in the final position, would have disappeared in MH; see **ács**, **kis** (**kicsiny**), **szűcs**, and § 5.8.19.

The H word has been tied to the OHGrm form *bīht*, ModGrm *Beicht*, *Beichte* 'confession'. The idea is that fasting began with the confession of sins, and thus the

term for confession became the term for fasting. This cannot be excluded entirely, but cannot be proved either.

◆ Budenz 1873–1881: 470; Vámbéry 1882a: 641; Munkácsi 1901b: 178–179; Bárczi 1941: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 359–360; Clauson 1972: 325–326; Balázs 1982: 172–173; Mollay 1982: 206–208; Austerlitz 1984: 132–134; MacKenzie 1986: 19; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 134; Gharib 1995: 114; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99; Cheung 2007: 18.

BÖLCS [bölč] 'wise' | 1211 ? PN *Belch* [belč], 13th c. *bulch* [bülč], p1372/c1448 *bewlcze* [bölč-e], c1456 *bech* [beč] and *bwch* [bŏč] | *bölč* < *bŏ̄č* {with unorg *l*} < **büγüči* ⟵ WOT **büγüči* | EOT *bügüči* 'sorcerer, witch' < *bügü* 'sage, wizard' {with suff +*čI*} | See **bűvös**.

OT *bügü*: PN *Bügü qaġan* (RMTon 34), *bügü* 'wise, sage, wizard, one who has magic or supernatural knowledge' (UMIII 34: 24 etc. there 'gebetsmächtig', UMaitr 814 'magisch-mächtig', on these and other data see Rybatzki 1997: 62–63), *bügü*, *bügü bilgä* 'wise man' (AK); **MT** *Bügü* PN (UCivSa 18: 18), *bügi*, *bügü* 'koldovstvo, volšebstvo' (AIM), *bügü* 'büğü, sihir, arpağ' (AIMI, read as *bükü*), *bügü* 'weise', *bügüler* 'die Propheten' (LCCG), *bügi* 'volšebstvo' (ATuh), *bügi* 'magic, witchcraft' (AOt Rumi in AChagSC); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *büyü*, *büğü* 'spell, incantation, sorcery, charm', *büyücü* 'sorcerer, witch' (Tt), *büğü*, *böğü*, *buğ*, *buğu*, *büglük*, *bügü*, *büğ*, *bükü* 'büyü' (TtD1), *bŭ̄* 'koldovstvo, nagovor', *bŭ̄jü* 'znahar′, koldun, volšebnik' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *böge* 'shaman', *bögeči* 'shaman', *bögenčer kümün* 'servant or attendant of a shaman who assists him at ceremonies' (L ⟵ T **bögänč er*).

E/T The word may originally have denoted a kind of magic practice, distinct fr that done by the *kām*. But later the action was identified with the actor, hence *bügü* became the person with magic knowledge. However, the forms **bügüči* (see Tt, Gag and Mo) point to the fact that the original meaning has been preserved and the suff of the *nomen actoris* added. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 368), the T word corresponds to Mo *bogdo* 'holy, sacred', while Mo *böge* is of T origin. It is unclear how the Mo *bogda* and the T *bügü* could be derived fr a PA **bògé* 'wizard, holy'.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 133). The H word had a long vowel **bŭ̄či* < *büγüči*. The *-l-* in the H word is compensatory (*bŏ̄č* ~ *bölč*) as in many other cases; see **ács**, **bocsát**, **bölcső** and § 6.2.8.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Gombocz 1912b: 54, 168–169; Paasonen 1913: 59; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 520–521; B. Lőrinczy 1953: 165; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 234; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 360–361; Ligeti 1986: 272; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 134; Rybatzki 1997: 62–63; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 368.

BÖLCSŐ [bölčŏ̄] 'cradle' | 1262/1413 ? GN *Belchew* [belčŏ̄], c1395 *belchew* [belčŏ̄], 1517 *bevlcheben* [bölčē-ben] | *bölčŏ̄* < **belčŏ̄* < **belčeγ* ⟵ WOT **belčiγ* | EOT *bešik* 'cradle'.

OT *bešük* ‘cradle’ (RKT S 6), *taš bešik* ‘Stein-Krippe (Wiege)’ (UUI 7, 16), *bēšik* ‘cradle’ (AK); **MT** *bešik* ‘cradle’ (AGul), *bešik* ‘bešik (kolybelʹ), ljulʹka’ (AHŠF), *bäšik* ‘kolybelʹ’ (AIM), *bešik* ‘sallanır çocuk yatağı’ (AIMI), *bišik* ‘cradle’ (AKD), *bešik* ‘cradle’ (AKor), *bešik* ‘bešik (kolybelʹ), ljulʹka’ (ANehF), *bešik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (ATef), *bišik* ‘berceau d’enfant’ (AChag), *bešik* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’ (AChagB), *bešik* ‘kolybelʹ’ (AChagMA), *bešik* (AChagS), *bäšik* ‘Wiege’ (AChagR), *bišik* ‘beşik’ (AAH), *bäšik* ‘berceau’ (ADur), *bäšik* ‘Wiege’ (AHou), *bäšik* ‘Wiege’ (AKav), *bäčik* ‘kolybelʹ’ (ATuh), *bešik* ‘berceau’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *bišek* ‘ljulʹka, zybka, kolybelʹ’, *bällü* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka, zybka’, *bilä-* ‘pelenatʹ’, *bileü* ‘pelenka’ (Tat), *bišek* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’, *bäygä* ‘skački, bega’, *bäüete-* ‘kačatʹ’, *bäüelsek*, *bäüelderek* ‘kačeli, kačalka’, *bälleü* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’, *bilä-* ‘pelenatʹ’, *biläü* ‘pelenka’ (Bashk), *pēžēk*, *püžük* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (SibTat), *bešik* ‘detskaja kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’, *bölö-* ‘pelenatʹ’, *bölõč* ‘vse to vo čto pelenajut mladenca, detskoe pridanoe’ (Kirg), *besik* ‘cradle’, *böle-* ‘to swaddle, to put a child in the cradle’ (Kaz), *besik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybel’ (Kklp), *besik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (Nog), *bešik* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka, kačeli’ (CrTat), *bešik* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’ (Kar), *bešik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (Kum), *bọšọk* ‘Wiege’ (KumN), *bešik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’, *belläü* ‘kolybelʹnaja (pesnja)’ (KrchBlk), *bešik*, *bešix*, *bešiɣ* ‘Wiege’ (KrchBalkP); ***SW*** *bīšik* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’ (RTkmAB), *bešik* ‘ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (Az), *bešik* ‘cradle’ (Tt), *pešik* ‘bešik’ (TtD1), *bešik* ‘(redko) ljulʹka, kolybelʹ’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bešik* ‘bešik (derevjannaja kolybelʹ)’ (Uzb), *böšük*, *bùšùk*, ? *böl’ɛnčɛk*, *bölɛnǰɛk* ‘cradle’ (TurkiJ, cf. *bölö-* ‘to strap a child to its cradle’, *bošuk*, *bešik* ‘a cradle (either rocking or swinging from the ceiling)’ (TurkiSh), *bešik*, *bešük* ‘kolybelʹ’ (TurkiL), *böšük* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’ (MUyg), *büšük* ‘kolybelʹ’ (MUygKh), ? *pel’ek*, *pil’ik* ‘kolybelʹ’ (YUyg, cf. *pelʹe-* ‘bajukatʹ’); ***NE*** *päžik* ‘die Wiege’ (AltLR), *bežik*, *pežik* ‘zybka, kolybelʹ’ (AltQK), *mäžik* ‘der Sarg, das Grab, die Wiege’ (AltTelR), *pizïk* ‘kolybelʹ, ljulʹka’, *pöle-* ‘pelenatʹ’ (Khak), *paltïr pizïk* ‘kolybelʹ (s dugoj nad izgolovʹem)’, *pöle-*, *pile-* ‘pelenatʹ rebenka, klastʹ splenutogo v kolybelʹ’ (KhakB), *päzik* ‘die Wiege’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *päžik* ‘die Wiege’ (KhakShR), *beǰik* ‘detskaja kolybelʹ, zybka, ljulʹka’ (Tof); ***Y*** *bisik* ‘kolybelʹ, kolybelʹka, zybka, ljulʹka’ (Y), *bihik* ‘kolybelʹ, kolybelʹka, zybka, ljulʹka’ (YS), *bihiktā̄-* ‘schaukeln, wiegen’ (Dlg), *bihik* ‘Wiege’ (DlgS).

E/T The original form may have been *bešük*, but, due to early assimilation, the form *bešik* can be found in most sources. Forms like *böšük* preserved the labial with assimilation of the first vowel. Y *bičik* (Pekarskij 1958–1959/1: 477) belongs with *bisik* ‘small’ (← Mo *bičig*), however, Tof *beǰik* points to the form **bečik*. Two verbs may have influenced the history of the word: *bēlä-* ‘to swaddle, to lay in the cradle’ and *belē-* ‘to rock the cradle’; see *bēlä-* ‘to swaddle (a child), to lay in the cradle’ (Clauson, AK), *piyele-* ‘pelenatʹ’ (Chuv, ChuvA, *piye* ‘pelenka’, *piyel*, *piyev* ‘pojas dlja svivanija rebenka’, *piyevśĕ* ‘svivalʹnik (dlja rebenka)’, *piyelĕx*, *piyelśĕ*, *piyelčĕ* ‘pelenka’), *biliä-*, *bigiä-* ‘kačatʹ zybku, kačatʹ, raskačivatʹ ukačivatʹ (rebenka s. Acc)’ (Y). OT *bešük* may

be a dev noun **beš-(O)k*, where **beš-* may perhaps be connected with *beliā-* 'to rock a cradle', but the connection is both phonetically and morphologically unclear.

Sl *pelenā* is not fr T, as claimed by Menges (1954: 190–191; see Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 228–229).

E/H The H lg copied a form like **belčeγ*. The *-l-* was hitherto considered to be a H compensatory unetymological sound which appears regularly in *V̄C ~ VlC* combinations. However, if there was a cluster *-lč-* in the WOT original this would have the same history in H. See **ács**, **bocsát**, **bölcs**, and § 6.2.8. The WOT *lč* in place of T *š* is an old Chuv feature where either the *l* was preserved or the *č* changed into *ś*. The spirantisation of the final consonant occurred in H. The oldest forms reflect a bilabial spirant final (*-eγ* > *-ew* > *-ő̄*). The labialisation of the vocalism occurred in H.

The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 133), but its phonetic background was debated. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 134), the *š* > *č* change occurred in H, but see **bocsánik**, **búcsú**, etc., and § 6.2.5, 6.7.8.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 133; Gombocz 1907a: 106; Gombocz 1912b: 54–55; Gombocz 1914a: 27; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 522; Németh 1935–1939: 521, 531; Herkely 1937: 369–372; Räsänen 1937: 253; Menges 1954: 190–191; Pekarskij 1958–1959/1: 477; Ligeti 1963a: 114; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 228–229; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 361; Clauson 1972: 380; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 122–123; Halasi-Kun 1975: 162; Ligeti 1980: 243–244; Ligeti 1986: 17, 120–121; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 134; Róna-Tas 1997b: 52; Szatmári 2000: 200; Tietze 2002: 324–325.

BÖLÉNY [bölēń] 'bison' | 1211 ? GN *Belen* [belēn], 1283 PN *Belenfeu* [belēn-feü], c1395 *belÿn* [belīn] 'boſell[us]', 1488 PN *Bewlenes* [bölēn-eš] | *bölēń* < **belēń* < **belen* ← WOT **büläη* | EOT **büläη*, *bulan* 'a kind of deer'.

OT *Bulan* 'name of Khazar kagan' (HebJoseph to Hasday Ibn Shaprut, Golden 1980/1: 170), *bulān* 'Name of a large beast hunted in the land of Qifčāq. It has one horn, shaped like a jar, hollowed out and erect toward the sky, in which snow and rain accumulate. The female kneels down so that the male may drink from her horn, and the male kneels down so that the female may drink from his' (AK); **MT** *bulnaq* 'D nüshasında »bulanaq« <al-yaḥmūr>; yaban ešeği' (AAH but see ATuh), *bulan* 'deer, roe (not wild ass)' (ATuh, Fazylov 38b 'krasnyj'; see Halasi-Kun 38v, Atalay 39a 'yaḥmūr'; Clauson 1972: 342; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 260; Golden 1980/1: 170); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pălan* 'olen′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bolan* 'olen′' (Tat), *bolan* 'olen′' (Bashk), *büläη* 'los′' (Bashk, Katarinskij 1899: 37), *bulan* '(v ėpose) nazvanie dikogo životnogo v nekatoryh tjurskih jazykah: los′, olen′' (Kirg), *bŭlan* 'moose' (Kaz), *bulan* 'vid gazeli' (Nog), *bolan* 'Hirsch' (KumN); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *bulån* '*fol′k.* dikaja losaď' (Uzb); ***NE*** *bulan* 'los′' (Alt), *pulan* 'das Elenthier' (AltLR, AltTelR), *pulan* 'los′, (obl.) sohatyj' (Khak), *pïlan* 'das Elenthier (Cervus alces)' (KhakShR), *pulan* 'das Elenthier'

(KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *pulan* 'das Elenthier' (ChulR), *bulan* 'los´ (obščee nazvanie), samka losja, losiha' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The word occurs in two MT sources, AAH and ATuh; both have the Ar equivalent *yaḥmūr*, which means 'wild ass', but also 'deer, roe, roe-buck' and 'red' fr the verb stem *ḥmr* 'to redden'. No doubt Golden (1980/1: 170) is partly right when he points out that the word has the meaning 'a species of antelope' in ATuh. In fact it is the deer, or roe and not the wild ass (see also Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 356). The wild ass is *kulan*, and has nothing to do with our word.

In the Rasūlid Hexaglot we find for *al-ḥamīr al-mutawassiṭ* 'medium sized ass' which has a Mo equivalent (p. 91, 188-collC-No 7) *bwl'n* which was read by Golden (2000: 91) as *böläṅ*. However on 199-colC-No-25 we find *ḥimār al-waḥš* 'wild ass, onager' with the correct Mo equivalent *kulan*. It is clear that *bwl'n* is a misreading for *qwl'n*.

This is how *kulan* may have influenced *bulan*, but this is only valid for written forms. Misleading is therefore the claim of Bang (1916–1917: 130–131) and repeated i.a. by Räsänen (1969: 88) that the original was front vocalic (*büläṅ*) and became back vocalic under the influence of *kulan*. In the work of Kashgari (see above) the 'aurochs' and the 'unicorn' have been contaminated. It may be that Ch 麒麟 *qí-lín* has influenced this.

There is only one form with unambiguously front vocalism. The *Baškirsko–russkij slovar´* of Katarinskij (1899: 37) has the form *büläṅ* 'los´'. This was cited by Gombocz (1912b: 55). The copy used by Gombocz is now in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the front page is lost and the copy was recently rebound. This may have caused the doubts of the existing of this datum. None of the three Bashk dial dicts nor the great Bashk–Rus dict list the front variant. This makes the frontness of the Bashk variant very doubtful (according to Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 356 perhaps a "Hörfehler"). However, all the OT and MT data with exception of AAH could be read also as *büläṅ*. Chuv *pălan* also does not restrict fr reconstructing front vocalism. As in *bürčä* > Chuv *părśa* 'flea', *bögän* > *păvan* 'gadfly' *pălan* may go back to an older *büläṅ*. In this case the H has preserved the front vocalism.

It is very probable that the Cum data of Németh, with *-o-* instead of the expected *-u-* is a mistake, as was supposed by Doerfer ("Hörfehler", 1963–1975/2: 356).

According to Munkácsi (1902: 300) the T word is related to Mo *bugu* 'male deer' with the same suff as in T *arslan* 'Löwe', *kaplan* 'Tiger', *zïrtlan* 'Hyäne', and *ärlän* 'Maulwurf', see also *yïlan* 'snake'. The Mo *bugu* is related to *bugural* 'male camel' and *bugurayi-* 'to appear or turn grey', *bugural* 'gray' which shows that the Mo words for 'grey' come fr the colour of the coat of the male deer and male camel. The same is the case in Ar (see above). However it is improbable that the T word would go back to a form **bugu-lan*.

Though we have no explicit data showing that the word *bulan* would mean the colour of the coat of the deer, this was surely the case as can be seen fr the Rus *bulan* 'bay (horse)' which is a T lw and fr it *bulanyj* 'bay, colour of horses' first recorded around 1570 (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 238).

The idea that this word is of Ch origin, maintained by Joki (1952: 109) and taken over by Ščerbak (1961: 141–142) was dismissed already by Sinor (1960: 176), who first suggested this etymology (1939: 579, 586) and by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 258). Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 260) cites the Ch etymology without any remark. There does exist a Ch word 麒麟 *qí-lín* for 'fabulous animal, unicorn', EMCh *gi-lin*. There does exist another word with the same pronunciation *qí*, EMCh *gi* which has the meaning 'black gray mottled horse'. The Ch word *lin* itself had the meaning 'fabulous swift-running animal, unicorn'. The Ch character 麃 *páo* 'roe deer' has another pronunciation *biāo* 'to weed', which in *biāo-biāo* has the meaning 'bold, warlike', but it does not co-occur with *lin*. The EMCh pronunciation of *páo* was *baɨw/bɛ:w*. Thus the Ch origin of the T word is very improbable.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 951–952) reconstruct a PA **mula* 'a kind of deer' based on Tu **mul-*, Mo **maral* and T **bulan*. Mo *maral* would be a "regular" metathetic form fr an (unattested) **mala-r*. The labial vowel of T would perhaps be due to the initial *b-* which itself would go back to a PA **m-*. Neither the morphology nor the phonology of the comparison is acceptable. The supposed Mo **ma-* and the T *bu-* are unreconcilable, as is a supposed suff *-r* in Mo in place of T *-n*.

E/H The H word has today the meaning 'bison'. In the *Wordlist of Beszterce* (c1395) it is translated as 'boſell[us]' something like 'Bos primigeneus', 'Auerochs', 'aurochs'. In some parts of H it was known until the 17th c. Pieces of the thick skin of the animal were in use even later (see Szabó T. 1975–1995/1: 1061: 1735 *belén bőr*, 1739 *begyén bőr*). It does occur in the bird name *bölömbika* (< **bölön* + *bika*) in about 1396: *belem bīka*. This bird in H is also called *ökör bika* 'ox bull'. See also Eng *bull-of-the bog*, Fr *taureau des étangs*, It *tarabuso*, Spanish *avetoro*, RusD *vodjanoj byk* (Benkő 1967–1984/1: 362), all denoting the sound imitating of the bull or ox. Accordingly the original meaning of the H word *bölény* had to be 'a kind of cattle'. This was replaced by the word *marha* of early Bavarian origin and the meaning of *bölény* was narrowed to denote the old H gray cattle and the aurochs.

The earliest H data and the dials point to forms *bülēn*, *belēn*, *belū̄n* with a long vowel in the second syllable. The final palatlized *-ń-* (orth <ny>) is a H development.

H may have copied a front vocalic form with the meaning 'bay coloured, grey coloured big animal, aurochs' (see the Rus *bulan-yj*). The fact that in the 11th c. it was the "name of a large beast hunted in the land of Qifčāq" (see Kashgari above) clearly suggests that the Hungarians borrowed the word during their stay north of the Black Sea.

◆ Munkácsi 1893: 295; Katarinskij 1899: 37; Munkácsi 1902: 300–301; Gombocz 1907a: 106; Gombocz 1912b: 55; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 522–523; Bang 1916–1917: 130–131; Ligeti 1935: 199; Sinor 1939: 579, 586; Joki 1952: 109; Sinor 1960: 176; Ščerbak 1961: 141–142; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 258, 356; Egorov 1964: 146; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 238; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 361–362; Räsänen 1969: 88; Clauson 1972: 342; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 260; Szabó T. 1975–1995/1: 1061; Golden 1980/1: 170; Ligeti 1986: 194, 202, 206, 298, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 134–135; Fedotov 1996/1: 395; Golden 2000: 91; Tenišev 2001: 154; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 951–952.

BÖRTŐ *tech* 'grain or small globule of precious metall' see **bertű**.

BÖRTÖN [börtön] 'prison, jail' | 1261 *berten* [berten], c1380 *Bertyn* [bertin], 1621 *Bőrtőn* [börtön] | *börtön* < **berten* ⟵ WOT **bärtän* | EOT **bärtin* < *bärt-* 'to hurt, injure (without breaking the skin)' {with suff *-Xn*}.

OT *bert-* 'meurtrir, fouler, rendre dur en frappant' (UHamTouHou), *bärt-* 'to bruise': *ol anïg älgin bärtti* 'he bruised his hand'. The same for anything that one wounds or that one breaks without apparent injury, *älig bärtindi* 'the hand was bruised (from a blow, or the like) and became weak and limp' (AK); **MT** *bärtin-* 'verletzt werden': *kölük bärtinsär* 'wenn das Lasttier verletzt wird', *bertük* 'bere, kırık, çıkık' (AHMA), *bertük* 'injury' (ARbg), *bertindi* 'vücüdun bir âzası yerinden oynadı', *bertük* 'yerinden oynayan uzuv' (AAH), *bertin-* 'burkulup incinmek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *birtek* 'vyvih' (Tat), *birt-* 'kalečit′, uvečit′, ušibit′' (TatD1), *birtĭk* 'die Geschwulst, das Verrenktsein, die Verrenkung' (TatKR), *birt* 'zakrytij perelom, treščina', *birte-* 'ušibat′, povreždat′' (Bashk), *birtek* 'birtengän urïn' (BashkE), *bērtik*, *birtek* 'perelom, povreždennyj' (SibTat), *pärtĭn-* 'aus dem Gelenke gehen, einen Abort haben' (SibTatBR), *birtĭk* 'die Geschwulst, das Verrenktsein, die Verrenkung, verletzt, angegriffen' (SibTatTR), *mert*, *bert* 'vyvih', *bertik* 'vyvih' (Kirg), *mertĭk* 'dislocation (of a bone), to dislocate a joint in one's leg, fracture (of a bone), to break one's bones', *mert* 'accident' (Kaz), *mert-* 'vyvihnut′ čto-l., pokalečit′, iskalečit′ kogo-l.' (Kklp), *mertik* 'perelom kosti, vyvih' (Nog), *pertik* 'vyvih' (CrTat), *byört-* 'pripuhat′, nabuhat′, vzduvat′sja, vspučivat′sja' (Kum); ***SW*** *bert-* 'to sprain (a joint)' (Tt), *berti-* 'incinmek', *bertik* 'vücutta hâsıl olan bere, incinmiş mafsal' (TtD), *bertik*, *bertig*, *bertük*, *börtük* 'yara, bere, incinme, burkulma, incinmiş, burkulmuş eklem, deride mor leke, çürük, hazımsızlıktan karında meydana gelen şişkinlik', *pertik* 'el, ayak vb. incinen yerlerde olan şiş' (TtD1), *pärt* 'carapina, rana, šram, kontuzija, rubec', *pärt-* 'vyvernut′, vyvihnut′', *pärtik* 'mit Schrammen' (TtR), *bert-* 'vyvihnut′' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *mertik* 'vybitoe mesto, ščerbina' (Uzb), *bärt-* 'kerben, einkerben', *bärtik* 'der Einschnitt, der Kerb' (TurkiTR); ***NE*** *bertik* 'vyvih' (Alt), *pärtĭn-* 'aus dem Gelenke gehen, einen Abort haben' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *pirtĭk* 'vyvih, ušib' (KhakB), *bertik* 'uveč′e, kontuzija' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *berte-* 'to be injured, hurt, crippled or maimed', *bertege-* 'to injure, hurt, bruise, cripple, maim' (L).

E/T The back-vocalic forms cited by Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 70) seem to be ghost forms. The basic verb is *bärt-* and all other forms are ders fr it. T *bärt-* 'to injure, hurt' may be an early caus with the caus suff *-(X)t-* but the base verb is unclear. It may perhaps be connected with OT *bēz* 'a swelling on the surface of the body which does not break the skin, tumour, boil', fr which, with the den suff *+I-*, a verb **bezi-* was formed, hence **bezit-*, which later became *bärt-* in conjugated or suffixed forms, e.g. **bezitik* > **beztik* > *bärtik*. The supposed T noun **bärtän* would be a dev noun fr *bärt-* with the suff *-Xn* (Erdal 1991: 300–308), as in *kïyïn* 'punishment' < *kïy(ï)-* 'to beat' (Erdal 1991: 305); *kïy(ï)-* with the suff *-Xn* > *kīn* → H **kín** 'torture, pain'. The *e* in the second syllable instead of the expected *i* may be a WOT feature.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 929) consider Mo *berte-* as a T lw, but compare the T word with Mo *mere-* 'to gnaw, to chew'. The base word is absent as a noun in the present Mo lgs, and serves only as a descriptive adj, see *mer* '(adv. part.) descriptive of dull pain' (Khal, also Kalm), to which one could add Mo *mermerki-* 'to feel a slight pain in the pit of the stomach or in the chest' (L). There exists a noun in MMo: *mer* 'wound' (SH) which is a hapax. OT *bēz* 'swelling, tumor, boil' and MMo *mer* 'wound' could possibly be connected.

E/H The H word had the original meaning 'executioner, hangman', later the 'warden of the prison', and it was fr the expression *börtön háza* 'the house of the warden, the house of the hangman' that the present meaning 'the prison' developed only fr 1779 on. According to Futaky (2000: 354), who suggested an "Altaic" origin of the word, the suff (*-n*, *-ny*) is H (citing Doerfer and Adamović). The T etymology and its background were first argued by Róna-Tas (2003: 219–225).

The meaning of the T word could only be 'something which or somebody who injures, cripples'. It is rare that the dev suff *-Xn* is used to form a noun denoting a person, but there are a few cases: *kälin* 'bride, *lit* who comes (into the family of the bridegroom)' (> Chuv *kilĕn* > *kin*) < *käl-* 'to come', *irkin* 'a title among the Turks in the 8th–11th c.s, *lit* who collects the people' < *irk-* 'to collect' and Chuv *puyan* 'rich' < *puy-* 'to be, become rich' (see **bán**[1]). In this case, **bärtän* would be 'the man who maims, truncates', which is semantically a perfect match.

The idea that the H word is a lw fr the Grm *Werter* (see Hadrovics 1992: 146) is, also according to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 136), improbable.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 528; Bárczi 1941: 27; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 364; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 70; Hadrovics 1985: 142; Erdal 1991: 300–308; Hadrovics 1992: 146; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 136; Futaky 2000: 351–354; Róna-Tas 2003: 219–225; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 929.

BÖRTŰ *tech* 'grain or small globule of precious metall' see **bertű**.

BÖSZÖRMÉNY [bösörmēń] 'Ismaelite, name of an ethnic group in Medieval Hungary' | 1246/1274 GN *Bezermen* [besermēn], [1291–1294] GN *Buzurmen* [büsürmēn],

1332–1337 *Bozermen* [bösermēn], *Mezermen* [mesermēn], c1395 *bezermen* [besermēn], 1526 *bőszőrmenyeknek* [bösörmēń-eknek] | *bösörmēń* < **besermen* ← **besermen* | MT *büsürmän* 'Muslim' ← Pe *musulmān*.

OT *müsülman* 'Muslim' (AQ); **MT** *musulman* 'müslüman' (UYA), *musurman* 'mahométan' (UHy), *musulman* 'müslüman' (AHMA), *musulman*, *müsülman* 'musul′manin', *müsülman* 'non-Arabic, Persian' (AKD), *musulman* 'Muslim' (AKor), *musulman*, *müsülman* 'musul′manin' (ANehF), *musulman* 'musul′manin' (AChag-MA), *müsülman* 'mahométan' (ABul), *musurman*, *müsliman* 'musulman' (ADur), *muslïmanlïq* 'Islam' (AKav), *musulmān* 'Muslim' (AMGh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *musul′man* 'musul′manin' (Chuv); ***NW*** *möselman* 'musul′manin' (Tat), *mosolman* 'musul′manin' (Bashk), *busulman*, *busurman* 'musul′manin' (Kirg), *mŭsïlman* 'Mohammedan' (Kaz), *pusurman* 'der Muselmann' (KazR), *musurman*, *musïlman* 'musul′manin' (Kklp), *musïlman* 'musul′manin' (Nog), *busurman* 'musul′manin' (Kum), *busurman*, *busliman*, *musliman* 'musul′manin' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *musulmān* 'musul′manin' (Tkm), *müsälmān* 'Mussulman, Moslem' (Az), *müslüman* 'a Muslim' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *musulmån* 'musul′manin' (Uzb), *müselman*, *musulman*, *müsülm′an* 'believer, Moslem' (TurkiJ), *busuyman*, *busurman*, *musulman* 'musul′manin' (TurkiL), *musurman*, *musulman* 'musul′manin' (MUyg), *musulman* 'musul′manin' (MUyg-Kh); ***NE*** *musul′manin* 'musul′manin' (Khak), *musul′man* 'musul′manin' (Tuv); ***Y*** *musul′man* 'musul′manin, musul′manka' (Y).

E/T The Ar word can be found with a Pe suff *-ān* in most countries where the Muslim faith is present. The word is old in the Volga region. In Khak and Y the word is copied fr Rus. The forms with initial *b-* are peculiar to those lgs and dials in which *m-* is either impossible or unusual before a non-nasal consonant (see **bors**). There does exist an ethnic group and dial *Besermyan* < *besermān*, which is a Voty dial spoken in the northern parts of the Udmurt Republic. Their name preserves the form that was current in the Volga region in the Middle Ages. The forms with *-r-* are old; Plano Carpini (1247) has *terra biserminorum* (see also ADur above).

E/H The history of the Muslims in Medieval Hungary is more or less well investigated. Abu Hamid al-Garnati, a Muslim born in Granada in 1080/1081 and having arrived fr the Volga Bulgars, visited Hungary between 1050–1053 and described the Muslims living there (see Róna-Tas 1999: 291–293). The general name in the Lat sources written in Hungary is *Ismælitæ*, *Hysmælitæ*. One group of them was named **káliz** fr the name *Kwalis*, that is Khwarezm. The name of another group, distinct fr those who came fr Khwarezm, was *Besermen*, later *Böszörmény* and the like. Most probably, this group came fr the territory of the Volga Bulgars, the *Terra Bular*, as noted in the H chronicle by Anonymous (c1200) (Pais 1975a: 132): *Nam de terra bular venerunt quidam nobilissimi domini cum magna multitudine hismahelitæ quæ nomina fuerunt Billa et Bocsu* 'And from the Terra Bular came certain very noble gentle-

men Billa and Bocsu [read "boksu"] together with a great multitude of Ismaelites'. Both groups played an important role in the life of Hungary in the Middle Ages. On the role of the Muslims in Hungary, see Czeglédy (1970: 254–259).

Most probably, H copied a form like **besermen* and the labialisation occurred in H. Less probably, a form like *bösörmän* was copied. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 137), the borrowing took place before 895, for which there is no evidence.

◆ Melich 1909: 390–391; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 530–531; Györffy 1959: 61; Németh 1963b: 135; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 365–366; Czeglédy 1970: 254–259; Pais 1975a: 132; Sadnik–Aitzetmüller 1955: 474; Kiss 1978: 104, 259; Ligeti 1986: 269, 385–386; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 137; Golden 1998–1999: 84; Róna-Tas 1999: 291–293.

BÚ [bū] 'sorrow', **búS** [būš] 'sad, bad-tempered' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Buus* [bū-š], 13th c. *buol* [bū-ål], p1416/c1490 *buzoltatnek* [bū-šoltåtnåk] | *būš* < *bū* {with suff +(*V*)*š*} < **buɣ* ← WOT **buɣ* | EOT *buŋ* 'sorrow'.

OT *buŋ* 'sorrow, trouble, need, want' (RKT S 2), *muŋluġ* 'distressing' (RTIrk 60), *muŋ* 'gêne, peine, affliction, souci' (UHamTouHou), *muŋ* 'distress' (UHuast 200, 230), *muŋ*, *mūŋ* 'hardship, misfortune' (AK); **MT** *mung* 'dert' (UYA 30), *mung* 'stupide' (UHyS), *Muŋsuz* PN (UCiv), *muŋ* 'gore' (ABF), *buŋal-* 'to get tired' (AGul), *muŋlu* 'aciz' (AHMA), *muŋ* 'gore', *muŋlï* 'opečalennyj, nesčastnyj', *muŋluġ* 'nesčastnyj, pečal′nyj' (AHŠF), *muŋsuz* 'self-sufficient, above need of, free from care' (AKor), *muŋluġ* 'nesčastnyj, pečal′nyj', *muŋsuz* 'bespečal′nyj, ne imejuščij pečali' (ANehF), *muŋla-* 'to complain, to foster solidarity' (ARbg), *muŋal-* 'mučit′sja, stradat′', *muŋsuz* 'izbavlennyj' (ATef), *muŋ* 'douleur, chagrin, peine, difficulté' (AChag), *muŋ* 'baj, nyomor [trouble, misery]' (AChagAbV), *muŋ* 'bol′, stradanie' (AChagB), *muŋayïš-* 'együtt bánkódni, együttesen szomorkodni [to sorrow, to grieve together about sg]' (ABL), *muŋ* 'sorrow, grief' (AChagSC), *mung* 'Schmerz, Kummer' (AChagŠSK), *bun* 'ayıp', *muŋ* 'zaruret, ihtiyaç' (AAH), *muŋ* 'glupyj, nerazvityj, spokojnyj, tihij' (ATuh), *buŋ* 'zaruret, felâket, sıkıntı, gam, kasavet, šiddetli ihtiyâç' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *moŋ* 'unynie, pečal′, grust′, nuždaemost′' (Tat), *moŋ* 'pečal′, toska, kručina, melodija, napev' (Bashk), *moŋ* 'žaloba' (SibTat), *muŋ* 'pečal′, toska' (Kirg), *müŋ* 'melancholy, sadness, sorrow, ennui, request' (Kaz), *muŋ* 'pečal′, unynie, toska' (Kklp), *muŋ* 'pečal′, grust′, toska' (Nog), *moŋ* 'grust′, grustnyj' (CrTat), *muŋay-* 'pečalit′sja, stradat′, pereživat′' (KarC), *muyay-* 'pečalit′sja, ogorčat′sja' (KarT), *munay-* 'mučit′sja, pečalit′sja' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *muŋ* 'pečal′, grust′, unynie' (Kum); ***SW*** *bun* 'distress, depression, calamity' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *muŋ* '(ust. knižn.) pečal′, grust′, unynie' (Uzb), *mung* 'sorrow, care' (Turki), *muŋ* 'goreč, pečal′, bedstvie' (TurkiL), *muŋ* 'die Mühe, das Leiden, die Sorge, der Kummer, die Trauer, die Untauglichkeit, die Schlechtigkeit, die Unform, Missgestalt, Missgeburt' (TurkiTR), *muŋ* 'pečal′, grust′, unynie' (MUyg), *muŋ* 'bespokojstvo' (MUygKh); ***NE*** *muŋ* 'ogorčenie, pečal′, mučenie' (Alt), *mïŋ* 'der Mangel, die Noth' (AltQKR), *muŋ* 'die Mühe, das

Leiden, die Sorge, der Kummer, die Trauer, die Untauglichkeit, die Schlechtigkeit, die Unform, Missgestalt, Missgeburt' (AltLR, AltTelR), *muŋ* 'pečal'' (KhakB), *muŋ* 'die Mühe, das Leiden, die Sorge, der Kummer, die Trauer, die Kränklichkeit, das Siechthum' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *muŋ* 'die Mühe, das Leiden, die Sorge, der Kummer, die Trauer' (ChulR), *muŋ* 'glupyj, pridurkovatyj', *muŋgak* 'vpečatliteĺnyj, obidčivyj' (Tuv); ***Y*** *muŋ* 'muka, mučenie, stradenie', *munčārī̄* 'pečal'' (Y), *muŋ* 'Elend, Unglück, Qual' (Dlg).

Mo *muŋġani-*, *muŋqani-*, *muŋkina-* 'to dawdle, to be confused, to become troubled, to become stupid', *muŋqaġ* 'stupidity, ignorance' (L).

E/T The T word is absent fr Chuv and a few Og lgs, as well as fr Sal and YUyg. The Tuv word *muŋgak* 'vpečatliteĺnyj, obidčivyj' is a Mo lw. The meaning of the word in ATuh and Tuv, 'foolish, stupid', which corresponds to the Mo reconstructed item **muŋ*, is interesting. With a few exceptions, the word has only had an initial *m-* fr very early times. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 935) reconstructed a Mo **muŋ* 'difficulty', which they (2003: 952) separated fr Mo *muŋda-*, which they connected with T *bū̄n* (see **bűn**).

E/H The H word can only belong with the T word if we suppose a hitherto unattested denasalised form **bug* or **buɣ*. The denasalisation in this position is known in OT (see Hamilton 1977: 508–521), and also reflected in the T lws in H (see **dió**). There is another suggestion concerning the origin of the H word. According to Palló (1982: 57), H copied a pass form *bušul-* of *buš-* 'to be irritated, annoyed', then by false etymology a secondary form *bús* 'sorrow' emerged, and through a second false etymology the noun *bú*. Too many hypothetical forms are needed for the latter etymology to be plausible. Ligeti (1986: 183) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 140) accepted the first suggestion and we join them.

◆ Munkácsi 1902: 375–376; Gombocz 1912b: 214; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 542–543; Simonyi 1916: 74–75; Munkácsi 1918–1919: 1–7; Moór 1951: 268–270; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 373; Hamilton 1977: 508–521; Palló 1982: 57; Ligeti 1986: 183; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 140; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 935, 952.

BÚCSÚ [būčū] 'farewell, indulgence, dedication festival, annual parish-feast' | c950 ? PN *βουλτζού* [bulčū], 1211 ? PN *Bulchou* [bulčū], p1372/c1448 *bolczoÿaual* [bolčoyāvål], c1495 *buʟu* [būčū] | *būčū* < *bu*(*l*)*čū* < **bulčū* < **bulčuɣ* ⟵ WOT **bolčuɣ* | EOT *bošug* 'permission to go, release' < *bošu-* 'to free, liberate' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}.

OT *boš* 'free' (RTIrk), *bošuġ* 'Freiheit (in seinem Reich zurückgehen)' (UUIII 67 T.I, D.8:1), *bošuġ* 'Befreiung, Entlassung' (UTTIV B50), *bošuġ* 'permission to return (…), granted by a ruler to a messenger sent to him'; also the 'gift (...)' that he gives him. Compare the Arabic *sufra*, which originally meant the food given to a visitor, and then came to mean a piece of hide on which the food was served. A similar shift is involved in this word. Also, when a relative comes from afar, he receives permission to return after giving gifts. This is called *bošuġ ašï*, meaning 'food of permission (…)'

(AK), *bošuġ* ‘the sending off (of an envoy) [Arat: ‘ihsan, hediye’]’ (AQB); **MT** *bošaq* ‘Ablass’ (LCCI) and *bošov* ‘Befreiung’ (LCCG). For all other **MT** and for the **NT** data, see under **bocsánik** and **bocsát**.

Mo *bošuġ* ‘decree of heaven, fate, destiny, prophecy, prediction, word, sentence, command, order, instruction, decision, permission’, *bošuqu* ‘a petty officer in the banner system equivalent to a sergeant or corporal’ (L).

E/T The WOT word **bolčug* is a der with -(*X*)*g* (see Erdal 1991: 172–223) fr the WOT verb **bolču-* < *bošu-*, while the other two H words **bocsánik** and **bocsát** are copies of the WOT forms **bolčan-* and **bolčat-* corresponding to the T verbs *bošan-* and *bošat-* (< *boša-*) resp. The present Chuv data (cf. Chuv *puš*, *pušă* ‘pustoj etc.’) are lws fr Tat. Mo *bošug* is a late lw in Mo. On this see OT *bošgut* ‘instruction, teaching’. In AK *bošgut* has the meaning ‘apprentice’, perhaps ‘the one who obeys instructions’. On details, see Erdal (1991: 312, 315), where it is *bošgutlug* ‘the one who is under instruction or training’) and *bošgutčï*. The noun *bošgut* may go back to *bošug* with the syncopation of the medial *-u-* and with the suff +(*U*)*t* (Erdal 1991: 308–316). The semantic history – fr *boš* ‘free’, *bošu-* ‘to free, release’, *bošat-*, *bošut-* ‘to free, to release’, *bošan-* ‘to free oneself’ to *bošug* ‘instruction given by a person of higher social status’, hence Mo *bošug* ‘decree, instruction given by heaven’ – is similar to the history of Eng *release* or H **bocsát**. With verbal prefix *ki* ‘out’ we find *kibocsát-* ‘to release, issue, launch, decree, publish etc.’ in H, while with the verbal prefix *el* ‘away’ we have *elbocsát-* ‘to dismiss, send away, free, release (from prison) etc.’

E/H The special semantic change ‘freedom’ > ‘freedom to go’ > ‘ritual of releasing’ is present in T. Even the meaning ‘indulgence, remission’ can be found in the CC: *altmïš kün bošak* ‘sixty-day indulgence’, as Ligeti pointed out (1986: 274).

The consonant *-l-* is preserved in most of the old H documents, and in some H dials. Its earliest documented meaning is ‘indulgence, remission of the temporal punishment that is still due for sin after absolution’. Later it developed into ‘farewell’ and ‘annual parish-feast’. The latter meaning originally came fr the day when a visit to church was connected with special indulgence. Later it came to mean the church-ale, and also the wake held in connection with the feast day of the patron saint of a church. The word is part of the semantic group which is connected with religious beliefs; see **érdem**, **erkölcs**, **gyón** etc. and § 7.3.

The name of the H envoy to the Byzantine court *Bulcsu* in the first decades of the 10th c. has been connected with the H word *búcsú*. If this is correct, this would be a very early attestation of it. The name occurred in the onomasticon of the period 1000–1301 in the H documents written in Lat script in the following forms: Bolchu, (*Bolchou*, *Bolsou*), Bulchu (*Bulcho*, *Bulchou*, *Bulsou*, *Bulsu*, *Bulsuh*, *Bulsuu*, *Bulzo*, *Bulco*), perhaps also Bochu (*Bocho*, *Bochou*) (see Fehértói 2004: 161–162). The name

was common during the Árpád dynasty among all social groups. Some of the early occurrences: 1199 PN *Bolchu* (*servus*), 1211 PN *Bolsou* (*joubagio*), PN *Bolchou* (*nepos j-ii*), PN *Bolchou* (*vinitor*), 1211 *In villa Beseneu…* PN *Bolchou* (*agaso*), 1211 PN *Bolsou*, *Bocca* (*Bulsou*, *Bacca*) (all data in Fehértói 2004: 162), 1321 GN *Bolchouu* (Kiss 1988/1: 265), 1236/19th c. GN *Bulchu* (present-day *Bucsu*) (Kiss 1988/1: 259). Fr the rich material we can reconstruct the pronunciation: **bolču/bulču ~ bolšu/bulšu*. In non-H sources: 952 *βουλτζου-* (Constantine VII), before 1079 *βουλοσου-δής* (Ioannes Skylitzes > Ioannes Zonaras), *Pulszi* (rex) (*Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, in connection with the year 955), c1041–1043 rex *Bulgio* (*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*) (Pertz 1995: 428/26).

In the so-called Schechter Text (see Golb–Pritsak 1982: 116/20), בולשצי <BWLSČY> is written as the name or title of Pesah HMQR, the commander-in-chief of the Khaz army. Minorsky (1960: 130–137) and Pritsak (Golb–Pritsak 1982: 137) claimed that this title is *balïkčï*. According to Golden (1980: 167–169), the name in the Khaz letter should be read as *Boluščï*. He proposes to derive it fr the verb *boluš-* 'to help'. In OT there existed a noun *boluš* 'help' (see LCC *boluš* 'Hilfe; coadiutor'). This noun is a der fr *bol-* with the suff *-Xš* (Erdal 1991: 262–275), to which the den suff *+čI* was added.

The similarity between *Bulču* and the name of the Khaz commander was already mentioned by Gyóni (1943: 36). According to Pais (1926–1932: 365; see also 1956: 265–267), the name of the H commander has to be connected with T *bulga-* 'to mix' and not with the common noun *búcsú*. The suggestions of deriving the Khaz name fr *balïk* 'fish' or *balïg* 'town', and the etymology connected with *bulga-* 'to mix' have serious morphological and phonological problems. The proposal made by Golden deserves attention. *Boluščï*, or rather *Bolščï* 'the helper, the man who is the main helper to the king, the commander-in-chief' looks like a Khaz title. If we depart fr an earlier *Boluščï* or with syncopated-vowel *Bolščï* as the etymon of H *Bulču*, Khaz *Bolščï* → *Bulču*, *Bolču*, *Bulšu*, *Bulšu*, we are confronted with one phonological problem.

Instead of the final *-u* of *Bulču*, we would expect an *-ï* or *-i*. We may suppose a very early assimilation with the preceding vowel. The *-I* is present in some sources; see *Pulszi* (rex) in the *Annales Sangallenses Maiores* above and 1138/1329 PN *Buci*, 1219/1550 PN *Buchi* (Fehértói 2004: 153–154), 1233 PN *Bulchi* (Fehértói 2004: 161) etc., i.e. *Bulčï* > *Bulču*. However this *-u* would have disappeared in late OH; see **ács**, **bölcs**, **orvos**, **szűcs**. Bearing in mind the item fr Constantine VII, *βουλτζου*, fr c952, it is clear that the *-u* is very early, and the H data with *-i* may not belong here. Much of the data points to a long final *-ū* as in 1198 PN *Bulchov*, 1211 PN *Bulchou*, 1228/1491 PN *Bulchow*, 1208 GN *Bulsou*, 1213/1550 PN *Bulsuh*, 1216/1550 PN *Bulsuh*ut, 1211 PN *Bolchou* (Fehértói 2004: 161), and 1321 GN *Bolchouu* (Kiss 1988/1: 265). This would mean that we have to depart fr **Bolščū* and not fr *Bolščï*.

It could be argued that the great popularity of the historical name prevented the disappearance of the final *-u*, and in fact we have forms without the final vowel such as 1245/1439 PN *Bolch*, 1255 PN *Bolch*, 1255/1256 *Bolch* (Fehértói 2004: 139), 1229 PN *Bulch* (Fehértói 2004: 161) and in one case 1233 PN *Bulchi* (the same person's name written also as *Bulch* and *Bulchu*) (Fehértói 2004: 161).

All phonological problems could be solved if we depart fr a form *bošug*, which is also present in Mo as a late T lw. See *bošug* 'decree of heaven, fate, destiny, prophecy, prediction, word, sentence, command, order, instruction, decision, permission', (Ord *bošok* 'mandat, ordre', Bur *bošog* 'predopredelenie, predskazivanie, povelenie, prikaz'). The Mo word *bošuku* 'a petty officer in the banner system equivalent to a sergeant or corporal' (L) is of Man origin. See Man *bošokū* 'corporal' → Bur *bošxo*, Kalm *bošk^{o}*, Ord *bošxo*, Khal *bošgo*. The Man word is a der fr Man *bošo-* 'to urge, to press' (for the semantics, see Mo *daruga* 'superior, commander' < *daru-* 'to press' and T *baskak* 'superior, commander' < *bas-* 'to press', see **baszik**, **boszorkány**). The same word is Man *bošoku* 'a driver, a pusher'.

T *Bošug* became **Bolščug* and then **Bolčuγ* in WOT and this was the copied form which became *Bulču* and *Bulšu* in H. The PT *-š-* did not become *-l-* immediately, but changed into a consonant cluster *lš* > *lšč*. The Khaz title was PT **Bošugčï* 'the releaser, the commander', which changed to **Bolščuγčï* > **Bolščučï* > *Bolščï*. This would mean that the Khaz and the H title were of the same origin, but H preserved the shorter form without *+čI*. These types of nouns with *-či* and without *-či* are rare, but extant. Besides the T word *kam* 'sorcerer, shaman' we also have *kamčï* id.

A special problem is the name *Verbulchu* "sextus capitaneus *Werbulchu* nomen habuit" (ChronComp), "septimi … exercitus *Werbulchu* dux est dictus", (1282–1285 Simon de Kéza) (Fehértói 2004: 803). In the chronicle of Anonymous (c1200) we find, among other examples: "*Bulsuu vir sanguinis filius Bogat*". Less clear is the first part of *Verbulchu*. Anonymous, author of the H chronicle of c1200, wrote *Bulsuu vir sanguinis*. That is, he identified *Wer* with the H word *vér* [vēr] 'blood' by writing *vir sanguinis*. But the whole structure looks like the other folk-etymologies created by Anonymous. In Chuv we find *vir* 'verh, verhovyj'. This goes back to WOT *ör* 'height, high'. Though **ör bošug* 'high commander' would not be impossible, until now the metaphorical use of *ör* has not been identified. Until we can solve the riddle of H *vēr* in *Werbulču*, it is very risky to suggest an etymology for *Bulchu*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 132; Munkácsi 1902: 376–378; Gombocz 1912b: 47–48; Melich 1913: 325–327; Gombocz 1914a: 27–28; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 428–429; Pais 1926–1932: 365; Pais–Rásonyi 1929: 122; Gyóni 1943: 36, Pais 1947: 200–204; Pais 1955–1956: 433–446; Pais 1956: 265–267; Minorsky 1960: 130–137; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 376–377; Golden 1980: 167–169; Golb–Pritsak 1982: 116, 137; Ligeti 1986: 227, 274–275; Kiss 1988/1: 259, 265; Erdal 1991: 172–223, 262–275, 308–316; Németh 1991: 248–249; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 141–142; Pertz 1995: 428/26; Róna-Tas 1997b: 52; Fehértói 2004: 139, 153–154, 161–162, 803.

BUGA [bugå] *dial* 'ox; also ox, goat, ram without or with small or unusual horns; stupid' | 1215/1550 PN ? *Buga* [bugå], 1775 *Buga* [bugå] | *bugå* < **buga* ← Cum **buga* | EOT *buka*, **buga* 'ox' < **bū-* {with suff *-gA*}.

For all T data, see under **bika**.

E/H The H word is a copy of a T form *buga*, which may be of Kip origin, but the forms with *-g-* are also present in other T lgs in which the weakening of the intervocalic *-k-* did not occur in other cases, and thus it is possible that this is a case of two different ders of an onomatopoeic base; see **bika** and **ökör**, and the Khaz name *Bugha* in § 7.4. The dial distribution of the H word points to a Cum origin.

The H word is well represented in the H dials of Central and Western Hungary, but the first attestation as a common noun is fixed relatively late, in 1775, on a wordlist of the slang of a certain thief (Schram 1962: 108). As a PN it first occurs in 1215 (copy 1550) and later (Fehértói 2004: 157). The H word has also been compared with T words with the meaning 'blunt, stupid'; cf. Chuv *măka*, *muka* 'tupoj', CC *moxdak* 'stumpf' and so on, but these are Mo lws (see *mokudak* 'blunt, stupid', *mokuga* 'blunt, dull, exhausted', *muŋda-* 'to become insufficient', *muŋkag* 'stupidity, ignorance, stupid etc.', *mukur* 'blunt, hornless'). This comparison has rightly been rejected by both Gombocz (1912b: 214) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 379; 1993–1997/1: 143); the H meanings as 'stupid, not in one's right mind, etc.' are secondary H developments, and the T words have no *b-* initial (but see **bú**). Gombocz (1912b: 214) took 'hornless, blunt, stupid' as the basic meaning of the H word, and rejected the comparison suggested by Munkácsi (1886–1887: 469; 1902: 378–379) with the T words *moku* etc. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 379; 1993–1997/1: 143), the early PN pertains here and is of Cum origin, but the common noun cannot belong here because of its late documentation and is labelled by him as being of unknown origin. Ligeti did not deal with the word in his monograph (1986).

Though the word is not covered by Mándoky (1993), it occurs in Cumania Minor in Hungary (Kiskunhalas, Cegléd, Bugac, Kiskunság; for the data, see B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 615). The earlier research overlooked the fact that the word also has the simple meaning 'ox', as shown by the 1775 data, where only the H word *ökör* 'ox' is given as its equivalent (see also Herman 1914: 454). The word is spread over the Balkans in the form *boga* and *buga* in almost all lgs, though only in the general sense of 'bull, ox'. Unlike the H words **bika** and **ökör**, the word took on the meaning 'a special kind of cattle, an ox with special horns, unusual animal etc.' It is possible that the homophonous H word *buga* 'cluster (of flowers), panicle, seed vessel, poppy-head', hence 'anything globular, with semiglobular ends', exerted some influence on this word.

◆ Munkácsi 1886–1887: 468–470; Munkácsi 1902: 378–379; Gombocz 1907a: 107; Gombocz 1912b: 214; Herman 1914: 454; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 555; Schram 1962: 108; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 379; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 615; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 143; Fehértói 2004: 157.

BUGOLYA 'tuft, crest' see **boglya**.

BULAR [bular or bulår] 'Volga Bulgar' | 13th c. GN *Bular* [bulār], 1282–1285 PN *Belar* [belār] | *bular* < **bular* ← WOT **bular* | EOT *Bulgar* 'an ethnic name'.

There are no pertinent data in the usual sources.

E/T The ethnonym *Bulgar* had two forms in the Volga–Kama region. Besides the well documented form Bulgar (*bulgār* 'a well known city of the Turks' (AK), *al-Bulgārī* 'personal name in a 1361 Volga Bulgharian inscription' (Róna-Tas–Fodor 1973: 94; see also Hakimzjanov 1978: 189; Erdal 1993: 35, No. 88), there existed a form with a loss of the postconsonantal *-g-*, which was **Bular*. Among other kinds of evidence for this, we have numismatic material (see Róna-Tas 1982b: 165–169). There were many coins issued in the Volga Bulgarian Empire, as was recognised by Fræhn early on (1832: 527–577). A good survey is Fasmer (1925: 29–60). The new material uncovered after the 1920s was published by Janina (1962: 179–204). She recognised that, though we can read the place where the coin was issued on many coins as <BLĠ'R>, there are some on which we read <BL'R> (transcibed by Janina as *Biljar*). Since the fact of the absence of the *ġain* often went unrecognised in the material published earlier on, a revision of the whole numismatic material is necessary. In any case the coins featuring the form without *ġain* have been identified fr the time of the Golden Horde (coins issued in 1291, 1293 and 1280–1310). In the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä*, compiled in the Volga region in the 17th–18th c.s (see Ivanics–Usmanov 2002: 135–136), we find both forms <BWL'R> and <BWLĠ'R>, *Bular* and *Bulgar*. The fact that this is not a simple omission of the *ġain* can be further substantiated by the fact that there are at least two different GNs in the Volga region: *Bulgar* (now *Bulgary*) and *Bilar* (now *Biljarsk*). The excavations in Biljarsk led by the late A. H. Halikov have uncovered an important city. There is a dispute over which of the two large towns (present-day Bulgary or Biljarsk) was the capital of the Volga Bulgars, but there can be no doubt that Bilar played a central role in the history of the Volga Bulgars. One can join Halikov in the view that Bilar was the capital before the Mo invasion in 1235 and Bulgary the capital after the invasion (see Halikov 1973: 83–99; 1976: 5–56). However, those coins which have a clear form without the *ġain* all date fr later than the Mo invasion. In any case, the loss of the postconsonantal *-g-*, normal in Chuv, is documented by numismatic evidence and local GNs at least fr the 13th c. on.

E/H The form without a *-g-* is reflected in two H sources. The form *Bular* is present in the chronicle of Anonymous written c1200, where in chap 57 we read that

several noble personages came fr the territory of Bular (*de terra Bular*) (Pais 1975a: 132). The name of both the Danube Bulgars and their country was *Bulgar* in the same chronicle. The chronicle of Simeon de Kéza (written 1282–1285) relates that the two brothers Hunor and Magor, ancestors of the Hungarians, lived in the marshes of the Mæotis and there they robbed the sons of a certain *Belar* of their wives. This is suggestion of the early Hungarian–Bulgar contacts. On the contacts between the Volga Bulgars and the Hungarians, we have two other sources. Abu Hamid Al-Garnati (born in Granada in 1080) visited Saksin north of the Caspian Sea in 1131, and later spent several years among the Volga Bulgars. In 1150 he left the VBulg capital for Hungary and lived in Hungary between 1150 and 1153 (on his journey, see Róna-Tas 1999: 291–293; see also Róna-Tas 2000: 1–22). In his search for the Hungarians who remained in the East, the H monk Julian reached the Volga Bulgars in 1235 just before the Mo invasion and there he met Hungarians. He, more precisely Riccardus, the chronicler of Julian's journey, called the country Magna Bulgaria (see Göckenjan–Sweeney 1985: 88). Julian tried once more to visit Magna Bulgaria a few years later, but could not, because of the Mo invasion. The name was fixed by Plano Carpini (*Byleri id est Magnum Bulgaria*) and by Benedictus Polonus (*[habent] Byleros et hii sunt pagani)* (see Ligeti 1986: 32). These written sources bear witness to the communication between the Hungarians and the Volga Bulgars in the 12th–13th c.s, and to the fact that the name of the Volga Bulgars was *Bular* among the Hungarians in those times.

The H name for the Danube Bulgars, *nándor*, was used in pre-Conquest times, but known after the H Conquest of the Carpathian Basin (895–902) as well. The name *Bulgar* also occurs early in the sources. But this name may have been copied fr a Sl source since the Slavicisation of the Danube Bulgars had been completed or nearly completed by the time of the Conquest.

◆ Fræhn 1832: 527–577; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 566; Fasmer 1925: 29–60; Németh 1930: 173–174; Janina 1962: 179–204; Boľšakov–Mongajt 1971; Halikov 1973: 83–99; Róna-Tas–Fodor 1973: 94; Pais 1975a: 132; Halikov 1976: 5–56; Hakimzjanov 1978: 189; Róna-Tas 1982b: 165–169; Göckenjan–Sweeney 1985: 88; Halikov 1986; Ligeti 1986: 31–32; Erdal 1993: 35; Róna-Tas 1997a: 101, 226; Róna-Tas 1999: 291–293; Róna-Tas 2000: 1–22; Ivanics–Usmanov 2002: 135–136.

BURKOL 'to cover', **burok** 'cover' see **borít**.

BÚS 'sad, bad-tempered' see **bú**.

BÚSZ [būs] *dial*, *arch* 'steam, vapour, fumes; heat' | 1508 *bvziaban* [būs-yābån], p1577 *Buffʒa* [būss-å], 1589 *búzból* [būs-bōl] | *būs* < **būs* ← WOT **būs* | EOT *būs* 'mist, vapor'.

OT *būs* 'mist, vapour': *kōk būs boldï* 'the sky became covered with mist or the like', *är közi būs boldï* 'the man's eyesight became clouded from stomach gas' (AK);

MT *bus* ‘fog’ (ARbg), *pus* ‘vapeurs qui s’élévent d’une montagne, brume’ (AChag), *bus* ‘Atem’ (LCC), *buġ* ‘tencere kaynarken ondan çıkan buhar’ (AAH), *bus* ‘dyhanie, vzdoh’ (ATuh), *pus* ‘sis, duman’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păs* ‘par’; ***NW*** *bu* ‘par, isparenie’ (Tat), *boθ* ‘par’ (Bashk), *bū* ‘der Dampf’ (SibTatBR), *bū* ‘par, rastvor metalka’ (Kirg), *bu* ‘steam, evaporation’, *busan-* ‘to perspire’ (Kaz), *bū* ‘der Dampf, die Kraft, der Stolz’ (KazR), *puw* ‘par, isparenie, rastvor’ (Kklp), *pus* ‘par’ (Nog), *buw* ‘par’ (CrTat), *buv* ‘par’ (KarH, KarC), *pus* ‘par’ (Kum); ***SW*** *būg* ‘par’ (Tkm), *buġ* ‘par’ (Az), *buğ* ‘steam’ (Tt), *buğ*, *boğu*, *bū*, *buhū*, *bug* ‘buhar, buğu’ (TtD1), *bū* ‘par’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *buġ* ‘par’ (Uzb), *bus* ‘steam, vapour, fog’ (TurkiJ), *bus* ‘steam, fog, mist’ (TurkiJ), *buġ* ‘par’ (MUyg), *puɣu* ‘vapeur’ (SalK); ***NE*** *bū* ‘par’ (Alt), *pū* ‘der Dampf, der Wasserdampf’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *pu* ‘par (ot vody ili vspotevtej lošadi)’ (AltQK), *pus* ‘žertvennyj par dlja kormlenija različnyh božestv’ (KhakB), *pus* ‘Dampf (der aus dem Wasser oder von einem schwitzenden Pferde ausströmt)’ (KhakShR), *bus* ‘par, isparenie’ (Tuv), *bus* ‘par, tuman, isparenija’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *buġul* ‘deteriorated from dampness’, *budaŋ* ‘fog, mist, haze’ (L).

E/T It is very difficult to suppose that OT *būs* and *bug* ‘steam, mist’ are independent fr each other, as Clauson supposed (1972: 370), though their connection is not clear (see also Mo *bugul* and *budaŋ*). Their distribution seems to be complementary. The word is *burs* with a secondary *-r-* in some Tt dials and we also find a verb *bus-* in Tt (see Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 277). The T word had the basic meaning ‘mist, fog’ but also ‘sad, obscure’ in figurative sense, perhaps also ‘depressive mood, dimmed sight etc.’ (see Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1384 *pus* ‘traurig, finster, trübe (vom Wetter)’ Tt, Chag, Schor). In covering *busar-*, *busan-* and *busurkan-* Erdal (1991: 464) remarked: “Whether hypothetical **busa-* should be taken to be a *+A-* derivative fr *bus* ‘fog’ is questionable but not to be excluded”. See **bosszant**, **bosszankodik**, **bosszú**.

E/H The H word is now only used in some dials and has the meaning ‘vapour, steam rising from the earth after rain on a hot day, gas rising from a marsh’. It is also used as an adj for hot weather in the expression *búsz meleg* ‘stifling heat’. The length of the H vowel may be fr T, but may also be a secondary H length. The word has been considered to be of T origin by all H authorities.

◆ Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1384; Munkácsi 1902: 383; Gombocz 1912b: 225; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 580; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 104–105; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 344; Egorov 1964: 149; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 394–395; Clauson 1972: 370; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 277; Pais 1975a: 279–281; Ligeti 1986: 305; Erdal 1991: 464; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 152; Fedotov 1996/1: 403; Tenišev 2001: 34; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 956–957.

BÚZA [būzå] ‘wheat, *Triticum*’ | 1138/1329 PN ? *Buzaudí* [būzåu-di], 1193 PN *buzad* [būzā-d], c1395 *buʒa* [būzå] | *būzå* < **būza* < **buɣzaį̇* ← WOT **buγδay* < **bugday* | EOT *bugday* ‘wheat’.

OT *buġday* 'Weizen' (UPfahl 6:6), *buġdāy*, *budġāy* 'wheat' (AK), *buġdāy*, *budġāy* 'wheat (ear of wheat as zodiac sign)' (AQB), *b[u]ġ[d]ay* 'Weizen' (B 24:14); **MT** *buġday* 'Weizen' (UCiv), *buġday* 'wheat' (ABF), *buġday* 'wheat' (AGul), *buġday* 'buğday' (AHMA), *buġday* 'pšenica' (AHŠF), *buġda*(*y*) 'pšenica' (AIM), *buġday* 'bildiğimiz hububat: buğday' (AIMI), *buġda*(*y*) 'wheat' (AKD), *buġday* 'pšenica' (ANehF), *boġday* 'pšenica' (ATef), *buġday* 'blé, épi' (AChag), *buġday* 'pšenica' (AChagMA), *buġday* 'wheat' (AChagSC), *boġday*, *buġday*, *boday*, *boġday*, *buġday* 'Weizen' (LCC), *boġday* 'buğday' (AAH), *buġday* 'froment' (ABul), *buġday* 'froment' (ADur), *buday*, *buġday* 'Weizen' (AHou), *boġday* 'Weizen' (AKav), *buġday*, *buġδay*, *buδay* 'pšenica' (ATuh), *buġda* 'buğday', *buġday* 'buğday' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** [*pări* 'polba' (Chuv)]; ***NW*** *boday* 'pšenica', *boray* 'polba' (Tat), *boyðay* 'pšenica', *boray* 'polba' (Bashk), *boġdåy* 'búza [wheat]' (BashkP), *pitay*, *poytay* 'pšenica' (SibTat), *būday* 'pšenica' (Kirg), *biday* 'wheat' (Kaz), *biyday* 'pšenica' (Kklp), *biyday* 'pšenica' (Nog), *boġday* 'pšenica, pšeničnyj' (CrTat), *boġday*, *bogday* 'pšenica' (KarC), *buday* 'pšenica' (KarT, KarH), *buday* 'pšenica' (Kum), *buday* 'pšenica' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bugday* 'pšenica' (Tkm), *buġda* 'pšenica' (Az), *buğday* 'wheat' (Tt), *buğda*, *bağda*, *bıyday*, *bıydey*, *bōda*, *boğda*, *buğdey*, *būğdi*, *bulday*, *buldey*, *buyda*, *buyday*, *buyde*, *buydey*, *buydīy*, *büydey* 'buğday' (TtD1), *bōday*, *būday* 'pšenica' (Gag), *buγdiy*, *boγdey*, *buγda*, *buγdey*, *buγday*, *buγdäy*, *boγdäy*, *buγdïy* 'Weizen' (Khor), *buγda* 'Weizen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *buγda*, *boγda* 'Weizen' (Kh); ***SE*** *buġdåy* 'pšenica' (Uzb), *boγday*, *buγday* 'wheat' (TurkiJ), *buġday* 'der Weizen' (TurkiTR), *buġday* 'pšenica' (MUyg), *boġdaĭ* 'pšenica' (MUygKh), *boγde*, *boγdï*, *poγce*, *poγcï*, *poγde*, *pōïdï*, *poγzï* 'pšenica' (Sal), *вoγɒay*, *вūɒay*, *poγtə*, *puγtə* 'blé', *вūɒay čičəx* 'blenet' (SalK); ***NE*** *būday* 'pšenica' (Alt), *pūday* 'der Weizen' (AltLR, AltTelR), *bugday* 'pšenica' (AltQK), *puġday* 'pčenica' (Khak), *pūday* 'der Weizen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *pūday* 'der Weizen' (ChulR), *meyzĭ* 'wheat' (FY ← Ch); ***Y*** –.

Mo *buġuday* 'wheat' (L), *budaġan* 'grain, cereals, millet, dinner, meal' (L).

E/T There is an *o* ~ *u* alternation in the first syllable even in the same lg. This may be due to the spirantisation (and disappearance) of the *-g-* in the *-gd-* cluster. There are two finals, *bugday* and *bugda*. The H form reflects the second. The Chuv *pări*, Tat, Bashk *boray* 'spelt, German wheat' belong with Sl *pyro*, Gr *pyros*, OEng *fyrs* etc. (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 566–567: **p*^{h}*ūr-*) and have to be separated fr the word in question. The idea posited by Räsänen and others (Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 232–235) that the IE words are of T origin can be refuted for chronological reasons (see also Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 419). The change *-Vgd-* > *-Vgδ-* > *-Vγδ-* > *-V̄z-* is reflected in H. The "second rotacism" in Chuv (*d* > *δ* > *z* > *r*) occurred in Chuv only after the 10th c. (see Róna-Tas 1982b: 160–162 and § 6.2.2, 6.2.7) and is documented only fr the 13th c. on. The connection between the forms *bugday* and *budgay* mentioned by Kashgari is of interest, because of the two Mo forms. If **budga* were an earlier form,

the suff *+gA* that forms plant names could perhaps be identified (Erdal 1991: 83–84), but neither **bud* nor **buda* can be found in the T material. Mo forms such as *budā*, and Tu forms such as *buda* (cited by Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 234) belong with Mo *budagan*. The word is an old "Kulturwort". An origin fr IE or Ch (see Joki 1952: 107–108) is possible, but there is no clear evidence for either. In Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 935) the words for 'wheat' and 'spelt' (← IE **phūr-*) are not distinguished. They base their PA reconstruction **mi̯urgu* 'wheat' on PTu **murgi*, which cannot be connected with **bugda-* or **budga-*.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 134). The phonetic problems were cleared up by Ligeti (1986: 30–31). Fr the H point of view the length of the *ū* in the first syllable points to a T secondary length caused by the disappearance of the fricative *γ*; see **túzok**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Gombocz 1912b: 55, 169; Vámbéry 1914: 143; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 585–586; Räsänen 1920: 177; Joki 1952: 107–108; Bárczi 1956: 80; Palló 1956: 164; Palló 1959: 252–254; Egorov 1964: 148; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 419; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 308; Palló 1971a: 80–81; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 232–235; Róna-Tas 1982b: 160–162; Ligeti 1986: 30–31, 86; Erdal 1991: 83–84; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 151; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 566–567; Fedotov 1996/1: 400; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 935.

BUZOGÁNY [buzogāń] 'club, mace, reed-mace' | 1424 *buzgan* [buzgāń], 1430 *buzogwan* [buzogvāń], 1449 PN *Bozoganyosch* [bozogāń-oš], 1491 *bozdogan* [bozdogan], c1550 *bozogan* [bozogan], 1548 *bozgany* [buzgāń], 1572 *Bwʒoganÿ* [buzogāń] | *buzogāń* < **buzgan* ← Cum **buzgan* | T **buzgan* 'mace' < EOT *buz-* 'to destroy' {with suff *-gAn*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *buz-* 'to destroy, rout, defeat' (RMBilg), *buz-* 'ruiner, détruire, abîmer, briser' (UHamTouHou), *buz-* 'to tear down', *buzuq* 'ruined, broken' (AK [DK with *-o-*]), *buzul-* <pūslur-> 'zugrunde gehen' (BN 12, see also B 33.1:1 *buzta*); **MT** [each *waw*, except Ott, read with *-u-*] *buzġuluġ*: *yani üč buzġuluġ qïldï* 'teilte den Bogen in drei Stücke' (UOg), *buz-* 'to destroy, ruin' (AGul), *buz-* 'bozmak', *buzġun* 'bozucu' (AHMA), *buz-* 'razrušať, razbivať, narušať', *buzuq* 'razrušennyj' (AHŠF), *buz-* 'grabiť' (AIM), *buz-* 'to destroy, break, untwist' (AKor), *buz-* 'razrušať, razbivať, narušať' (ANehF), *buz-* 'to break (an oath), to erase (something written)' (ARbg), *buz-* 'lomať, razrušať, uničtožať', *buzun* 'gibeľnyj, razrušennyj' (ATef), *buz-* 'detruire', *buzuġ* 'détruit', *buzruġan* <BWZWĠ'N> 'massue, casse-tête' (AChag), *buzuġ* 'puszta' (AChagAbV), *buzuq* 'razrušennyj, razvalinyj' (AChagB), *buzuk yer* 'razrušennaja strana' (AChagMA 149 'ebderkei'), *buzdurġan* = *buzruġan* 'die Keule' (AChagR ← V), *buz-* 'sprengen, zerbrechen, vernichten' (LCC), *buz-* 'bir şeyi yağmalamak yahut nakzetmek', *bozuq* 'kötü bir şeye ıtlak olunur' (AAH), *buzmaq* 'pillage, ravage', *buz-* 'zepsuć, porwać' (ABul), *buz-* 'wechseln, zerstören' (AHou), *buz-*

'zerstören, niederreissen (einen Bau)' (AKav), *buz-* 'to push' (AMGh), *buz-* 'razrusat′' (ATuh), *bozdohan* 'masse (d'armes, sorte de bâton de commandement)', *buz-* 'gâter, défaire, saccager' (AmTr), *buz-* 'slomat′, razbit′' (AmD), *buz-* 'to destroy, to ruin' (AmCh), *buz-* 'gâter, défaire, saccager' (AmE), *bozdaġan*, *bozdoġan*, *boztaġan*, *boztoġan* 'demir topuz, gürz' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *păs-* 'portit′, lomat′', *păskănčăk* 'porča (koldovstvom)'; ***NW*** *boz-* 'portit′', *bozgïn* 'ust., knižn. neudačno', *bozdïrgïč* 'sredstvo dlja porči (v pover′jah)', *boδo-* 'lomat′', *boδok* 'isporčennyj', *boδgola-* 'mnogokr. portit′ (v nekotoroj stepeni)' (Bashk), *bōz-* 'lomat′, razbyvat′' (SibTat), *buz-* 'narušat′', *buzġuč* 'razvratitel′' *buzū* 'narušenie' (Kirg), *bŭz-* 'to spoil, destroy, break' (Kaz), *buz-* 'portit′', *buzdïr-* 'zastavit′ portit′', *buzganlïk* 'narušenie' (Kklp), *buz-* 'lomat′' (Nog), *boz-* 'portit′, povreždat′, razorjat′, razmenivat′ den′gi' (CrTat), *buz-* 'portit′', *buzuvču*, *buzuvcu*, *buzuvčï*, *buzujï* 'portjaščij, uničtožajuščij, razrušitel′' (Kar), *bozuvču* 'uničtožajuščij', *bozuq* 'isporčennyj' (KarC), *buz-* 'lomat′', *buzġuč* 'razrušitel′' (Kum), *buz-* 'portit′', *buzdur-* 'ponud. k *buz-*', *buzul-* 'portit′sja', *buzulġan* 'prič. ot *buzul-*, neispravnyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *boz-* 'razrušat′', *bozuk* 'razrušennyj', *bozgak* 'vnosjaščij smutu', *bozdur-* 'ponud. ot *boz-*' (Tkm), *bozdoğan*, *bozdağan* 'iron war mace' (Tt), *boz-* 'portit′', *bozdur-* 'ponud. ot *boz-*', *bozgun* 'isporčennyj' (Gag), *bozuq* 'kaputt' (Khor),; ***Kh*** *puz-* 'wegreissen, auseinandernehmen' (Kh); ***SE*** *buz-* 'lomat′', *buzuk* 'razrušennyj', *buzġun* 'nahodjaščijsja v sostojanii smuty i neustroennosti' (Uzb), *boz-*, *buz-* 'to destroy, to spoil', *bozuġ*, *bozuq*, *buzuq* 'foul, spoiled' (Turki), *buz-* 'lomat′', *buzdur-* 'velet′, prikazat′, razrušat′', *buzġun* 'razrušenie' (MUyg), *bozulmïš* 'avaire, rance' (SalK), *puz-* 'rasstroit′, razrušat′' (YUygM); ***NE*** *pus-* 'isportit′, uničtožat′' (AltL), *puskalan* 'rasstrojstvo, povreždenie' (AltQK), *pus-*, *puza-* 'slomat′, razbit′' (Khak), *bus-*, *buza-* 'lomat′' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The vocalism of the base verb shows *-u-*, which is secured in EOT by the Brahmi data. All the MT data are written with *waw* (and transcribed by us here with *-u-*), with the two exceptions of CC, where we find Lat *-u-*, and the ArmKip, where we find Arm *-u-* <OU> for the verb, but the name of the object is *bozdohan*, which is a clear lw fr Ott. In the Ott sources we read the *waw* in the verb and noun with *-o-*, because it is *-o-* in Tt and all other SW T lgs. Hence, we can suppose that it is a relatively old Og feature. Turki has both *o* and *u* and Sal *o*. It is interesting that, though Kar has *-u-*, KarC and CrTat both have *-o-*, which seems to be an Ott influence. The Chuv word is a Tat lw. The *p-* in Anlaut seems to be old; see Kh. The Ott, Tt *bozdogan*, not treated by Eren (1999), is supposed to be a Chag lw, according to Tietze (2002: 378), however none of the Chag dicts contain the form *buzdurgan*, which only occurs in Radloff as cited fr Vámbéry (1867). The documented form is *buzrugan*, written <BWZRWĠ'N>, which may be a metathetic form of *buzurgan*. The Ott form has the morphological structure **boz-dur-gan* with the loss of *-r-*.

E/H It is very unlikely that the H is a simplification of *bozdogan*. Rather, it reflects a T form **buzgan* most probably of Cum origin with the semantics 'the instrument which destroys'. For a detailed analysis of the suff *-gAn*, see Berta (1996: 567–575). In fact, there are PNs and GNs formed fr PNs in Cumania in Hungary, e.g. 1333 PN *Buzkan*, 1423 GN *Buzganzallasa*. This excludes the possibility that the word is of Ott origin and may point to a Cum origin. In a H source dated fr 1424 we read "Vnum baculum ferreum *buzgan* nominatum' (see Ligeti 1986: 250). Parallel to this form, we find such Ott lws as *bozdogan* in H in 1491 and *buzdogán*, *buzdugány* in some H dials (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 650).

The phonetic change *buzgan* > *buzogány* occurred in H perhaps under the influence of the verb *buzog-* 'to well, spout, effervesce'. In some dials the form *buzgány* has been preserved until now (see B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 650).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 118, 134; Vámbéry 1914: 143; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 588–589; Rásonyi 1923–1927: 133–134; Bárczi 1951: 51; Kniezsa 1955: 803–805; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 400; Clauson 1972: 250; Kakuk 1973: 78–79; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 649–650; Ligeti 1986: 250; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 152; Berta 1996: 567–575; Tietze 2002: 378; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 936.

BŰBÁJ (earlier orth *bű-báj*) [bṻbāy] 'charm, spell, enchantment, witchcraft' | 1476 ? GN *Bobayostho* [bobāy-oš-tō], 1519 *Byefbayofyth* [büy-eš bāy-oš-īt], 1565 *bůiel báyal* [büy-el bāy-ål].

E/H A binom fr *bű* and **báj**. The compound word *bűbájos* had the meaning 'witch, sorcerer' earlier, and later changed to 'enchanting (person), very nice, beautiful'. The compounding developed in the H lg, maybe several times. On the details and the T background, see **bűvös**, **bölcs** and **báj**.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 29; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 400; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 152.

BÜKK [bükk] 'beech' | 1086 GN *bikzadu* [bik sådu], 1193 *bigfa* [big-få], 1208 GN *Buc eurem* [bük ō̈rem], 1221/1550 GN *Bicc* [bikk], 1282 *Bikpotoka … arbores byk et gyrtean* [bik-pataka…bik…], 1419 GN *Bukmalalya* [bük-mālålyå] | *bük* < **bik* ← WOT **bik* < **bük* | EOT *bük* (< *bik*) 'beech, forest, thicket'.

OT *bük* 'thicket' (AK); **MT** *bük* 'thicket' (ABF), *bük* 'forest, wood, thicket' (AKor), *bük* 'foret' (AChag), *bük* 'forest' (A5D: 15219), *bük* 'es′' (AChagMA), *bük* 'die Eiche' (ChagR-CalcWb), *bük* 'orman (bir birine girmiş çalı ve çırpı gibi yabani agaçlar)' (AAH), *bük* 'sık çalılık, fundalık' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *buk*: *buk bot* 'buk' (Chuv); ***NW*** *bük* 'tïgïz ham dïmga bik cïdam üzagačlï, šoma kayrïlï, yaftaklï ere agač (parket, faner, muzïka korallarï, mebel h. b. š yasau öčen faydalanïla)' (TatE), *bük agači* 'buk' (RTat), *buk* 'buk' (Bashk), *pük* 'izgib, povoret reki' (SibTat, in the same subdial *püklä-* 'sognut'), *bik* 'buk' (Nog), *bik* 'buk (derevo)' (CrTat); ***SW*** *bük* 'thicket, jungle' (Tt), *bük*, *buk*, *büx*, *büxüzümü*, *buk tudu*, *bük üzümü*, *bürük* 'ova ve dere kıyılarındaki çalı ve diken topluluğu, ırmak ve göl kenarındaki sazlık, dere kıyıların-

daki söğütlük' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *bük* 'ravnina' (AltQK), *pük* 'ein flaches Thal zwischen Bergen, ein breites Flussthal, die Ebene' (AltR, AltTeIR), *pük* 'lug' (Khak), *pük* 'die Insel' (KhakSR), *bük* 'gornaja vpadina, uzkaja dolina, podvetrennyj, nahodjaščijsja v gornoj vpadine, ne dostupnoj vetram' (Tuv); ***Y*** *bük* 'izgib (reki)' (Y), *bük*, *bök* 'gebogen, krumm' (Dlg).

Mo *böküyi-*, *bökeyi-* 'to bend down' (L).

E/T All OT and MT data have to be read with *-ü-*. The T words can be divided into three groups. Some words are simply lws fr Rus *buk* 'beech' as in Chuv, Tat (in original words we would expect *-ö-* or *-i-*), and Bashk. In most T sources and lgs the word has the meaning 'thicket' and the like. Evidence of it denoting a particular type of tree can only be found in CrTat and Nog: *bik* (< **bük*) 'beech'. See also "Tatar" *biuk* 'Fagus sylvatica' in Pallas (1886: 6). The meaning 'oak' cited by Radloff fr the so-called *Calcutta Dictionary* is due to a misunderstanding. The Pe word *bīša* 'forest' was emended or substituted in a copy of the dictionary used by Budagov, with Ott *mišä* 'oak'. This was taken over by Radloff fr Budagov's dict. (On the details of this misunderstanding, see Róna-Tas 2004: 270–271). In addition, see the Pe part of the CC, where we read Pe *bēša*, *mēša* = Cum *orman* 'Wald' (Monchi–Zadeh 1969: 48).

Theoretically, both types of semantic change, 'woods' > 'tree' or 'tree' > 'woods, forest', are possible. If we suppose the semantic change 'beech' > 'thicket', then we have to suppose that the T tribes moved fr a region where the beech grew, to a region where it did not. This is unlikely. More probable is the change 'thicket' > 'forest, woods' > 'a tree common to the woods'. See the similar development in IE 'tree' > 'oak' (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 526). The change 'thicket' > 'beech' could have occured in the north of Caucasia, in the southern part of Ukraine (see CrTat) or in the Carpathian Basin, because the *Fagus orientalis* was and is present in the north of Caucasia and the southeast of the Crimean Peninsula, while the *Fagus sylvaticus* was and is present west of the Dniester. It is of great importance that, though the *Fagus orientalis* is present in Anatolia, there it is called *kayin* in Tt. The word *kayin* was originally the name of the birch tree (*Betula*) (< *kadïŋ*, see Eren 1999: 222). When the T tribes moved fr an area with birch trees but no beeches to one with some beeches but (or almost no) birches, they transferred the name of the birch to that of the beech. A similar semantic change occured in Taj, where the name of the juniper *burz*, *burs* goes back to the IE name of the birch (< **bherHk´*, see Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 532).

That the original meaning of T *bük* was 'thicket' can be seen fr the Sib data, where meanings like 'meadow, plain' (*pük* 'lug' Khak, *bük* 'ravnina' AltQK) or 'narrow mountain valley, place for protection from wind' (*bük* 'gornaja vpadina, uzkaja dolina, podvetrennyj, nahodjaščijsja v gornoj vpadine, ne dostupnoj vetram' Tuv) developed fr the meaning 'thicket'.

It is another question whether the meanings 'thicket', 'protected valley (of a river)' developed fr T *bük* 'bend, the bend of a river' (see *bük* 'izgib (reki)' SibTat, Y, see also *bük-* 'to bend, to bow'), as Sevortjan supposed (1974–1980/2: 290–291), or were only influenced by it.

We have to answer the question: why do we only have *bik* 'beech' in the CrTat and Nog? It looks very likely that the word with this meaning was not passed down fr Kip. It may be the case that both T lgs took it over fr local sources. If that is the case this may only have been done fr lg(s) spoken earlier in this area, before the Kipchakization of South Russia, that is either fr the Khaz or the Bulg lg.

The existence of the word for 'beech' is of great importance. It was long supposed that the beech (*Fagus silvatica*) only grew west, of a line that extends fr the Baltic Sea down to the Danube delta. For this reason, the IE homeland was proposed to be west of this line, because the word for 'beech' **b^{h}aHk´o* was reconstructed for the PIE lg. This homeland border has been questioned by many authors. According to Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 535), "recent paleobotanical research has shown that there was a westward and a northward displacement of the limits of the beech range to their historical locations in Europe, and this occurred no earlier than the Subboreal period (late fourth to first millenia BC.). […] In addition, varieties of the eastern beech, *Fagus orientalis*, have always been found in the Near East, from Asia Minor to the Transcaucasus and northern Iran…". They concluded: "…if the beech argument is to be used in locating the Indo-European homeland, it gives us a choice between a western European area (including the western parts of eastern Europe) and a Near Eastern area running from Asia Minor to northern Iran, but rules out the area northeast of the Black Sea to the lower Volga, where the beech is unattested throughout the postglacial period". It has to be added that, according to Trubačev (1974–1995/3: 90–91), the Sl **bukŭ* 'beech' has to be considered as a lw fr Grm **bōk-*. Further, as they themselves remark, the beech has long grown in Transcaucasia, i.e. north of the Caucasus, as it still does today.

The latest paleobotanical research (Lang 1994: 158–163) has changed the picture concerning the later diffusion. The eastern boundary of the European beech, *Fagus sylvatica*, reached the famous line stretching fr Königsberg to the Danube delta c500 B.C. This line is the easternmost border of the *Fagus sylvatica*, with the exception of the Crimean Peninsula, where it also grows. There is another species of the *Fagus*, the *Fagus orientalis*, which is present in Anatolia and Caucasia. According to the latest research, the *Fagus orientalis* is also found in northern Greece and eastern Bulgaria. According to Lang (1994: 160), it is highly probable that there was a glacial refuge of the *Fagus orientalis* in the southern Balkan Peninsula. Now we have data that the *Fagus sylvatica* and the *Fagus orientalis* are both grow on the Crimean Peninsula, though it is not easy to differentiate their pollen. In any case we have to suppose that

the presence of the *Fagus* on the Crimean Peninsula and in Transcaucasia reaches back to a few centuries B.C. (see Fig. 206 in Nejštadt 1957).

E/H The H word was first connected with the T one by Köppen (1888–1889/2: 161). Later, Munkácsi tried to link the H word with its T counterpart (1902: 384). This was rejected by Gombocz (1912b: 214), who favoured the Grm origin. His opinion was refuted by Kniezsa (1955: 805), who dealt with the possible Sl and Grm origin of the word, but dismissed both possibilities. Since this debate, the word has been considered to be of unknown origin (Benkő 1967–1984/1: 401–402; 1993–1997/1: 153) and not covered by Ligeti (1986). The T origin of the word has recently been demonstrated by Róna-Tas (2004).

The H word occurs very early with *-i-*. The early data on the word (see Róna-Tas 2004: 272) show that the form *bük* is later and due to a H labialisation. The front vowel in *bik* > *bük* excludes the possibility that it is a lw fr Grm or Sl, as correctly noted by Kniezsa (1955: 805) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 402; 1993–1997/1: 153). If the word had been a copy of a Sl word **bukŭ*, it would have resulted in a back-vocalic **buk* in H, which is not the case.

To sum up, the name for the *Fagus* could only have been borrowed in the regions of North Caucasia, the Crimean Peninsula or west of the Dnieper. As shown by Róna-Tas, the copying of the word for 'beech', together with about 15 other botanical terms, points to a region north of Caucasia, and most of the terms have close links with the Alans, see § 7.2.

◆ Pallas 1886: 6; Köppen 1888–1889/2: 161; Munkácsi 1902: 384–385; Gombocz 1907a: 109; Melich 1910a: 61; Gombocz 1912b: 214; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 585–586; Rásonyi 1927: 562–563; Beke 1933: 25; Melich 1935: 283–284; Kniezsa 1955: 805; Benkő 1957: 72; Nejštadt 1957: Fig. 206; Bárczi 1958b: 49–51; Györffy 1963–1998/2: 177; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 401–402; Monchi–Zadeh 1969: 48; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 290–291; Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 90–91; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 153; Lang 1994: 158–162; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 526, 532, 535; Eren 1999: 222; Tenišev 2001: 724; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 380–381; Róna-Tas 2004: 260–273.

BŰN [bū̆n] 'sin' | c1195 *bunet* [bū̆n-ēt], c1300 *bynutelen* [binü-telen], c1350 *býnut* [bīn-üt] | *bū̆n* < **bū̆n* ← WOT **bū̆n* | EOT *mū̆n* 'defect, fault' < PT **bū̆n*, MT *bū̆n* id.

OT *mün* 'Sünde' (UM 124:32), *mün* 'defect' (UHt IX:7ab), *mün* 'Makel' (TBuddhKat 42), *mū̆n* 'fault' (AK), *mün qadaġ* (B 14:B10); **MT** *bün* 'nedostatok, porok', *munluġ* 'poročnyj, s nedostatkom' (AIM to be read with *ü*), *bun*, *mun* 'eksiklik, noksanlık' (AIMI to be read with *ü*), *bün* 'ayıp' (AAH); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *mū̆n* 'nedostatok, defekt' (Kirg), *min* 'shortage, deficiency, defect, roughness' (Kaz), *min* 'iz″jan, nedostatok; zapinka' (CrTat); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The original form of the T word is *bū̆n*, later nasalised by the second nasal to *mū̆n*. Kirg preserved the original length. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 952) con-

nected the T word with Mo *muŋda-* 'to become insufficient, to come to an end, to be exhausted, to be in trouble or difficult circumstances'. This word cannot, however, be separated fr Mo *muŋla-* 'to be in need, wanting' fr a base **muŋ* and fr this nominal base *muŋkag* 'stupid, stupidity'. This **muŋ* is in fact present in Tuv *muŋ* 'glupyj, pridurkovatyj', in Alt *mïŋda-* 'oskudet′, imet′ nedostatok' and in Y *mī̈n-* 'ne udovletvorjat′sja, ostavat′sja (byt′) nedovolnym ili neudovletvorennym čem, malym, nemnogim čitat′, obižat′sja'. Mo **muŋ* is consequently back vocalic and has to be linked to PT *buŋ*; see **bú**. See also Mo *munu-* 'to become weak or feeble-minded'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 902) read *mun* instead of *mün* in AQB, added AIM *munlug* and Kirg *munǰu* 'cripple' and reconstructed PT **būn* but remarked that T *-ū-* is irregular and cited to *bṻn*.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Budenz (1873–1881: 476–478) and Munkácsi (1881: 461). This was Ligeti's opinion (1986: 36–39, 273–274), but it is missing in Gombocz (1912b). The H word occurs in two forms in the earliest documents. In the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* (c1195), the word occurs five times, in all cases as *bun*. In the OH *Lament of the Virgin* (c1300), the word occurs once as *byun*. We find *byn* in the *Fragments of Königsberg* fr c1350. The T origin has been questioned by Benkő, assuming that "die frühere Lautform dürfte *biün* gewesen sein. – Herleitung aus dem Atürk is kaum wahrsch[einlich]" (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 153). Recently, Vekerdy (2006: 211) pointed out that the writing <byuntelen> is a misspelling of <bynutelen>, read *binütelen*. His arguments are convincing, and those posited by Benkő can therefore be discarded. The representation of T *ü* by H *i* is the same as in the case of **bükk**. The word is doubtless of T origin. This leaves open the question whether the T length is represented in OH. This may be the case, but the present length may also be secondary. A diphthong in place of old length is present in the old form of **kék** (*keik̯* 1216 <keyc-> ← *kōk*) and secondary length can be found in H **bűvös**. It is interesting that the word **mṻn* is present in some Kip lgs (though not in CC). In addition, the release fr the consequences of sins, **búcsú**, and confession of sins, **gyón**, are also of T origin.

◆ Budenz 1873–1881: 476–478; Budenz 1875: 493–495; Munkácsi 1881: 461; Munkácsi 1897d: 364–365; Patrubány 1897: 289; Munkácsi 1900: 206; Munkácsi 1901b: 182–184; Munkácsi 1901c: 41; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 592–593; Németh 1921–1925: 73–74; Szinnyei 1926: 231–232; Bárczi 1941: 29; Papp 1949: 87–88; B. Lőrinczy 1953: 47; Pais 1956: 267; Juhász 1959: 409–413; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 402; Lakó 1967–1978/1; Clauson 1972: 347; Benkő 1980: 121; Palló 1981: 86–87; Ligeti 1986: 36–39, 273–274; Erdal 1991: 418; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 153; Róna-Tas 1997: 99, 287–288; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 902, 952; Vekerdy 2006: 211.

BÜTÜ *dial* '(blunt) end of sg, a rod with an end cut, obtuse end of a field-strip, the shorter side or end of a piece of furniture, foot of the hill', **büt** id. | 1607 *beotoeyenel* [bötö-yēnēl], 1627 *beotwinel* [bötü-inēl], 1656 *bütün* [bütü-n], dial *büt* (B. Lőrinczy

1979–2002/1: 659) | *bütü* < **bütüɣ* ← WOT **bütüɣ* | EOT *bütüg* 'complete, ended' < *büt-* 'to become complete, to be done, finished etc.' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}.

OT *bütüg* 'entier, intact, guéri (UHamHouTou), *büt-* 'to disappear, to be confirmed (debt), heal (wound), confess (God's unity), grow (plant), be born (child), be created' (AK), *büt-* 'zu Ende, fertig, gereift sein' (BA:5,11, E:44); **MT** *büt-* 'kapanmak, onulmak', *bütün* 'bütün', *bitür-*, *bütür-* 'tamamlamak, giydirmek' (UYAB), *büt-* 'finir, terminer, achêver', [?] *bütägülük* 'poignée, ce qui se trouve entre les deux paumes apposées' (UHyS), *bitir-* 'okončit′', *bütün* 'celyj' (AIM), *bütün* 'surely, indeed' (AKor), *bütün* 'ves′, celyj, soveršennyj, vernyj' (ATef), *büt-* 'kapanmak, onulmak', *bütün* 'bütün', *bütür-* 'tamamlamak, giydirmek' (AYC), *bütev* 'cel′nost′ vsjakoj veščі' (AChagB), *büt-*[1] 'of a task or building to be completed [etc.]', *bit-*, *büt-*[2] 'to be done, finished, to be produced, to come to pass, [etc.]' (AChagSC), *buta* 'ganz, ein Stück, vollständig' (AChagŠSK), *bütün* 'ganz, vollständig, unversehrt' (LCC), *bitün* 'temam', *bitür-* 'yarayı bağlamak, sarmak' *bütün* 'sahih, sağlam' (AAH), *bit-* 'skonyczyć się, rosnąć' (ABul), *bit-* 'beendigen', *bütün* 'ganz' (AHou), *bit-* 'bitmek, tükenmek', *bütün* 'doğru, bütün' (ATuhA), *butov* 'entier, total, complet' (AmTr), *butun* 'whole' (AmCh), *butun* 'tout, entier' (AmE), *bütün* 'mükemmel, tamam, sağlam, eksiksiz, parçalanmış' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *pĕt-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, pogibat′', *pĕtĕ* 'obščaja harakteristika samok, ožidajuščih priploda – perevod zavisit ot vida životnyh: stel′lnaja, žerebaja, črevataja, sujagnja, suporosaja i t.p., beremennaja' (Chuv), *pŏt-* 'endigen, ausgehen, verloren gehen', *pŏɴdŏ* 'schwanger, trächtig' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *bet-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, istekat′, vyhodit′'; *bötäu* 'ispravnyj, netronutnyj, celnyj' (Tat), *bötük* 'vse' (TatD1), *böt-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, rashodovat′sja, portit′sja', *bötä* 'vse, ves, vsja', *bötäu* 'nemolotyj (napr. o zerne), celyj (o kartofele)' (Bashk), *bit* 'rožđat′sja, pojavljat′sja' (SibTat), *büt-* 'končat′, vyrastat′'; *büt* 'celij, celikom, spolna, polnostju', *bütī* 'okončanie' (Kirg), *bit-* 'to end, to terminate (intr.), come to an end, to heal, to close', *biteu* 'closed on all sides, cow shed' (Kaz), *bĭt-* 'zaživat′, zakančivat′, issjakat′, končat′sja' (KazB), *pit-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, vyrastat′, zarožđat′sja', *piteü* 'zakrityj na vseh storon, zakuporennyj (napr. ob otverstii)', *pitik* 'splošnoj, ne imjejuščij otverstij' (Kklp), *bit-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja′', *bütin* 'ves′' (Nog), *bit-* 'končit′sja' (CrTat), *bit-* 'rasti, urodit′sja, končit′sja, istoščat′sja' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *bit-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, issjakat′', *bitev* 'kompaktnyj, sžatyj, plotnyj' (Kum), *bit-* 'zaveržat′sja, zakančivat′sja, umeret′, zakryvat′', *bütev* 'ves, celyj, polnyj, obščij' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *bit-* 'zakančivat′sja, zarastat′', *bitev*, *bitevi* 'celyj, nepočatyj, netronutyj, edinyj, celostnyj' (Tkm), *bit-* 'rasti, proizrastat′, zaveršit′sja, zakančivat′sja', *bütöv* 'celyj, cel′nyj' (Az), *bit-* 'to finish, to come to an end or terminate, to be completed', [?] *bitevi* 'continously, incessantly, whole in one piece', *bitik* 'contiguous' (Tt), *bit-* 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, issjakat′' (Gag); ***Kh*** *bit-* 'zu Ende gehen' (Kh); ***SE*** *bit-* 'končat′sja, zakančі-

vat′sja, likvidirovat′sja', *but* 'celij, polnyj, komplektnyj' (Uzb), *pit-*, *pït-*, *püt-* 'to finish, to be finished, to accomplish' (TurkiJ), *püt-* 'to trust, to believe, to finish, to accomplish' (TurkiSh), *püt-* 'okančivat′sja, končat′sja, zaveršat′sja, zakančivat′sja' (MUyg), *put-*, *püt-* 'soveršat′, ispolnjat′' (YUyg); ***NE*** *büt-* 'sozdavat′, tvorit′, soveršat′, končat′, zakančivat′' (Alt), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (AltR), *büt-* 'polučat′sja, rasti' (AltQK), *büt-* 'obrazovat′sja, rodit′sja, rasti', *püt-* 'rasti, vyrasti, zret′, byt′ gotovym' (AltTK), *püt-* 'sozdavat′sja, byt′ soveršennym, gotovym, sdelat′sja, proishodit′, končat′sja' (AltL), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (AltTelR), *püt-* 'sozdavat′, stroit′' (Khak), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (KhakQbR), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (KhakQchR), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (KhakSR), *püt-* 'vollendet sein, fertig sein, entstehen, zu Ende gehen' (KhakShR), *büt-* 'sbyvat′sja, ispolnjat′sja, idti na lad', *büdű* 'poslednoe čislo mesjaca (po staromu lunnomy kalendarju), kanun novovo mesjaca, kanun' (Tuv), *bü″t-* 'vypolnjat′sja, zaveršat′sja, zavolakivat′sja, zaživat′' (Tof); ***Y*** *büt-* 'končat′(sja), okončivaet′sja, istekat′, umeret′, pokryvat′sja čem-l.', *bütű* 'okonečnost′' (Y), *büt-* 'beenden, schliessen, aufhören', *bütű* 'Schluss, Ende, Ausgang' (Dlg), *büt-* 'zu Ende gehen' (DlgS).

Mo *bütü-* 'to be[come] formed or fulfilled, to be[come] executed, carried out or materialized, to be made of, consist of, to be[come] possible or feasible, to succeed', *bütüge-* 'to fulfil, complete, accomplish', *bütün* 'whole, complete, intact, entire' (L).

E/T The word is a der fr *büt-* 'to finish etc.' with the dev suff -(*X*)*g* (Erdal 1991: 172–223). Its meanings are very different in the sources but all go back to a basic meaning 'something finished, complete, what is ended, the end etc.' All T data point to a final *-g* and not a *-k*, that is the word was *bütüg*, not **bütük*, as supposed by Mándoky (1972b: 396).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 134) linked the word to the T word *bütkü*. Budenz (1873: 95) rejected the comparison, because of the absence of the form *bütkü* in the QB (see, however, *bütgü* in II: 3665, 5620). It was considered a word of unknown origin by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 404) and was not dealt with by Ligeti (1986). The above T etymology was suggested by Mándoky (1972b: 391–398), but fr a form **bütük* (> Chuv **bütüg* → H). The etymology suggested by Mándoky was then accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 154). In some H dials we also find a shorter form *büt*. This may be a secondary H back formation. In Kirg there exists the shorter form *büt* 'whole, entire' besides *bütű* 'the end of sg'. Nevertheless, it is improbable that H copied both forms.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Budenz 1873: 95; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 595; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 404; Mándoky 1972b: 391–398; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 659; Erdal 1991: 172–223; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 154.

BŰVÖS [bűvöš] ‘magical’ | 1211 PN *Biues* [bīveš], c1405 *biues* [bīveš], 1519 *Byef baýofýth* [bīeš bayošit] | *bűvös* < *bű* {with suff -(*V*)*š*} < **büγü* ← WOT **büγü* | EOT *bügü* ‘sage, wizard, witchcraft’ | See **bölcs**.

All T data see under **bölcs**.

E/H The copied T word was *bügü*. It may be that the spirantization *bügü* > *büγü* began already in T, see **ács**. In H the *-γ-* disappeared in intervocalic position and a long vowel developed. The form *bű* exists in the binom **bűbáj** ‘charm’. The stem was adapted to the H words with *v*-base, see *kő* ‘stone’ > *köves* ‘stony’.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 590–591; Bárczi 1958c: 41; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 405; Ligeti 1986: 271; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 154–155.

C

CIGLE [cigle] ‘a kind of willow, *Salix elægnos*’ | 1275 GN *Chygle* [cigle or čigle], 1290 GN *Chegled* [cegle-d], 1862 *cziglevessző* [cigle-vessō̃] ‘wicker, withe, willow twig’, dial *cigle* ‘a kind of willow’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 696) | *cigle* < **čigle* ← ? WOT **čiglä* < **čig* {with suff +*lA*} || **csekle** [čëkle], **csikle** [čikle], **cseklye** [čekl′e], **csigle** [čigle] ‘trap (1549); snare (for catching birds) (c1550); bird cage (1887)’ | 1549 *chikleben* [čiklē-ben], 1550 *czikle* [cikle or čikle], 1585 *czekle* [cëkle or čëkle], 1604 *Tzeklye* [cëkle or čëkle], dial *csigle* [čigle] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 828) | *čigle*, *čëkle*, *čekl′e*, *čikle* < **čikle* ← WOT **čiklä* < ? **čik* {with suff +*lA*} || **csigolya**[2] [čigoyå] ‘a kind of willow, used for baskets and in viticulture, *Salix purpurea*’ | p1358 GN *Chigle* [čigle], 1655 *tzigolya* [tsigol′å], 1685 GN *Csigolia* [čigol′å], 1792 GN *tsigaja* [cigåyå] | *čigoyå* < **čigol′a* < **čigla* ← WOT **čïgla* < ? **čïg* {with suff +*lA*} || **csigla** [čiglå] ‘a kind of willow’ | 1358/p1358 GN *chigle* [čigle] | *čiglå* < **čigla* ← WOT **čïgla* < ? **čïg* {with suff +*lA*} | EOT *čig*, *čïg* ‘a plant, curtain made from it’.

Of possible T origin.

OT *čïġ* ‘Pflanzenart’ (UTTVII 24:10), *čī̈ġ* ‘a curtain used as a screen, and made for tent dwellers from the santonin plant’. This is a plant that is thinner and more fragile than reeds’ (AK); **MT** *čïg* ‘rideau, courtine’ (UHy), *šïġ* ‘rush-mat’ (ABF), *čïġ* ‘espèce de natte faite de cordes et de roseaux qu’on fixe aux parois de la tente, clayonnage léger qu’on met devant la porte de la tente’ (AChag), *čïġ* ‘a mat’ woven out of reeds and thread which they put on tent walls’ (AChagAb), *čïġ* (ǰ-) ‘kamışdan iple dokunan hasır’ (AChagAbA), *čïġ* ‘a screen in the shape of a curtain made of reeds and thin sticks which is hung over the door of a house or tent’ (AChagSC), *čïγ* ‘hohe Hecke aus Rohr und Holzstücken’, *čiy* ‘Vorsatzschirm, Vorhang aus Rohr’ (AChagŠSK), *çığ* ‘çadırlarda çubuklardan örülmüş paravana gibi bölme’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śüśe*, *śĕvśe* ‘iva, tal′nik; willow’ (Chuv, ChuvA); ***NW*** *čiy* ‘čij (vysokaja žestkaja stepnaja trava, stebli kotoroj idut na izgotovlenie cinovok), cinovka iz čija, zagorodka vokrug rešetki jurty iz cinovki, sdelannoj iz čija, cinovka iz čija, každyj stebel′ kotorogo obmotan cvetnymi nitkami’ (Kirg), *ši* [šiy] ‘mats of shaggy grass covering the latticed part of a yurt, rough shaggy grass (*Lasia grostia splendens* or *Stipa splendens*)’ (Kaz), *šī* ‘hartes Steppengras, Matten aus diesem Grase, welche man von aussen um das Jurtengitter befestigt’ (KazR), *šiy* ‘cinovka iz tonkogo kamyša’ (Kklp), *šiy* ‘čiy (*vid bolotnogo rastenija, iz kotorogo izgotovljajutsja cynovki*)’ (RKklp), ? *šilik* ‘loznjak (iz kotorogo pletut korzinki)’ (Nog), *čiy* ‘cinovka (iz kamyša dlja valjanija, katanija šersti)’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *jïġ* ‘sornaja trava, sitnik, morskaja trava’ (Az), *çığ* ‘*prov.* basket-work, screen, partition in a tent’ (Tt), *čïġ* ‘ausgespannte Matten vor dem Eingange des Zeltes’ (TtR), *çığ* ‘süt kazanlarının üzerini kapatmak için kamıştan yapılan örtü,

çadırlarda kamıştan yapılmış bölme, keçi ve koyun yavrularını koymak için kamıştan veya tahta parçalarından yapılmış ağıl, çit, ucu dikenli bir çeşit kamış', *çığlık* 'terasın önüne iki metre yükseklikte ince çıtadan yapılan korkuluk' (TtD1); ***SE*** *čiy* '(bot.) čiy blestjaščij, čiya (pletenka iz kamyša, uložennogo v odin rjad i skreplennogo provolokoj ili špagatom – ispol′zuetsja kak stroitel′nyj material)' (Uzb), *čiy* 'çöladirlarda osadigan baland, bâšâqli ösimlik, čalâvning bir türi, kamišdan yâki savaġičdan qatârlab ip, sim bilan bâğlab tokilğan kuriliš materiali' (UzbI), *čiġ* 'a grass or reed, Arundinella nepalensis, used for making baskets and mats, a reed-mat' (TurkiJ), *čiga* 'vegetable fibre, a kind of wild hemp, also a rope made of the same' (TurkiSh), ? *čigyik* 'vodjanaja trava' (TurkiL), *čiġ* '(*bot.*) čij' (MUyg), *ʒiġ* 'čij, stepnaja trava' (YUyg) ? *čig* 'kovyl′ (stepnaja trava)', *čïġ* 'čij (stepnaja trava)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *čiy* 'vysokaja, žestkaja trava, stebli kotoroj idut na prigotovlenie cynovok' (Alt); ***Y*** *sigälāx* 'porošij ivuju ili tal′nikom, ivovyj, talovyj, imejuščij lyko', *sigän-* 'teret′sja, vjazat′sja, privjazyvat′sja, navjazyvat′sja, pristavat′, pritesnjat′', *sigä* 'vid tal′nika, *Salix Tourn.*, černaja iva, tal′nik, černaja talina, tal′nikovyj remešok, lyko' (Y).

Mo *čigirsün* 'straw or rush mat, straw, rush' (L).

E/T The basic word is *čïg*, originally the name of a sort of plant, later a specific name of a plant fr which a curtain or screen can be made. In many T lgs it became front vocalic. It changed later to *čiy* and the like. Y *sigä* is the name of a kind of willow, and *sigälāx* is the place where 'the willow grows'. Chuv *śüśe, śĕvśe* 'iva, tal′nik; willow', missing fr Fedotov (1996), is derived fr WOT **čïgčag* (> **čigčäγ* > *śĕvśe* > *śüśe*), EOT **čïgčak*. The suff is also present in H **borsó**, **koporsó**, **orsó**. While Chuv and Y preserved the name of the willow as the name of a plant fr which a curtain, hedge or screen is made, most other lgs shifted the semantics to reed-like or even grass-like plants growing in their surroundings.

E/H There exist two H words, *csekle* 'trap, snare for catching birds, bird cage' and *cigle*, earlier also *cegle*, 'wicker, withe, willow twig, a kind of willow used for wickerwork, basket'. The suggestion made by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 197) that *csekle* and *cigle* are split variants is highly probable. The spelling of the early data for *csekle* may sometimes point to an initial *ts-*, i.e. *cekle*. The original meaning of the word may be 'twigs used for binding, for snares, cages etc., a kind of willow, the twigs which are used for the same purpose'. A third noun is *csigolya*[2], which is homophonous with, but independent of **csigolya**[1] 'vertebra spondile'. *csigolya*[2] is the name of a willow called the 'purple osier, *Salix purpurea*', in general, a kind of willow twig (for making a pannier)', the same as *cigle*. Perhaps the earliest item is recorded in the Lat chronicle of Simon de Kéza (1282–1285) in the bisyllabic form *Chigle* [čigle] while the trisyllabic forms seem to be the result of later development. The three OH nouns **čigle*, **čikle* and **čigla* may share a common origin. The *č* > *c* sound change may be a rare H change, whereas the vowel changes are at least possible.

What the Lat chronicle says about the Huns is also of interest: 21. "*Remanserant quoque de Hunnis virorum tria millia ex prælio Crimildino erepti per fugæ interfugium, qui timentes occidentis nationas in campo Chigle usque Arpad permanserunt, qui se ibi non Hunnos, sed Zaculos vocaverunt. Isti etenim Zaculi Hunorum sunt residui, qui dum Hungaros in Pannoniam iterato cognoverunt remeasse, redeuntibus in Rutheniæ finibus occurrerunt, insimulque Pannonia conquestata partem in ea sunt adepti…*" (ed. Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 162; see also Róna-Tas 1999: XV, 46, 424). This is a part of the so-called Hun chronicle, where the Huns are introduced as the ancestors of the Hungarians. According to this text, "after the battle with the Germans (Krimhildians), 3.000 men escaped and, because they feared the occidental nations, they remained at the *campus* of *Chigle* until Árpád['s arrival]. There they called themselves Zakuls, not Huns. These Zakuls are the remnants of the Huns who remained until they heard that Hungarians would come to conquer Pannonia a second time. They [the Zakuls] went to meet them at the borderlands of Ruthenia, and, after they conquered Pannonia together, they won a place in one of its parts…" (translated by Róna-Tas). The *Zakul*s of the text are the *Sekler*s, a H ethnic group in Transylvania, now Romania. The name of the meadow or field "where the Huns lived until the Hungarians came" was *Chigle*. Though it is not impossible for the meadow to have been named after the willows growing there and thus for the etymology of the GN *Čigle* to be connected with the other H words, this is uncertain because of the absence of any suggestion as to the semantics of the GN.

The H word *csigla* was first compared with Tt *çığ* 'basket-work, screen, partition in a tent' by Sebestyén (1899a: 18). According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 672, 1032–1033), it cannot be ruled out that the H words *cigle*, *csigla*, *csekle*, *csigle* may be etymologically identical with the H word *csigolya*[2], which has a similar meaning. They felt, however, that this assumption calls for further investigation. Pais (1914: 68–72; 1915: 315) considered *cigle* to be of Sl origin and presumed a copied form **cigla*. On the basis of the Ugr data, N. Sebestyén (1950: 310) claimed that, although H *cigle* and *csigolya*[2] have similar meanings, their interrelation cannot be proven. Pais (1955: 110) changed his view and contended that T *čïgla* 'plaited work, hedge, fence' has the H counterparts *csigla*, *cigle* ~ *cëgle* 'a kind of willow' while the trisyllabic words *csigola* > *csigolya* and *cigolya* 'willow' may be of Ugr origin. Pais (1962: 23) later considered *csigolya*[2] as an internal H development fr a copied member of a T word family to which *csigla* 'hedge, willow' may also belong. Lakó (1967–1978/1: 115–116) cited the opinion posited by the earlier researchers and considered the etymology of the words in question as debatable. Accordingly, if the variant with initial *cs-* is the primary one in H, it may either have been borrowed fr an Ugr inheritance or even copied fr T. In this latter case, he assumed a T copied form **čïgla* 'plaited work, hedge, fence', which is the der of the base *čïg-* 'schnüren'. The change fr T **čïgla* 'plaited

work, hedge, fence' to H *csigla* and *cigle ~ cëgle* 'a kind of willow' may have resulted fr an internal H development. *csigola* and then *csigolya*, *cigolya*, meaning 'willow', were later formed fr H *csigla*. It is also possible that the word *csigolya* is of FUgr origin and was confused in H with the words *csigla*, *cigle ~ cëgle*, which are of T origin.

According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 491–492), the H word *csekle* is perhaps a variant of *cëgle ~ cigle* 'willow' and the H word *cigle* (Benkő 1967–1984/1: 430, 522) is very likely the result of an internal H development. It may go back either directly to *csigolya* 'willow' or to a former form of it. For the etymology of *csigolya*[2], he mentions two possibilities: (1) It may be an inherited word fr the Ugr lexicon; (2) It may also be a T lw; cf. T **čïgla* 'hedge'. Finally, Benkő did not exclude the possibility that *csigolya*[2] is of Ugr origin and *csigla*, *cigle* are of T origin and both were part of a lexical confusion in H. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 167, 211) considered the words in question to be of unknown origin. He thought that *cigle* could have resulted fr a lexical split of the H word *csigolya*. In this case, one can suppose a change in vowel harmony first and syncopation second. He also claimed that the relative base of the word *csigolya*[2] could be the same as that of **csigolya**[1] and that both words underwent independent development. This latter opinion of Benkő, however, cannot be supported. Ligeti (1986) discussed none of these words among the T elements of the H lexicon.

The main problem is that T ders like **čïgla* or **čiglä* do not exist. We can only reconstruct a form **čïgla* with the meaning 'a place where the plant *čïg* grows or abounds' (see *borla* 'vineyard' < *bor* 'vine', Erdal 1991: 108–109).

If the H word *cigle* were of T origin, the *cs-* > *c-* sound change should have happened in H, although we do know of some Kip dials (Mishar and SibTat) with the same *č* > *c* change.

The reason why the H words have been included in the Lexicon is that the names of the willow are formed fr **čig* but with different suffs both in Y and in Chuv. The prototype of the suff **+lA* in H has yet to be researched.

◆ Sebestyén 1899a: 18; Pais 1914: 68–72; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 672, 1032–1033; Pais 1915: 312–315; Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 162; N. Sebestyén 1950: 310; Pais 1955: 110; Pais 1962: 23; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 130–131; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 430, 491–492, 522; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 115–116; Räsänen 1969: 107, 110; Clauson 1972: 404–405, 407, 413–415; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 696, 828; Erdal 1991: 108–109, 340–344, 403–411; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 167, 197, 211; Fedotov 1996/2: 159; Róna-Tas 1999: XV, 46, 424; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 408, 446.

CÖTKÉNY [cötkēń] 'a kind of wolf's milk, Easter flower, *Euphorbia*' | 1825 *tzetkény* [cetkēń], 1872 *cötkény* [cötkēń], dial *cötkén* [cötkēn], *cetkiny* [cetkiń], *ceteginy* [cetegiń], *cetteginy* [cettegiń], *cetkény* [cetkēń] | *cötkēń* < **sütken*, **süttegen* ← Cum

**sütkän*, **süttägän* ‘milky (plant)’ | EOT **sütgän*, **sütägän*, **sütlägän* ← *süt* {with suff *+gAn* or *+A-gAn* or *+lA-gAn*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *süčig* ‘sweet’ (RMKT S 5; RMBilg N 4), *süt* ‘Milch’ (UTTVII 16:8,12,21), *süt* ‘Milch’ (UHeilkI 96, 105, 106; UHeilkII Nr. 3:144; Nr. 4:17), *sūt* ‘milk’, *süčī-* ‘to be sweet’, *sūčig* ‘sweet, wine’ (AK), *süt* ‘milk’, *süčig* ‘sweet’ (AQB), *süt* (südh – syu dh) ‘Milch’ (B M 34); **MT** *süt* ‘Milch’ (UOg), *süčüg* ‘tatlı’ (UY), *süt* ‘Milch’ (UCivAd 01:3), *süčüg* ‘süßer Wein, Weintraubensaft’ (UCivLo 03:5,7), *süt* ‘milk’ (ABF), *süt* ‘milk’ (AGul), *süt* ‘süt’, *süči*, *süčüg* ‘tatlı, hoş’ (AHMA), *süčüg* ‘słodki’, *süčüglük* ‘słodycz’, *süčük* ‘słodycze, wino’ (AHŠ), *süt* ‘moloko’, *süčük* (-ǰ-) ‘sladkij, vkusnyj, sladosti’ (AHŠF), *süt* ‘moloko’, *süčū* (-ǰ-), *sūčūg* (-ǰ-) ‘sweet’ (AIM), *süt* ‘insan ve hayvan dişilerinin memesinden gelen ak ve sıvık madde’, *süčü*, *süčüg* ‘tatlı’ (AIMI), *süt* ‘milk’ (AKD), *süt* ‘milk’, *süčüg* ‘sweet’ (AKor), *süt* ‘süt’, *süčüg* ‘tatlı’ (ANeh), *süt* ‘moloko’, *süčük* (-ǰ-) ‘sladkij, vkusnyj, sladosti’ (ANehF), *süčil-*, *süčül-* ‘to become sweet’, *süčüg*, *čüčüg* ‘sweet’ (ARbg), *süt* ‘moloko’, *süčüg* ‘sladkij, vkusnyj’ (ATef), *süčüg* ‘tatlı’ (AYC), *süd*, *süt* ‘lait, cotte de mailles’, *süǰük* ‘doux, agréable’, *süǰi* ‘échanson, juteux, vin’ (AChag), *süt* ‘süd demekdir *şir* manasına’, *čüčük* ‘tatlu’ (AChagAb), *süt* ‘süd’, *čüčük* ‘tatlu’ (AChagAbA), *süt* ‘tej [milk]’, *ǰüǰük* ‘édes [sweet]’ (AChagAbV), *süt* ‘moloko’, *čüči-* ‘imeť sladosť, prijatnosť’, *čüčük* ‘sok; sladkij, vkusnyj, prijatnyj’ (AChagBud), *süt* ‘milk’, *süčüg*, *čüčüg* ‘sweet’ (AChagG), *süt* ‘moloko’ (AChagMA), *süt* ‘die Milch’, *čüči-* ‘einen süssen Geschmack haben, fade sein’, *čüčük* ‘süss, fade’, *süči-* ‘Süssigkeit haben, süss, wohlschmeckend sein’, *süǰük* ‘süss, wohlschmeckend’ (AChagR), *süǰük*, *ǰüǰük* ‘sweet, tasty’ (AChagSC), *süt* ‘šir’ (AChagŠS), *süčük* ‘leziz, tatlı; schmackhaft, süss’, *sütkelegen* ‘sütleyen, süt veren; Milchgebend’, *čučuk* ‘tatlı, şirin; süss’ (AChagŠSK), *süt*, *süd* ‘Milch’, *ǰüǰük* ‘süss, angenehm, mild’ (AChagZ), *čüči* ‘sanft, süsslich?’ (LCCG), *süt* ‘Milch’ (LCCI), *süt* ‘süt’, Kïp. *süčü*, Tkm. *süči* ‘tatlı, şarap’ (AAH), *süǰü* ‘çakır, bor, şarap’ (AAHI), *süt*, *süd* ‘lait’ (ABul), *süt* ‘lait (frais)’, *süči* (? *süǰi*) ‘vin (doux)’ (ADur), *süt* ‘frische Milch’, *süčü-* (-ǰ-) ‘süß, Wein’, (Tkm.) *süǰī* ‘süß, Wein’ (AHou), *süt* ‘Milch’, *čüčün* ‘Wein aus Rosinen bereitet’ (AKav), *süt* ‘moloko’ (ATuh), *süt* ‘süt’ (ATuhA), *sut* ‘lait’ (AmTr), *süd češmesi* ‘meme’, *süt aġzï* ‘ağuz’, *süǰi* (*süǰü*) ‘şarap, içki içme’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *sětken* ‘sok, sočnyj, vlaga, (peren.) živiteľnaja sila’, *sětkenlĕ kurăk* ‘sočnaja trava’, *sĕt* ‘moloko, moločnyj, moločko, mlečnyj sok’ (Chuv), *sětkem*, *sětken*, *sětkĕn*, *sětxen* ‘sok, vlaga’, *sĕt* (*sŏt*) ‘moloko, molokoobraznoe soderžimoe v šeluhe nesozrevšego zerna hleba’ (ChuvA), *sětken*, Szp. *sŏtŏkken* ‘fanedv; Baumsaft’, *pulă-sětkene* ‘haltej; Milch der Fische’, *sĕt*, Szp. *sŏt* ‘tej; Milch’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sötlegän* = dial *sötlüläп* ‘(bot.) moločaj, (dial.) moločaj prutovidnyj’, *töče* ‘presnyj, (prjam., peren.) sladkij, pritornyj’ (Tat), *söt* ‘tej; Milch’, *sötläп-* ‘tőgyet ereszteni, tejesedni, szemezni, érni kezdeni (gabona); eutern, anfangen zu reifen (Getreide)’ (TatB), *hötlögän*, *hötlökäy* ‘(bot.) moločaj’, *höt* ‘moloko,

moločnyj, (bot.) mlečnyj sok', *sösö-* 'delat'sja pritornym', *sösö* 'presnyj, (peren.) pritornyj, elejnyj' (Bashk), *sötlögän* 'tukranbaš, klever', *sücük* 'ǰiläk-ǰimeš suï; sok', *cöcö* 'töče; presnyj; ballï, tämle; sladkij', *cöcök* 'kayïn suï; berezovyj sok; sïyïkča; sok' (SibTat), *söt*, *süt* 'moloko' (SibTatBD), *süttükön* 'moločaj', *süt* 'moloko' (Kirg), *süttĭgen* '(bot.) spurge (*Euphorbia*)' (Kaz), *süttĭgen* 'moločaj', *süt* 'moloko' (KazM), *süt* 'moloko' (Kklp), *sütlimek* '(bot.) moločaj' (RKklp), *sütekey*, *sütligen*, *sütliken* '(bot.) moločaj', *süt* 'moloko' (Nog), *süt* 'moloko' (CrTat), *sit* 'moloko' (KarH), *süt* 'moloko' (KarC), *s'ut'* 'moloko' (KarT), *sütegen* '(bot.) moločaj', *süt* 'moloko, moločnyj' (Kum), *süt* 'moloko, moločnyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *süyt* [sūt] 'moloko, moločnyj', *süytleŋŋič* [ū] '(bot.) moločaj serejuščij, (zool.) bož'ja korovka', *süyǰi* [ū] 'sladkij, vkusnyj, presnyj, (peren.) sladkij, prijatnyj, sladostnyj, uslaždajuščij, sladko, prijatno, sladostno, sladkoe, sladosti' (Tkm), *süd* 'moloko, moločnyj', *südläyän* '(bot.) moločaj (*jadovitoe rastenie*)' (Az), *süttkan*, *sütdiyän* 'hırda yarpaglı südlü şııralı, yem bitkisi' (AzD), *sütleğen* 'euphorbium, gum-plant, (bot.) *Euphorbia resinifera*', *süt* 'milk, milk-like juice, (drivers' slang) gasoline, petrol', *cücük* '(prov.) bud, young shoot, heart of an onion, tuft of beard, "imperial", chick, sweet and tender' (Tt), *sütlügen* = *sütleğen* '(bot.) moločaj (*Euphorbia*)' (TtB), *sütlägän* 'die Wolfsmilch' (TtR), *sütlen* 'sütleğen denilen, içinde süt gibi beyaz bir su bulunan yaban otu' (TtD), *sütlen* '(bot.) moločaj', *süt* 'moloko, moločnyj, sok (rastenij)' (Gag), *sīt*, *sūt*, *sūt* etc. 'Milch' (Khor), *sit* 'Milch' (SOg); ***Kh*** *sī^{i}tläyän* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen', *sī^{i}tluɣ* 'milchig', *sī^{i}t* 'Milch' (Kh), *sūt* 'Milch' (KhT); ***SE*** *sutqån* '(bot.) moločaj džungarskij', *sutlama* '(bot.) moločaj', *čuči-* 'stat' sladkim', *sučuk*, *čučuk* 'sladkij, presnyj' (Uzb), *sutqån* 'zaharli suti bulgn usmlik' (UzbI), *sùt*, *su^{û}t* 'milk', *sùtlùk ot* 'milk-thistle, sow-thistle' (TurkiJ), *süt* 'milk', *süčük* 'sweet (not bitter or sour)', *čüčük* 'savoury, nice-tasting, not sour' (TurkiSh), *süt* 'moloko', *süttük čay* – nazvanie travy s belym (moločnym) sokom (TurkiL), *sütligän* '(bot.) moločaj', *süt* 'moloko', *čüčü-* 'stat' kislovatym (na vkus), rastopit'sja (o masle ili sale), razžižat'sja' (MUyg), *süt*, *sü't*, *sü'* 'moloko' (Sal), *sut*, *süt* 'lait' [Pot. *süt*] (SalK), *söt*, *sut*, *süt* 'moloko' (YUyg), *süt*, *söt*, *sot*, *sut* 'moloko', *čučaq*, *čüčaq* 'prostokvaša' (YUygM); ***NE*** *süt* 'moloko', *süttü* 'moločnyj, imejuščij moloko' (Alt), *süt* 'die Milch' (AltR), *süt* 'die Milch' (AltLR), *süt* 'moloko' (AltQK), *süt* 'moloko' (AltTK), *süt* 'die Milch' (AltTelR), *süt* 'moloko' (Khak), *süt* 'die Milch' (KhakQbR), *süt* 'die Milch' (KhakQchR), *süt* 'die Milch' (KhakSR), *süt* 'die Milch' (KhakShR), *süt* 'die Milch' (ChulR), *süt* 'milk' (FY), *süt* 'moloko, moločnyj' (Tuv), *süt* 'die Milch' (TuvSR), *süt* 'moloko' (Tof); ***Y*** *ūt* 'moloko' (Y), *ūt*, *üt* 'Milch' (Dlg).

E/T The base of the T etymon for the H word may be *süt* 'milk' < PT **sūt*, a word which is well-known in the historical and contemporary sources within the Turcia. The link between T *süt* and Mo *sün* 'milk' seems likely, however, it is not obvious and different views can be found in the literature. Poppe (1955: 51) argued that Mo *sün* 'milk' goes back to **üsün* and that Mo "*sü* shows the disappearance of the vowel

ü- in the initial syllable"; this can hardly be accepted. If the Mo and T words belong together, a much more likely explanation would be that the T word *süt* was borrowed into Mo, but that it was regarded as a pl form in Mo because of the final consonant *-t*, and this accounts for the back formation of the borrowed lexeme *süt* to *sün* in Mo. On this explanation, see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 286–287) and Ščerbak (1997: 150, 182, 245). The T word was borrowed by Kamass (Joki 1952: 277) and the Mo *sün* appeared in Man (Cincius 1975–1977/2: 126). According to Tenišev (2001: 448), one can assume an old T–Mo base **sü°*. Furthermore, he suggests a link between this reconstructed T–Mo base and the T verbal stem *süm-*, *sim-* 'sosat′', where he posits the *-ü-* as a vowel that developed secondarily fr *-i-* under the influence of *-m-*. Tenišev's comparison raises phonological problems, namely both T and Mo *ü* should be secondary. The semantic parallelism of Tu *uku-* 'sosat′ grud′' vs. *ukun* 'moloko' is not strong enough to accept his hypothesis.

Another idea posited by Tenišev is even less probable: he assumed a connection between the base **sü°* and the T verb *süz-* 'vyžimat′' (< 'cedit′'), which he supports by offering an OIr lexical parallelism.

The word *süt* 'milk' functioning as the base of the T etymon for the H word is certainly well-known in the T sources, but so are its ders. One of them is *süči-* 'to be sweet' < **süt+sI-* (see Räsänen 1969: 434; Clauson 1972: 795, 796–797; Erdal 1991: 72, 204, 534–535), which also has its own ders. According to Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 121; 1952–1966/2: 138), the change **-ts-* > **-č-* occurred in the T lgs at a very early stage, but it also enjoyed a renewed presence in later historical periods. Erdal (1991: 534–535) rightly pointed out that T *süči-* 'to be sweet and pleasant' < **süt+sI-* is correct because both words meaning 'milk' and 'sweet' are represented with a long *-ū̄-*. For the semantics, as Erdal noted, see e.g. Pehl *šīrēn* 'sweet' fr *šīr* 'milk'.

The different ders fr the base *milk* denote several plant names in the T lgs, e.g. Uzb *sutkån* goes back to **süt+kän* < **süt+gAn* (on the suff *+gAn* in OT, see Erdal 1991: 85–89). The base of Tat *sötlegän* [*sötlögän*], Bashk *hötlögän*, SibTat *sötlögän*, Kaz *süttigen*, Nog *sütligen*, Tt *sütlügen* is **söt+lX* < **süt+lXg* 'milky' (> also TurkiJ *sütlük ot*), to which the suff **+gAn* was added. On the suff *+lXg*, see Erdal (1991: 139–155). Kirg *süttükön* 'moločaj' and Nog *sütliken* may go back to **süt+lXk+gAn*. On the suff *+lXk*, see Erdal (1991: 121–138). The Tat dial word *sötlülän* can be traced back to the compound **sötlö ülän* 'milky grass', as well *sötlut* [< *sötlö* + *ut*] 'osot polevoj, *Sonchus arvensis*' (TatD). Bashk *hötlökäy* certainly represents a form with a dim suff.

Some ModT data seem to be ders fr the verbal forms **süt+A-* or **süt+lA-* 'to be/get milky', see e.g. Uzb *sutlama*, Kklp *sütlimek*, Nog *sütekey*, Kum *sütegen*, Gag *sütlen*, Tt *sütleğen*, AzD *sütdiyän*, MUyg *sütligän* and Kh *sīʲtläyän*.

E/H Although Benkő considered the H dial word *cötkény* (1967–1984/1: 457) to be of unknown origin and considered a T origin unlikely, the H word had already been linked to T *süt* 'milk' by Munkácsi (1893: 203). According to Gombocz (1907a: 155), the borrowed T form was **sütkän*, while Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 761) pointed out that the copied form was a BulgT **sütkän* item. As correctly noted by Ligeti (1986: 194), the very late appearance and the relatively narrow geographical area of its occurrence in H indicate that the H dial word may be of Cum origin. For the unusual H *c-* ~ T *s-* correspondence, Ligeti (1986: 194) mentioned the H town name *Karcag*, which may, through a H family name, go back to the T etymon *karsak* 'the steppe fox, *Canis corsac*' (see Clauson 1972: 663), where the same phenomenon can be seen. However, Ligeti's example demonstrates H *-rc-* ~ T *-rs-* in word-internal position. On the H *sz-* [s] > *c-* change, one can find very clear examples in the H linguistic literature (Bárczi 1958b: 163; Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár 1967: 123), see e.g. Sl *svekla* 'red beet' ⟶ *cékla* id., H *szigorú* 'severe' > dial *cigorú* id., **szép** 'beautiful' > dial *cép* id. Mándoky's explanation (1993: 101–104) that the Cum word copied into H was **sütlägän* or **sütligän* and that the change that occurred in H was **szütken* [sütken] > *cötkény* [cötkēń] is not necessarily the case. The copied Cum word could also be **sütkän*. As Benkő (1967–1984/1: 457) rightly pointed out, the H dial word *cötkény* 'Wolfsmilch, Wasserlilie, Klee' can hardly be related to the old H word *cetkény* 'fixing cord of the water-mill', although such a connection between these words was claimed in the *Szeged Dictionary* by Bálint (1957/1: 222).

◆ Munkácsi 1893: 203; Gombocz 1907a: 155; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 761; Joki 1952: 277; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 121; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 138; Poppe 1955: 51; Bálint 1957/1: 222; Bárczi 1958b: 163; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 286–287, 307–308; Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár 1967: 123; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 457; Räsänen 1969: 434; Clauson 1972: 663, 795–797; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 126; Ligeti 1986: 194; Erdal 1991: 72, 85–89, 121–138, 139–155, 204, 534–535; Mándoky 1993: 101–104; Ščerbak 1997: 150, 182, 245; Tenišev 2001: 448; Starostin–Dybo-Mudrak 2003: 1300; Berta 2006: 65–71.

Cs

CSABAK [čåbåk] 'a fish, *Leuciscus souffia agassizi*' | 1419 PN *Chabak* [čåbåk], 1825 *tsabak keszég* [čåbåk kesēg] | *čåbåk* < **čabak* ← Cum **čabak* | EOT *čapak* 'a small freshwater fish, the bream' < ? **čapV-gAk* < **čapV-* 'to move quickly' {with suff *-gAk*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *čapaq* 'name of a type of fish [they are small and are found in the lake of the Turks]', 'a puny man' is likened to them and called *čapaq är* (AK); **MT** *čapaq* 'petit poisson' (AChag), *čabaq* (so spelt) *māhī-yi rīza* 'a small fish' (AChagSC), *čapak* 'Fisch eines lang gestreckten breiten Sees' (AChagŠSK), *čapaq* 'kleine Fische' (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čapak* 'plotva' (← Tat), *śupax* 'lešč, leščovyj' (Chuv), *čapak* 'nazv. melkoj ryby', *čapak pulă* 'čebak (ryba)', *śupak*, *śopak* 'nazv. ryby', *śopax* 'nazv. ryby', *śopax-ay* 'nazv. ryby, podleščik', *śăpăx* 'lešč' (ChuvA), *čapak* 'halfaj; Art Fisch', *śupax* 'lešč (dévérkeszeg); Brassen, *Cyprinus brama*' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čabak* 'plotva, sorožka' (Tat), *čabaq* 'sorožka – ryba' (TatD), *čabak* 'kleine Fische, die Plötze' (TatR), *sabaq* 'plotva, soroga (ryba)' (Bashk), *čabaq* 'čabak (*vid ryby*)' (SibTatBD), *cabak* 'der Brassen' (SibTatBR), *čabak* 'vsjakaja melkaja ryba, rybeška, (peren.) (o ljudjah) melkota, ljudiški (*napr.* v ėpose obyknovennye ljudi v sravnenii s bogatyrjami), tonen´kaja paločka dlja bit´ja šersti (ton´še, čem saboo), spica (kolesa), nebol´šaja žerd´, obrešetina' (Kirg), *šabaq* 'spoke (of a wheel)', *šabaq balïq* 'bream (small fish), small fry' (Kaz), *šabaq* 'lešč, podleščik' (Kklp), *šabaq*, *šawaq* 'čabak, podleščik (nazvanie ryby)' (KklpB), *šabaq* 'podleščik' (RKklp), *šabak* 'vobla' (Nog), *čabaq* 'vobla, plotva' (CrTat), *čapaq* 'ein flacher Fisch' (CrTatR), *čabaq* 'ryba' (KarSh), *čabaq* 'ryba' (Kum), *čabaq* 'ryba, v nazvanijah ryb' (KrchBlk), *cabaq* 'Fisch' (BlkP), *c'abaq* 'Fisch' (KrchP); ***SW*** *čapak* 'vobla' (Tkm), *čapag* 'lešč (ryba)' (Az), *çapak* 'bream, zool. *Abramis brama*' (Tt), *çapak*: *çapak balığı* 'yayın ve sazan balıklarının yavrusu, karnı kanatlı ve sarı pullu sazan soyundan tatlı suda eylûlden mayısa kadar avlanan bir çeşit balık' (TtD), *çabak* 'küçük cins balık', *çapak balığı* 'sazan soyundan, karnı kanatlı ve sarı pullu tatlı su balığı, sazan ve yayın balığı yavrusu' (TtD1), *čapaq* 'ein flacher Fisch' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čavaq*, *čåvåq*: *čåvåq baliq* 'plotva' (Uzb), *čabaq* 'a species of fish' (TurkiSh); ***NE*** *čabak* '(obl.) čebak (nazvanie ryby)' (Alt), *čabak* 'ein kleiner Fisch' (AltR), *čabak* 'ein kleiner Fisch' (AltLR), *čabak* 'ein kleiner Fisch' (AltTelR), *šabaq* 'ein kleiner Fisch' (KhakShR), *cabaq* 'der Brassen' (ChulR), ? *šavaga* 'melkaja ryba' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for the H word is the fish name *čabak* < **čapak*, which usually denotes 'the bream, *Abramis brama*'. It seems to be a simplex. Though less likely, it cannot be ruled out that OT **čapak*, may go back to PT **čapV-gAk*. In this case

the verbal base would be the PT **čapV-* 'to swim'. On the T verb *čap-* with several different meanings ('to strike', 'to run, gallop' etc.), see Clauson (1972: 394). In the Karakhanid sources the verb also had the meaning 'to swim'; cf. *čap-* 'to swim' and *čaptur-*: *är kulïn suwda čapturdï* 'the man made his slave swim in the water (or other)' (AK), *čap-* 'to swim' (AQB). On the OT suff *-gAk*, see Erdal (1991: 391–396). It must be noted that the reconstruction of PT **čapV-gak* is not strong, and neither **čapgak* nor **čapkak* can be found in the T lgs. According to Kashgari, *čapak är* denotes 'a puny man'. One also finds the same metaphorical meaning in the case of the H fish name *keszeg* 'bream, a puny person'; cf. also the secondary meanings of the Kirg and Kaz data. The MUyg word *čapaka* 'žaba' does not belong here. The etymological status of Tuv *šavaga* 'melkaja ryba' is debated. The T word *čapak* was probably copied into Rus fr a Kip variety because of the first vowel (*-e-*) and the voiced internal phoneme (*-b-*) in Rus *čebak* 'Barbe, *Cyprinus barbus*; Flußbrachse, *Abramis brama*; Weißfisch, *Leuciscus rutilus*'; cf. Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 322). It is not only in the Kip branch of the T lgs that the sound change *-p-* > *-b-* can be detected. The Uzb data has the internal consonant *-v-*, which goes back to an earlier *-b-* < **-p-*. In Turki and the Sib lgs the word may be of Kip origin. The T word *čapak* was borrowed by other non-T lgs as well; cf. the entry *čapāġ* 'eine Art Fisch' in Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 46–47). While the Chuv words *śupak*, *śopak* 'nazv. ryby' are relatively early lws fr Tat, *śupaχ* may be an original word and Chuv *čapak* a very new borrowing fr Tat or Rus.

On the Voty and Zyr *čabak* 'plotva', which are lws fr Tat, see Fedotov (1996/2: 138).

E/H The H word was considered to be of T origin as early as by Munkácsi (1893: 183). Because of the late appearance and the relatively narrow geographical occurrence of the H word *csabak*, it was first considered by Gombocz (1907a: 109) to be of Sl origin. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 56) changed his point of view and discussed *csabak* among the "Old Chuvash" borrowings of the H lg. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 788), and later Németh (1921: 25–26) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 463–464; 1993–1997/1: 183), regarded the word as being of "Cumanian–Pecheneg" origin. In fact, the term "Cumanian–Pecheneg" (and "Kabar–Cumanian–Pecheneg") used by some authorities is obsolete now. Ligeti (1986: 80, 89, 115, 294, 541) discussed *csabak* as a lw fr Cum. The internal *-b-* < *-p-* points to the middle layer of T borrowings in H.

◆ Munkácsi 1893: 183; Gombocz 1907a: 109; Gombocz 1912b: 56; Horger 1912: 451; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 788; Németh 1921: 25–26; Rásonyi 1923–1927: 126; Ligeti 1935a: 213; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 46–47; Egorov 1964: 219; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 308, 322; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 463–464; Räsänen 1969: 99; Clauson 1972: 394–395; Ligeti 1986: 80, 89, 115, 294, 541; Erdal 1991: 391–396; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 183; Fedotov 1996/2: 138; Tenišev 2001: 177; Ö. Bartha 2002: 54; Tietze 2002: 474.

CSAK [čåk] ‘only, just’ | a1372 *czak* [čåk], 1515 *cag* [čåg], 1545 *čahak* [čåhåk], dial *cseg*, *csëk*, *sak*, *szak* [čeg, čëk, šåk, sak] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 739) | *čåk* < **čak* ← WOT **čak* | EOT *čak* ‘just, exactly, precisely’.

OT *čaq*: *čaq amtï maŋa oġrayu* ‘Eben jetz hat es sich für mich geeignet’ (USuv, Malov 1951: 164; see the translation by Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 25), *čaq* ‘that very one’, *čaq* ‘a particle expressing “the essence and exact identity of a thing”, thus *čaq ol atnï tutgïl* ‘hold that very horse’, *čaq amačnï urgïl* ‘hit the target on the nose’ (AK), *čak ol ymä ugurdä* ‘precisely in that very time’ (B 3:96); **MT** *čaq*: *bu čaqda bu yerde* ‘Zu jener Zeit [gab es] in jenem Land’, *tang irdä čaqda keldi* ‘bei Morgengrauen kam er zurück’, *bu čaqda* ‘zu jener Zeit’ (UOg), *čaġ* ‘temps’ (UHy), *čaq* ‘miara’ (AHŠ), *čak* ‘mera, sootvetstvujuščee količestvo vremeni, moment’ (AHŠF), *čaq* ‘time’ (AKD = Mo *čaq*), *čaġ* ‘vremja, period’ (AM), ‘vremja’ (ATef), *čaq*, *čaġ* ‘temps, mesure’ (AChag), *čaġ* ‘idő, kor, mennyiség [time, period, quantity]’ (AChagAbV), *čag* ‘time, perfect, sound’ (AChagSC), *čaġ* ‘Zeit, Reihe, Augenblick’ (AChagŠS), *čak*, *čax* ‘Zeit’: *ertä čaqta* ‘in früherer Zeit’, *qïn čaqlarïnda* ‘in der Passionszeit’ (LCCI), *čaġ* ‘kïsa ve uzun müddet, (*dehr*) manasïna’ (AAHI), *čaq* ‘quand, lorsque (postp) e.g. *oturdïčaq*’ (ABul), *čaq* ‘mikor; als’ (AKav), *čaq* ‘time’ (AMGh), *šak*, *šag* ‘vremja, pora’ (ATuh), *čax* ‘mesure, convenablement, en rapport (avec)’ (AmTr), *çağ* ‘zaman, vakit, mevsim, devir, yaş’, *çak*, *çağ* ‘ta, tam, tamam’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śeś*, *śex*, *śiś*, *śix* ‘tol′ko, sovsem, vovse’ (Chuv, Fedotov 1996/2: 103), *čux* ‘pora, vremja, v poru, toč′-v-toč′, kak raz, količestvo, mera, kogda, pora, raz’ (Chuv ← Tat, Fedotov 1996/2: 425); ***NW*** *čak* ‘vremja, pora, gody’, *čak* ‘ele, edva, čut′’, *čak* ‘v poru, kak raz, v samyj raz’ (Tat), *sak* ‘vremja, pora’, *sak* ‘ele, edva, čut′ ne, vporu, kak raz, samyj raz’ (Bashk), *čak* ‘sorazmernyj, podhodjaščij, udobnyj, vporu, ogračinennyj, nedosta-točnyj’, *čak* vremja’ (Kirg), *šak* ‘term (time), age, period (of eight months, date etc.), hardly enough, just enough, suitable, fit (of clothing)’ (Kaz), *šak* ‘vremja, pora, vporu’ (Kklp), *šak* ‘vremja, pora, sezon, vozrast, leta’ (Nog), *čag* ‘vremja, pora, vozrast′’ (CrTat), *čaġ* ‘vremja, pora, vozrast’ (KarC), *šak* ‘odnako, ved′’ (KarC ← Pol), *čaq* ‘vremja, pora, vozrast’, *čaq* ‘klimat, pogoda’ (Kum), *čaġ* ‘vremja, pora, period’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čāg* ‘vremja, pora, horošee raspoloženie duha’, *čak* ‘mera, predel, predpoloženie’ (Tkm), *čaġ* ‘pora, vremja, horošee nastroenie’ (Az), *çağ* ‘time, age, period, the right time (for something), maturity’, *çak* ‘exactly, precisely’ (Tt), *čāk*, *čak* ‘do’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *ča*, *čāġ* ‘da’ (zeitlich ← Ar) (Kh); ***SE*** *čåg* ‘vremja, moment’ (Uzb), *čaq*, *čaġ* ‘occasion, account, time, moment’, *čaġlïq* ‘to the measure of, measuring’ (TurkiJ), *čaġ*, *čaq* ‘vremja, pora, moment, period’, *čag* ‘vporu, kak raz, sorazmernyj’ (MUyg), *čaġ* ‘vremja’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *čak* ‘vek, vremja’ (AltQK), *čak* ‘vremja, pora, mera vremeni’ (AltL), *čak* ‘mera, pora, vremja, sila, mošč′’ (AltK), *saġ* ‘sila’, *sax* ‘imenno, točno’ (Khak), *šax* ‘time’ (FY), *šag* ‘vremja, sila’, *šak* ‘čas, vremja’, *šak* ‘sovsem, soveršenno’

(Tuv), *šā*, *šag* ‘vremja’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sax* ‘vremja’, *saġa* ‘okolo (o vremeni)’ (Y), *haga* ‘wie, ähnlich, etwa der Grösse von’ (Dlg).

Mo *čag* ‘time, period, season, age, hour, weather’ (L).

E/T The T word *čak* has the meaning ‘measure, just that time, especially that time, the right time’ and ‘the very moment, the very time, that and not the other’. Doerfer correctly recognised that the word was borrowed by Mo and re-borrowed by some T lgs (Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 25–26) and pointed out that the meaning ‘eben, genau dies’ is secondary fr ‘the measure of time’. This may be the case, but H shows that this is a very old sense of the T word and Chuv shows the same. According to Ramstedt (1949: 27) and Poppe (1960: 26, 54), the T and the Mo words are genetically connected. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 436) added Man *čiqsin* ‘grown-up’, supposing a semantic change ‘timely’ > ‘grown-up’, but the Man word is isolated. It is a dev noun fr *čiksi-* ‘to mature, to grow up’ (see also *čiktara-* ‘to become established in life, to flourish, to spread out’).

The Mo word was re-borrowed by many T lgs, sometimes distinguishing between **čak* and **čag*, sometimes mixing them up. Some of the T lexicographers also failed to see the semantic problems and did not distinguish between the original and the re-borrowed forms. In Chuv, one would expect **sïx* but this changed through *śix* to *śiś*, as Fedotov correctly noted, though with some hesitation (1996/2: 103); Chuv *čux* is a Tat word. Interestingly, PT **yok*, the negative statement word, is *śuk* in Chuv and not **śux* (1996/2: 130). Perhaps we can see an early clash of two forms here becoming secondarily homophonous.

Räsänen (1969: 20) analysed the T word *ančak* ‘just, exactly so’, Chuv *ančăk* (← Tat) as *an*+*čak*, which Egorov (1964: 29) and Fedotov (1996/1: 50) both accepted. According to Clauson (1972: 174), *ančak* is a crasis of *anča ok*, where the first part is *anča* the equative form of *an-*, which itself is the oblique form of *ol*, the demonstrative pronoun, and the second is *ok*, an enclitic particle with the meaning of ‘exactly, this, he and no other, not another etc.’ Röhrborn (1977–1998/1: 133) takes the same position. Interestingly, the form *ïnčak* fr *ïnča* ‘just, exactly’ preserved the old pronoun **ïn* < **ï*. There can be no doubt that Clauson was right.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 134) connected the word with Ott *čak*. Munkácsi (1896: 20) accepted the T etymology. Gombocz (1912b) did not include the word. In Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 82), he called attention to dial forms which do not support the T origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 468), the word is of unknown der and the T etymology is erroneous. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 185) considered the forms without *-k* as secondary, and this is acceptable. The word is absent fr Ligeti (1986). H *csak* was originally a restrictive adverb, which later took on an emphatic (see *nocsak!* ‘why, well!’) or optative (see *bárcsak!* ‘if only!’) shade.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Munkácsi 1896: 20; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 82; Ramstedt 1949: 27; Malov 1951: 164; Poppe 1960: 26, 54; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 25–26; Egorov 1964: 29; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 468; Räsänen 1969: 20; Clauson 1972: 174; Röhrborn 1977–1998/1: 133; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 739; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 185; Fedotov 1996/1: 50; Fedotov 1996/2: 103, 130, 425; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 436.

CSÁKÁNY [čākāń] 'pick-axe (c1395); mace; a small axe; war hammer (1402)' | 1131 ? PN *sacan* [čākān] (Fehértói 2004: 177), 1138/1329 GN *sakani* [čākāń] (Györffy 1963–1998/1: 892), 1225 ? PN *chakan* [čākān] (Fehértói 2004: 176), c1395 *chakan* [čākān], 1402 *chakan* [čākān], 1517 *chakanyokkal* [čākāńokkål], 1816 *tsokány* [čokāń], dial *csókán* [čōkān] | *čākāń* < **čakan* ⟵ WOT **čakkan* < **čak-* {with suff *-gAn*} | EOT *čakan*, **čakkan* 'striking instrument' < *čak-* 'to strike' {with suff *-gAn*}.

OT *čaq-* 'schlagen': *čaqmïšï* 'Geschlagenhaben' (UUII), Og *čaq-*: *ol sōzüg anïg qulāqqa čaqdï* 'he drummed the words into his ear', Turk *čaq-*: *ol ekki kiši ara čaqdï* 'he incited enmity between the two men', *ol čaqmāq čaqdï* 'he struck the firestick' (AK); **MT** *čaq-* 'entzünden' (UOg), *čaq-* 'battre', *čaqïl-* 'abattre' (UHy), *čaq-* 'to unveil, unmask' (AGul), *čaq-* 'kıvılcım vermek', *čaqmaq* 'çakmak' (AHMA), *čaq-* 'bić, krzesać', *čaqmaq* 'krzesiwo, iskra, krzesanie (ognia)', *čaqïl-* 'być krzesanym', *čäkäk* 'krzemień, kamień do krzesania ognia' (AHŠ), *čaq-* (ǰ-) 'bit′, vysekat′' (AHŠF), *čaq-* 'çakmak' (AIMI), *čaqmaq* 'fire-steel, calumny', *ča*(*q*)*maq* 'flint' (AKD), *čaḳ-* 'gammazlık et- [verleumden]' (ANeh), *čaq-* (ǰ-) 'bit′, vysekat′' (ANehF), *čaqan* 'hache d'arme', *čaqmaq* 'mordre, en parlant des animaux, d'un médisant, battre le briquet, briller, divulguer, briquet' (AChag), *čaq-* 'to calumniate, seek out' (AChagAb), *čaq-* 'gamz etmek, kovlamak' (AChagAbA), *čaqïn* 'kovából kipattanó szikra', *čaq-* 'bevádol, följelent' (AChagAbV), *čaq-* 'užaliť, ukusiť, ujazviť, sdelať donos, oklevetať', *čaqïn* 'molnija' (AChagBud), *čaq-* 'vysekať ogon′' (AChagMA), *čaqan* 'die Streitaxt', *čaqin* 'der Funke, der Blitz' (AChagR), <ČAQ->; <ČAQMAQ> (AChagS), *čaq-* 'gazīdan (to bite or sting (of a snake, scorpion, and the like)), bad-gū'ī wa siʿāyat kardan (to abuse, slander), fulād ātaš zana (of a steel to strike fire), qadḥ-i qadāḥa yaʿnī čaqmaq zadan (to strike a strike-a-light), durux-šīdan (to shine, flash (of fire, or lightning))', *čaqmaq* 'fūlād-i ātaš-zana (a steel for striking fire)' (AChagSC), *čaqan* 'teber, balta' (AChagŠS), *čakan* 'Beil, Axt, Hellebarde' (AChagŠSK), *čaq-* 'anschlagen, Feuer anschlagen, aufleuchten, blitzen, (bildl.) trinken, sich berauschen, stechen, beissen, anklagen, beschuldigen', *čaqmaq* 'Feuerstahl, Feuerzeug (alles womit Feuer angezündet wird)' (AChagZ), *čaqučï* 'Verleumder' (LCCG), *čaq-*, *čax-*, *čaġar* (gerund) 'verleumden' (LCCI), *čaq-* 'işaret etmek', *čaqmaq* 'taş (çakmak)' (AAH), *ċaqmaq*, *ṣaqmaq* 'pierre à feu' (ADur), *čaq-* 'Feuer anschlagen, beschuldigen', *čaqmaq* 'Feuerstahl' (AHou), *čaq-* (š-) 'panaszt tenni; Klage führen', *čaqmaq* (š-) 'kova; Feuerstahl' (AKav), *čāqmāq* 'çakmak', *čāq-* (š-) 'yanıkmak' (ATuh), *ċax-* 'accuser, calomnier, maudire' (AmTr), *čaq-* 'to calumniate, to betray (a secret *Acc.*, to someone *Dat.*)', *çak-* 'kovlamak, gamzetmek, jurnal etmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čakma* '(ust.) ognivo,

kurok (ruž′ja)', *čux-* '(razg.) donosit′, kljauzničat′, delat′ donos na kogo-l.', *śăx-* '(ust.) klevetat′, donosit′, delat′ donosy, naušničat′ (razg.)' (Chuv), *čakma* 'ognivo, kurok', *čux-* 'donosit′ (na kogo-nibud′)' (ChuvA); *čakma* 'aczél, mellyel tüzet ütnek; Feuerstahl' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čak-* 'žalit′, užalit′, kusat′, ukusit′, (peren., razg.) donosit′, donesti, jabedničat′, najabedničat′, vysekat′, vyseč′', *čakkič* 'žalo (u nasekomyh)' (Tat), *čaqqïč*, *čaga* 'uk, kort ugï, žalo' (TatD1), *čak-* 'tel tiderü, bitärlä-, ärlä-, kimčelek tap-; uprekat′, obižat′ slovami, korit′, branit′' (TatD2), *čak-*: *ut čak-* 'szúrni, csípni (kígyó, rovarok); beissen, stechen', *čakma* 'tűzkő, kova; Feuerstein' (TatB), *saqqïs* '(prjam., peren.) žalo', *saqma* 'ognivo, kresalo, kurok, kremnevyj', *saq-* 'žalit′, kusat′, (peren.) jazvit′, žalit′, (peren., razg.) donosit′ na kogo, vysekat′ (ogon′)' (Bashk), *caq-* 'čagu; žalit′, ukusit′; älälläü, čagu; jabedničat′, donosit′; gayepläü; obvinjat′; čagu; vysekat′ (ogon′)', *caġu* 'uk, čakkïč; žalo', *caqmaq* 'čakma tašï; kremen′' (SibTat), *čak-* 'gryzt′, luščit′, kolot′ (čtoby vynut′ soderžimoe), žalit′, kusat′ (napr. o nasekomyh), vysekat′, (peren.) jabedničat′, žalovat′sja, sopostavit′, sravnit′ perevesti na čto-l.', *čakmak* 'kremen′, (čujsk.) spički, ščepki, čurki, lučina dlja samovara, igra v galečki, v kamuški', *čagïlgan* 'molnija' (Kirg), *šaq-* 'to strike fire (from a flint)', to sting (of insects), to bite (snakes), to crack (nuts), to break a bone, to complain, to hammer (of blood in the temples), to hurt someone's feelings' (Kaz), *šaq-* 'vysekat′ ogon′, žalit′, gryzt′, (peren.) podzadorivat′' (Kklp), *šaq-* 'užalit′, ukusit′' (KklpB), *šaqmaq* 'kremen′' (RKklp), *šak-* 'žalit′, (peren.) donosit′, dokzyvat′, žalovat′sja, nažimat′, nadavlivat′', *šakpa* 'kresalo, ognivo, spuskovoj krjučok kremnevogo ruž′ja', *šakkïš* 'žalo (nasekomyh)' (Nog), *čaq-* 'žalit′, donosit′ na kogo-libo, vysekat′, kumekat′', *čaqmaq* 'ognivo' (CrTat), *čaġï-* 'donosit′', *čaq-* 'vysekat′ ogon′ (kremnem), žalit′, donosit′' (KarSh), *čak-* 'udarjat′ (rezko), hvatat′', *čax-* 'bit′, udarjat′, vysekat′, zažigat′ (ogon′)' (KarT), *cak-* 'vysekat′ (ogon′)', *cakmak* 'vysekanie (ognja)' (KarH), *čaġïv* 'vysekanie (ognja)' (Kum), *čaq-* 'spuskat′ kurok, (peren.) jabedničat′, kljauzničat′, donosit′' (Kum), *čaqġïč* 'ognivo, kresalo', *čaq-* 'cvesti, raspuskat′ počki, vysypat′, pokryvat′sja syp′ju, (peren.) rasti, uveličivat′sja, iskrit′, puskat′ iskry' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čak-* 'žalit′, čirkat′, razbivat′ (jajco), jabedničat′, donosit′, (peren.) oskorbljat′ fizičeski (napr. dat′ poščečinu)', *čakmak* 'ognivo, kremen′, zažigalka' (Tkm), *čax-* 'spustit′ kurok, vysekat′ ogon′, sverkat′, blesnut′, udarit′ (o molnii), vkolačivat′, vbivat′, vonzat′, čekanit′, štampovat′', *čaxmag* 'kurok i zatvor (ruž′ja)' (Az), *çak-* 'to drive in with blows (a nail), to nail on, to tether to a pin, to strike (a fire or blow), to snap (teeth), (slang) to snap (salute), to fire (a gun), /dan/ (slang) to understand, (slang) to notice, perceive, (slang) to palm off (a false coin etc.), (arch) to tell (on), denounce, to inform (against), to flash (of lightning), (slang) to drink, carouse, (school slang) to fail (an exam)' (Tt), *çağanak* = *çalğı* 'muzykal′nyj instrument, igra na muzykal′nom instrumente, muzykal′nyj ansambl′, venik, metla′ (TtB), *çakmak* 'ognivo, kremen′, zažigalka, zapal' (TtB), *çak-* 'vkolačivat′, zakolačivat′, zabivat′, pribivat′, zakrepljat′ čto čem, privjazyvat′ kogo-čto k čemu, gde'

(TtB), *çağanak* ‘çalğı’ (TtD), *çaḫmaḫ daşı* ‘çakmak taşı’, *çakar* ‘kıvılcım, şimşek’, *çakıntı*, *çakı*, *çakım*, *çakın*, *çakırıntı*, *çakmak* ‘şimşek’ (TtD1), *čaqïm* ‘der Funke, der Blitz’ (TtR), *čakmak* ‘ognivo, kremen′’, *čak-* ‘vysekať ogoń pri pomošči kremnja, vkolačivať, vbivať, sverkať (o molnii), sil′no udarjať, (peren.) vypivať’ (Gag), *čax-* ‘stechen’, *ōt čaxïyer*, *ōt čaxuldï*, *čaxmax* ‘Funke’ (Khor), *čaqu* ‘Taschen-, Klapp-, Federmesser’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *čaq-* ‘(Widder) mit den Hörnern stoßen, schlagen’, *čaqïn* ‘Blitz’, *čaqmāq* ‘Feuerzeug’, *čaqqo* ‘Klappmesser’ (Kh), *čaqmaqa* ‘Funken (?)’ (KhT); ***SE*** *čaq-* ‘koloť, raskalyvať, gryzť, luščiť, drobiť, čirkať, žaliť, (peren.) jabedničať, kljauzničať, donosiť’, *čaqmåq* ‘molnija’ (Uzb), *čaq-*: *čakič čaq-* ‘nånga čakič urmaq, čakič båsmåq’, *čaqmåq* ‘ot åldiriš, yåqiš asbåbi, zažigalka’ (UzbI), *čaxla-* ‘to sharpen’, *čaxmaq*, *čaqmaq* ‘fire-steel, a small pouch containing tinder with steel attached to the bottom’ (TurkiJ), *čaqqan* ‘fiery, sparkish, excitable’, *čaq-* (v. tr.) ‘to bite or sting (with venom), to slander, to detract’, (v. intr.) ‘to sparkle, to give for sparks, also (v.tr.) to crack’, *čaqmaq* ‘a steel for striking a light on flint’ (TurkiSh), *čaq-* ‘prigotovljať hleb, žaliť, udariť, spletničať’, *čaq-*: *ot čaq-* ‘vysekať ogoń’, *čaqmaq* ‘kurok u ruž′ja’ (TurkiL), *čaq-* ‘(v razn. znač.) koloť, raskalyvať, rabivať, drobiť, gryzť, razgryzať (orehi, semečki), žaliť, čirkať (spičku), zažigať, obžigať, (peren.) klevetať, jabedničať, (peren.) blesteť, sverkať, slepať, oslepljať svoim slijaniem, žaliť, kusať, jabedničať, klevetať na kogo’, *čaqmaq* ‘molnija, kremeń, ognivo, zažigalka, ′kletka, kletčatyj, prizma’, *čaqqaq* ‘vid krapivy, koljučij, (peren.) jabeda’, *čaqqan* ‘provornyj, lovkij, rastoropnyj, bojkij, šustryj, jurkij’ (MUyg), *čixmïx* ‘kremeń’ (Sal), *čaxmax taš* ‘silex’ [Pot. *čixmïg*] (SalK), *ʒa’q‘-* ‘vysekať ogoń’ (YUyg); *čaq-*: *ottuq čaq-* ‘vysekať ogoń’, *čaq-* ‘rubiť’: *tiken čaq-* ‘rubiť koljučij kustarnik’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *čak-* ‘žaliť, vysekať ogoń’ (Alt), *čakpï*, *čapkï* ‘(s.-h.) kosa, kapkan’ (Alt), *čaq-* ‘mit einem kurzen Schlage schlagen’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *čak-* ‘užaliť’, *čagïn* ‘molnija’, *čagaak, čagak* ‘žalo’, ? *šakpï* ‘kosa ili kos′by sena’ (AltQK), *čak-* ‘užaliť’, ? *šakpï-* ‘vzryvať zemlju kopytami (o kone)’ (AltTK), *čagïn* ‘der Blitz’ (AltTelR), *sax-* ‘žaliť, kusať (o zmee), vyseč ogoń’, *saġïn* ‘iskra, molnija’, *saġïlǰax* ‘krapiva’, *saxčaŋ*: *saxčaŋ ot* ‘krapiva’ (Khak), *šak-* ‘čirkať (spičkoj), vysekať kresalom ogoń, žaliť, obvivať’ (Tuv), *šagaro˝t* ‘krapiva, krapivnyj’ (Tuv), *ča˝q-* ‘vysekať ogoń, žaliť, kusať (o nasekomyh, krapive i t.p.)’, *ča˝har-kök* ‘(bot.) krapiva’ (Tof ← Mo); ***Y*** *sax-* ‘vykresať (vysekať) ognivom iz kremnja ogoń’, *saġī* ‘vysekanie (vysečka) ognja iz kremnja’, [*čaġïlġan, čaġalgan* ‘molnija’, *čakīr, čokūr* ‘kremeń’ etc. (← Mo)] (Y).

Mo *čaki-* ‘to strike fire from a flint, to flash’, *čakigur* ‘flint’ (L).

E/T The PT base of the T etymon for the H word was hardly a simplex; more likely, it is a den verb **čakkV-*. The nominal base **čakV* seems to be of onomatopoeic origin. Then, the suff **+kV-* was added to the nominal base, most likely with a high vowel. It is safe to assume the high vowel quality of the suff because OT had a

productive den verbal suff *+kI-* and because the early T lw in Mo is *čaki-* 'to strike fire from a flint; to flash'.

According to these data, the PT verb would have been **čakV+kI-* > **čakkï-* > **čakï-*. The shortening of the word-internal *-kk-* probably already occurred before the OT period. The connection between the T and Mo forms was discussed by Poppe (1960: 26, 134), Ramstedt (1935: 420), Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 421) and others. According to them, the T and Mo words are genetically related. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 82) claimed that it is always difficult to differentiate between an onomatopoeic word being borrowed or genetically related. The Mo words *čakil-* 'blitzen', *čakilgan* 'Blitz' cannot be separated fr the T words, but the T source of the Mo words was not mentioned by Doerfer (1985: 126). He claimed, however, that the Mo words were borrowed into Tu (see e.g. *čakėlga-*, *čakėlgan* etc.). Ščerbak (1997: 112) pointed out that Mo *čakil-* is an OT lw. The Y forms *čakīr*, *čokūr*, *čaġalġan*, *čaġïlġan* etc. are copied fr Mo.

The original nominal base (PT **čakV*) and the den verbal form (PT **čakV+kI-*) had the same phonetic shape (*čak-*) in OT. According to Clauson (1972: 405), the OT verb *čak-* "like 1 *čak* of an onomatopoeic character and used to describe action of a violent character, physical or mental, e.g. 'to strike fire (with a flint and steel); (of a snake or scorpion) to bite, sting; to slander, decry, betray'". Clauson's dict abounds with entries describing the ders of the verb: see Clauson (1972: 406–409, 412); cf. also Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 80–82). The verb *čak-* and its ders have been used since the OT period in a broad semantic field and continue to do so. The different meanings 'to hit, strike', 'to strike fire', 'to bite, sting' and 'to slander, accuse' may be interrelated and there is no reason to separate them. Thus one cannot accept the suggestion made by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 421) that the special meanings of T **čak-* cannot have developed fr the meaning 'to strike, to hit'.

The T etymon for the H word was **čakan*, which is a der fr *čak-*, to which the suff *-gAn* was added: **čak-gAn* > **čakkan* > **čakan*; thus in the phonetic history of this word one has to assume the double consonant *-kk-* shortened twice. The first shortening already occurred in PT, as mentioned above. The second shortening did not occur in all lgs or with all suffs with the initial *°k-* < *°g-* segment; see e.g. *čakkïč* 'žalo (u nasekomyh)' (Tat), *čakkïč* 'uk, kort ugï (žalo)' (TatD), *sakkïs* '(prjam., peren.) žalo' (Bashk), *čakgïč* 'ognivo, kresalo' (KrchBlk), *šakkïš* 'žalo (nasekomyh)' (Nog); all these forms are ders with the old suff *-gUč*, on which see Erdal (1991: 357–359). See also *čakko* 'Klappmesser' (Kh) with long *-kk-*, but *çakı* 'Taschen-, Klapp-, Federmesser' (Tt) and *čaku* id. (SOg) are represented with a short *-k-* (these forms of course show the historical suff *-gU*). In the word *čaga* 'uk, kort ugï (žalo)' (TatD), which reflects an earlier form *čak-gA*, one can see not only the shortening (*-kk-* > *-k-*), but the weakening *-k-* > *-g-* as well.

The form **čak-gAn* > **čakkan* > *čakan* was already known in the MT period; see e.g. *čakan* 'hache d'arme' (AChag), *čakan* 'die Streitaxt' (AChagR), *čakan* 'teber, balta, ay balta; Beil, Axt, Hellebarde' (AChagŠSK). The Chuv words *čakma* and *čuχ-* are lws fr Tat. The latter word is, however, a relatively early lw that displays the changes **a* > *u* and **k* > *χ*. The original word in Chuv is *śaχ-* 'to slander'.

E/H The H word was regarded by Budenz (1867b: 302) as being of T origin. Vámbéry (1870: 134) accepted Budenz's opinion. Gombocz first (1907a: 109–110) argued in favour of the Sl etymology of the word, but later (1912b: 56–57) changed his opinion and considered the H word to be a copy fr OChuv **čakan*. He pointed out, however, that the T word probably came into H *via* Sl mediation. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 804–806) considered the H word to be of debated origin, more likely a Sl borrowing into H. Németh (1921: 25–26) listed the H word among the T lws of the middle layer. Rásonyi (1923–1927: 130; 1928: 209–210; 1941: 108) accepted Németh's view regarding the chronology of the borrowing, however, he claimed that H *csákány* originally could have been borrowed as a PN. Bárczi (1941: 34) considered *csákány* to be of debated origin. His contention is very carefully formulated. He pointed out that the borrowing of the H word fr Sl cannot be excluded, but the Sl word is, in any case, a T lw. According to him, however, it is more likely that the H word belongs in the middle layer of T borrowings in H. Kniezsa (1955: 604–606) refuted the Sl origin of the word and had no serious doubt about its T origin. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 469; 1993–1997/1: 185) hesitatingly accepted earlier opinions demonstrated in the linguistic literature. According to him, the H word is of doubtful origin (perhaps of Cum or Sl). He also added that some of the Sl data may be of H origin. Ligeti (1986: 249) wrote that, although the T word shows very rare occurrences in the T lgs, it can be verified without any doubt. Ligeti stressed that the word became a cultural wandering word, thus meticulous phonological rules cannot be used. In the Sl lgs the word is mostly represented with *-e-* in the first syllable and this fact may point to another T form (perhaps **čäkan*); cf. Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 324). In most Sl lgs we find *čakan* and *čekan* side by side.

The word denoted a military instrument that was known in most of the Eastern European armies.

◆ Budenz 1867b: 302; Vámbéry 1870: 134; Gombocz 1907a: 109–110; Gombocz 1912b: 56–57; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 804–806; Németh 1921: 25–26; Rásonyi 1923–1927: 130; Rásonyi 1928: 209–210; Ramstedt 1935: 420, 424; Bárczi 1941: 34; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 108; Kniezsa 1955: 604–606; Décsy 1956: 666; Poppe 1960: 26, 134; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 80–82; Györffy 1963–1998/1: 892; Egorov 1964: 328; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 324; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 469; Räsänen 1969: 95, 96; Clauson 1972: 405–409, 412; Doerfer 1985: 126; Ligeti 1986: 89, 90, 118, 194, 199, 202, 244, 249, 543; Erdal 1991: 357–359; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 185; Fedotov 1996/2: 387, 426; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Tenišev 2001: 23, 373; Tietze 2002: 464–465, 467; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 421; Fehértói 2004: 176–177.

CSALÁN [čålān] ‘nettle, *Urtica*’ | 1214/1550 GN *Soluhan* [šåluhān or čåloɣān], 1234 GN *Salan* [šålān or čålān], 1270 PN *Chalan* [čålān], c1395 *chalan* [čålān], 1440 GN *Chanalos* [čånāl-oš], dial *csanyát* [čåńāt], *csëán* [čëān], *csilánk* [čilānk], *csilánt* [čilānt], *csolláng* [čollāng], *sillyán* [šiyyān] | *čålān* < **čalān*, **čilān*, **čalaɣan* etc. ← WOT **čalïɣan* < **čal-* {with suffs *-I* and *+gAn*} | EOT **čal-* ‘to burn, sting, bite’.

OT *čal-* ‘schlagen’ (UTT VI), *čal-* ‘(aus)schlagen’ (UHt II), *čal-* ‘to strike down, to shout in sy’s ear, to beat (a garment on a rock to clean it)’, *čalaŋ*: *čalaŋ bāšï* ‘a man who is boisterous and talkative’ (AK), *čal-* ‘to bang (one’s head), to throw (to the ground), to strike (one’s head on the ground), to beat, to knock’ (AQB); **MT** *čalun-*: *baš čalunɣuluq* ‘Unterwerfung’ (UOg), *čal-* ‘yere vurmak, çalmak’ (UY), *čalïs-* instead of *čalïš-* ‘battre, prosterner’ (UHy), *čal-* ‘battre’ (UHyS), *čal-* ‘to beat’ (AGul), *čal-* ‘çalmak, hırsızlık etmek’ (AHMA), *čal-* ‘uderzać, bić, rzucać, grać (na instrumencie muzycznym)’, *čalïn-* ‘grać (na trąbce)’ (AHŠ), *čal-* (ǰ-) ‘brosať, svalivať, oprokidyvať, igrať na muzikaľnom instrumente’, ? *čalïq* (ǰ-) ‘zapaľčivyj, razˮ-jarennyj, svoenravnyj’ (AHŠF), *čal-* ‘to beat down’ (AKor), *čalïḳlïḳ* ‘haşarılık etme, sakin rahat durmama’ (ANeh), *čal-*: *nay čalalïŋ* ‘let us play the flute’ (ARbg), *čal-* ‘svalivať, oprokidyvať, igrať na muzikaľnom instrumente’ (ATef), *čal-* ‘çalmak, yere vurmak’ (AYC), *čal-* ‘toucher de la main, battre, frapper, dérober, enlever’ (AChag), *čalïn* ‘çakmak’ (AChagAb), *čalïn* ‘çakmak’ (AChagAbA), *čalïn* ‘acél (tűzütő) [a steel (to beat the fire)]’ (AChagAbV), ? *čal-* ‘gyorsan menni, sietni, szaladni [to go quickly, hurry, run]’ (AChagBL), *čalïn* ‘ognivo’ (AChagBud), *čal-* ‘brosať, valiť, udarjatˮ’ (AChagLN), *čalaġan* ‘die Brennnessel’ (AChagR [based on Vámbéry’s single item]), <ČALMAQ> (AChagS), *čal-* ‘*nawāxtan* (to play (a musical instrument))’ (AChagSC), *čal-* ‘düşür-, zarb et-, ur-’ (AChagŠS), *čalau* ‘neva, aheng, çalğı, saz; Laut, Musik’, ? *čalar* ‘meges, sinek; Fliege’, *čalïn* ‘çakmak, çakın, bark; Feuerstahl, Blitz’ (AChagŠSK), *čal-* ‘schlagen, leicht berühren, stossen, klopfen, umrühren (mit Löffel oder Quirl), auf etwas treffen oder werfen, streichen, ein Instrument spielen (mit der Hand oder dem Munde), stehlen’ (AChagZ), ? *čälix* (čœliH) ‘jähzornig, heftig’ (LCCG), *čal-* ‘spielen’ (LCCI), *čal-* ‘def ve sair aleti musikiyeyi çalmak’, ? *čalïq* ‘başı sert at, ismi has, kılıçla vurmak, kesmek’ (AAH), *čalï* ‘boysuz dikenli ağaç’, *čalïš* ‘biribirine silâh çarpış, muharebe’ (AAHI), *čalïš* ‘walka, potyczka; combat, lutte’ (ABul), *čal-* ‘spielen’, *düdük čal-* ‘pfeifen’ (AHou), *čal-* (š-) ‘düdük çalmak’ (ATuh), *ç̣al-* ‘sonner, émettre un son, frapper, battre’ (AmTr), *čal-* ‘to play (an instrument)’ (AmCh), *čal-* ‘vurmak, çarpmak, atmak’ (with a wide range of meanings) (AOtT); **NT *Ch*** *śul-* ‘kosiť’ (Chuv), *śul-*, *śol-*, *śăl-* ‘kosiť’ (ChuvA), *śul-*, Szp. id. ‘kaszálni; mähen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čal-* ‘rezať, zarezať, biť, zabivať, koloť, zakalyvať, zakoloť (životnyh)’, *čalgï* ‘kosa, (ust.) muzikaľnyj instrument’ (Tat), *čalu* ‘bolïn, pečänlek lug, toponimik atamalar sostavynda (v sostave toponimičeskih nazvanij), pečän čabu; senokos, kosʹba’ (TatD1), *čal-* ‘čabu, kosiť’ (TatD2), *sal-* ‘rezať, biť, zabi-

vaťʹ, kolotʹ, zakalyvatʹ (životnyh)', *salġï* 'kosa' (Bashk), *cal-* 'sugu, udaritʹ, komačalau, mešatʹ', *calġay* 'kïčïtkan; krapiva' (SibTat), ? *cā-* 'otrezatʹ, otsekatʹ' (SibTatBD), *čal-* 'udarjatʹ silʹnym i rezkim udarom, datʹ podnožku (v borʹbe), zahlestyvatʹ, (ist.) rezatʹ (žertvennoe životnoe), osmatryvatʹ, razvedyvatʹ, igratʹ (na udarnom instrumente), (o životnom) ščipatʹ travu, razbaltyvaja, podmešivatʹ (napr. muku v židkostʹ, no ne do gustoty), slegka kasajasʹ, zadevatʹ', ? *čalkan* 'krapiva' (Kirg), *šal-* 'to eat a little grass on the move (of cattle), to trip someone up unfairly in a fight, also (fig.), to strike with one stroke, to slaughter, to tie a rope or cord around the circumference of something, to catch sight of, to notice, to observe, to sound in the ears', *šalġï* 'scythe' (Kaz), *šal-* 'davatʹ podnožku (vo vremja borʹby), obvjazyvatʹ, rezatʹ (skot), šitʹ (vtykaja iglu osobym sposobom)', *šalġï* '(s.-h.) kosa' (Kklp), *šal-* 'rezatʹ (skot)' (KklpB), *šal-* 'kositʹ' (RKklp), *šal-* 'kositʹ, rezatʹ, kolotʹ (skot)', *šaluv* 'kosʹba, rezanie, zakalyvanie, uboj (skota), sternʹ, sternja, pokos', *šalgï* '(s.-h.) kosa' (Nog), *čal-* 'igratʹ (na čem-libo), ispolnjatʹ, kositʹ', ? *čalï* 'kust', ? *čalï-čïrpï* 'hvorost, valežnik' (CrTat), *cal-* 'udarjatʹ, brosatʹ, mešatʹ, vzbaltyvatʹ, mahatʹ, kositʹ, igratʹ (napr. na muzikalʹnom instrumente), obvivatʹ, mešatʹ, podstavljatʹ nogu' (KarH), *čal-* 'igratʹ (na muzikalʹnom instrumente), udarjatʹ, brosatʹ, mahatʹ, žatʹ, kositʹ, izbaltyvatʹ, mešatʹ, obvivatʹ, podstavljatʹ podnožku, krastʹ' (KarT, KarC), ? *čalï-čïrpï* 'kustarnik, dikie zarosli v stepi' (KarSh), ? *džalï* 'kustarnik' (KarC), *čal-* 'kositʹ, plesti, srezatʹ, sbitʹ, polosnutʹ', *čalġï* '(s.-h.) kosa, klyk' (Kum), *čal-* 'kositʹ čto, delatʹ dviženie nogoj nad drugoj nogoj (v tance)', *čalqï* 'kosa', balk. *čalġï* 'kosa' (Blk); ***SW*** *čal-* 'točitʹ, delatʹ ostrym, igratʹ, ispolnjatʹ (na muzikalʹnom instrumente), udaritʹ, hlestnutʹ, steganutʹ, pokryvatʹ (čto-l. kakoj-l. židkostʹju), obmatyvatʹ, podmetatʹ, mesti, primešivatʹ, podmešivatʹ (muku v pišču), razbavljatʹ, delatʹ židkim', ? *čalï* '(bot.) soljanka kustarnikovaja', *čalgï* 'kosa, točilo, oselok' (Tkm), *čal-* 'igratʹ (na muzikalʹnom instrumente), bitʹ, zabivatʹ, vbivatʹ, hlopatʹ, kolotitʹ, stučatʹ, mahatʹ krylʹjami, otlivatʹ (o cvete), užalitʹ, gudetʹ, svistetʹ, kositʹ, sbivatʹ, krastʹ', *čalï* 'kustarnik' (Az), *çal-* (*-ar*) 'to strike, to give (a blow to), to throw, to knock (down), to smear (butter), to apply (salve), to mix (into), to add (flour) to soup, to move continuously and energetically (a broom or shovel), to sweep (dust), to cut on the bias (cloth), *arch* to strike off, cut off (a head), *arch* to delete, to knock (on a door), to play (a musical instrument or tune), to strike (the hour), to strike (of a clock), to ring (of a bell), to play (of a record player or radio), to affect in some detrimental way (of sun, frost, wind, smoke, verdigris or acid), to steal, to have a flavour or smell (of), to have a tinge (of), to smack (of), to be tinged with an accent (of a manner of talking)', ? *çalı* 'bush, shrub', ? *çalı dikeni* 'Christ's thorn, Jerusalem thorn, *bot. Paliurus aculeatus*', *çalgı* 'musical instrument, instrumental music' (Tt), *çal-* 'bitʹ, udarjatʹ, stučatʹ vo čto, bitʹ, stegatʹ, hlestatʹ, razmahivatʹ čem, brosatʹ, kidatʹ, udarjatʹ obo čto, ispolnjatʹ, igratʹ na čem, zvučatʹ, izdavatʹ zvuk (o muzykalʹnyh instrumentah i t.p.), nanositʹ sloem čto, namazyvatʹ na čto, krasitʹ čto, pripravljatʹ, zapravljatʹ, sdabri-

vat′ čto čem, byt′ pohožim, pohodit′ na kogo-čto, napominat′ kogo-čto, otlivat′ kakim-l. cvetom, imet′ ottenok čego, otdavat′ čem, imet′ vkus čego, napominat′ po vkusu čto, tronut′ čto, povredit′ čto čem, kornat′, otrezat′ krivo (koso), perekosit′ [otrezaja], gravirovat′ (po metallu), smetat′, vytirat′ čto, očiščat′ ot čego, krast′, vorovat′, pohiščat′, taskat′, podslušivat′ (telefonnye razgovory), perehvatyvat′ (radioperedaču)', ? *çalı* 'koljučij (ternistyj) kustarnik, kust, [častyj, gustoj] kustarnik, melkaja zarosl′, hvorost, hvorostina', *çalgı* 'muzykal′nyj instrument, igra na muzykal′nom instrumente, muzyka, muzykal′nyj ansambl′, venik, metla' (TtB), *çalağan* (çalağan otu) 'ısırgan otu' (TtD), *čalaġan* 'jemand der oft schlägt, fasst, beisst usw.' (TtR), *čal-* 'pet′, igrat′ (na muzykal′nom instrumente), izdavat′ zvuk, zvučat′, vorovat′, krast′, pohiščat′, klast′ zakvasku (v moloko), linjat′, vycvetat′, okisljat′sja, obmatyvat′, obvjazyvat′', ? *čalï* 'tern, ternovyj, zanoza, koljučka, koljučij' (Gag), *čäl-* 'tendieren (nach einer Richtung)' (Khor), *čal-* 'anklopfen, spielen (Musikinstrument)' (SOg); ***Kh*** ? *čalu* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen', *čal-*, *ča:l-* 'ein Musikinstrument spielen, (Insekt) stechen, (Sonne) aufgehen, Kalk oder Leim umrühren' (Kh), *čalu* 'Hecke (aus Gesträuch)' (KhT); ***SE*** *čal-* 'igrat′ (na muzikal′nom instrumente), davat′ podnožku, zahlestnut′ (verevkoj), primešivat′, podmešivat′ (muku v pišču s cel′ju sgustit′ ee), (fol′k.) zavolakivat′, (obl.) podmetat′, mesti' (Uzb), *čal-* 'to play (an instrument), to mix' (TurkiJ), *čâl-* (v.tr.) 'to twist over, specially to trip up, to braid, to tat, to crochet, to stir up (of liquids), to beat a roll on a drum, to sound a call on the trumpet' (TurkiSh), *čal-* 'udarit′, brosit′, igrat′ na muzikal′nom instrumente' (TurkiL), *čal-* 'mešat′, razmešivat′, peremešivat′, vzbivat′ (jajca), sbivat′ (maslo), vzbaltyvat′, podstavljat′ nožku (v sportivnoj bor′be), igrat′ na muzikal′nom instrumente, zvonit′ (napr. v zvonok), gudet′' (MUyg), *čal-* 'igrat′ (na kobuze)' (Sal), *čal-* 'kosit′, rezat′ (skotinu)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *čalgï*, *čakpï*, *čapkï* 'kosa', *čalkančak* 'krapiva', ? *čalïk* 'gorjačij (o lošadi)' (Alt), *čalkančak* 'krapiva', *šalganak* 'krapiva', *čalï-* 'obvit′, zaputat′' (AltQK), *čalkan*, *čalkančāk* 'die Brennessel' (AltTelR), *salġanax* 'krapiva' (KhakS), *šalġanak* 'die Brennessel' (KhakShR), *šalï-* 'točit′ (na točil′nom bruske, kamne)' (Tuv), *šïlï-* 'obrezat′ mjaso ot kostej, rezat′ mjaso' (Tof); ***Y*** ? *sālïn-* 'umen′šat′sja, ubyvat′, opuskat′sja, upadat′ vniz, otvisat′, naklonjat′sja, nadžabit′sja [nadlomit′sja], nadsadit′sja, otnjat′sja ot dolgago sidenija, voobšče dojti do iznemoženija, etc.' (Y).

E/T The morphological structure of the supposed T etymon for the H word *csalán* was most probably **čal-ï+gan*, or perhaps **čal-ïg+gan*. The etymological status of the T verbal base (*čal-*) is debated. It may be identical with the well-known and widespread verb *čal-*, meaning 'to knock (someone *Acc.*) down, to throw (him) to the ground', however, it is also possible that it was only homophonous with another verb that had the original meaning 'to burn, sting, bite after hitting'. On this supposed semantic reconstruction, see the following data: *čal-* '(o životnom) ščipat′ travu' (Kirg), *šal-* 'to eat a little grass on the move (of cattle)' (Kaz), *čal-* 'točit′, de-

lat′ ostrym' (Tkm), *čal-*, *ča:l-* '(Insekt) stechen, Kalk oder Leim umrühren' (Kh) and also cf. the Tt expression *onu gün çaldı* 'he/she got sunstroke'. Assuming we are not dealing with a homophonous form, and independent of the well-known base *čal-*, it must be noted that the basic meaning of the verb must originally have been 'to carry out a sweeping motion downwards'. It is in this way that the special meanings 'to cut grass', 'to steal' and 'to noose', which appear occasionally, can also be understood, besides the more widespread meanings 'to knock, hit, to stab, slaughter an animal, to play a string instrument'. (It must be mentioned that, according to the reconstruction posited by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 413–414), PT **čal-* denotes 'to knock (down), hit, agitate, to whet, to slaughter, to mow, scythe, to sting, pierce, to sweep, to chop, a kind of broom, to sharpen, whet, whetstone, mowing, hay time, to trip, blade'. They noted that the difference in length between Tkm and Y allows one to suppose the merging of at least two roots. However, this fact may demonstrate the existence of homophonous forms. They discussed the PT reconstruction together with some A parallels under the entry PA **č'àlù* 'sharp, to cut'. In another entry they discussed PA **č'i̲álV* 'a kind of thorny plant' (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 439).

Where we find the heading PT **č(i)alï-(gan)* 'bush, shrub, nettle, thorn' with T words, the majority of these words clearly belong with the T etymon for the H word and they cannot be separated fr T **čal-*.

The nominal der *čal-ï* of the T verb *čal-* 'to sting, to burn' can be shown fr contemporary Og lgs. It also exists – probably as an Az dial lw – in Kh as well. According to the Og data, one cannot determine with certainty if the original form was an OOg **čal-ï* or **čal-ïg*.

For the latest overview of the dev nominal suff *-I* in the OT corpus, see Erdal (1991: 340–341). The meaning of an OT form **čal-I* could thus be 'something or someone that burns, stings, bites'. This is the meaning that exists in the Og and Kh data cited above as well. The den nominal suff *+gAn* added to the noun **čal-I* denotes names of plants and animals (see Erdal 1991: 85–89).

It is less probable that the form **čalïgan* copied into H was a regular continuation of an earlier form **čal+ïg+gan*. The suff *-(X)g* could be added to both tr and intr bases. According to evidence fr the OT corpus (cf. Erdal 1991: 172 ff.), however, the noun derived fr the tr verbs with the suff *-(X)g* indicates the object of the action marked by the base verb or the action itself, so the meaning of a form **čalïg* could have been 'the bitten person/object' or 'bite' (as a noun).

All in all, we might deem it more possible that the formation of the T word **čalïgan* that was copied into H was not **čal-(X)g+gAn*, but *čal-I+gAn*. (Fr a phonetic point of view, we could start fr **čal-(X)g+gAn* as well, as the reduction of *-gg-* to *-g-* would have been completely regular in T.)

The status of the Kirg word *čalkan* 'nettle' is uncertain. It might be a regular phonetic correspondent of an earlier **čal-(O)k+gAn*. For the OT suff *-(O)k*, see Erdal (1991: 224 ff.). The elimination of the second vowel – in the middle syllable of the given lexeme – can be said to be regular. Clauson (1972: 420) thought that the word in question could be the surviving descendant of the Karakhanid *čalkan* 'the spread of an injury and its transfer from one place to another, for example if the leg is swollen and the glands in the groin are affected' (AK), but the semantic connection between them is not very close.

The Chuv item *šălan* 'šipovnik, dikaja roza, (dial.) ternovnik' must definitely be excluded fr the T data for *csalán*.

One can find some confusion of the T data in the entry for *śăl-*, *śul-* 'dergaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ, vyryvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, kositˊ travu' etc. in the Etymological Dictionaries by Egorov (1964: 206) and Fedotov (1996/2: 92).

YUygM *čala-* 'rubitˊ, rezaťˊ' and Sal *čałła-* 'rezaťˊ, rubitˊ' do not belong with the verbal base of the investigated T etymon for the H word under investigation.

E/H The word *csalán* demonstrates nearly thirty various dial forms in H (see e.g. *csaláng*, *csánà*, *csanál*, *csánàl*, *csanár*, *csián*, *csijány*, *csilánk*, *csilánt*, *csinál*, *csinár*, *csohán*, *csójány*, *csójján*, *csollánt*, *csona*, *csonál*, *csujány*, *szillán*, *silány* etc.). The H word was regarded by Vámbéry as being of T origin. He handled the T copied form quite loosely both phonologically and semantically. He sometimes started out fr the meaning 'stinging, cutting' (Vámbéry 1870: 134), sometimes fr the meaning 'burning, pinching' (1914: 144), allowing for the T copied form to be *čalagan* (1870: 134; 1914: 144) or **čalan*, **čalgan* (1882a: 224). The idea that the H word may be connected to the Chuv word *šălan* 'thorny bush' appeared in the literature quite early (Munkácsi 1886–1887: 472) and has already been rightly refuted by some authorities (see e.g. Eren 1943b: 358–359; Benkő: 1967–1984/1: 472–473). Despite his doubts, Gombocz (1907a: 110–111; 1912b: 57–58) expanded the T data with the word *šalgam*, *šalgan* known fr several T lgs and meaning 'carrot'. This latter is, however, a Pe lw in T and cannot be placed here as pointed out by several scholars (cf. Benkő 1967–1984/1: 472–473; 1993–1997/1: 187). Despite Gombocz, neither Németh (1921: 25), nor later Ligeti (1935a: 215) includes the word *csalán* with the oldest "Old Chuvash", but rather with the so-called "middle layer" of T lws. Németh later (1991: 234, n. 67) linked the noun *csalán* to the name of a Bulgar Turkic Prince *Salán* mentioned by Anonymous (in his 13th-c. chronicle *Gesta Hungarorum*) and writes that in the case of *Salán* "one should proceed from the T form *Čalan ~ Čalġan*, which is a derivative of *čal-* 'cut off, knock down, hit, pounce on'". Németh does not seem to have modified his opinion regarding the word *csalán* as he wrote that it is rather Kip than BulgT and did not deem it of probable Khaz origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 472–473; 1993–1997/1: 187), the T copied form could be *čalagan*, although (1967–1984/1: 472–473) he

did not exclude the possibility that the copied form was **čalïgan*. The T forms that belong with the etymon for the H word are, according to Benkő, ders fr the verbal base *čal-* 'to knock, hit'. In his magnum opus, Ligeti (1986: 58) does not question the T origin of *csalán*, but clearly indicates that "the history of the T word has not been properly clarified".

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Vámbéry 1882a: 224; Munkácsi 1886–1887: 472; Gombocz 1907a: 110–111; Gombocz 1912b: 57–58; Horger 1912: 451; Vámbéry 1914: 144; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 826–828; Németh 1921: 25–26; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 35; Eren 1943b: 358–359; Joki 1952: 281–282; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 32–33; Egorov 1964: 206; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 472–473; Räsänen 1969: 97; Clauson 1972: 420; Ligeti 1986: 58, 66, 89, 118, 197, 202, 287, 308, 530; Erdal 1991: 85–89, 172, 224, 340–341; Németh 1991: 234; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 187; Fedotov 1996/2: 92, 132; Berta 1998a: 9–15; Berta 1998c: 33–40; Tietze 2002: 467–468, 471; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 413–414, 439.

CSALIT [čålit] 'thicket, brushwood (1644), dry foliage (1784), grove, meadow (1808)' | 1552 ? *czaritat* [čårit-at], 1644 *czaritot* [čarit-ot], 1671 *csalitot* [čålit-ot], 1792 *tsalitt* [čålit], 1793 *csalét* [čalēt] | *čålit* < **čalit* ⟵ WOT **čaltï* or **čalït* | T **čalïk*, **čaltï*, on the base, see also **csalán**.

Of possible T origin.

OT ? *čalïŋ*: *čalïŋ yēr* 'ground that is saline and black and without vegetation as if it were burnt' (AK); **MT** *čalï* 'Strauch, Dornstrauch' (AChagZ), *čalï* 'boysuz dikenli ağaç' (AAHI); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *čalu* 'bolïn, pečänlek (lug), pečän čabu (senokos, kos′ba)' (TatD), *čalu* 'bolïn, bolïnlïk, pečänlek (lug, pokos, lugovaja mestnost′)' (TatD2), ? *salt* 'čistyj, bez primesi, (peren.) čistyj, neporočnyj, neisporčennyj, (peren.) otkrytyj, iskrennij, privetlivyj' (Bashk), ? *šalġïn* 'Alpine grasslands, high grass, hay-cutting' (Kaz), ? *šalġïn* 'senokos, lug (al′pijskie luga)' (KazM), ? *šalġïn* 'kos′ba, pokos, senokos' (Kklp), *šalï* 'zagon dlja skota' (KklpD, Tenišev 2001: 526), *šaluv* 'kos′ba, rezanie, zakalyvanie, uboj (skota), stern′, sternja, pokos' (Nog), *čalï* 'kust', *čalï-čïrpï* 'hvorost, valežnik' (CrTat), *čalï* 'der Strauch, das Gestrüpp, der Dornstrauch' (CrTatR), *džalï* 'kustarnik' (KarC), *čalï-čïrpï* 'kustarnik, dikie zarosli v stepi' (KarSh), *čalï* 'otkrytyj hlev' (KumD, Tenišev 2001: 526), *č′alï* 'Zaun' (KrchP), *čal-* 'kosit′ čto, delat′ dviženie nogoj nad drugoj nogoj (v tance), plesti, zapletat′ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čalï* 'soljanka kustarnikovaja' (Tkm), *čalï* 'kustarnik' (Az), *çalı* 'bush, shrub', *çalılık* 'thicket, bushes, brushwood' (Tt), *čalï* 'der Strauch, das Gestrüpp, der Dornstrauch' (TtR), *çaltı* 'diken, çalı, küçük ve dikenli orman, akasya' (TtD), *çaltı* 'diken, çalı, ormanlık, küçük orman etc., kuytu yer' (TtD1), *čalï* 'tern, ternovyj, zanoza, koljučka, koljučij' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čalu* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen' (Kh), *čalu* 'Hecke (aus Gesträuch)' (KhT); ***SE*** *čalov* '(bot.) kovyl′ volosistyj' (Uzb), *čalï* 'ovečij zagon (iz hvorosta, kamyša, vetok)' (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 526); ***NE*** *čāl* 'ein junger Baum, niedriges Gestrüpp, Strauchwerk' (AltR, AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

E/T It is extremely difficult to determine the possible T etymon for the H word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 474; 1993–1997/1: 188), if the H word *csalit* was borrowed fr T, it must be of Cum origin and the copied form was either **čalïk* or **čaltï*; see **E/H**. One can add to this suggestion that the H word may also go back to a T form **čalït* (< **čal-Ut*, cf. ? Bashk *salt* 'čistyj, bez primesi, (peren.) čistyj, neporočnyj, neisporčennyj, (peren.) otkrytyj, iskrennij, privetlivyj'). The T words which seem to belong here mean 'thorny bush' in the following sources: AChagZ, AAHI, CrTat, CrTatR, KarC, KarSh, Tkm, Az, Tt, TtR, TtD, Gag. In these sources and lgs the T word *čalï* goes back either to **cal-ï* or **cal-ïg*. These data must be separated fr others which go back to another der with -(*X*)*g*; see e.g. *čalu* 'bolïn, pečänlïk (lug), pečän čabu (senokos, kos′ba)' (TatD), *čalu* 'bolïn, bolïnlïk, pečänlïk (lug, pokos, lugovaja mestnost′)' (TatD2) and *šalu* 'kos′ba, rezanie, zakalyvanie, uboj (skota), stern′, sternja, pokos' (Nog). One can also observe ders in the T lgs with **-gXn* fr the same base (see e.g. ? *šalgïn* 'Alpine grasslands, high grass, hay-cutting' (Kaz), ? *šalgïn* 'senokos, lug (al′pijskie luga)' (KazM)). The Tt dial word *çaltı* 'diken, çalı, küçük ve dikenli orman, akasya' (TtD) goes back to an earlier form with the suff **-dU* (Erdal 1991: 332–334). The etymological status of *čalu* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen' (Kh), *čalu* 'Hecke (aus Gesträuch)' (KhT) is dubious. The base of these T forms seems to be identical with the base of **csalán**, that is **čal-*. The data meaning 'bush, thorny bush' surely go back to the base reflected in **csalán**. The verb *čal-* 'to hit, knock' may be the base for the forms discussed of an earlier **čal-ïg*. Though slightly doubtful, the Bashk word *salt* 'čistyj, bez primesi, (peren.) čistyj, neporočnyj, neisporčennyj, (peren.) otkrytyj, iskrennij, privetlivyj' may reflect **čal-*(*U*)*t* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 308–316). One of the meanings of the verb *čal-* could be 'to plait' and the verb in this sense served as a base for words meaning 'fence'; see e.g. ? *č′alï* 'Zaun' (KrchP) and Kum dial *čali* 'otkrytyj hlev', Kklp dial *šalï* 'zagon dlja skota', Uzb dial *čalï* 'ovečij zagon (iz hvorosta, kamyša, vetok)' (Tenišev 2001: 526).

E/H The H word was considered by Vámbéry (1870: 134) to be of T origin. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 831) and Bárczi (1941: 35) thought it was of unknown origin. According to N. Sebestyén (1950: 339–340), *csalit* has a FUgr etymology. N. Sebestyén thought that the H word has a correspondence in Vog and Voty, and these data can also verify the meaning 'nemus, saltus'. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 474; 1993–1997/1: 188), the H word may go back to a Cum **čalïk* or **čaltï*, but the copied form could also be **čalït*. The word entered the H colloquial lg fr the dials during the H lg renewal. Ligeti (1986) did not consider *csalit* to be of T origin. The T origin remains problematic because no clear parallel can be found in T.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 134; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 831; Bárczi 1941: 35; N. Sebestyén 1950: 339–340; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 474; Räsänen 1969: 97; Erdal 1991: 308–316, 332–334; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 188; Tenišev 2001: 526; Tietze 2002: 471.

CSANAK [čånåk] '(silver) cup (1367), wooden ladle, earthenware bowl (1792/1808)' | 1209 GN *Sonok* [šånåk or čånåk], 1235 GN *Chonuk* [čonuk or čånuk], 1344 GN *Chanak* [čånåk], 1367 *chanak* [čånåk], 1838 *csanyak* [čåńåk] | *čånåk* < **čanak* ← WOT **čanak* | EOT *čanak* 'a wooden cone, a bowl' < *čan* {with suff +*Ak*}, cf. Ch 琖 *zhǎn* 'a jade cup'.

OT *čanaq* 'écuelle, bol' (UHamTouHou), *čanaq* 'a turned piece of wood' such as a salt-container, Og *čanaq* 'wooden bowl' (AK); **MT** *čan* 'Becher' (← Ch), *čačan* 'Teetasse' (← Ch) (UCivWP 03:10), *čanaq* 'goblet' (ABF), *čanaq* 'plate, cup' (AGul), *čanaq* 'kadeh, bardak' (AHMA), *čanaq* 'misa, talerz, naczynie' (AHŠ), *čanaq* (ǰ-) 'čaška, bljudo, sosud' (AHŠF), *čanaq* 'čaša, kubok' (AIM), *čanaq* 'topraktan aş kabı, çanak' (AIMI), *čanaḳ* 'çanak, kap, kâse' (ANeh), *čanaq* (ǰ-) 'čaška, bljudo, sosud' (ANehF), *čanaq* 'bowl' (ARbg), *čanaq* 'čaša' (ATef), *čanaq* (ǰ-) 'étrier', *čanaq* 'plat, écuelle' (AChag), *čanaq* 'čaška, miska' (AChagBud), *čanaq* 'eine irdene Schüssel, Schale, Napf, Terrine', ? *čanaq* 'der Steigbügel' (AChagR), <ČANAQ>, <ČANAĠ> (AChagS), *čanaq*, *čanaġ* 'kāsa (bowl)' (AChagSC), *čanaq* 'tabak, toprak kap' (AChagŠS), ? *čanak* 'Steigbügel, Riemen, Seite des Sattels', ? *ǰanak* 'üzengi, zengi; Steigbügel' (AChagŠSK), *čanaq*, *ǰanaq* 'Steigbügel', *čanaq* 'Schüssel, Schale, Hirnschale' (AChagZ), *čänäk* (čanak) 'Schale, Napf' (LCCG), *čanaq* 'scutella' (LCCI), *čanaq* 'çanak' (AAH), *čanaq* 'çanak' (AAHI), *čanaq* 'tasse, écuelle' (ADur), *čanaq* 'Schale' (AHou), *čanaq* (š-) 'tányér, csésze; Napf, Tasse' (AKav), *čanaq* (š-) 'çanak' (ATuhA), *čanax* 'coupe, gamelle, écuelle' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *čan* 'kád, nagyobb dézsa; Wanne, grössere Balge' (TatB), *čanak* 'glaznaja orbita, glaznaja vpadina, korobočka hlopka (otdel'nye dol'ki eë oboločki), stručok bobovyh (napr. goroha), (čujsk.) vertikal'naja čast' mogil'noj jamy (bez bokovogo uglublenija)' (Kirg), *šanaq* 'čaška' (Kklp), *šanaq* 'čaška' (KklpB), *čanaq* 'miska, časka', *čanaq-čöl'mek* 'posuda (kuhonnaja)' (CrTat), *čanaq* 'eine irdene Schüssel, Schale, Napf, Terrine' (CrTatR), *čanax* 'tarelka' (KarT), *canak* 'tarelka' (KarH), *čanaq* 'tarelka, bljudo' (KarSh), *čenax* 'posuda, tarelka, bljudo' (KarT); ***SW*** *čānak* 'derevjannaja miska, čaška' (Tkm), *čanag* 'mera sypučih tel (okolo 5 kg), posuda, vmeščajuščaja 5 kg, (anat.) taz, derevjannaja miska, rakovina' (Az), *çanak* 'earthenware pot, (bot., anat.) calyx' (Tt), *çanak* 'glinjanaja čaška, miska, bljudo, *bot.* čašečka (cvetka), *anat.* čaševidnaja polost', čašečka (počečnaja), vyemka, čašečka (u nekotoryh arabskih bukv), *geogr.* kotlovina' (TtB), *čanaq* 'eine irdene Schüssel, Schale, Napf, Terrine' (TtR), *çanak* 'üç okkalık bir çeşit hububat ölçüsü, dağ tepeleri üzerindeki çökük yerler, oyuklar' (TtD), *çanağ* 'çanak', *çanak* 'üç okkalık bir çeşit tahıl ölçeği, fincan, ağaçtan ve madenden yapılmış kap' (TtD1), *čanak* 'miska', *čanak-čölmek* 'posuda' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čanaq* 'Schale' (Kh ← Az), *čānaq* 'Schleier, r: Schale' (KhT); ***SE*** *čanåq* 'dol'ka hlopkovoj korobočki, mel'ničnaja voronka, rakovina, rakuška' (Uzb), *čanaq*, *čonaq* 'a metal apparatus which is fastened at the mouth of the funnel through which the grain is poured onto the mill'

(TurkiJ), *čanaq* 'a funnel-shaped feeder of a mill' (TurkiSh), *čanaq* '(v razn. znač.) rakovina, rakuška, čaška, voronka (propuskajuščaja zerno na mel′ničnye žernova), (peren.) vpadina, orbita, glaznica, (anat.) čerep, (peren.) čerepaha' (MUyg), *ʒinaq*, *ʒinaq'* 'derevjannaja čaška' (YUyg), *čïnaq* '(čajnaja) čaška', *činaq* 'čaška (vydolblennaja iz dereva)' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *čān* 'očen′ bol′soj kotel' (Y ← Rus).

E/T The T etymon for the H word can hardly be a simplex, as declared by Clauson (1972: 425). It seems much likelier to be a der – as shown by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 101–102) and Tekin (1997: 171), among others. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 101–102), although many of of these words have different meanings, 'Schneeschuhe, Schlitten', 'Steigbügel' and 'Becher, Schale', they are interrelated. He thought that they all go back to an original meaning, 'schalenartige Mulde'. The T word *čanak* was more recently discussed by Erdal (1991: 40), who considered the base of the T word to be of Ch origin, *zhǎn* 'a cup', which is mentioned as *chan* by Clauson (1972: 424), citing Giles (cf. Räsänen 1969: 98). Among the T material, one can only find the Ch origin base word, *čan*, in certain sources (UHeilk I, UHeilk II).

T *čam* 'bassin, bol, coupe' (UHy, for further data, see Ligeti 1966b: 150 and Räsänen 1969: 123), AHŠF *čam*, *ǰam* 'čaša, bokal: kubok', Ott *ǰam* 'Glas, Glasscheibe' etc. ← Pe *ǰām* 'coupe à boire, miroir', *čam* (ǰ-) 'bokal, čaša, kubok' (AM) do not pertain here. See also in this category *čamïyak* 'berestjanaja čerpaločka dlja jačmenja' (Alt), a compound whose second element is T *ayak* 'cup, bowl'.

Some T words with the shapes *čam* and *ǰam*, which signify 'bokal, čaša', are also mentioned by Egorov (1964: 319), who erroneously connected them with Chuv *čăm* '(ust.) starinnyj derevjannyj ili mednyj sosud dlja piva'; cf. ChuvP *čăm* 'kétfülű, fából, ónból vagy pléhből készített csőrös korsó, melyben ünnep alkalmával sört hoznak az asztalra; eine Art Bierkrug'. Paasonen suggested early on that the Chuv word is of Pe origin, as did Fedotov (1996/2: 401).

Räsänen's suggestion (1969: 111) that T *čanak* represents an earlier compound *čïn ayak* and Doerfer's view (Doerfer 1967a: 290) that *čanak* may be etymologically connected to *čana* (cf. **szán**[3] in § 8.1) are unacceptable. The T data *ʒinak* 'derevjannaja čaška' (YUyg), *čïnak* '(čajnaja) čaška', *činak* 'čaška (vydolblennaja iz dereva)' (YUygM) seem, however, to be under the influence of the compound *čïn ayak* 'Chinese cup'.

The T word was copied into MMo as *čanaka* 'bowl' (cf. Poppe 1927–1928: 1237 and Ščerbak 1997: 112). Mo *sinaga* 'ladle, dipper, scoop' does not belong here.

E/H The H word was already considered by Vámbéry (1870: 135) to be of T origin, however, according to him it is an Ott lw. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 840) pointed out that *csanak* was borrowed into H many times fr different T lgs. The H datum fr 1367 can be regarded – because of its chronology – as a Cum lw, and this form could have been strengthened by another later borrowing during the Ott period. In

this case one cannot rule out the possibility that the word *csanak* came into H via Serb or Rom mediation in certain areas. Németh (1921: 25) listed the H word among the so-called "Kabar–Cumanian–Pecheneg" lws. According to Kniezsa (1955: 811), the H word is surely not of Sl origin. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 476–477; 1993–1997/1: 189) and Ligeti (1986: 315–316) shared the opinion posited by Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 840) and regarded *csanak* as a Cum lw, which was once more borrowed during the Ott period. It is worth noting that *csanak*, like **csákány**, does not show the sound change *a* > *ä*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135, 187; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 840; Németh 1921: 25; Poppe 1927–1928: 1237; Kniezsa 1955: 811; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 101–102; Egorov 1964: 319; Ligeti 1966b: 150; Doerfer 1967a: 290; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 476–477; Räsänen 1969: 98, 111, 123; Clauson 1972: 424, 425; Ligeti 1986: 89, 315–316, 542; Erdal 1991: 40; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 189; Fedotov 1996/2: 401; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Tekin 1997: 171; Tietze 2002: 472.

CSAT 'clasp' see **csatol**.

CSATA [čåtå] 'fighting (1532), troop, army group (1544), battle (c1700), quarrel, hubbub (1769), flock (1784) etc.' | 1532 *chatara* [čåtā-rå], 1579 *chiotara* [čåtā-rå], dial *csataj* [čåtåy], *csëtára* [čëtā-rå] | *čåtå* < **čata* ⟵ ? WOT **čata*, **čatï* | cf. Chag *čata* 'pillage, incursion'.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *čata* 'pillage, incursion' (AChag), *čat* 'harc, csata [fight, battle]' (AChagAbV), *čat-* 'imeť styčku, sraženie, navjučiť životnyh (v karavane – Vambéry)' (AChagBud), *čat-* 'ins Gefecht geraten, im Kampfe liegen' (AChagR), *čat-* 'anstossen, nahe sein (räumlich und zeitlich), dicht nebeneinander stehen (z.B. Stäbe eines Gitters), zusammengefügt oder eingefügt sein, sich berühren, fest anschliessen, passen, dicht aneinander kommen, zusammenrennen, anlaufen (zwei Schiffe aneinander), zusammentreffen mit *Jemand*, einander nahe stehen (von Personen), befreundet sein, sich kennenlernen, Freundschaft schliessen', *čat* 'Treffen, Krieg, Kampf' (AChagZ), *čatï* (Pol *czata* 'watch', Pl. *czaty* 'outguard'), *na czaty* 'on the watch, on the lookout, on outguard, in ambush' (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** ? According to the editors, *čataštïr-* has the same meaning as *satmaštïr-*, which, however, can only be found in the dict in its conv form *satmaštïrïp* 'čališ̈tïrïp; krest na krest' (TatD2), *čatak* 'ssora, skloka, (ust.) konflikt' (Kirg), *šatas-* 'to be confused, to lose one's senses, to entangle oneself, to get entangled, to get confused, to quarrel, to fall out with' (Kaz), *šataq* 'ssora, spor, skandal, konflikt, spornyj, skandaľnyj' (Kklp), *šataq* 'spor, skandal' (KklpB), *čat-* = *čata-* 'spletať, skreščivať', ? *čataq* 'podnožka (priem v borťbe), ust. derevjannaja planka, pridelannaja nad jarmom zaprjažennogo v paru byka, na kotoroj sidit pogonščik vo vremja pahoty' (Kum); ***SW*** *çatak* 'involved, intricate, attached, twinned (fruit), quarrelsome', *çatış-* 'to clash, collide, to have a quarrel, a

clash, to be in conflict, to clash (interests, ideas), to fit into one another (joints), to mate (dogs etc.)' (Tt), *çatışık* 'vzaimno peresekajuščijsja, perekreščivajuščijsja, protivorečivyj, protivorečaščij (drug drugu)' (TtB), *çatak* 'kavgacı', *çıtak* 'çetin, titiz, kavgacı, yaramaz, şuna buna çatan, dövüşken, inatçı, huysuz' (TtD), ? *čata* 'gruppa, otrjad (ljudej), šajka, banda' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *č'at-* 'rubiť (mečom)', *čït-* 'rubiť, rezať' (Sal), *čat-*, *ɒžat-* 'trancher, faire éclater' (SalK); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The supposed T counterpart of the H word cannot be found in OT and is first reflected in MT. In AChag one can find *čata* <ČTH> with the meaning 'pillage, incursion'. This word has a regular phonetic correspondence with the H word, but its semantics does not seem sufficiently convincing to suppose an etymological connection. It is difficult, but not impossible, to build a bridge between the meanings 'pillage, incursion' and 'battle'. Another problem is that the word *čata* in AChag should be verified because it is the only item with this shape and meaning in our sources. Although Vámbéry's book on Abuška (AChagAbV) has another word, *čat* 'harc, csata [battle]', – an item cited by Zenker – it would also be necessary to verify this item. Budagov and Radloff have the verbal form *čat-*, meaning 'imeť styčku, sraženie, navjučiť životnyh (v karavane)' and 'ins Gefecht geraten, im Kampfe liegen', but this verb was also taken fr Vámbéry. In Zenker's dict, we do find *čat-* 'zusammenrennen, anlaufen (zwei Schiffe aneinander) etc.' The MT data seem too rare and uncertain to reconstruct a T copied form for the H word. Some of the data appear very likely to be of Sl origin. Some other NT forms seem to belong with the base discussed in the entry for **csat**. The Sal data probably do not belong here. They may be the result of an internal development of onomatopoeic origin.

E/H The T origin of the H word *csata* is uncertain because of the isolated occurrence and opaque structure of the T word. A copied form like **čatï* would be possible phonetically and morphologically, but has to be excluded for chronological reasons. The Sl origin is more probable; see OSl **četa* 'fighting group', Rus *četa* 'pair, couple' etc. (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 351).

The H word was first considered by Vámbéry (1882a: 243) to be of T origin. According to Munkácsi (1883: 110) and Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 879–882), the H word is probably of Sl origin. Pais (1939: 26) claimed that H *csata* may be of T origin. Bárczi (1941: 36) argued for the South Sl origin of the H word and his opinion was strengthened by Kniezsa (1955: 122), who considered the H word to be a SerbCroat lw, which was borrowed during the Ott occupation of Hungary. The word was not dealt with by Kakuk (1973). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 484–485; 1993–1997/1: 193) accepted Kniezsa's opinion. Ligeti (1986) did not list H *csata* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 243; Munkácsi 1883: 110; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 879–882; Pais 1939: 26; Bárczi 1941: 36; Kniezsa 1955: 122; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 351; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 484–485; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 193; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99.

CSATOL [čåtol] ‘to add, to join; to buckle up sg’ | 1527 *bel chatlot* [čåtl-ot], 1565 *oszue czatolliac* [čåtol-yāk] | *čåtol-* < **čatol-* < **čat-* {with suff *-(V)l-*} ← WOT **čat-* or see H *čat* || **csat** [čåt] ‘clasp’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *Satadi* [šåt-ådi or čåt-ådi], 1211 ? PN *Chot* [čåt], 1348 *Chatus* [čåt-uš], c1395 *chath* [čåt] | *čåt* < *čåtol-* {by back-formation} or < **čat* < *čati* ← WOT **čatï* | EOT *čat-* ‘to bring together, to join’, or **čatï*.

Of T origin but with debated morphology.

OT *čatïq* (cāttiq – cā tti q) ‘zusammenklebend’ (BI: 7), Og *čat-* ‘join (kid and lamb)’: *är oġlāq qozïqa čattï* ‘the man joined the kid with the lamb (or other)’ (AK); **MT** *čat-* ‘çatmak’ (UYA), *čat-*, *čït-* ‘çatmak’ (UYB), *čatuḳ* ‘toplanmış’, *čat-* ‘çatmak, buruşturmak’ (AHMA), ? *čat-* ‘łączyć, zetknąć (ze sobą), nasrożyć (brwi)’ (AHŠ), *čat-* (ǰ-) ‘primešivatʹ, pripisyvatʹ, lgatʹ, hmuritʹ, morščitʹ’ (AHŠF), *čat-* ‘tasarla-, uydur-, kafasında kur-’ (ANeh), *čat-* (ǰ-) ‘primešivatʹ, pripisyvatʹ, lgatʹ, hmuritʹ, morščitʹ’ (ANehF), *čat-*, *čït-* ‘çatmak’ (AYC), *čataġ* ‘cercle qui soutient la tente, planche garnie d’un trou qu’on passe sur la pilier de la tente, associé, joint’, *čat-* ‘attacher deux choses ensemble, se lier, s’engrener, se rencontrer’, *čatï* ‘trépied auquel on suspend une outre’ (AChag), *čat-* ‘imetʹ styčku, sraženie, navjučitʹ životnyh (v karavane – Vambéry)’ (AChagBud), *čat-* ‘sich vereinigen, anstossen, auf etwas stossen, zusammenstossen, aneinander hängen bleiben, anheften’, *čataġ* ‘vereint, verbunden, der Kreis, der das Zelt, die Jurte zusammenhält’ (AChagR), <ČAT-> (AChagS), *čat-* (spelt) ‘ba-ham paywastan (to join together), bastan (to fasten (two things to one another)), sar ba-ham āwardan (to bring together)’, ? *čït-* (spelt) ‘rū turuš kardan wa inqibāḍ-i waǰh (to make a sour face, to frown)’, the verb does not convey this meaning if used by itself, the noun for ‘face’ must be mentioned, ? *čïtuq* (spelt) ‘šaxs-i munqabiḍ turš-rū (a frowning sour-faced individual)’ (AChagSC), *čataġ* ‘çatı, çatılmış şey’ (AChagŠS), ? *čat* ‘Seite, Wand, Strauch, Messschnur, Klapp’, *čataġ* ‘Gerüst, Bedachung des Hauses’, *čatï* ‘Dreifuss’ (AChagŠSK), *čat-* ‘anstossen, nahe sein (räumlich und zeitlich), dicht nebeneinander stehen (z.B. Stäbe eines Gitters), zusammengefügt oder eingefügt sein, sich berühren, fest anschliessen, passen, dicht aneinander kommen, zusammenrennen, anlaufen (zwei Schiffe aneinander), zusammentreffen mit *Jemand*, einander nahe stehen (von Personen), befreundet sein, sich kennenlernen, Freundschaft schliessen’, *čatï* ‘eigentlich Zusammenfügung, der Teil eines Gewölbes oder Bogens, wo die beiden Hälften in einem Winkel zusammenstossen’, *čatïq*, *čatuq* ‘zusammengefügt, an- oder eingefügt, anstossend, fest an’, *čataq*, *čataġ* (ǰ-) ‘das Brett am obern Ende der Zeltstange’, *čataq* ‘Genosse, Freund’ (AChagZ), ? *čat* ‘kumaşın dikiş yeri’, *čat-* ‘kumaşların kenarını birbirine eklemek, dikmek. Ayrıca *qaš čat-* ve yahut *čatuq qašlu* gibi kelimelerde kullanılmaktadır’ (AAH), *čatal* ‘vetvʹ, otvetvlenie, razvilka’ (ATuh), (Tkm) *čatal* (ǰ-) ‘çatal’ (ATuhA), *čat-* ‘birbirine bağlamak, tutturmak, parçaları birbirine tutturmak suretiyle bir şey yapmak, karşılaşmak, dokunmak, çarpmak’, *čatal* ‘üç değneği bir demir

halkaya bağlamakla vücuda getirilen av âleti' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** ? *śut* 'prigorok, skat, sklon' (Chuv), ? *śut*, *śot* 'holm, vozvyšennosť, prigorok' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *čat* 'ugol, perekrestok (ulic)', *čït-* 'kriviť, iskriviť, hmuriť, nasupiť', *čïtïk* 'hmuryj, nasuplennyj, kislyj, neprivetlivyj' (Tat), *čat* 'pŏčmak (ugol)', *čatlïq* 'pŏčmak (ugol)', 'uram čatï (mesto peresečenija dvuh ulic, ugol)' (TatD1), *čat*, *cat* 'pŏčmak, ugol', *čatlï burau* 'gadäti burau, büränäneŋ bašlarïn čïgarïp kaldïrïp burau, obyčnyj srub, kogda koncy breven sruba vystupajut i obrazujut ugly' (TatD2), *čat* 'ág, ágazás (út ágazása), ág-szög, zug, szöglet; Ast, Zweig, Verzweigung, Kreuzung (des Weges), Astwinkel, Ecke, Winkel', *čatak* 'kereszt-, mellékutca; Kreuz-, Nebengasse' (TatB), *sat* '(anat.) pah, perekrestok, razvilina', *satlïq* 'ugol (s vnutrennej storony čego-l.), perekrestok, razvilina' (Bashk), *cat* 'kušïla torgan ike yïlga belän čiklängän jir; zemlja, ograničennaja dvumja soedinjajuščimisja rekami, meždureč'e', *catlauq* 'zur timer kïskïč; bol'šie železnye ščipcy' (SibTat), *čat* 'mesto soedinenija nog (s vnutrennej storony), prostranstvo meždu dvumja rekami pered ih slijaniem, nazvanie časti gory', *čïtï-* 'nahmuriť, nasupiť' (Kirg), *šat* 'joint of pelvis bones', *šataq-* 'to communicate, to get into contact, to have to do with, to unite, to join, to combine, to entangle oneself, to get entangled', *šatïl-* 'to be involved in some sort of evil business, to entangle oneself, to get entangled', *šït-*: *qabaq šït-* 'to knit (the brows)' (Kaz), ? *šat* 'pah', *šïtï-* 'hmuriť' (Kklp), *šata* '(anat.) pah, pahovoj' (Nog), *čat-* 'svodiť, smetať, nametať', *čatïq* 'soedinennyj v koncah, svjazannyj koncami' (CrTat), *čat-* 'otnositť, pripisyvať, kasať sja, dostigať' (KarSh), *čatma* 'somknutyj, soedinennyj, srosšijsja' (KarSh), *čatïq* 'soedinivšijsja, srosšijsja, nahmurennyj, smorščennyj' (KarSh), *čat* '(anat.) pah, promežnosť', *čataš-* 'skreščivať sja, spletjať sja', *čat-* = *čata-* 'spletať, skreščivať', *čatïš-* 'skreščivať sja, byť skreščennym, spletať sja, porodniť sja putem ženiť by *ili* vyhoda zamuž' (Kum), *čat* '(anat.) promežnosť' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čat* 'treščina, ščeľ, rasščelina, krestec', *čatak* 'putanyj, zaputannyj, složnyj, trudnyj', *čat-* 'šiť, zašivať, prišivať, činiť, štopať, privjazyvať, svjazyvať, zavjazyvať (koncy čego-l.), hvatať, byť dostatočnym, družiť, byť v družbe, (peren.) vydavať zamuž', *čatïk* '(prjam. i peren.) svjazannyj', *čatï* 'trenožnik, kuča suhih vetok', *čatïl-* 'byť zašitym, prišitym, zašivať sja, prišivať sja, byť počinennym, byť zašopannym, byť zavjazannym, zavjazyvať sja, byť svjazannym, privjazannym, prikreplennym *k čemu-l.*, svjazyvať sja, privjazyvať sja, prikrepljať sja *k čemu-l.*, (peren.) byť vydannoj, vydavať sja zamuž' (Tkm), *čat* 'treščina, ščeľ, rasščelina', *čatag* = *čataglï* 'strevožennyj' (Az), *čatï* 'verevka, skručennaja iz šersti, stanina, stropilo, ferma, naves' (Az), *čatïg* 'soedinenie, skreplenie (koncami drug s drugom)' (Az), *çat* '(prov.) juncture', *çat-* (*-ar*) 'to stack (arms etc.), to jerry-build, to tack together, to paste together, to tie (around the head), to load (onto a beast) etc.', *çatı* 'gable roof, roof, framework, skeleton, scaffolding, (neol., anat.) pubis, the arch of the thighs (of a horse)', *çatık* 'fitted together, joined, stacked, frowning, sulky, stern (face)' (Tt), *çat* 'mesto slijanija dvuh reček, mesto peresečenija dvuh

dorog, perekrestok, styk', ? *çatı* 'srub, ostov, karkas, skelet, karkasnoe sooruženie, kryša, krovlja (pokataja), greben′ krovli, (peren.) skelet, ostov, karkas, kostjak, osnova, opora, (anat.) sočlenenie, (gram.) zalog, voen. piramida, kozly', *çatık* 'soedinennyj v koncah, svjazannyj koncami, nahmurennyj, nasuplennyj', *çat-* 'skladyvat′, soedinjat′ koncami, stavit′ koncom k koncu, smetyvat′ iz živuju nitku, skrepljat′ bulavkami (otdel′nye časti kroja), nakalyvat′ (pri primerke plat′ja), nav′jučivat′ (lošad′ i. t. p.), povjazyvat′, obvjazyvat′ (golovu platkom i.t.p.), neožidanno vstretit′[sja], stolknut′sja, natknut′sja, narvat′sja, naporot′sja *na kogo-čto*, popast′ v neprijatnoe položenie, zatragivat′, zadevat′, kasat′sja, cepljat′sja, pridirat′sja, napadat′, obvinjat′, obižat′, oskorbljat′, pristavat′, vojti v milost′ *k komu*, sniskat′ *č′e-l.* pokrovitel′stvo, dobit′sja *č′ego-l.* raspoloženija, približat′sja, nastat′, nastupat′, nagrjanut′ (o čem-l. neprijatnom), hmurit′' (TtB), *çat* 'iki derenin veya iki yolun birleştiği yer, dar vadi, dağ tepelerindeki geçit, aşıt, köşe başı, bel kemiği, orta yer, şedit', *çatı* 'iki bacak arası, iki tepenin birleştiği yer', *çatık* 'yolların, derelerin birleştiği yer', *çatak* 'ağaç dallarının ikiye ayrıldığı yer, ırmak ve çayların kavuştuğu yer', *çatıntı* 'birkaç yolun birleştiği yol' (TtD), *çat* (*catak*, *çatak*, *çatal*, *çatan*, *çatık*, *çatıntı*, *çatır* etc.) 'iki dere veya iki yolun birleştiği yer', *çatak* 'su akıntılı yerler, dağlarda derin dereler', *çatık*, *çatılı* 'birleşik', *çatma* 'duvarları ağaç gövdesinden birbirine takılarak ve çivisiz olarak yapılan yayla evi, yığma ev, yörük çadırı' (TtD1), *čat-* 'svjazyvat′, zavjazyvat′, soedinjat′, skrepljat′, nametyvat′ (šov), nanizyvat′ petli (pri vjazanii)', *čatma* 'soedinenie, sraščenie, soedinennyj, sraščennyj, nametka (šva), nametannyj, naskoro sšityj', *čatïk* 'svjazannyj (v koncah), soedinennyj' (Gag), *čat-* 'erreichen', *čatak* 'Sandale' (SOg); ***Kh*** ? *čat* 'Riß, Riß in der Wand' (Kh); ***SE*** *čat-* 'podšivat′, prišivat′, primetyvat′, prošivat′', *čati-* (razg.) id., *čatiq*: *čatiq qoš* 'srosšiesja brovi', *čatoq* '(razg.) putanyj, zaputannyj, složnyj, trudnyj, kljauznyj, kaverznyj, kljauznik, krjučkotvor' (Uzb), *čat* 'the space between the legs, place where two rivers unite', *čat-* 'to drive together, to tie together, e.g. to tie two horses together, the head of one to the crupper of the other (during caravan journeys), or cattle when threshing, or to tie two thieves together' (TurkiJ), *čat* 'the angle at the junction of two streams [used elsewhere for angles formed by other things]', *čatâġ*, *čatâq* 'puzzle-headed, confused, at cross purposes', *čat-* (v. tr.) 'to tie two horses together, the head of one to the crupper of the other [this is the common way of securing caravan horses in the open plains and treeless mountains of Central Asia]', *čatuq*, *čatiq* 'a couple of horses thus fastened together, also, the fastening of them so' (TurkiSh), ? *čatma* 'šalaš, rasprja' (TurkiL), *čat-* 'pricepljat′, scepljat′, podcepljat′, scepljat′sja, svjazyvat′, privjazyvat′, podšivat′, prišivat′, primetyvat′, zaputyvat′, zaprjagat′', *čatmaq* 'otvetvlenie' (MUyg), ***NE*** *čat* 'die Flussspaltung, der Flussarm' (AltR), *čat* 'die Flussspaltung, der Flussarm' (AltTelR), *šat* 'gornaja grjada, krjaž' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The verbal base of the T etymon for the H word *csatol-* occurs in OT as *čat-* 'to bring together, join (something *Acc.*, to something else *Dat.*)', but it is very rare. However, Clauson rightly pointed out (1972: 402) that the verb *čat-* has a secondary form in some MT sources, e.g. *čït-* (spelt) 'to make a sour face, to frown' (AChagSC); see also its der *čïtuk* (spelt) 'a frowning, sour-faced individual'. These words belong with the original base *čat-* and that is also the case in some other sources; *čat-*, *čït-* 'çat-' (AYC), ? *čïtuq* 'ostryj, pronzitel′nyj' (ATef), *čïtï-* 'nahmurit′, nasupit′' (Kirg), *šït-*: *qabaq šït-* 'to knit (one's brow)' (Kaz), *šïtï-* 'hmurit′' (Kklp) etc. One cannot see any difficulties in the semantics if the meaning of the supposed base was 'to connect something with or to something, to draw something to something'.

The occurrence of these alternating forms seems, however, not very clear phonetically. The presence of the vowel *-ï-* could of course have been caused by a semantic split, but it is also possible – and this seems to be much more likely – that forms with *-ï-* in the first syllable may have developed under the influence of the noun *čït* 'fence' and its ders, which must be regarded as etymologically separated fr the base *čat-*. The noun *čït* 'fence' was well-known in OT and it had a semantic field which facilitated the word's contamination of the verb *čat-* and its ders. On the historical data, see Clauson (1972: 401).

Despite Doerfer's opinion (1963–1975/3: 128–129), however, one cannot separate the items of *čït* 'fence' and *čet*, *čät* 'Seite, Rand, Winkel, Ecke, Grenze' with absolute certainty. Despite Clauson's suggestion (1972: 401), the latter items belong with a third base, but this base and its ders could also have taken part in contamination.

The very broad semantic field of the T verb *čat-* was rightly demonstrated by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 16) in the entry for *čātma*. The ders of the verb *čat-* are well-known, but sometimes it is very difficult to decide what suff they originally had. First, the forms which likely seem to be ders with *-I* (and not with *-(X)g*) must be mentioned, i.e. *čatï* 'trépied auquel on suspend une outre' (AChag), *čatï* 'üç ayak, sacayak; Dreifuss' (AChagŠSK), *čatï* 'trenožnik, kuča suhih vetok' (Tkm). In the MT lgs one can find data ending in *-I*, which very likely go back to ders with *-(X)g*; see e.g. *čatï* 'eigentlich Zusammenfügung, der Teil eines Gewölbes oder Bogens, wo die beiden Hälften in einem Winkel zusammenstossen' (AChagZ), *çatı* 'gable roof, roof, framework, skeleton, scaffolding, (neol., anat.) pubis, the arch of the thighs (of a horse)' (Tt).

It seems, however, to be almost always impossible to separate the T data according to their historical suffs *-I* and *-(X)g*. There are, on the other hand, data with the suff *-(O)k*; see e.g. *čïtuk* (spelt) 'šaxs-i munqabiḍ turš-rū (a frowning, sour-faced individual)' (AChagSC), *čatïk*, *čatuk* 'zusammengefügt, an- oder eingefügt, anstossend, fest an' (AChagZ) and many other occurrences fr the MT lgs.

In the T lgs there are some data which seem to be ders with certain suffs ending in *k* or *g*, and not fr the base *čat-*, but *čata-*; see e.g. *čatak*, *čatag* (ǰ-) 'das Brett am obern Ende der Zeltstange', *čatak* 'Genosse, Freund' (AChagZ), *čatag* 'cercle qui soutient la tente, planche garnie d'un trou qu'on passe sur la pilier de la tente, associé, joint' (AChag), *čatag* 'vereint, verbunden, der Kreis, der das Zelt, die Jurte zusammenhält' (AChagR), *čatag* 'çatı, binanın sakfiyesi, balar, çartag, çatılmış şey; Gerüst, Bedachung des Hauses' (AChagŠSK) etc. Some data can be explained as being back-formations fr these words; see e.g. *čata-* = *čat-* 'spletať, skreščivať' (Kum), *šata* '(anat.) pah' (Nog). These are secondary forms which cannot show any preserved PT stem-final vowel, though one can suppose **čatV-* for PT.

In the T lgs one can find some monosyllabic nouns; see the database. These forms can hardly be separated fr the earlier verb *čat-*, thus in this case one can assume the existence of an earlier nomen-verbum or they result fr different contamination processes; see e.g. *čat* 'treščina, ščeľ, rasščelina, krestec' (Tkm) and *čat* 'Riß, Riß in der Wand' (Kh). These forms can be found in many branches of the T lgs, thus one can suppose the early existence of a noun *čat* in the T lgs. The comparison of T *čat-* with Kor *čhada-* and Mo *ča-d-* 'satt werden, voll werden' suggested by Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 63; 1952–1966/2: 48, 164), can surely be excluded.

E/H The H verb *csatol-* may be an inner der of the T verb *čat-* with the H den verbal suff +(*V*)*l-*. Accordingly, the H noun **csat** is a back-formation fr this verb. Another possibility is that H borrowed a form **čatï* ← *csat* and formed the verb *csatol-* on this base. At present, we have no evidence to give preference to one or the other.

The H word was considered to be of T origin as early as Vámbéry (1870: 135). Gombocz first (1907a: 111) supposed the copying of the T verb **čat-*, to which a H dev verbal suff was added. Accordingly, H *csat* can be explained by back-formation. Later, Gombocz changed his view (1912b: 58) and pointed out that the H noun *csat* may have originated fr a nominal form. The OChuv copied form could be **čatu* or **čatï*. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 876–878) followed this latter position put forth by Gombocz and they regarded the H word as a lw fr T **čatï*. Ligeti (1935a: 215) did not rule out that this H word has its proper place among the T lws of the middle layer. Bárczi (1941: 36) presumed with a relatively early copied form and added that the verbal base *čat-*, meaning 'to bring together, to join', seems to be present in many T lgs. According to him, the Cum or Pech origin of the H word cannot be verified. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 114) considered the H word to be a nomen-verbum belonging in the middle layer. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 484) hesitatingly proposed two possibilities for the etymology of the H word: (1) According to him, it may be an older T borrowing and the T copied form was a noun **čatu* or **čatï*. He noted that in this case the initial **č-* in T seems unusual. (2) Another possibility is that H *csat* belongs among the T lws

of the middle layer. Benkő paid special attention to the fact that the meaning 'clasp' is unknown among the T words belonging with the supposed etymon. According to Ligeti (1986: 58, 89, 101, 182, 202, 530), the T copied form may be **čatï*, a dial or MChuv form of *čatïk*. If **čatïk* was borrowed, the correct form in H would be **csatuk* or **csató*. Ligeti considered this borrowing to be structurally parallel with **kis** (**kicsiny**) ⟵ T *kiči* < *kičig*. On the disappearance of the closed final vowel in the borrowed forms, see also **ács**, **bér**, **bölcs**, *egy* 'holy' in **egyház**, **gyöngy**, **szatócs**, **szék**, **szűcs**, **tok** and § 5.8.19. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 193) considered the H word to be of doubtful origin. He does not exclude the possibility that the word *csat* goes back to a T noun, but there are semantic difficulties in this case. Another possibility for the borrowing of T would be, according to Benkő, if we supposed the back-formation of a T verb in H. As Benkő wrote, "Rückbildung aus *csatol*. Diese Deutung ist nur dann möglich, wenn ins Ung das verbale Glied der türk Wortfamilie entlehnt wurde".

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135; Gombocz 1907a: 111; Gombocz 1912b: 58; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 876–878; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 36; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 114; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 63; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 48, 164; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 16, 128–129; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 484; Räsänen 1969: 101; Clauson 1972: 401, 402; Ligeti 1986: 58, 89, 101, 182, 202, 530; Erdal 1991: 340; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 221; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 193; Tenišev 2001: 499, 509; Tietze 2002: 481–484.

CSAVAR 'to turn, to steal' see **csűr**[1].

CSÉCS [čēč] 'measle, smallpox, pocks (1643); skin eruption (1906); *dial* decorative embroidery' | 1217/1412 GN *Chech* [čeč], 1329/1416 GN *Cheech* [čēč], 1643 *csecsek* [čeč-ek], dial *csëcs* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 774) | *čēč* < *čëč* ⟵ WOT **čeč* or *čēč* < *čëč* < **čëček* {by back-formation} ⟵ WOT **čečäk* | EOT *čečäk* 'flower, skin eruption, smallpox'.

OT *čäčäk* 'fleur, nom de femme' (UHamTouHou), *čäčäk*: *xu-a čäčäk* 'Blumen' (UTTV A:104,105), *čäčäk* 'flower' (USuv), *čäčäk* 'flower' (UXuanzangIndex), *čečäk* 'flower, blossom', Čigil *čečäk* 'measles' (AK), *čeček* 'flower' (AQB), *čäčäklän-* (jāj̄āk-lān̄üṛ) 'erblühen' (BP: 24); **MT** *čäčäk* 'fleur' (UHy), *čäčäk* 'fleur' (UHyS), *čäčäklik* 'Blumengarten' (UCivMi 28:5,6), *čečäk* 'rose' (ABF), *čičäk* (r: *čečäk*) 'flower' (AGul), *čiček* 'çiçek' (AHMA), *čičäk* 'róża (kwiat *par excellence*!)' (AHŠ), *čečäk* (ǰ-, -ǰ-) 'roza, cvetok' (AHŠF), *čēčā̄k* 'rose' (AIM), *čeček* 'çiçek' (AIMI), *čiček* 'rose, flower' (AKD), *čäčäk* 'flower' (AKor), *čečäk* (ǰ-, -ǰ-) 'cvetok' (AM), *čiček* 'çiçek' (ANeh), *čäčäk*, *čečäk* 'flower', *čäčäk* 'small-pox' (ARbg), *čečäk* 'cvetok' [*bir näčälär aytur rayḥan čečäk bolur* 'nekotorye govorjat, [čto] "rayhan" – ėto cvetok'], *čäčäklän-* 'cvesti' (ATef), *čičäk* 'fleur, ampoule, petite vérole' (AChag), *čečäk* 'ljuboj vesennij cvetok, ospa' (AChagB), *čečäk* 'cvetok' (AChagLN), *čäčäk* 'die Blume, die Blüte, die Pocken' (AChagR), <ČČK> (AChagS), *čečäk* 'šigūfa (flower), (metaph.) ābila (small-pox)' (AChagSC), *čičäk* 'ezher, çiçek, ǰederi' (AChagŠS), *čeček* (ǰ-, -ǰ-) 'kleiner Baum,

Strauch, Rose' (AChagŠSK), *čiček* 'Blume, Blüte, Blütchen, Blatter, Pocke' (AChagZ), *čiček* 'Blume' (LCCG), *čičäk* (zizac) 'Blume' (LCCI), *čičäk* 'çiçek' (AAH), *išek čičegi* '(*Babus*) (*hıyrî*) mantı çiçeği diyor (*Mirkat*) yaban hatmi çiçeği diyor' (AAHI), *čičäk* 'fleur' (ADur), *čäčäk* 'Blume', *Güličäčäk* PN (woman) (AHou), *čičäk* 'Blume' (š-, -š-) (AKav), *čičäk* 'cvetok', *šišäk* 'ospa' (ATuh), *čiček* 'çiçek', *šišek* 'çiçek hastalığı' (ATuhA), *čičak´* 'fleur' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *čečče* 'ospa, ospennyj', *čeček* 'cvetok, cvet *prost.*, lepestok, *dial.* bahroma, kist´', *śeśke* 'cvetok, cvety, lepestok, lepestki, list, list´ja, botva, zelen´ (ovoščnyh kul´tur)', *śešen* 'travjanistyj, pokrytyj travami, cvetuščij, devstvennyj, neobrabotannyj, nevozdelannyj', *śeśpěl* '*obščee nazvanie rjada vesennih trav s golubymi cvetami*: podsnežnik, son-trava, medunica, fialka *i t.d.*, (dial.) snyt´ (Chuv), *čečče* 'cvetok, ospa', *čečči* 'ospa', *čeče* 'cvetok', *śeśke* 'cvetok rastenija', *śešek* = *śeśkě* = *čeček* 'cvetok, ospa', *śešen* 'krasivyj, cvetistyj', *śeśpěl* 'nazv. rast., medunica' (ChuvA), *četče*, *četčü* 'virág, himlő; Blume, Blüte, Blattern', ? *čěčě* 'csecsbimbó, csecs; Brustwarze, Zitze', *čeček* 'virág; Blüte', Szp. id. (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čäčkä* (razg.) = *čäčäk* 'cvet, cvetok, cvetočnyj, ospa, ospennyj' (Tat), *čiči'* 'göl; komnatnyj cvetok' (TatD1), *čäčäk* 'yafrak; list dereva', *cäcäk* 'čäčäk; ospa', *sičak*, *čičkä* 'čäčäk; cvetok' (TatD2), *čäčäk* 'virág, virágzat, himlő; Blume, Blüte, Blattern, Pocken' (TatB), *säskä*, *säsäk* 'cvet, cvetok', *säsäk* 'ospa, ospennyj' (Bashk), *cicäk* 'čäčäk, čuan; ospa, čirej', *cicegäy* 'čäčäk; cvetok' (SibTat), *čičäk* 'cvetok' (SibTatBD), *čeček* 'ospa (u ljudej), *bran´ po adresu mal´čikov*' (Kirg), *šešek* 'flower, smallpox' (Kaz), *šešek* 'ospa' (Kklp), *šešek* 'cvetok' (KklpB), *šešek* 'ospa (bolezn´), (razg.) sledy bolezni dlja privivki' (RKklp), *šešek* '(med.) ospa, ospennyj', *šešekey* 'cvetok, cvetočnyj' (Nog), *čeček*, *čiček* 'cvetok' (CrTat), *čeč´ak* 'cvetok' (KarT), *cecek* 'cvetok, ospa' (KarH), *čičék* 'cvetok, ospa' (KarC), *čič* 'cvetok' (KarC), *čeček* 'cvetok', *čeček* '(med.) ospa' (Kum), *čeček* 'ospa', karač. *čiček* 'cvetok' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čeček* '(knižn.) cvetok' (Tkm), *čičäk* 'cvetok, ospa' (Az), *çiçek* 'flower, blossom, flower pattern on fabric, (colloq.) fickle and tricky person, (chem.) flowers (of sulphur), (print.) ornament', *çiçek* 'smallpox, variola' (Tt), *çiçek* 'cvetok, *razg.* hitrec, tip, "frukt", cvetočnyj uzor (na tkani i t. p.), ornament', *çiçek* 'ospa' (TtB), *çeçek* 'çiçek, çiçek hastalığı' (TtD1) *čiček* 'cvetok, cvetočnyj, ospa' (Gag), *čičəy*, *čʲšäk*, *čičäk*, *čịčäk*, *čịčäy*, *čičäᵏ*, *čịčey*, *čīčäy* 'Blume' (Khor), *čičäy* 'Pocken, Blattern' (SOg); ***Kh*** *čičäk* 'Pocken' (KhT); ***SE*** *čečak* 'cvetok, ospa' (Uzb), *čiček* 'flower of a tree, bloom, small-pox' (TurkiJ), *čičak* 'a flower, also, small-pox' (TurkiSh), *čeček* 'ospa (bolezn´), cvetok', *tiken čeček* 'ospa v legkoj forme (čelovek obyčno vyzdoravlivaet)' (TurkiL), *čäčäk* 'die Pocken' (TurkiTR), *čečäk* 'cvetok, (med.) ospa' (MUyg), *čičex* 'cvetok', *čičix* 'cvety', *cīcex* 'cvetok, buton', *ʒizex* 'cvety' (Sal), *čičəx*, *ᴅžəᴅžəx*, *džidžəx* 'fleur' [Pot. *čiᴅžek*] (SalK), *ʒ'üʒük* 'cvetok' (YUyg), *čüčüg* 'cvetok' (YUygM); ***NE*** *čeček* 'cvetok' (Alt), *čäjäk* 'die Blume, die Blüte' (AltLR), *čeček* 'cvetok' (AltQK), *čeček* 'cvetok' (AltTK), *čičäk* 'die Blume, die Pocken'

(AltTKR), *čäčäk* ‘die Blume, die Blüte’ (AltTR), *čičiš alga* ‘measles’ (FY), *čeček* ‘cvetok, cvetočnyj’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *čäčik* ‘cvetok’ (Y).

Mo *čečeg*, *čičig*, *sečeg* ‘flower, anything suggestive or resembling a flower, smallpox, (cf. *čaġan burxan*, *xuvar*), cockscomb, club (in cards)’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word was hesitatingly explained by Ramstedt (1935: 428) with the verbal base **čäč-* < **säč-* ‘auflösen, einen Knoten lösen’, but his attempt was rightly criticised by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 59). Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 70–71) correctly stated that it is not easy sometimes to decide whether the *s–č* or *č–č* structures are undergoing assimilation or dissimilation, specifically, whether the initial consonant was an original **s-* or **č-*. The historical data for T *čäčäk* represent the initial *č-* so consistently in the word that one can only suppose that the forms with initial *s-* in this case resulted fr secondary dissimilation. The vowel in the first syllable was originally a closed *e*. This can be shown by the alternating vocalism *-ä-* ~ *-e-* (*-i-*) in the historical data and by the Az form with its *-i-* in the first syllable. According to Tenišev (2001: 120), the T items *čeček* and *čečke* go back to the verbal base **čeč-* ‘sejat′, razbrasyvat′’. This etymology is unacceptable not only for semantic reasons, but also because of the same phonetic weakness which we criticised in discussing Ramstedt’s etymology. In the verb **čeč-* the initial *č-* is of course secondary and goes back to an earlier *s-*; see e.g. Clauson (1972: 794). The T word is widespread in many foreign (Ir, Cauc, FUgr etc.) lgs and it is a T lw in Mo; see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 57–59) and Ščerbak (1997: 112). The Mo word was borrowed into Tu; cf. Cincius (1975–1977/2: 422). The Y and Tuv data represent reborrowings fr Mo because of their initial *č-*. The Chuv words – not only the forms with initial *č-*, but all the data with *ś-* because of the vowel in the first syllable – are lws fr Tat. The *ä* is secondary in the first syllable in the Tat and Bashk lgs. After the usual **E* > *i* shift the closed sound *i* changed to *ä* under the influence of the *ä* in the second syllable (on the details, see Berta 1989: 162). In Tat one can find the form *čäčkä* with metathesis (see also Chuv *śeśke* ← Tat). It is worth noting that the word for ‘fringe’ is homophonous with the word for ‘flower, measle’ in some T lgs and that they are not separated in the entries of several dicts, although they are not etymologically related. In contrast, the meanings ‘flower’ and ‘measle’ certainly belong together although they are split up in the entries of some dicts (see e.g. Tat and Bashk). It is possible, but cannot be corroborated, that *čeček* is a den der fr an earlier **čeč* with the dim suff +(*A*)*k* (see Erdal 1991: 40). In this case H would be the only source to have preserved the T base.

On the reconstructed PT **čeček* ‘flower, chicken-pox’, see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 420). On Cher (*saska*, *seska*) and Voty (*saska*), see Fedotov (1996/2: 104).

E/H The H word may be of T origin either if it preserved a hitherto unrepresented T base **čeč* or if it is a H back-formation of *čečäk*, where the ending *°ek* was felt to be a H pl.

The H word was compared by Vámbéry (1870: 135) with its T counterparts. Although Gombocz (1907a: 111–112; 1912b: 59) reconstructed the T form **čäč* for the H word; later Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 899–900) considered the H word of doubtful T origin. They pointed out that the H word has a dial character, since it is only known in a relatively narrow area. They also claimed that the word is unknown without a suff in the T lgs. According to Németh (1921: 25–26), *csécs* belongs to the so-called "middle layer" of T lws in H. Benkő (1957: 70) considered the H word to be of T origin. Schütz (1958: 453–454) assumed an Arm word *č'eč'* 'pit of the smallpox' was borrowed here. Bárczi (1960: 310) considered Schütz's etymological interpretation uncertain and pointed out that the H lg contains no definite lws fr Arm. Róna-Tas (1966: 329) paid special attention to the Chuv dial form *čečče šatri* 'measle', which has no final *-k*. To this we can now add TatD *čiči'* 'göl; komnatnyj cvetok' (TatD1). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 489; 1993–1997/1: 196) was of the opinion that the H word is of unknown origin. However, he mentioned that one must also give consideration to Schütz's Arm explanation. Ligeti (1986: 89, 197) considered H *csécs* 'measle' to be of T origin. He accepted Németh's opinion that the initial **č-* in T may show the Kipchakoid character of the word and agreed with Gombocz that one can presume an original open **ä* in the first syllable. If the H word *csécs* goes back to a T form with a final *°k*, it can naturally be explained with a back-formation of the borrowed lexeme in H. According to this reasoning, the word was felt to be a pl form because of the ending *°ek* so that a new word *csécs* was created. On the same phenomenon, see H *csárda*, which is an Ott lw whose copied form was *čardak* (Kakuk 1996: 87–89). Some T words like Chuv *čečče* 'ospa, ospennyj', *čiči'* 'göl; komnatnyj cvetok' (TatD1), and KarC *čič* 'cvetok' may show a primary base. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 58) also discussed the possibility of the H word being borrowed fr T, but he did not decide whether possibility (a) or (b) seems more likely. He wrote (a) "…ist doch der Fall nicht selten, daß tü. Wörter heute durchweg mit Diminutivsuffix auftreten, von denen anzunehmen ist, daß sie ehemals auch unsuffigiert vorkamen", and (b) "…es kommt nicht selten vor, daß bei der Übernahme von Lww. ein Teil derselben als Pluralsuffix angesehen wird, wozu man dann einen neuen Singular bildet".

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135; Gombocz 1907a: 111–112; Gombocz 1912b: 59; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 899–900; Németh 1921: 25–26; Ramstedt 1935: 428; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 70–71; Benkő 1957: 70; Schütz 1958: 453–454; Bárczi 1960: 310; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 57–59; Egorov 1964: 209, 322; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 489; Clauson 1972: 400–401, 794; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 422; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 774; Ligeti 1986: 89, 197; Berta 1989: 162; Erdal 1991: 40; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 196; Fedotov 1996/2: 104, 408; Kakuk 1996: 87–89; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Tenišev 2001: 120; Tietze 2002: 514; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 420.

CSEKÉL [čekēl] *dial* 'to bind (something)' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 778, cited from Turzó 1899: 495) | *čekēl-* < **ček-* {with suff *-Āl-*} < **čik-* ← WOT **čik-* | EOT *čïg-* 'to tie up (a parcel)', MT *čïk-*.

Of possible T origin.

OT *čig-*, *čïġ-* 'to tie or fasten (package, bundle)', *ol türgāk čïġdï* 'he tied up the bundle (or other)', *ol türgāk bāġïn čigdi* 'he tied the bond of the package (or other)', *čigil-*: *tügūn čigildi* 'the knot was tightened' (AK), *čig-*: *üzäŋü bar ärsä čiggän bärk kapar* 'as long as there is a stirrup, one can hold the bridle tight' (AQB); **MT** *čikin* [r: -g-] 'nœud, épaule' (AChag), *čigin* 'omuz' (AChagAbA), *ǰigin* 'váll' (AChagAbV), *čägin* 'der Knoten' [r: *čigin*], *čikin* [r: -g-] 'der Knoten', *čikin* [r: -g-] 'der Teil des Körpers zwischen Hals und Schulterblatt, der Nacken, die Schulter' (AChagR), *čigin* 'shoulder' (AChagSC), *čïq-* (ǰ-) 'to wrap something in something else' (AAH); **NT *Chuv*** *śïx-* 'vjazatʹ, zavjazyvatʹ, svjazyvatʹ, privjazyvatʹ, perevjazyvatʹ, delatʹ perevjazku, vjazatʹ, izgotovljatʹ vjazaniem, plesti, izgotovitʹ pleteniem', *śïxă* 'zavjazka, povjazka, žgut, (med.) povjazka, perevjazʹ, svjazka, pučok, (ust.) kandaly, okovy' (Chuv), *śïx-* 'vjazatʹ, zavjazyvatʹ, svjazyvatʹ, privjazyvatʹ, vjazatʹ (čulki, kruževa), pelenatʹ', *śïxu* 'svjazka', *śïxă* 'svjazka, pučok, pačka, buket, uzel, zavjazka, pletenka (luka), kandaly, okovy, cepʹ, pelenka, pelenanie', *śïxlăn-* 'svjazyvatʹsja, sputatʹsja, zaputatʹsja, privjazyvatʹsja' (ChuvA), *śïx-*, Szp. id. 'kötni; binden', *śïxă* 'batyu; Bündel' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čiyäli*: *čiyäli bäylä-* 'svjazyvatʹ gluhim (mertvym) uzlom', *čiyält-* = *čiyäländer-* ponud. ot *čiyäläп-* 'zaputyvatʹ, zaputatʹ, sputyvatʹ, sputatʹ, zahlestyvatʹ, zahlestnutʹ', *čiyäläп-* 'sputyvatʹsja, sputatʹsja, zaputyvatʹsja, zaputatʹsja, zahlestyvatʹsja, zahlestnutʹsja' (Tat), *čigäli bäylä-*, *čigälä bäylä-*, *čiyä bäylä-* 'zavjazatʹ mertvym uzlom' (TatD), *čigäli*: *čigäli bälä-* id. (TatD2), *seyäl-* 'sputyvatʹsja (o prjaže, nitkah i t.p.), zaputyvatʹsja, (peren., dial.) krutitʹsja, vertetʹsja vozle *kogo-čego*, uvivatʹsja' (Bashk), *ceyä bäylä-* 'čiyäländerep bäyläü; zavjazatʹ mertvym uzlom', *čüä bayla-* id. (SibTat), *čiye* 'trudno razvjazyvaemyj uzel', *čiyele-* 'zavjazyvatʹ prostym, babʹim uzlom' (Kirg), *šiye[-lep] bayla-* 'to tie a knot, which is difficult to untie' (Kaz), *šiye*: *šiye(läp) bayla-* 'zavjazatʹ trudnorazvjazyvaemym uzlom', *šiyelen-* 'bytʹ tugo zavjazannym, (peren.) zaputatʹsja' (KazM), *šiye* 'sputannyj, zaputannyj', *šiyelen-* 'bytʹ tugo zavjazannym, tugo svjazannym, (peren.) osložnjatʹsja' (Kklp); ***SW*** *čig-* 'zaputyvatʹ, sputyvatʹ, zavjazyvatʹ uzel', *čigil-* strad.-vozvr. *ot čig-* 'bytʹ zaputannym, sputannym, zaputyvatʹsja, sputyvatʹsja', ? *čigin* 'plečo', *čigin* 'uzel' (Tkm), *čiyin* 'plečo, plečevoj' (Az), ? *çigin* '*prov.* shoulder', *çıkı* '*prov.* small bundle', *çıkın* 'knotted bundle, purse full of money' (Tt), *çığı* 'pencere kafesi, paket', *çıkı* 'bohça, sofra bezi, fındık ile ayva büyüklüğü arasında olan düğüm, nişan merasimi, kıymeti mukaddereli olan paket' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čigal*, *čigil* 'sputannyj, sputavšijsja (napr. o nitkah), (peren.) složnyj, trudnyj, zaputannyj' (Uzb), *čig-* 'to knot, to knit, to tie, to fasten', *čigil-* 'to be knotted, to knot', *čigik* 'knot', *čigɛ* 'string, fibre', *čïġïtmaq* (< *čïġïrtmaq*)

'a kind of rope, string' (TurkiJ), *čigel-* 'byt′ zavjazannym, byt′ svjazannym', ? *čägälik* 'rastenie' (TurkiL), *čig-* (v.tr.) 'to knot, to tie in a knot' (TurkiSh), *čigil-* 'sich verknüppern, Knoten bilden' (TurkiTR), *čig-* 'zavjazyvat′ uzlom, svjazyvat′, vjazat′, plesti', *čig* 'uzel', *čigä* 'špagat, bečevka, tonkaja verevka, pen′ka', *čigil-* 'zavjazyvat′sja, svjazyvat′sja, byt′ svjazannym, zavjazannym', *čigilik* 'lubjanoj', *čigilik ösümlük* 'lubjanye rastenija' (MUyg), *čiyax*: *putax-čiyax* 'vetvi' (Sal), *ǰiġ-*, *čik-* 'zavjazyvat′', *ǰiɣïq*, *ǰigek*, *ǰigïk* 'uzel' (YUyg), *čiġ-*, *čiq-* 'zavjazyvat′ v uzelok (soedinjat′ vmeste), zaščipyvat′ (o teste piroga ili pel′menjah)', *čigek* 'uzel (naprimer na platke)' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *sigän-* 'teret′sja; vjazat′sja, privjazyvat′sja, navjazyvat′sja, pristavat′, pritesnjat′' (Y).

E/T In the T sources we find **čïg-*, **čig-*, **čïk-* and **čik-*, the back vocalic forms being the older ones. The EOT form contains a voiced velar stop, but we find *-k-* stems as early as MT. Chuv has *-χ* < *-k*. The vocalism of the Chuv form is strange. According to Räsänen (1969: 181), it has to be compared with T *yalga-* 'binden'. This is impossible, and Fedotov (1996/2: 159) compared it with *čïg-*.

E/H The H item is a hapax. It first appeared in the 1899 volume of the journal *Magyar Nyelvőr* (Hungarian Language Guardian) (p. 495), fr material collected by F. Drnovszky before 1831 in and around the village of Pográny/Pohranice (Nyitra/Nitra county), in present-day Slovakia. It was included in the *Magyar Tájszótár* (Hungarian Dialect Dictionary) compiled by Szinnyei (1893–1901: 281), as well as in the *Új Magyar Tájszótár* (New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary) by B. Lőrinczy (1979–2002/1: 778). The local pronunciation *csekiényi* seems to be authentic for literary H *csekélni*. The suff may be a H dev suff *-Ál-*, as in *dob-* 'to throw' > *dobál-* 'to throw one after the other', *ugrik-* 'to spring' < *ugrál-* 'to jump', *vet-* 'to take away' > *vetél-* 'to abort', and not den, which also has a form *+Ál-*, but mostly with stems ending in vowels: *eszme* 'thought' > *eszmél-* 'recover consciousness, to think', *ösztöke* 'goad' > *ösztökél-* 'to goad, to urge', *csere* 'change' > *cserél-* 'to change'. The uncertainty comes fr the hitherto isolated occurrance of the H word.

◆ Szinnyei 1893–1901: 281; Turzó 1899: 495; Räsänen 1969: 181; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 778; Fedotov 1996/2: 159; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 446.

CSEKÉLY 'shoal (of water); small, insignificant; cheap, valueless' see **csökik**.

CSEKLE, CSEKLYE 'trap; snare (for catching birds); bird cage' see **cigle**.

CSEPŰ [čepű], **csöpű** [čöpű] 'impurities, tow, chaff' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Cepudi* [čepüdi], c1405 *chepes* [čepe-š], c1430 *chepew* [čepű] | *čepű*, *čöpű* < **čöpüɣ* ⟵ **čöpüɣ* < WOT **čöpüɣ*, **čöpiɣ* | EOT *čöpik*, *šöpik* 'impurities, debris' < *čöp* 'any small dirt, impurity' | See **seprű**[2], **seprő**[2].

OT *čöpik* 'Unreinheit, Rest' (UUI), *čöpik* 'leere Form u. dgl.' (UHtII), *čöbik* 'impurity' (UXuanzangIndex), *šöpik*, *čöpik* 'the remainder of a fruit which is discarded af-

ter eating' (AK); **MT** *čöptig* 'fin, finalement' (UHyS); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čüpĕk* 'paklja, očeski (*ostatki ot českipen´ki ili l´na*)' (Chuv ← Tat), *čüpĕk* 'paklja, očeski, sornye ostatki ot českipen´ki ili l´na' (ChuvA), *čüpĕk* 'csepű; Werg; paklja' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čübek* 'očeski, vyčeski, očes, ohlopok, ohlop´e' (Tat), *čöbäk*, *čübäk* 'süs; kudel´' (TatD1), *čübäk* 'süs; kudel´', *sübäk* 'čübek; očeski, vyčeski, očes' (TatD2), *čübek* 'csepű; Werg' (TatB), *sübäk* 'paklja, očeski, vyčeski, očes, ohlopok, ohlop´e' (Bashk), *cübäk*, *cümäk* 'čübek, süs; paklja; čüpräk-čaprak; trjap´e' (SibTat), *čöbögö* 'osadok pri vytopke masla' (Kirg); ***SW*** *čöpük* 'ryhlyj komoček, ostatki l´na, pen´ki posle trepanija' (Az), *çöpü* 'yün temizlendikten sonra geriye kalan kısmı', *çöpük* 'yünün kirli ve çöplü yerleri' (TtD1), *çöbek* 'kökünden sakız çıkarılan bir çeşit ot'; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *ʒ'opaq, ʒopaq* 'kusok masla krugloj formy' (YUyg), *čövek*, *čüvik* 'kosa (iz volos), kosička – lentočka u šamanskogo drevka (iz materii)', ? *čopaq* 'klubok nitok, kruglovatyj kusok masla' (YUygM); ***NE*** *čövük* 'gušča (napr. supa), gustoj (napr. v supe)' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *čöb* 'deposit, sediment (especially that left after melting butter)' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word only occurs in a relatively small area within the Turcia. It is a der with the den suff *+Xg* (EOT *+Ik*, *+Ak*) fr the base *čöp* 'sediment, dregs' (see Clauson 1972: 394). Among the OT data one can also find items which were formed with the suff *+tIk* (see Erdal 1991: 44). Chuv *čüpĕk* is a Tat lw; on its base, see *śüp*, *śüpĕ* 'dirt, filth'. The Cher word *tsöβok* 'Werg, Hefe' was copied fr Tat (Räsänen 1923: 79). Kirg *čöbögö* is a lexicalised Px3.sg form. Tietze (2002: 535) considered *čöpük* 'yünün kirli ve çöplü yerleri, işe yaramayan yün', a word which is known in some Anatolian dials of Tt to be of Kurd origin ← **čopik* (*çop* 'çöp' *+ik* dim suff), but it seems to be very likely that TtD *çöpik* is a re-borrowed form.

E/H In the relevant sources the H word is represented by some historical and dial variants (cf. *csüppő*, *csöppi*, *csöpi*, *cseppű*, *cseppő*, *csipü*, *csöprü*). Words with an internal double consonant may be influenced by the H words *csepp*,*csöpp* 'drip, drop' which are of onomatopoeic character. The variant *csöprü* was very likely formed under the influence of **seprő**[2], **seprű**[2]. We can reconstruct the copied forms for H *csepű*, *csöpű* as **čöpiɣ* or **čöpeɣ*. H *csepű*, *csöpű* belong to the category of T lws in which the initial affricate *č-* was preserved; see **csalán**, **csat**, **csipa** etc. and § 6.2.4.

The H word was already compared with T corresponding forms by Munkácsi (1884a: 260). Gombocz (1912b: 59–60) considered the H word as an OChuv lw and reconstructed the copied form as **čöpäɣ*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 504), H *csepű* is of OT origin and he also pointed out that the T copied form **čöpäɣ* may be a der fr T *čöp* 'mist'. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 504) thought that in the case of an older borrowing the word-initial *cs-* in H can be regarded as problematic. According to Ligeti (1986: 58), the word pertains to the older layer of T lws.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 137; Munkácsi 1884a: 260; Gombocz 1907a: 112; Gombocz 1912a: 103; Gombocz 1912b: 59–60; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 955–956; Räsänen 1923: 79; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 38–

39; Papp 1949: 99; Egorov 1964: 223, 328; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 504; Räsänen 1969: 118; Clauson 1972: 196, 394; Ligeti 1986: 54–55, 58, 79, 185, 194, 287, 530; Erdal 1991: 44; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 203; Vásáry 1994: 277–278; Fedotov 1996/2: 427; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Tietze 2002: 535; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 452.

CSIGA [čigå] 'snail, *Helix*; snail-shell (1395), pulley (1493), vertebra (1560)' | 1272 ? PN *Chyga* [čigå], c1395 *chÿga* [čigå] | *čigå* < **čïga* ← WOT **čïga* < **čïg-* {with suff *-gA*} || **csigáz** [čigāz] 'to afflict; to fatigue' | c1512 *meg czigazot* [meg čigāz-ott] | *čigāz-* < *čigå* {with suff *+Āz-*} || **csigolya**[1] [čigoyå] 'vertebra' | 1211 ? PN *Cigolou* [čigolå], 1549 *Chygolya* [čigoyå], 1551 *chygola* [čigolå], dial *csuguja* [čuguyå] | *čigoyå* < **čigolå* < **čig-* {with suffs *-(V)l-* and *-A*} < *čigå* {by back-formation} | EOT **čïg-* 'to turn' > *čigri* 'something that revolves, mill-wheel, pulley'.

Of possible T origin.

OT ? *čïɣarï*, *čïɣrï*, (? *čaɣrï*) 'rouet' (UHamTouHou), *č[ï]grï* 'rouet' (UHuart), ? *čïġïr* 'narrow path', *čïġrï* 'sphere, spindle, whorl, pulley', *kō̈k čïġrī̈sï* 'the celestial sphere', *čïġrï* 'the spindle' of a mill, waterwheel, or the like, a 'whorl of silk', a 'pulley' of any kind, *ol čïġrī̈nï čäwürdi* 'he turned the pulley (or other)' (AK); **MT** *čïqïr* 'kołowrotek, przęślica' (AHŠ), *čïqïr* (j-) 'prjalka' (AHŠF), *čïqrïq* 'çıkrık (iplik sarmak için küçük çark)' (AIMI), *čïqïr* 'spinning-wheel': *čïqïr ägir-* 'to turn the spinning-wheel' = *čïqrïq ägir-*, *čïqrïq* 'spinning-wheel', *čïqïr* 'path trodden by animals at an irrigation instalation' (ARbg), *čïqïr*, *čïqrïq* 'dévidoir, roue hydraulique' (AChag), *čïġrïq* 'česalka', *čïqïldaq* 'mel′ničnyj veršnjak' (AChagBud), *čiqriq*: tarianu ǰančiqu *čiqriq* = ašlïq yančar *čïɣrïq* 'molotilka' (AChagMA), <ČQRYQ>, <ČQYR> (AChagS), *čïqrïq*, *čïqïr* 'a wheel on which they spin cotton and silk and wind it onto reels', ? *čïġïr* (spelt) 'snow which has become hard owing to wind action, a hide and the like which has shrunk owing to exposure to heat' (AChagSC), *čïġïr* 'su dolabï' (AChagŠS), *čïkrïk* 'küçük dolab, kuyu dolabı; Brunnenrad', *čïġïr* 'su dolabı, kara içinde açılan yol, iz; Seitenweg, Wasserstrudel, Spur' (AChagŠSK), *čïqrïq* 'Drehrad (der Drechsler, Töpfer u. dgl.), Spinnrad, Brunnenrad oder Wasserrad' (AChagZ), *čïġïrïqčï* 'Drechsler' (LCCI), *čïqrïq* (ǰ-) 'çıkrık' (AAH), *čïkrïk* 'kuyu ipinin sarıldığı yuvarlak döner avadanlık' (AAHI), *ç̣ïqrïq*, *ṣ̈ïqrïq* 'espèce de rouet dévidoir' (ADur), *čïqrïq* 'Spinnrad, Winde' (AHou, Tkm.), *čïqrïqlïġ* 'roweled (spur)' (AMGh), *šïqïraq*, *šïqraq* 'koleso, koleso, podajuščee vodu' (ATuh), *šïqraq* 'dolap' (ATuhA), *čïqrïǰaq* 'çıkrık' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śĕxre* 'svaljavšijsja, sbityj, sputannyj', *śĕxr śüś* 'svaljašievsja volosy', *čăkăr* '(teh.) lebedka, ručnoj stanok dlja vit′ja verevok, vodovozka (telega dlja podvoza vody)', *čakăr* '(teh.) blok: *śăka čakărpa antar-* spustit′ gruz pri pomošči bloka' (Chuv), *čakăr* 'blok' (← Tat), *čăkăr* 'pribor dlja vit′ja verevok', *čukăr* 'stanok dlja vit′ja verevok' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *čïgïr* 'blok, rolik, bločnyj, rolikovyj, koleso (kolodca), lebedka, vorot, (teh.) čigir′, detskaja teležka' (Tat), *čïġïr* 'koš tele pešergändä jäyelgän kamïrnï sïrlï-sïrlï itep kisär öčen sägat′ mexanizmïndagï šesternyädan yasal-

gan ǰaylanma; prisposoblenie iz šesterni časovogo mehanizma dlja razrezanija testa)' (TatD1), *čïġïr* 'ävernä, kanat, ǰep urau öčen bulgan ǰaylanma (motovilo, prisposoblenie dlja namotki nitki pri prjadenii)', *cïgïr* 'mašinanï kabïzu öčen äyländerä torgan timer, kul; zavodnaja ručka, rukojatka ot mašiny' (TatD2), *sïġïr* 'blok, bločnyj, lebedka, vorot, čigirʹ (koleso s čerpalkami, privodimoe v dviženie tečeniem vody ili siloj životnyh i podajuščee vodu dlja orošenija), (dial.) detskaja teležka' (Bashk), *cïġïr-* 'baunï borgïlčap kuyu; prikrutitʹ verevku' (SibTat), *čïgïrïk* 'čto-libo vraščajuščeesja v forme kolesa, (ist.) ručnaja mašina dlja očistki hlopka ot semjan, barašek (gajka na priborah), (tjanʹš.) koleso (telegi)' (Kirg), *šïġïr* 'windlass (device for irrigating fields, consisting of a pump, or a bucket and crank), large iron disk with a groove, adjustable for the lifting of water from a well', *šïġïršïq* 'hoop, ring (iron)' (Kaz), *šïġïr* 'čigirʹ, vodopodʹemnoe koleso', *šïġïršïq* 'pribor dlja očistki semjan hlopka' (Kklp), *šïġïr* 'čigirʹ (prisposoblenie dlja podnjatija vody pri orošenii)' (KklpB), *šïgïr* 'katuška, katušečnyj' (Nog), *čïġïrïq* 'prisposoblenie dlja obrezanija kraev izdelij iz testa' (CrTat), *čïġïrïq* 'kolʹco' (KarSh), *žïġïr* 'vorot' (Kum); ***SW*** ? *čïgïr* 'granica, meža, predel, ramki' (Tkm), *çıkrık* = *çıkırık* 'spinning wheel, pulley, winding wheel, lathe', *çığır* 'rut, track, path, way' (Tt), *çıkrık* 'koleso (melʹnicy i t. p.), val, baraban, [gorizontalʹnyj] vorot (dlja podʺema gruzov), podʺemnik, lebedka, motolivo, prjalka' (TtB), *çığır* (*-ğrı*) 'ložbina, (ruslo, borozda, sled) ot snežnoj laviny, tropa, tropinka, (peren.) putʹ, doroga, koleja, stezja' = *çiğir* (TtB), *çığrık* 'çığır, çıkrık', *çıkracık* 'dönme dolap', *cığrık* 'araba tekerleği' (TtD), *çığrık* (*cığrık*, *cıkırık*, *çığrıh*) 'iplik bükme işinde kullanılan çıkrık', ? *çığır* (*cıgır*, *cıgra*, *çığra*, *çiğir*) 'karlı yerlerde kürekle açılan yol, taşlı yol, patika, iz' (TtD1), *čïkrïk*, *čïkïrïk* 'koleso (kolodca), vorot, motovilo, prjalka, nožnaja prjadilʹnaja mašina' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čïγïr* 'gewundene dunkle Straße' (Kh); ***SE*** *čïġïr* 'čigirʹ (koleso s čerpalkami, vraščaemoe tečeniem vody ili siloj životnyh i podajuščee vodu dlja orošenija)', *čïġïriq* 'kustarnaja derevjannaja ručnaja mašina dlja očistki hlopka ot semjan, (teh.) vorot' (Uzb), *čïġrïq* 'roller-gin, a machine for cleaning cotton' (TurkiJ), *čïġariq* 'a machine for cleaning cotton of its seeds, by passing it between two rollers one of iron and one of wood' (TurkiSh), *čïġïriq* = (dial.) *čïġiq* 'koleso, valik, (teh.) blok, vorot, ručnaja prjalka, ručnaja hlopkoočisliteľnaja mašina, žuravlʹ (u kolodca)', *čïġïr* '(teh.) lebedka' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Benkő (see below in **E/H**), the T copied form was a verbal base **čïg-* 'to revolve around its own axle' to which a H participle was added, thus the basic meaning of the H word denoted an instrument noun. It is, however, more probable that an instrument noun was formed in T with the suff *˚gA*. This hypothesis is flawed, however, because we do not know of any T verbs **čï-* or **čïg-* fr the OT period that mean 'to revolve around its own axle' and could serve as a base for a reconstructed form **čïgga*, **čïga*. There are, however, some data known in the OT period listed in the database; see e.g. *čïgrï* 'rouet' (UHamTouHou, UHuart), *čigri*

'sphere, spindle, whorl, pulley' (AK). These forms may go back to an earlier form **čïg-(I)r-I* (on the suff *-(I)r-* and *-I*, see Erdal 1991: 535–538 and 340–344). As noted early on by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 72–73), the basic meaning of *čïgrï* could be 'Kreisrund, kreisrunder Teil, kreisender runder Teil'. The word served to denote several instruments only later, thus these meanings can be regarded as secondary. The supposed reconstruction of the base of OT *čïgrï* follows the known OT morphological conventions.

According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 72–73), the side-by-side occurrence of the T word forms *čïgrï* and *čïgïr* in the sources may have resulted fr a misinterpretation of the final *-ï* segment in the word *čïgrï*. It has been felt erroneously to be Px3.sg., with *čïgïr* having been created by back-formation. The MT forms with final *°k* may be either dims or ders with the dev nominal suff *-(O)k*. It seems very likely that the word *čïgïr* 'path' also belongs with the lexemes discussed. The basic meaning of this word could be 'something which revolves, winds, turns' as in Kh *čïγïr* 'gewundene dunkle Straße' (see also Clauson 1972: 409; Tenišev 2001: 532; Tietze 2002: 504). Erdal (1991: 475) wrote that "the basic meaning of *čïgr+u-* must be '(of the ground) to become a path'". It must be added that Erdal was not defining the basic meaning of the noun, but the original meaning of its ders. However, the verb *čïgïr-* means "'to tread, to trample and harden': *ol yerig čïgruttï* 'he trampled and hardened the ground with his foot'. The same of anything that one presses and hardens by force…such as a sack that one presses into. *är oglïn īštä čïgruttï* 'the man hardened his son with work'" (AK). Now the hardening by treading was *täp-* in Uyg. In *Erntesegen* I (Zieme 1975: 114), we read: *täpip yorïp mangayu / tägirmi örḍ-gün qïldurup täpin-kä ud-lar qošdurup* "…gehend und laufend läßt man durch das Treten einen runden Getreidehaufen (Tenne) herrichten, an den Getreideschlitten spannt man die Rinder…". Molnár (1980: 168) identified *täpin* correctly as 'threshing roller', while *tägirmi örtgün* is the round threshing yard. In an earlier phase, the threshing yard was trampled down, made hard by the feet of people who went in a circle to prepare the ground for threshing: *ol yerig čïgruttï*. Later, this was also done by oxen. This type of going around and trampling to harden the soil had to be *čïgïr-*. Morphologically, it may be *čïg-(I)r-* (Erdal 1991: 537). According to the T data, the stem of the etymon of the H word could be the T verb **čïg-*, which had the meaning 'to revolve, to revolve around its own axle, to make revolving movements, go around'. With the dev suff *-gA* that forms agent nouns fr both intr and tr verbs, it became **čïgga* > **čïga* 'that which revolves' such as *bilgä* 'wise, one who knows' fr *bil-* 'to know'.

The T word is also attested in Rus (*čigir´* 'prisposoblenie dlja polivki ogorodov, vinogradnikov i t.p., koleso u kolodca, ustrojstvo, s pomoščju kotorogo podnimajut vodu') (cf. Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 359). Egorov (1964: 318) and Fedotov (1996/2: 399) erroneously connected Chuv *čăkăr* 'prisposoblenie dlja vit´ja verevok' and its T coun-

terparts to Pe *čarx*, *čarxa*. Skrt *cakrá-*, Avesta *čaxra*, Pe *čaxr* 'Rad' < IE **k^{u}ue-k^{u}ul-o* >> Eng *wheel* (see Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 521–522), and Mo *čagarig* 'circle' are independent of each other and of T. They are imitative stems originally containing a guttural stop and a sonant, see Lat *circus*, Tib *khor* etc.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 135) who first considered the H word to be of T origin in comparison with Chag and Tt counterparts. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1026–1028) regarded *csiga* as being of uncertain der, but they also claimed that it may be of T origin. In this case, they supposed that both the H words *csiga* and *csigolya*[1] may go back to T **čig-* 'to rotate'. This latter opinion posited by Gombocz–Melich was supported by Pais (1915: 312–313), who also presumed a semantic connection between *csiga* and *csigolya*[1]. He saw that the basic meaning 'to rotate' could be crucial for both words. Bárczi (1941: 40) regarded *csiga* to be of unknown origin. In a late article, Pais (1962: 23) once more discussed *csiga* and *csigolya*[1] and pointed out that both of them are ders of the H nomen-verbum **csïg*(-) which is a copy of the T word **čïg*(-). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 521) assumed the H word to be of possible OT origin. According to him, if the word is of OT origin, the copied form must be **čïγ-* (? **čïg-*) 'to rotate, turn, revolve'. He thought that the original meaning of the H word was very likely 'snail', but he did not exclude the H semantic change 'snail' < 'pulley'. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 210) repeated his earlier view that the H word was probably borrowed fr T and that the copied form could be **čïγ-* or **čïg-*. The lexicalisation of the word happened after a participle *-a* was added to the stem and it became a noun. Ligeti (1986) did not discuss this H word.

On the relationship of *csiga* with H *csigolya*[1], Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1026–1028) wrote that the origin of H *csigolya*[1] 'vertebra' is not clear, but it seems to be very likely that it has the same origin as *csiga*, thus its T etymon may be a der of the verbal base **čig-* 'to revolve'. Bárczi (1941: 40) also assumed that *csigolya*[1] and *csiga* may be interrelated, but he viewed their connection as non-transparent. As he mentioned, the H word *csiga* has the same meaning as *csigolya*[1]. According to Pais (1962: 23), the H word is of T origin. He claimed that the H nomen-verbum *csig*(-) had its origin in a T nomen-verbum *čïg*(-) and that this H nomen-verbum served as the base for the words *csiga* and *csigolya*[1]. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 522) regarded *csigolya*[1] as an internal H development fr *csiga*. If the H word *csiga* had been formed fr a verbal base meaning 'to revolve', the segment *-l-* in *csigolya*[1] could be a freq suff; on the other hand, if the base of *csiga* was nominal, the segment *-l-* ~ *-ly-* + *-a* could be a complex of dim suffs. The word *csigolya*[1] was formed, according to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 211), in the same way as H *csiga* and the segment *-l-* may be a freq suff. He also pointed out that the relative base of the word *csigolya*[1] was the same as that of **csigolya**[2], but both words developed independently. This latter statement by Benkő can hardly be supported because *csigolya*[1] and **csigolya**[2] seem to have various bases.

Ligeti (1986) did not consider *csigolya*[1] as an OT element of the H lexicon. We agree with Benkő that H *csigolya*[1] and arch *csigolat* 'vertebra' are H ders fr a verbal base which may have been a back-formation fr the noun *csiga*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1026–1028; Pais 1915: 312–315; Ramstedt 1935: 439; Bárczi 1941: 40; Pais 1962: 23; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 72–73; Egorov 1964: 318; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 359; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 521–522; Räsänen 1969: 108; Clauson 1972: 409–410, 413; Zieme 1975: 114; Molnár 1980: 168; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 521–522; Erdal 1991: 83, 340–344, 475, 535–538; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 210–211; Fedotov 1996/2: 399–400; Tenišev 2001: 532; Tietze 2002: 504, 507.

CSIGER [čiger] 'a wine of low quality, a fruit wine' | 1215/1550 ? PN *Cheger* [čeger], 1395 ? GN *Cygerd* [čiger-d], c1430 *chyger* [čiger], dial *csëngër*, *csiŋgër*, *csingir*, *csügör* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 822) | *čiger* < **čigir* ← WOT **čïgïr* (? **čȧgïr*) | EOT *čagïr* 'unfermented grape juice, wine'.

Of possible T origin.

1 'an alcoholic beverage': **OT** *čaġïr* 'juice, wine' (AK); **MT** *süčġïr* ? 'wine' [SWJ̌ĠR – must be a conflation of *süčüg* and *čaġïr*, both 'wine'] (ABF), *čaġïr* 'şarap' (AHMA), *čaqïr* 'wino' (AHŠ), *čaqïr* (ǰ-) 'vino' (AHŠF), *čāġïr* 'vino' (AIM), *čaġïr* 'şarap' (AIMI), *čaġïr* 'wine' (AKD), *čaqïr*, *čaġïr* 'wine' (ARbg), *čïqïr* <ČYQR> 'kumys, vino (?)' *sütdin čïqïrdïn baldïn suwdïn arïqlar aqar ärdi* 'tekli ruč i iz moloka, kumysa i meda' (ATef), *čaġïr*, *čaqïr* 'vin' (AChag), *čaġïr*, *čaqïr* 'süçi' (AChagAb), *čaġïr*, *čaqïr* 'süci, şarap' (AChagAbA), *čaġïr*, *čaqïr* 'vino' (AChagBud), *čaġir*, *čaqir* 'der Wein' (AChagR), <ČAĠYR>, <ČAQYR> (AChagS), *čaġïr* (spelt) 'šarāb', *čaqïr* 'xamr wa šarāb' (AChagSC), *čagïr*, *čaqïr* 'şarab, arakı' (AChagŠS), *čaġïr* (*čakïr*) 'Wein, Trinker, Branntwein' (AChagŠSK), *čaqïr* 'Wein' (AChagZ), *čaġïr* 'Wein' (LCCI), *čaqïr* 'çakır-çağır, şarap' (AAHI), *şaġïr*, *ċaġïr* 'wino, vin' (ADur), *čaqïr* 'Wein' (AHou; with the remark "that is a Mongolian word"), *čaġïr* (š-) 'bor; Wein' (AKav), *čaġïr* (š-) 'çakır, şıra şarap' (ATuh), *čaġïr*, *čaġr*, *čaxïr* 'vin' (AmTr), *čaġïr* 'vin' (AmE), *čaġïr* (once), *čaqïr* 'şarap' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *saġïr* '(ust.) vino' (Bashk), *čïgïr* '(tjan′š.) mjasnoj bul′on, pripravlennyj kumysom', *čagïr* 'vodka, razbavlennaja buzoj, (tjan′š.) mjasnoj bul′on, razbavlennyj kumysom' (Kirg), *šagïr* 'vino' (Nog), *čaġïr* 'vodka, vino' (KarT, KarC), *caġïr* 'vodka' (KarH), *čaġïr* 'der Branntwein' (KarTR), *čaġïr* 'der Branntwein' (KarR), *čaġïr* 'vino, vinnyj' (Kum), *čaġïr* 'vino' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čakïr* 'vino' (Tkm), *čaxïr* 'vino, vinnyj' (Az), *çağır*, *çakır* '(arch.) wine' (Tt), *çakır* '(ust.) vino' (TtB), *çağır* 'şarap' (TtD), *çaḳır* 'rakı, şarap', *çakır* 'karışık içki, şarap' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čaġir* '(ust., knižn.) vino' (Uzb), *čæġïr* 'wine' (TurkiJ), *čägir* 'der Branntwein' (TurkiTR), *čaqïr* 'vino (v šamansk. stihah)' (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *čikir*: *alamïr-čikir* 'sladosti' (Alt); ***Y*** *čïkïr* 'opoloski (to, čto polučaetsja ot vypoloskannoj porožnej fljagi, v kotoroj pered tem byla vodka)' (Y ← Rus).

2 'a light colour': **OT** *čaqïr* 'blue(-eyed)' – dog, horse (AK); **MT** *čaqïr* 'çakır' (AHMA), *čaqïr* 'blue', *čaqïr közlüg* 'blue-eyed' (AKor), *čaḳïr* '(göz için) mavi hareli

elâ' (ANeh), *čaqïr* (ǰ-) 'goluboj' (ANehF), *čaqïr*, *čaġïr*: *čaqïr*, *čaġïr közlüg* 'blue-eyed' (ARbg), *čaqïr* 'goluboj' (ATef), *čaġïr*, *čaqïr* 'qui a les yeux bleus' (AChag), *čaqïr qanat* 'bir nevi ördek' (AChagAbA), *čaġïr köz* 'pestryj glaz (govoritsja u nekotoryh tatar)' (AChagBud), *čaqïr qanat* (spelt) 'azraq čašm (grey-eyed)' (AChagSC), *čaqïr* 'der Blauäugige' (AChagZ), *čaqïr gözlü* 'mavi gözlü' (AAH), *čaqïr* (š-) *köz* 'çakır göz' (ATuhA), *čaqïr* 'bir gözü mavi, bir gözü siyah olan' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čakăr* 'svetlyj, svetlo-goluboj, seryj' (Chuv ← Tat), *čakăr* 'nazv. cveta, belesovatyj, svetlogoluboj, goluboj, seryj, sedoj, kosoj, kosoglazyj, imejuščij serye glaza, kak u lošadi' (ChuvA), *čakăr* 'sárgás barna (csak szemről mondva: "mint a bagolyé"); gelblich braun (nur von den Augen)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čagïr* '(bot.) badan', *čagïr*: *čagïr küzle* 'pestroglazyj, pestroglazyj čelovek' (Tat), *čaġïr* 'čuar (pestryj)' (TatD1), *saġïr*: *saġïr küð* 'zelenovato-golubye glaza, (dial.) pučeglazyj' (Bashk), *čaġïr* 'čuar, pestryj' (SibTat), *šĭger köz* 'blue-eyed', *šaġïr* 'grey (of the eyes of a man or a horse), (tall) weeds' (Kaz), *čaġïr* 'pjatnistyj, pestryj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *çakır* 'greyish blue, grey with blue streaks (eyes), having greyish blue eyes, goshawk, *zool. Accipiter gentilis*' (Tt), *çaḫır* 'bir gözü siyah, diğeri beyaz olan (hayvanlar hk.)' (TtD1), *čakïr* 'goluboj, serovato-goluboj' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čaqïr* 'gelb' (Kh), *čaqur* 'gelb' (KhT); ***SE*** *čeqir* 'serovato-zelenyj' (MUyg), *čaqïrtpaq* 'nazvanie travy s cvetami lilovogo cveta (v ujgursk. gorah)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *šaŋïr* 'sinij' (AltTK); ***Y*** *čakïr*, *čäkir* 'soveršenno bělyj' (Y ← Mo), *čakïr*: *čakïr-čälkä* 'ganz weiß, schneeweiß' (Dlg ← Mo), ? *čokur*, *čokūr* 'weiß, weißer Stein, Mineral' (DlgS).

Mo *čakir* 'very white, light, snow white, white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird', *čaŋkir* 'whitish, blond, grey (of hair)' (L).

E/T Assumptions have been made – and continue to be made – in the T linguistic literature about the etymological link between two words which are homophonous in some T lgs. One of them has the meaning 'blue(-eyed)' and the other denotes 'a kind of alcoholic beverage'. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 77–78) considered the Pe word *čaqir* 'Taberne, Sperber, weißäugig (vom Pferd)' to be of T origin and assumed that the copied form for Pe *čaqir* could be T *čaqïr* with the meanings 'Wein, Sperber, grauäugig'. Doerfer claimed that the special meanings of the T word 'sparrow-hawk' and 'wine' can be explained with the basic meaning 'blau(grau)'. The Pe word *čaqir* (in Steingass with the reading *čaqar*) was etymologically tied to T *čaqïr* 'Wein' by Németh early on (1953b: 13). As a parallel to this semantic change, Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 77–78) mentioned the Fr name of the common Fr red wine, *le petit bleu*. The T word meaning 'wine' is a well-known borrowing in the Cauc lgs.

The overview of the phonetic shapes of the words under investigation clearly shows us that the word-internal gutturals have a different appearance in some lgs. Clauson (1972: 409) discussed these lexemes in separate entries: *čagïr* 'unfermented grape juice' > 'wine' and *čakïr* 'blue, blue-grey'. This distribution can be found early

on in Kashgari, where we have *čagïr* for 'juice, wine' and *čaqïr* for 'blue(-eyed)'. In Dankoff–Kelly, these words are correctly separated into two entries. In some sources, both of them have alternating forms; see e.g. *čakïr*, *čagïr* 'wine', *čakïr*, *čagïr*: *čakïr*, *čagïr közlüg* 'blue-eyed' (ARbg), *čagïr*, *čakïr* 'vin', *čagïr*, *čakïr* 'qui a les yeux bleus' (AChag). In the MKip ATuh, we can observe the same distribution as in Kashgari; see *šagïr* 'çakır, şıra şarap' vs. *šakïr köz* 'çakır göz'. In both the historical sources and the modern lgs, one can find the following distribution for the T word forms and their ders that means 'wine' on the one hand and 'blue, whitish, grey, blue-grey' on the other: both meanings are represented in AK, ARbg, ATef, AChag, AChagBud, AChagSC, AChagZ, ATuh, AOtT, Kaz, Tt, YUygM; only the meaning 'wine' can be found in AHMA, AHŠ, AHŠF, AIM, AIMI, AKD, AChagAb, AChagAbA, AChagR, AChagŠS, AChagŠSK, LCCI, AAHI, ADur, AHou, AKav, AmTr, AmE, Bashk, Kirg, Kum, Nog, Kar, KrchBlk, Tkm, Az, Uzb, TurkiJ; and only the colour name or its ders can be detected in AKor, ANeh, ANehF, AAH, Tat, TatD, SibTat, Gag, Kh, KhT, AltTK.

It is highly probable that this is a case of a contamination and of the mutual influence of two different words. The alcoholic beverage, wine or kumyss, was white and it became 'the white (one)' in opposition to the red wine (**bor**) (Róna-Tas 1997a: 98, 99). This was aided by the fact that the intervocalic *-k-* weakened in some Kip lgs.

H *csiger* 'a wine of low quality, a fruit wine' cannot be separated fr Rus *čihir´* 'krepkoe (krasnoe) vino', which is, according to Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 368), of T origin. Both point to a front-vocalic form **čiger* or **čigir*. Front-vocalic forms occur in the T lgs of Turkestan and the form *čïgïr* occurs in Tefsir. These forms show independent changes, but point to the possibility that it may have occurred in other T lgs as well.

T *čakïr* 'white' was originally an independent word. It may go back to an old compound of two colour names **čā* 'white' + **kīrV* 'grey'. The reconstruction of an old base **čā* was already attempted by Ramstedt (1935: 419) and Poppe (1960: 97) since both of them wished to demonstrate an etymological connection between T *čāl*, Mo *čagan* 'white' and Tu *čālbān* 'white birch'. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 31) rejected this reconstruction and pointed out that it is an "unzulässige teleologische Sternchenform, da **ča* nirgendwo belegt ist." It must be noted that Doerfer's opinion – irrespective of the attempts made by Ramstedt and Poppe – can be regarded as very strange because it is a common practice in the linguistic literature to reconstruct forms which are not attested as long as one marks them with an asterisk. The reconstruction of **čā* for the colour name *čal*, however, can only be correct if we depart fr a PT verb *čā-* 'to be white'. It is well-known that the OT corpus contains the suff *-(X)l*, which formed colour names; see e.g *kïzïl* 'red', *yašïl* 'green'. The bases of these colour name

formations are uncertain; *kïzïl* may go back to the verb *kïz-* 'to be hot' > *kïz-(X)l*, but to suppose *yašïl* going back to *yaš* 'fresh' and a compound suff *+sIl* (Erdal 1991: 100) does not help us in the case of *čal*. One possible hypothesis is that the length of the vowel in the verb or noun **čā(-)* was prosodically equal to the bisyllabic bases, or that this word goes back to an earlier **čaga(-)* > *čā(-)* '(to be) white'.

The verbal forms of Mo colour names are formed with the den suff *+yi-*: *čayi-* 'to be white', *ulayi-* 'to be red, to get red-hot', which is a den suff (Khabtagaeva 2001: 127). This points to a nominal base **čā*. On the other hand, many Mo colour names have the suff *+gAn*; it occurs in several colour names, such as *ulagan* 'red', *nogogan* 'green', *yagan* 'pink' and *čagan* or *čāgan* 'white' (Khabtagaeva 2001: 99). This may point to the fact that a nominal form *ča* or *čā* existed in PMo. Though most of the ders of Mo colour names are formed with den suffs, we have at least one group which is dev and formed with the suff *-ŋgir*, *-ŋkir*. This dev suff occurs with **ča-* in *čaŋkir* 'whitish' and has a front variant *čeŋkir*, *čeŋgir* 'light blue, bluish'; see also *ulaŋgir* 'reddish' (Khabtagaeva 2001: 129). If there existed an A proto-lg, the verb or noun **ča(-)* '(to be) white' was in all probability part of its lexicon. Until this can be verified, the idea that the word *čakïr* can be regarded as a preserved relict of an old nominal compound (*čā+kïr*) should only be considered a hypothesis. Its basic meaning could be 'whitish grey'.

PT **čakïr* 'light grey, greyish blue' was discussed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1322–1323) under the entry PA **šə̀kʻa* 'white' together with PTu **šāk-* 'white, wall-eye' and PMo **čagagan* 'white, to become white'. According to them, the PMo reconstruction **čagagan* must be kept distinct fr PMo **čaŋ* 'whitish, blond, grey (of hair), white colour', which they discussed under the entry PA *šə̀ŋu* 'clear, light'.

Left with *čagïr*, it must be concluded that it is either a simplex or of unknown origin, though attested in the T lgs very early on.

E/H The H word is of T origin, a copy of a T form **čigir* or **čiger* (< *čagïr*), which was also the source of the Rus word *čihir´* (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 368).

The H word *csiger* was compared by Kuun (1880: 90) and Munkácsi (1884c: 365; 1897b: 476–477) with its T counterparts *čager*, *sira*, *bor* 'vinum'. Although Gombocz (1906a: 195–196; 1907a: 113) argued for the T origin of H *csiger* and pointed out that the T word was borrowed not only into Rus but also into some Cauc lgs, (1912b: 60–61) he later changed his opinion slightly and called the T etymology of the word problematic for phonetic and semantic reasons. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1030–1031) preferred the T origin of the word, but they wrote that the regular phonetic shape of the word in H would have been *csagor* or *ságor*. According to Bárczi (1941: 40), the H word is probably an early T lw, but its Cum–Pech origin cannot be ruled out entirely. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 521–522) accepted Bárczi's opinion, although he also stated that there are some phonetic difficulties with the T etymology of the

word. Ligeti (1986: 287) claimed that the word was borrowed into H before the 15th c. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 210–211) repeated his earlier opinion, but thought that the main problem with the T origin is the rare occurrence of T forms with front vowels. Róna-Tas (1997a: 98, 99) considered *csiger* to be of OT origin.

◆ Kuun 1880: 90; Munkácsi 1884c: 365; Munkácsi 1897b: 476–477; Gombocz 1906a: 195–196; Gombocz 1907a: 113; Gombocz 1912b: 60–61; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1030–1031; Bang 1919: 38; Ramstedt 1935: 419; Bárczi 1941: 40; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 63; Németh 1953b: 13; Poppe 1960: 97; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 306; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 336; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 31, 77–78, 567, 569; Egorov 1964: 316; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 368; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 521–522; Clauson 1972: 388–389, 409, 417, 641, 656; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 822; Ligeti 1986: 89–90, 287; Erdal 1991: 100; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 210–211; Fedotov 1996/2: 387; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98–99; Khabtagaeva 2001: 99, 127, 129; Tietze 2002: 463; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1322–1323.

CSIGLA ‘a kind of willow’, **csigle** ‘trap; snare (for catching birds); bird cage’ see **cigle**.

CSIGOLYA[1] ‘vertebra’ see **csiga**.

CSIGOLYA[2] ‘a kind of willow, used for baskets and in viticulture’, **csikle** ‘trap; snare (for catching birds); bird cage’ see **cigle**.

CSIPA [čipå] ‘secretion, mucus discharged from the eyes’ | 1211 ? PN *Chypa* [čïpå], 1532 *copaſsa* [čopå-ššå], c1550 *chopa* [čopå], 1559 *czipas* [čipā-š], dial *csapa* [čapa] | *čipå* < **čapa* ⟵ WOT **čapaɣ* | EOT *čälpäk* ‘bleariness of the eyes’, MT *čapak*, *čilpik* ‘mucus in the eyes’.

Of debated T origin.

1 *čVpVk*: **OT** –; **MT** *čapaq* ‘mucus from the eyes’ (AKD), *čapaq* (-b-) ‘chassie de l’œil’ (AChag), *čapaq* ‘Augenschleim’ (AChagZ), *čapaq* ‘göz çapağı’ (AAH), *čapaqlï* (š-, -b-) ‘çapaklı’ (ATuhA), *čapak* ‘čirk-i čašm’ (“Rumi”, fr AChagS by Clauson); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *çapak* ‘rheum from the eyes, crust round the eyes, fin, beard (of casting), wire-edge, burr’ (Tt), *çapak* ‘glaznoj gnoj, obsečki (oskol′ki metalla, otletajuščie pri kovke, obrabotke), *teh.* zausenec, gart, okalina (na metalle)’ (TtB), *çapak* ‘göze inen boz, beyaz leke’, *cibik* ‘göz çapağı’ (TtD), *çabak* ‘çapak, göz kiri’, *çapaḳ* (*çapalaḳ*, *çapana*, *çapanak*) ‘çapak, hasta gözde toplanan pislik’, *çapak* ‘göze inen beyaz leke’, *çepelek* ‘göz çapağı’, *çıbık* ‘göz hastalığı’, (TtD1), *čapak* ‘glaznoj gnoj’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čapaq* ‘gumminess in the eyes’ (TurkiSh), *čapaq* ‘bol′noj s bel′mom na glazu’ (TurkiL), *čapak* ‘der Eiter in den Augen’ (TurkiTR), *čapaq* ‘glaznoj gnoj’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *čabaġu*, *čabau* ‘glue’ (L).

2 *čVlpVk*: **OT** *čalpaŋ* ‘Dreck’ (UBT III), *čalpaq* ‘dirt, filth’, *čalpaq īš* ‘a confused affair’, ? *čalpaŋ* ‘mud’, ? *čalpaš-* ‘quarrel’, *čälpäk* ‘bleariness of the eyes’, *čälpäkläṅ-*: *kȭz čälpäkländi* ‘the eye was bleary’ (AK); **MT** *čalpa-* ‘çapraştırmak; to muddle up’

(AHMA, see also Erdal 1991: 337), *čïlpuq*, *ǰïlïq* ‘grjazʹ v glazah’ (AIM), *čalbaq* ‘çapak’, *čig* ‘olmamış, pişmemiş, çiğ’ (AIMI), [Mo *čalbuq* ‘secretion from the eyes’] (AKD), ? *čalpaq* ‘dirty, indecent’ (AKor), ? *čälpäŋ* ‘židkij, hlopkij’: *ol on iki yol astïndaqï čälpäŋ balčïqnï qurïttï* ‘on vysušil hlopkuju grjazʹ pod temi dvenadcatʹju dorogami’ (ATef), ? *čupuštï* ‘csipás a szeme [(he has) gum in the eyes]’ (AChagAbV), ? *čupuš* ‘piszkos, csipás szem [dirty, rheumy eyes]’ (AChagBL), *čilpik* ‘der Eiter in den Augen, die Feuchtigkeit der Augen’, ? *čalpa*, *čalpuq* ‘eine nasse, schmutzige Stelle’ (AChagR), <ČLPQ>, ? <ČLPK>, ? <ČALPAW>, ? <ČALPWQ> (AChagS, see the following), *čïlpïq* (spelt) ‘čirk-i čašm’ and *čïlpïqlïq köz* ‘an eye that discharges mucus’, ? *čalpaw*, ? *čalpuq* (both fully spelt) ‘a place which has become muddy after a rainfall’ (AChagSC), *čalpaq* ‘bozuk gözlü adam’ (AChagŠS), *čïlpïk* (*šïlfïk*) ‘Mann mit krankem Auge’ (AChagŠSK), *čilegü* ‘çileni, çi, çişek, rutubet’, *čiseği* ‘çiy, rutubet’ (AAHI), [Mo *čalbuq* ‘secretion from the eyes’] (AKD), *čïlan-* ‘se mouiller, devenir humide’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *sïlpïq* (dial.) ‘nedopečennyj, syroj (o hlebe), slezjaščijsja ot vospalenija’, *sälpäk* (dial.) ‘lepeška’ (Bashk), *čelpek* ‘bolʹšaja tonkaja lepeška, pečennaja v žire’, *čïlpak* ‘gnoj (iz glaz), (peren.) grjazʹ, gnusnostʹ’ (Kirg), *šelpek* ‘a thin, flat cake cooked in fat’ (Kaz), *šïlpïq* ‘gnoj (glaznoj)’ (Kklp), *šïlpïk* = *šïrpïk* ‘gnoj (na glazah)’ (Nog); ***SW*** *čalpav* ‘luža, boloto’, *čïlpïk* ‘gnoj v ugolkah glaz (skopljajuščijsja posle sna)’, *čalpav* ‘luža, boloto’ (Tkm), *šelpih*, *šäpih* ‘nežirnoe belovatoe (mjaso)’, *šälpiy* ‘nežirnoe mjaso, mjaso staroj korovy’ (AzD), *çelpik* ‘blear and gummy (eyes), blear-eyed, gummy-eyed’ (Tt), *çılpık* ‘gözden akan yaş’, ? *çımbık* (*çımbıl*, *çīmya*) ‘göz çapağı’ (TtD1), ? *čälp* ‘Nasenschleim’ (Kurd. *çilm*) (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čalpak* ‘rod pastily (v vide tonkih plastin), (obl.) tonkaja lepeška, izžarennaja v masle’ (Uzb), *čïla-*, *čïlæ-* ‘to soak, to moisten’ (TurkiJ), *čïlpïk* ‘weakness and running of the eyes’ (TurkiSh); ***NE*** ? *salbïx* ‘luža’ (Khak), *čïlbak* ‘čumazyj, grjaznyj’ (Tuv); ***Y*** ? *salbax* ‘mokretʹ, grjazʹ, pokormlenie skotiny’ [cf. Bur *šalbak* ‘sneg s vetrom’], ? *čalbax* ‘luža, lyva’ [cf. *čalpuk* ‘zamočennoe, grjaznoe město’, Bur *šalbak* ‘luža’] (Y).

E/T *čapak* ‘mucus from the eyes etc.’ may be a secondary form of, or contaminated with **čalpak*. Clauson (1972: 418) discussed Kashgari’s *čalpak* and *čälpäk* in two entries, but in the preliminary note he claimed that they surely belong together. He considered *čälpäk* as secondary since it has, according to Clauson, only one counterpart in the ModT lgs; cf. *çelpik* ‘blear and gummy (eyes)’ (Tt). If the words *čalpak* ‘dirt, filth’ and *čälpäk* ‘bleariness (of the eyes)’ are etymologically related, Clauson is right to say that the back-vocalic form can be regarded as primary and the occurrence of *čälpäk* is due to the vowel shift caused by the neighbouring *č-*.

The back vocalic words in OT have the meaning ‘filthy, dirt, liquid mud’ and these words may go back to the verbal base *čalpa-* ‘to be mixed up, to be muddy’. In this case, we have to suppose a dev formation **čalpa-*(*O*)*k*. On this verbal base, see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 92) and Erdal who connected the word in question with

čalpa-(*O*)*k* ‘dirt, filth, muddled’, *čalpa-*(*X*)*ŋ* ‘liquid mud’ (1991: 337) and with *čalpuš* < *čalpa-Xš* ‘the viscous excretion of fruit which sticks to the clothing and hands’ (1991: 262); this latter item was “emended” by Clauson to *čalpaš* (1972: 418). Erdal, however, did not mention the word *čälpäk*.

It remains unsolved whether the verb *čalpa-* has anything to do with the old verbal base **čï-*, meaning ‘to be or become wet’; cf. *čig* ‘moist, raw’ (Clauson 1972: 413), Mo *čigig* ‘dampness, moisture, humidity’ (L). If there was such a link, perhaps **čïlba-* was the original PT form.

The interrelated nominal forms of the reconstructed verbal stem **čī̈-* are well-known in the T lgs, see e.g. *čī* ‘moisture’ (AK), *čig* ‘raw, unburnt’ (AGul), *čïq* ‘wilgoć, rosa’ (AHŠ), *čïq* (ǰ-) ‘vlaga, syrosť, rosa’ (AHŠF), *čïq* ‘rosa (poranna); rosée (du matin)’ (ABul), *šig* (*šik*) ‘surowy, niegotowany; crú’, *čïq* (*šïq*) ‘rosa (poranna); rosée (du matin)’ (ADur), *čikät* ‘ungekochtes Fleisch’ (AHou), *čïq* (š-) ‘harmat; Tau’ (AKav), *čī* ‘pişmemiş, çiğ’ (ATuhA), *čïbal* ‘honey’ [*čïï* ‘roh’ + *bal* ‘Speisehonig’] (AmCh), *či* ‘syroj, nedopečennyj, nedovarennyj, (dial.) nespelyj, nezrelyj, zelenyj, ? (peren.) kruglyj, soveršennyj, nastojaščij’, *čïk* ‘rosa’ (Tat), *sīk* ‘syrosť, vlažnosť, vlaga, rosa’ (Y), *hīk* ‘Morgentau’ (Dlg) etc. On the T words, see also Tenišev (2001: 39). Another der of the base is *čïla* ‘grjazʹ’ (Kirg), which may represent the old Karakhanid form *čïlā* ‘fresh horse dung in a stable’ (AK), a word which was thought by Clauson to be a hapax legomenon (1972: 418).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 413, 417–418) discussed the majority of these T words under two entries. Their comparison of PT **čEl*(*p*)- ‘film, membrane, albugo, mucus discharged by the eye, unhusked rice, thin bread, cake, husk in grain’ with PTu **čalban* ‘birch, birch bark’ is unacceptable for semantic reasons. In another entry they reconstructed PT **čap-* ‘to plaster, eye pus, to puncture (a tumour or furuncle)’ and compared it with PTu **čapa* ‘fish roe, caviar, white clay’ and PMo **čaba-* (?) ‘glue, fish glue’. The semantic side of this assumption seems to be more acceptable, however, the data they used hardly lend themselves to a reconstruction of PT **čap-*.

E/H The T etymon for the H word was **čapak* which may go back to **čalpak*. The *ï* in the first syllable may be of H origin (see the dial form *csapa*), but may also go back to a T prototype. In this case the H dial form *csapa* is secondary and caused by assimilation.

Budenz (1873: 132) compared the H word with Tt data. According to Munkácsi (1884a: 260), *csipa* may be a lw fr Chuv because of the *-i-* in the first syllable. The copied form *csipa* was, according to Gombocz (1907a: 114), **čapa*, and then he modified his opinion and pointed to an OChuv form **čapag* (1912b: 61). Horger (1913: 116; 1914: 10) believed the H word to be of T origin and explained the word-final *-a* as an internal H development – similar to **dara** and **káka**. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1082–1083) the copied form was **čapag* and, despite Horger’s opinion,

they felt the H word was a back-formation fr a declined form because of the final *-a*. Németh (1921: 25–26) listed the H word in the middle layer of T lws. Ligeti (1935a: 215, 225) pointed to a possibly earlier appearance of the word in H and accepted the phonetic shape of the copied form as **čapag*, as suggested by Gombocz. He also rightly mentioned that the corpus of OT lws contains some words with initial *cs-* (see **csat** and **csepű**) which are earlier copies than those of the middle layer. Bárczi (1941: 42) has accepted Ligeti's opinion. Although Benkő (1967–1984/1: 536) considered the H word as an OT lw and assumed the same copied form, he remarked that the initial *cs-* seems problematic in this case. For the unusual appearance of the final *-a*, he noted the words **dara** and **eke**. According to him, the *-i-* in the first syllable is due to dissimilation. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 217) included the word **gyertya** as an example of this sort of dissimilation. In his last publication, Ligeti (1986: 58, 79, 89, 201, 313, 530) claimed that the T background of the H word *csipa* and its several unusual features call for further investigation. According to him, it is not clear whether *čälpäk* 'bleariness (of the eyes)' (AK) and *čïlpak* 'gnoj (iz glaz), (peren.) grjaz′, gnusnost′' (Kirg) belong together. He also viewed the final *-a* as problematic. In summary, he thought in a reversal of his earlier opinion, that the copied form could be **čapak*, thus the phonetic changes (voicing and spirantisation of the final *-k*, and the appearance of a diphthong in the final position) had already occurred in the word in H lg. He did not see the initial *cs-* as problematic and handled the occurrence of the *-i-* (< **-a-*) in the first syllable as a H development. Ligeti wrote that the chronology of the copying is dubious. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether H PN *Chypa* fr the beginning of the 13th c. also belongs here.

◆ Budenz 1873: 132; Munkácsi 1884a: 260; Gombocz 1907a: 114; Gombocz 1912b: 16, 61; Horger 1913: 116; Horger 1914: 10; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1082–1083; Németh 1921: 25–26; Kniezsa 1934: 105; Ligeti 1935a: 215, 225; Bárczi 1941: 42; Ramstedt 1949: 51; Bárczi 1950: 223; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 64, 144; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 91–92; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 536; Räsänen 1969: 118; Clauson 1972: 413, 417–418; Ligeti 1986: 58, 79, 89, 201, 313, 530; Erdal 1991: 231–232, 237, 262, 337; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 217; Ščerbak 1997: 194; Tenišev 2001: 39; Tietze 2002: 474; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 413, 417–418.

CSOLÁK [čolāk], **csollák** [čollāk] *dial* 'squint-eyed, blind in one eye (1885), one-armed (1881), one-legged' | 1881 ? PN *csollák* [čollāk] (Ihász 1881: 142), 1885 *csollák* [čollāk] 'one-eyed' (Korda 1885: 429), 1893 *csollák* [čollāk] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/1: 338), *csolák* [čolāk], *csalák* [čålāk] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 875) | *čolāk* < **čolak* ⟵ Cum **čolak* | EOT *čoluk* 'one-armed'.

Of Cum origin.

OT *čoluγ* 'einarmig' (UM III 49,4), *čoluq* 'one-armed' (AK), *čolqūy*: *čolqūy ätük* 'a boot of which the heel is torn on the side'. From this, "one who has a clumsy hand" is called *čolkūy älig[lig]* (AK); **MT** *čolaq* 'lame' (ABF), *čolaq* 'manchot' (AChag), *čolaq* 'iskalečennyj' (AChagMA), *čolaq* 'verkrüppelt' (AChagR), *čolaq* 'az dast ma'yūb

(a man with a defective arm)' (AChagSC), <ČWLAQ> (AChagS), *čolaq* 'topal, aksak' (AChagŠS), *čolak* 'topal, lenk, aksak, şül; lahm, schlaff' (AChagŠSK), *čulaq* 'ein Einhändiger, Einarmiger, Krüpel, in übergetr. Bedeut. Geizhalz' (AChagZ), ? *šoluq* (r: ? *čoluq*): *šoluq* (?) *barmaq* 'kisujj; der kleine Finger' (AKav), *šolaq* 'hromoj, kaleka' (ATuh), *čolaq* (š-) 'çolak' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čălax* 'kaleka, urod, iskalečennyj, izuvečennyj, uvečnyj ust., urodlivyj, odnorukij, suhorukij, peren. iskalečennyj, isporčennyj, izvraščennyj, urodlivyj' (Chuv ← Tat), *čălax* 'suhorukij, odnorukij, uvečnyj, ubogij' (ChuvA), *čălax*, Szp. id. 'félkezű, kinek félkeze elszáradt; einarmig, mit vertrocknetem Arme; suhorukij' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čulak* 'krivorukij, suhorukij, krivorukij čelovek' (Tat), *čulaq* 'sulagay; levša', *čulak* 'buldïksïz, kulïnnan ėš kilmi torgan keše; neumelyj, nesposobnyj, neumeha', *culak* id. (TatD1), *čulapay* 'sulagay; levša' (TatD2), *čulak* 'félkarú, félkezű; einhändig' (TatB), *sulaq* 'odnorukij, bezrukij' (Bashk), *culaq* 'aŋlayïššïz; neponjatnyj', *küstän culaq* 'sukïr; slepoj' (SibTat), *čolok* 'odnorukij *ili* odnonogij, bezrukij *ili* beznogij, s otrezannoj častʹju ruki *ili* nogi, kucyj, kurguzyj', *čoltok* '(južn.) id., (peren.) bednjak', *čoltoŋ* 'boltajuščijsja (o čem-l. korotkom), korotyš, kulʹtjapka', *čoloy-* 'ukoračivatʹsja, stanovitʹsja kulʹtjapkoj, obrukom' (Kirg), *šolaq* 'crippled, maimed, dock-tailed, short' (Kaz), *šolaq* 'odnorukij, odnonogij, kucyj, kurguzyj, korotkij' (Kklp), *šolaq* 'odnonogij, bez nogi' (KklpB), *šolaq* 'bezrukij' (RKklp), *šolaq* 'bezrukij, odnorukij, (peren.) nelovkij' (Nog), *čolaq* 'čelovek s izuvečennoj rukoj' (CrTat), *čolaq* 'odnorukij, imejuščij povreždennuju ruku' (KarSh), *čolaq* 'bezrukij, odnorukij, suhorukij, kaleka, invalid' (Kum), *čolaq* 'odnorukij, bezrukij, s pokalečennoj rukoj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čolak* 'kaleka' (Tkm), *čolag* 'hromoj, kaleka' (Az), *çolak* 'having one arm missing or paralysed, crippled in one hand', *çolpa* 'clumsy, uncouth, untidy, untidy about the feet and legs, galloping or cantering with the left foot foremost (of a horse)' (Tt), *çolak* 'suhorukij, čelovek s izuvečennoj rukoj' (TtB), *çolaklık* 'uveč́e ruki' (TtB), *çolpa* 'neradivyj, neumelyj, nelovkij, nepovorotlivyj, načinajuščaja galopirovatʹ s levoj nogi (o lošadi)' (TtB), ? *çalık* 'çolak', *çolan* 'çolak' (TtD), *čolak* 'odnorukij, bezrukij, suhorukij' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čọlāq* 'Krüppel, Arm- oder Beinamputierter' (Kh); ***SE*** *čŭlåq* 'hromoj, kaleka, invalid (beznogij, bezrukij)' (Uzb), *čulâq* 'maimed, mutilated, armless, handless, a man who has lost a hand or arm' (TurkiSh), *čoloq* 'urodlivyj (o čeloveke)' (TurkiL), *čolaq* 'bezrukij, bez odnoj ruki, hromoj, kaleka, beznogij, bez odnoj nogi, (anat.) ženskij polovoj organ' (MUyg); ***NE*** ? *čoltuk* 'kucyj, beshvostnyj' (Alt), *čalaŋ* '(peren.razg.) bezrukij' (RAlt); ***Y*** –.

Mo MMo *čolaq* 'odnorukij' (AChagMA ← T; cf. Ščerbak 1997: 113).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 419–420), T *čoluk* (*čolok*) had the original meaning 'with one arm' and thence 'crippled, lame'. Elsewhere it denotes a variety of flaws. The T word goes back to a verbal base **čol-*. Another der of this stem is *čolkūy* (Clauson 1972: 420) which is attested in the Karakhanid sources. The original mean-

ing of this latter form could be ‘one-sided’. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 89) did not discuss the etymology of the word, but cited the data for the T word, which are documented relatively rarely. Although the word does not have many occurrences in the T lgs, it was copied by foreign lgs. It comes up in the Balkans, meaning ‘crippled, lame, with one arm’: *ciolac* in Rom, *čoląk* in Blg, *čolak* in Mac and *tšolák* in Alb. It is present in some FUgr lgs and can also be found in MMo (MA) as a T lw. The suggestion made by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 443) of attempting to join other forms fr different “Altaic” lgs on the base of the reconstructed PMo **čile-* ‘to stiffen, get oedema’ and PT **čol-* ‘crippled, to deteriorate, dwindle, defect, short-statued’ is not acceptable for phonetic and semantic reasons. The verbal base **čol-* is theoretically not a simplex, because it may show a possible segmentation **čo-(X)l-*. The semantic field of the T word under investigation is very wide. Besides the meanings ‘with one arm, with one hand’ and ‘lame, crippled’, there are also such meanings as ‘disjointed, devious’ and thence ‘heavy-handed, clumsy, inconvenient, luckless’ etc. In some lgs (see e.g. Kirg *čolok* ‘odnorukij *ili* odnonogij, bezrukij *ili* beznogij, s otrezannoj časťju ruki *ili* nogi, kucyj, kurguzyj’ and Kklp *šolaq* ‘odnonogij, bez nogi’), the word not only denotes the lack of a hand or arm, but a defect in the feet or legs. See also *čolak* ‘kaleka’ (Tkm), *čolag* ‘hromoj, kaleka’ (Az), *čọlāq* ‘Krüppel, Arm- oder Beinamputierter’ (Kh) etc. In some lgs there are other ders such as *çolpa* ‘clumsy, uncouth, untidy, untidy about the feet and legs, galloping or cantering with the left foot foremost (of a horse)’ (Tt) and *çolan* ‘çolak’ (TtD), and some of these may be relatively new developments. One can see forms with the ending *-Ak* fr the MT period on, which are of course not identical with the earlier ders with the suffs *-(O)k* and/or *-(X)g* and call for further investigation. The Chuv form with the initial *č-* is a Tat lw.

On Joki’s view on the possible relation between the T etymon of this word and that of *csúnya*, see **csúnya**.

E/H The T etymon for the H word is T **čolak*. According to Kúnos (1898: 62), the H word was copied fr Ott, meaning ‘lame (human being)’. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1130) thought the word to be of unknown origin and excluded the possibility of its Ott origin. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 89) cited the H word *csollák* with the meaning ‘schielend, einäugig’ and considered it to be of unknown origin. Kakuk (1973: 112, 462) accepted the opinion posited by Gombocz–Melich. Mándoky (1993: 120–121) assumed a Cum copied form **čolak* ‘with one arm, with one leg’ for the H word. Mándoky’s etymology seems to be correct. On the *-l-*, *-ll-* alternation in the H dial forms, see also **csalán**. The meaning ‘one-eyed’ does not pose any semantic difficulties. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *csolák* among the T borrowings of the H lg. Benkő does not deal with the word in either of his two etymological dicts.

◆ Ihász 1881: 142; Korda 1885: 429; Szinnyei 1893–1901/1: 338; Kúnos 1898: 62; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1130; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 89; Egorov 1964: 319; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Räsänen 1969: 115; Clauson

1972: 419–420; Kakuk 1973: 112, 462; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 875; Mándoky 1993: 120–121; Fedotov 1996/2: 400; Ščerbak 1997: 113; Tietze 2002: 528; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 443.

CSOMAK [čomåk] *arch*, *dial* 'a carpenter's axe with a long helve' | [1217]/1230 GN *Chomoc* [čomok] (Fehértói 2004: 201), †1275/14th c. ? GN *Chamak* [čåmåk], *Chomak* [čåmåk], *Chomoc* [čåmåk] (Györffy 1963–1998/3: 139–140), 1873 *csomak* [čomåk] (Körész 1873: 375), 1893 *csomak* [čomåk], *csomaszfejsze* [čomåsfeyse] 'a large hammer' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 876) | *čomåk* < **čomak* ← WOT **čomak* | EOT *čomak* 'a cudgel, a mace' < *čogmak* < *čokmak* < *čokïmak* < *čok-* {with suffs *-I* and *+mAk*}.

Of T origin, but of debated chronology.

OT *čoq-* 'abattre, assommer' (UHamTouHou), *čomaq* 'stick or cudgel', *čomaq* ''Muslim' – according to the Uighur and all the Infidels', *čomaq äri* 'a man of the Muslims' (AK), *čomaq* 'Muslim' (AQB); **MT** ? *čoḳ-* 'toplan-, yığıl-' (AHMA), *čumaq* 'dubina, bulava' (AIM), *čomaq* 'topuz' (AIMI), *čomaq* 'cudgel, mace' (AKD), *čomaq* 'massue', *čoqmar* 'massue, gourdin' (AChag), *čoqum* 'bulava' (AChagBud), *čomaq* 'dubina' (AChagMA), *čumaq* 'der Stock mit einer eisernen Kugel an einem Ende, ein Morgenstern' (AChagR), <ČWMAQ> (AChagS), *čomaq* ''čūb-dastī (a cudgel)' of which the head is carved in the shape of a mace (*gurz*)', in Ar. *dabbūs*, *čoqmar* 'mace' (AChagSC), *čomaq* 'çokmak, tayak' (AChagŠS), *čokan* (*čokač*) 'matraka, çekiç, savlecan; Schläger, Hammer, Krummstab', *čokmar* 'çokmak, topuz, iri başlı çoban köpeyi, tokmak, keltek; Keule, Knüttel, grossköpfiger Schäferhund' (AChagŠSK), *čumaq* 'Keule von Holz oder Eisen, eiserner Stab' (AChagZ), *čoxmarlï* 'mit einer Keule versehen' (LCCG), *čomaq* 'çomak', *čoqmar* 'topuz' (AAH), *čomaq* 'çomak' (AAHI), *čomuq*, *čumuq*, *šumuq* 'maczuga, massue', *šoqmar*, *čoqmar* 'maczuga; massue' (ADur), *čumaq* (r: *čomaq*) 'Keule', *čoqmar* 'Knüttel' (AHou), *čoqmar* (š-) 'buzogány; Keule (Waffe)' (AKav), *čoqmar* 'dubina, dubinka, knut, bič', *čomuq* 'dubina, dubinka' (ATuh), *čomuq* 'çomak', *čoqmar* 'sopa, topuz' (ATuhA), *čomaq*, *čomaġ* 'ucu topuzlu sopa, gürz', *çokmar* 'topuz, başı topuzlu değnek, çomak' (AOtT); ***NT*** *Chuv čukmar* 'dubina, dubinka, ryčag' (Chuv), *čukmar* 'dubina, kisten′' (ChuvA), *čukmar* 'bunkósbot; Keule, Prügel; dubinka' (ChuvP), (Chuv ← Tat); ***NW*** *čukmar* '(ist.) bulava, palica, kisten′, drekol′e' (Tat), *čuqmïyr* 'čukmar, bulava, palica, kesten′' (TatD2), *čumar*, *čukmar* 'bunkósbot; Prügel, Keule' (TatB), *suqmar* 'palica, bulava' (Bashk), *cuqmar* 'ger, girja' (SibTat), *čoqmar* 'die Keule, der Morgenstern (Waffe), die Keule mit Kugelkopf' (SibTatTR), *čomok* – ust. rod ruž′ja, *čokmor* 'dubinka s utolščeniem na konce (orudie rukopašnogo boja)' (Kirg), *šoqpar* 'cudgel, club (with a thick end), blackjack, arm(s), weapon(s)' (Kaz), *šoqmar*, *šoqpar* 'palka s nabaldašnikom, dubinka' (Kklp), *šoqmar* 'dubina', *šoqpar* 'dubina, palica' (KklpB), *šoqmar* 'bulava' (RKklp), *šokpar* 'nabaldašnik, utolščenie na verhnem konce trosti ili palki' (Nog), *čoqmar* 'dubina (s nabaldašnikom)' (CrTat), *cokmar* 'dubin[k]a' (KarH), *čoq-*

mar ‘udar, tumak, poboi, ščit’ (KarC), *čoxmar* ‘dubina, palica’ (KarT), *čoqmar* ‘(ust.) bulava, palica, palka s utolščennym koncom’ (Kum); ***SW*** *čomak* ‘(ust.) pen′’ (Tkm), *čomag* ‘dubina s krugloj golovkoj, pastuš′ja palka’ (Az), *çomak* ‘cudgel, truncheon, short, thick stick, the larger drumstick, stick, bat (in tipcat), (anat.) rod (of the retina)’, *çokmak*, *çokman*, *çokmar* ‘(arch.) mace, hornless sheep, mastiff, sluggard, worthless fellow’ (Tt), *çomak* ‘palka, dubina, palica, bulava, [hokkejnaja] kljuška, [barabannaja] paločka, bita (v igre čižika i t. p.), *anat.* paločka (na setčatke glaza)’ (TtB), *čomaq* ‘bulava; die Keule’, *čoman* ‘der Stock, die Keule, faul, untätig, unintelligent’, *čoqmar* ‘die Keule, der Morgenstern (Waffe), die Keule mit Kugelkopf, faul, untätig, unintelligent’ (TtR), *čomak* ‘dubina’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *čo̲må̄q*: *bā′šï to̲ppuzlu′ɣ čo̲mā̄′q* ‘Keule (wörtl. Keule, deren Kopfende “keulig” (mit einem Ballen?) versehen ist)’ (Kh); ***SE*** *čŭqmår* ‘bulava, palica’ (Uzb), *čumaq*, *čomaq* ‘club, mace’ (TurkiJ), *čomaq* ‘a mace’, *čoqmaq* ‘a mace, a weapon formed of a handle with a heavy head attached to it rigidly’ (TurkiSh), *čomoq* ‘palka, trostočka’ (TurkiL), *čomaq* ‘langer Stock mit einem Holzklotz (zum Schlagen)’ (TurkiTR), *čomaq* ‘derevjannaja kolotuška, dubinka s železnym nakonečnikom’ (MUyg), *ʒomaq*, *ʒumaq*, *ʒumaq‘* ‘palka, dubina, posoh’ (YUyg), *čomaq* ‘žerd′, palka’, čumuq, čïmïq ‘dubina, palka’ (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *čoki-* ‘to hit, beat, thrash, strike, to knock, rap, to crush (e.g. an enemy), to throw (e.g. a lasso), to buck, to peck, pick (of birds)’, *čokimaġ* ‘heavy wooden mallet’ (L).

E/T The word, as already pointed out by Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 255), seems to be, like some other T words with initial segments like *čok-*, *tok-*, *sok-* etc., of onomatopoeic origin (see also Tenišev 2001: 565). Tietze (2002: 528) derived the Anatolian Turkish dial form *čokmak* ‘tokmak’ directly fr *tokmak* and suggested that this unusual phonetic development may have resulted fr the influence of the word *čekič* ‘hammer’, which may go back to the verb stem *čak-* ‘to strike’. (On the T verb **tokV-* and its ders, see Clauson 1972: 467, 468, 470; Erdal 1991: 270, 296–297; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 629 etc.). This verb and its ders can safely be excluded fr the present investigation, though the initial *č-* may originally go back in this case to PT **t-*, and thus PT **tokV-* (**tokkV-*) and OT *čok-* may be related. The verb *tokï-* was regarded by Erdal (1991: 468) as an OT der with *+kI-* fr the nominal base *tok*.

Besides *čomak*, there are some other ders of the same base with the same or similar meaning; see e.g. *čokmar* (*čokpar*), *čokman*, *čokum* (AChagBud), *čokan* (*čokač*) ‘matraka, çekiç, savlecan; Schläger, Hammer, Krummstab’ (AChagŠSK), derived fr the secondary verbal base **čok-* ‘to hit, strike’, which is already attested in OT (see *čok-* ‘abattre, assommer’ (UHamTouHou)). The T word is present as a lw in Mo; see above. While the historical form *čokmar* is common in Kip, the dominant one is *čomak* in the Og and Turki branches. The occurrence of these forms side-by-side can already be detected in MT; cf. *čomak* ‘massue’, *čokmar* ‘massue, gourdin’ (AChag)

and the data in AAH, ADur, AHou, ATuh. The same situation can also be observed in some ModT lgs; see e.g. *çokmak*, *çokman*, *çokmar* '(arch) mace, hornless sheep, mastiff, sluggard, worthless fellow' (Tt).

We have to consider the possibility that *čomak* is a secondary form of *čokmak*. The disappearence of the *k* before the nasal (*čokmak* > **čogmak* > **čoγmak* > *čomak*) is phonologically possible. A similar process can be observed in EOT with primary voiced guttural stops *ütüg* 'flatiron' > *ütüglä-* > *ütülä-* or *tütsülüg* < *tütsüglüg* 'with incense' (Erdal 2004: 123). The noun *čokmak* was formed fr **čokïmak*, a den der fr **čokï*, which in turn is a dev der fr *čok-* (see Erdal 1991: 110, 340). Mo preserved the T form **čokïmak* in the form *čokimag* 'heavy wooden mallet'. Clauson considered *čomak* and *čokmar* as possibly being of foreign origin, though with a question mark. He also wrote that "The mace was not originally a Turkish weapon and it is likely that the word was also used by pagan Turks for 'Moslem' because the foreign religion and weapon reached them together" (Clauson 1972: 422). He added that the ultimate origin of these words is obscure to him.

It seems that *čokmar* has displaced *čomak* in the present-day Kip lgs. Chuv *čukmar* is a relatively new lw fr Tat. The word forms *čomak*, *čoman* (< **čokman*) and *čokmar* have special secondary meanings in some sources; see e.g. *čomak* ''Muslim' – according to the Uighur and all the Infidels', *čomak äri* 'a man of the Muslims' (AK), *čomak* 'Muslim' (AQB), *čokmar* 'çokmak, topuz, iri başlı çoban köpeyi, tokmak, keltek; Keule, Knüttel, grossköpfiger Schäferhund' (AChagŠSK), *çokmak*, *çokman*, *çokmar* '(arch) mace, hornless sheep, mastiff, sluggard, worthless fellow' (Tt) and *çoman* 'der Stock, die Keule, faul, untätig, unintelligent' (TtR). The pejorative meanings 'indolent, lazy, stupid etc.' also pertain here. On a similar semantic change, see e.g. H *bunkó*, *furkó*, which have the primary meaning 'club, cudgel' and thence 'butt, maul'. The semantic change in the case of AChagŠSK 'grossköpfiger Schäferhund' can also be explained in the same way. Despite Clauson's opinion (1972: 422–423), the pejorative shade of meaning was based on the similarity of the spherical form of the cudgel and the turban (AK).

In the entry for *čumak* in AChagZ, one can find the sense 'grosser Küchenlöffel oder Schöpflöffel' in addition to 'Keule von Holz oder Eisen, eiserner Stab'. This former meaning surely does not pertain here, but to another verbal base (cf. *čom-*, *čöm-* 'to sink in (water etc.), to dive into (water etc.)' in Clauson (1972: 422). The TurkiL word *čomok* 'palka, trostočka' may very likely stem fr confusion with the word *čuvuk* 'prut, vetka', which goes back to T *čïbïk* 'twig'. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 94–95) shared the scepticism expressed by Fasmer (1964–1973/3: 382) about the etymological connection between the Eastern Sl and Pol word forms *čumak*, *czumak* 'Fuhrmann' and T *čomak*, suggested earlier by some scholars (see Brückner 1957: 81 and Dmitriev 1962: 563). However, the link cannot be disregarded; see Tt 'sluggard,

worthless fellow'. The T word is well-known in some Balkan lgs (Rom, Alb); see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 94–95). The H word *csomag* 'parcel, package' is a neologism in H and has no connection with *čomak*.

E/H The H word is a copy of T *čomak*. If the early GNs pertain here, it is a WOT word, but if the GNs turn out to be of a different origin, then, because of the late occurrence of the common noun, the Ott origin becomes more probable. In the period being discussed (fr the second half of the 12th c.), the letters <ch> denoted /č/, but they may also have denoted /k/ (1212 GN *Chuefpotoc* [küwešpotok > *kövespatak*], 1214 GN *Chopolch* [Kåpolč > *Kapolcs*]. The semantic problems can easily be solved. The original form was *csomakfejsze* (see above H dial *csomaszfejsze* 'great hammer', *csomoszló, csomoszlóbunkó* 'a wooden club (for breaking grapes or potatoes etc.)'). Used attributively, the word *čomak* became independent and denoted the object alone.

It was Patrubány (1882: 18) who first pointed to the T origin of the H word; he thought that *csomak* was an Ott lw. His opinion was then accepted by Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1132). They pointed out that the Ott origin of the H word can be strengthened by the fact that the H word is attested only in a small Transdanubian area. In discussing the H word *csokmány*, Benkő (1967–1984/1: 548) connected it etymologically to *csomak* ← Tt *çomak*, *çokman*, which may according to him, go back to a T verbal base *čok-* 'to hollow a hole, to tamp'. Kakuk (1973, 1996) did not discuss the word, but quoted *csokmány* in her dissertation (1954: 165). Ligeti (1986) does not mention the word.

◆ Körész 1873: 375; Patrubány 1882: 18; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1132; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 255; Fasmer 1953–1958/3: 355; Brückner 1957: 81; Dmitriev 1962: 563; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 629; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 94–95; Györffy 1963–1998/3: 139–140; Egorov 1964: 326; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 382; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 548; Räsänen 1969: 115; Clauson 1972: 422–423, 467–468, 470; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 876; Erdal 1991: 110, 270, 296–297, 340, 468; Fedotov 1996/2: 421; Schönig 2000: 82–83; Tenišev 2001: 565; Tietze 2002: 528–529; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 449; Erdal 2004: 123; Fehértói 2004: 201.

CSŐDÖR [čȫdör] 'stallion' | c1247 ? GN *Chudur* [čudur], 1521 *Czewder* [čȫder], 1568 *czödür* [čödür], 1594 *chjeödeőr* [čȫdör], dial *csőder* [čȫder] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 893) | *čȫdör* < **čeu̯dür* ← ? Cum **čeüdür*, **čäüdär*, **čewdür* | MT *čawdur* 'stallion'.

Of possible Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** ? *čawdur-* 'hennir', *čawdur* 'qui hennit, étalon' (AChag), *čavdur-* 'wiehern, verschwinden, gähnen' (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** ? *čav* '*prov.* penis (of a horse, camel etc.)' (Tt), *çav* (*cav*, *çavan*, *çavgın*, *çavın*, *çavır*, *çavun*) 'hayvanların erkek organı' (TtD1), ? *čavdur-* 'wiehern' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The etymology of the T etymon for H *csődör* is obscure. That the well-known T verb *čap-* 'to ride fast, to run, gallop' (cf. Clauson 1972: 394) and its ders (cf. Chuv *čuptar-* 'ehat′ (rys′ju, galopom)' ← Tat) have any etymological connection with the T copied form **čäwdVr* must be ruled out. The widespread colour name 'reddish-

yellow', which is used for horses, also cannot belong with this word. It is of Mo origin in the T lgs; see e.g. *čuptar* 'solovyj, igrenevyj (o masti lošadi)' (Chuv ← Tat), *čaptar* 'igrenevyj', *čaptar at* 'lošaď igrenevyj masti' (Tat), *čaptar* (*sarï at*) 'sárga ló; Fuchs' (TatB), *saptar* 'igrenevyj (o masti lošadi)' (Bashk), *captar* 'čaptar, igrenevyj: ryžaja lošaď s beloj grivoj' (SibTat), *čabdar* '(o masti) igrenij' (Kirg), *šabdar* 'yellow with white tail and mane (horse)' (Kaz), *čaptar* 'masť lošadi' (YUygM), *čabdar* 'igrenevaja (lošaď)' (AltQK), *sabdar* 'igrenevyj (masť lošadi)' (Khak), *šavïdar* 'igrenevyj (o masti lošadi)' (Tuv), cf. Mo *čabidar* 'reddish-yellow with white mane and tail' (L) and Tu *čabidar* (cf. Joki 1952: 278–279; Räsänen 1969: 94; Doerfer 1985: 101; Ščerbak 1997: 202). It also cannot be linked to Tt *çavdar* 'rye', which is a Pe lw (Tietze 2002: 485).

According to a hypothesis in the H linguistic literature, the T etymon for *csődör* is somehow related to the word *čāv* 'fame, good reputation', known fr the OT period (see Clauson 1972: 393). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 407) reconstructed the PT form as **č(i)āb* 'fame, good reputation, news', which, according to them, goes back to PA **čʻā́bu* 'sound, fame'.

Egorov's view notwithstanding (1964: 317), this T word is not interrelated with Pe *čap* 'lož́, obman'. Chuv *čap* 'slava, izvestnosť, veličie, molva, sluhi, spletni' is a lw fr the VKip lgs. (Chuv has a homophonous word *čap* 'podražanie čmokańju, zvučnomu poceluju, čmok, podražanie čavkańju', which is of onomatopoeic origin.) Fr the MT period onwards, T *čāv* 'fame, reputation' is attested not only in its primary sense (see e.g. *čav* 'şöhret, şân' (AYC), *čav* 'rumour' (AKor), *čav* 'fame' (ARbg), *čav-* 'çavlanmak, adlı ve nam-dar olmak, meşhur olmak' (AChagAbA), *čav* 'fame, repute' (AChagG)), but also in its secondary one (cf. *čaw* 'voix, son, nouvelle, appel', *čawčï* 'crieur public' (AChag), *čaw* 'bruit, clameur, renommée; Stimme, Lärm, Ruf, Gerücht', *čaw čaw* 'gazouillement des oiseaux; Gezwitscher der Vögel' (AChagZ), *čav* 'feryat, seda, ses' (AAH), *čab* [r: *čap*]: *atï-čabï* 'yaman at, načar isem, načar dan; durnaja slava' (TatD1), *čū* 'šum, gam, gvalt, durnaja slava, nehorošie razgovory, peresudy' (Kirg), *čāv* '(ust.) slava', *čāv-* 'rikošetirovať, rikošetit'' (Tkm), *čov* 'vesť, izveščenie' (Az), *čav* 'das Geschrei, der Schrei, der Ruf' (TtR), *čov* 'Ruhm' (Kh), *čap*: *adï-čabï d'ayïldï* 'slava o nem rasprostranilas'', *čapta-* 'razglašať, ob″javljať, obnarodovat'' (Alt) etc.; see other data under the entry for OT *čab* in Räsänen (1969: 93)). Despite Ligeti (1986: 124) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 229), the link between **čab* and the Chag forms *čawdur-* 'hennir' and *čawdur* 'qui hennit, étalon' (AChag) is unclear.

There does exist a verb *čaptur-* with the original meaning 'to cause to gallop', but also with the secondary meaning 'to mate, couple (of horses)': *čaptur-* 'to make a horse gallop' (ATef, AOt), *čuptar-* 'slučať (o životnyh)' (Chuv ← Tat), *čaptïr-* id. (Tat), *saptïr-* 'slučať kobilu' (Bashk), *šaptïr-* 'to couple a stallion', *šaptïru, šaptru* 'coupling of horses' (Kaz), *šaptïr-* id. (Kklp), *čaptïr-* 'zastaviť bežat'' (Nog, Kar), *čabdïr-* id. (KrchBlk), *čavdïr-* ponud. ot *čav-* 'rikošetirovať; to ricochet, to fly back',

čabdïr- ‘to force sb to gallop etc.’ (AzM), *çaptır-* caus. of *çap-* ‘to run, to gallop, to ride fast’ (Tt), *čap-* (imp. *čapï*) ‘reiten’ (Kh).

The morphological segmentation of *čawdur* ‘qui hennit, étalon’ is also problematic. There is the additional problem of the morphological connection in Chag between the noun *čawdur* ‘qui hennit, étalon’ and the verb *čawdur-* ‘hennir’ also being unclear. The verb is also attested in TtR *čavdur-* ‘wiehern’. There is another seemingly isolated word in Tt, *çav* ‘(prov.) penis (of a horse, camel etc.)’, which is of course unrelated to *čav* ‘fame’, although Radloff discussed both words under the same entry. However, *čav* ‘penis’ may be related to the unknown T base of the H word. It is another question whether the T etymon may be tied to the “Türkmen” tribal name *čavdur* mentioned by some Chag sources (cf. AChagŠSK).

E/H The H word reflects a front-vocalic variant of T *čabdur*. The front-vocalic variant may be of Kip, or perhaps Cum origin.

The H word was first considered by Vámbéry to be of T origin (1882a: 213). Despite this position, Simonyi (1883: 433–435), and later Melich (1900: 170), claimed that H *csődör* points to the Grm word *Zelter* ‘ambler’. They argued that OHGrm **-ld-* > MHGrm and NHGrm *-lt-* could regularly have provided *-d-* in H *csődör*. This is true. However, this phonetic point is not the linchpin on which the Grm etymology hinges. On the contrary, the etymology must be rejected on semantic grounds. In his monograph on “Bulgar-Turkic” lws in H, Gombocz (1912b: 26–27) rejected the possibility of the T origin and claimed that it can be either of Sl or Grm origin. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1070–1071) and Bárczi (1941: 45), although the H word points to the Grm word *Zelter* the semantic side of the etymology is not very convincing. Following Eren (1943a: 26–28), Bárczi (1952: 357) returned to the possible T etymology of H *csődör*. Eren rightly argued that Chag *čawdur* ‘qui hennit, étalon’ cannot be tied to the T word *čabdar* ‘reddish-yellow’, which is of Mo origin. Bárczi (1952: 357) claimed that the H word is a relatively late lw fr T. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 561), the H form may be a lw fr “Cumanian–Pecheneg” **čevdür*. According to him, although such a form is not attested in the T lgs, Chag *čavdur* allows for this reconstruction. According to Ligeti (1986: 124, 244–245, 543), H *csődör* is probably of T origin and the original meaning of the T word could be – as already supposed by Eren – ‘neighing (horse)’. The copied form was **čeüdür* or **čäüdär*. For chronological reasons, Ligeti did not exclude the possible Pech origin of the word, but assumed a Cum one. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 229) regarded the H word as being of possible T origin and pointed to a likely etymological connection with the known Chag words *čaudur-* ‘wiehern’ < Chag *čav*, *čau* ‘Laut, Stimme’. According to Róna-Tas (1997a: 99), *csődör* may be of OT origin.

Because of the opaque morphological structure, the etymology is uncertain.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 213; Simonyi 1883: 433–435; Melich 1900: 170; Gombocz 1912b: 26–27; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1070–1071; Bárczi 1941: 45; Eren 1943a: 26–28; Bárczi 1952: 357; Joki 1952: 278–279; Egorov 1964: 317; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 561; Räsänen 1969: 93–94; Clauson 1972: 393, 394; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 893; Doerfer 1985: 101; Ligeti 1986: 90, 124, 244–245, 543; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 229; Fedotov 1996/2: 390; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99; Ščerbak 1997: 193, 202; Tietze 2002: 485; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 407.

CSÖK[1] 'sexual organ of large male animals, of a bull; a whip made from it' | 1198 ? PN *Cheke* [ček-e], c1577 *Cÿekÿt* [čük-üt], 1745 *szarvas-tsék* [sårvåš-čēk], 1761 *tsókjét* [čök-yēt], dial *csëk* [čëk] | *čök* < **čük* ← WOT **čükV* | MT *čük* 'penis'.

OT ? *čüpäk* 'baby's penis' (AK); **MT** *čök* [vocalism uncertain, because a *fatha* can be found over the *čīm* (Ligeti 1986: 281)] 'membre viril, tuyau, tube, canal' (AChag), *čük* 'mužsk. detorodn. člen' (AChagBud), *čök* [r: *čük*] 'das männliche Glied (bes. von Kindern)' (AChagZ), *čük* – bugünkü manasında (aletü tenasüliyye) (AAH), *čüklü bardak* 'dip tarafından oyulup bir tarafı kulp, diğer tarafı emzik olarak yapılan ağaç ibrik ki (eski çamlar bardak oldu) dedikleri budur. Ucundaki emziğe de (*çük*) derlermiş, sonra çocuk aletine denilmiştir.' (AAHI), *ç̌ök*, *ş̌ök*, *ş̌ük* 'penis' (ADur); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čăkă* 'fasz (felnőtt férfié, állaté); die männliche Rute (bei einem Erwachsenen)' (ChuvP ← Tat); ***NW*** ? *čöke* 'kljuška' (TatD1), *čügäy* 'mužsk. detorodn. člen u mladencev' (TatBud), *čükü* '(sev.) polovoj organ mal′čika' (Kirg); ***SW*** *çük* 'penis' (Tt), *çük* prost. 'mužskoj polovoj organ' (TtB), *čük* 'Rute, Penis' (TtR), ? *çük* 'değirmende taban tahtasına geçen mil', *cük* (*cuk*, *cüllü*) 'kadınların cinsiyet organı, küçük erkek çocuklarda erkeklik organı' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čüye* 'organ tela (mužsk. detorodnyj)' (TurkiL), ? *čočaq* '(anat.) mužskoj polovoj organ' (MUyg), *čı̲xə̂*, *čī̲xə̂* 'bâton' (SalK), ? *ʒ'uko*, *ʒ'uqï* 'hlyst, prut' (YUyg), ? *čuqqo* 'vetka, hvorostina' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *süök* 'šerst′ na konce koži u byč′jago *penis*'a, vybljadok, vybljadyš, nezakonnoroždennoe ditja, nezakonnyj rebenok' (Y).

E/T It is no mean feat to investigate this word because dicts may often contain no entry for this sort of semantic field even though the word is well-known and commonly used. According to Clauson (1972: 396), the word *čüpäk* 'penis (baby)' in Kashgari (Clauson misreads the word as *čübäk*) is "perhaps an earlier form of the syn. word *čük*". This suggestion seems unlikely, although the phonetic shape of the words of this semantic category can sometimes be formed without following the expected rules (see Mo *čibe*, *čibegen* 'penis'). The sporadic data for the T word (see e.g. Y *süök*, the Tt, TtR data) allow us to reconstruct a long close labial vowel for it. Despite Doerfer's opinion (1963–1975/3: 119–120), Chuv *čăkă* 'die männliche Rute (bei einem Erwachsenen)' may belong here as a Tat lw with a secondary change of the vocalism. The Chuv word cannot be interrelated with OT *sik* 'penis', although these words were compared by Fedotov (1996/2: 399). This word was borrowed (maybe fr Chuv) into Cher (see *čuɣo*, *tsəɣə* 'männliches Geburtsglied', cf. Räsänen 1920: 233). The element *čük* in the construction *čüklü bardak* (AAHI) in the special sec-

ondary sense belongs with the word and we cannot exclude the possibility that *çük* 'değirmende taban tahtasına geçen mil' (TtD) also pertains here. Some of the words listed above are clearly related to the word under investigation, but show certain secondary features, thus Kirg *čükü* – and perhaps the TurkiL data – can be formed with a Px3.Sg. Budagov's Tat item seems to be a dim form, however the quality of the vowel in the first syllable is debated. It is worth noting that the T corpus contains only the Chuv and Y data meaning 'penis of animals' as it is known in H. One of the secondary meanings of the Y word is very special: 'nezakonnoroždennoe ditja, nezakonnyj rebenok; illegitimate child'. The PT form can be reconstructed as **čükV*.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 135) and then Munkácsi (1893: 262), H *csök* can be considered as a T lw. Gombocz (1912b: 63) defined OChuv **čök* as the copied form. After Gombocz, the T etymology was strengthened by certain scholars; see Munkácsi (1912–1913a: 359), Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1173–1174) and Németh (1921: 25–26). The word was listed by Németh among the T lws of the middle layer in H. Although he accepted the T origin of *csök*, Bárczi (1941: 45) considered its chronology questionable. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 562) accepted Németh's (1921: 25–26) opinion. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 120) rightly pointed out that the T copied form could have a close labial vowel. He erroneously thought, however, that the variant *csék* may be independent fr *csök*. He wrote "Auch könnte es sein, daß in beiden Fällen das Wort auf expressiver Grundlage entstanden ist, unabhängig voneinander." Ligeti (1986: 81, 89, 118, 199, 281) carefully listed the older and dial variants of the H word, which have only been preserved in some older sources because of its special meaning. According to him, the forms *csök*, *csék* may also be among the earlier lws in H, i.e. borrowed before 895, but their place may also be in the second layer. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 229–230) modified his earlier position and assumed an earlier T lw (**čük*), which has a corresponding form in T.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135; Munkácsi 1893: 262; Gombocz 1912b: 63; Munkácsi 1912–1913a: 359; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1173–1174; Räsänen 1920: 233; Németh 1921: 25–26; Bárczi 1941: 45; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 119–120; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 562; Clauson 1972: 396; Ligeti 1986: 81, 89, 118, 199, 278, 281; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 229–230; Fedotov 1996/2: 399; Bartha 2002: 55–56; Tietze 2002: 540.

CSÖK² [čök] *dial* 'feast, christening feast (at baptism)' | 1841 *csök* [čök] (Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1174), dial *csök* 'christening feast' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 894) | *čök* < **čük* ← WOT or Cum **čök* | EOT **čök* '(libation) offering'.

OT *čöklä-*: *ootqa čöklämišig yitäčilär* 'die das in Feuer Geschüttete Essenden' (UU II 61:8–9, cf. Erdal 1991: 434–435), *čöksig* 'bright-red appearance characteristic of meat offerings' (UTT X 449 and UHt IV 1210, cf. Erdal 1991: 71); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *čük* '(rel.) molenie s žertvoprinošeniem (u jazyčnikov), žertvennye jastva, nazvanie duha' (Chuv), *čük*, *čök* 'žertva, žertrvoprinošenie u jazyčnikov čuvaš, nazv. duha, žertvennye jastva u jazyčnikov čuvaš' (ChuvA), *čük* 'áldozás, áldozó ünnep,

az áldozás szelleme; Opfer, Opferung, Opferfest, der Geist der Opferung' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čük* 'jïyïn iseme; nazvanie prazdnika, prazdnuemogo v opredelennoe vremja v opredelennoj derevne; odin iz starinnyh obrjadov molenija doždja' (TatD2), *čük* 'ein Volksfeiertag am Vorabend der Fasten vor Pfingsten' (TatKR), ? *sük* 'vid kušan'ja, prigotovlennogo iz žarenogo rastolčennogo pšena' (Bashk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *ʒ'oqet-* 'usaživat'', *ʒ'oqe-*, *ʒ'öqï-* 'sadit'sja, preklonjat' koleni, klanjat'sja' (YUyg), *čoq et-* 'molit'sja', *čök*: *čök šïzdïq* 'šamanskaja ložečka dlja kroplenija' (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *čok!* – ust. vosklicanie vo vremja žertvennogo kroplenija idolov, okrik na verbljuda, zastavljajuščij ego opustit'sja na koleni, meždometie, vyražajuščee zlobnuju radost'' (Alt), ? *čoq* 'Ausruf während der Libationen, die Libation, die Bewirtung der Geister mit den ersten drei Löffeln der Speise, die man geniessen will' (AltR, AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word *čök* is unattested in OT, but, as shown by Erdal (1991: 434–435), its der *čök+lä-* 'to sacrifice by fire' is attested twice in UU II in the phrase *otka čök-lämišig yetäčilär*. Ligeti (1973: 149) considered this phrase as a translation of the Ch construction for 'démons mangeant des offrandres brulées'. One can also find another der of the basic word in OT; see *čöksig* < *čök+sI-(X)g* (UTT X 449 and UHt IV 1210). According to Erdal, *čök* exists in some ModT lgs (e.g. Tat, Kaz and Chuv) meaning 'Opfer, Opferung, Opferfest'. Despite Erdal's remark, I do not know of any data fr Kaz, but the Bashk word belongs here as well perhaps. Chuv *čük* is a lw fr Tat. The Tat word was also borrowed into Cher and Voty, cf. Fedotov (1996/2: 427). Despite Räsänen's opinion (1969: 113–114), the Alt, AltR, AltTelR and YUyg words need further investigation because of their back-vocalic character. According to Clauson (1972: 413), the noun *čök* was the imperative of the verb *čök-*, and later became lexicalised and used as a noun. It is possible that the noun for 'kneeling, sitting', used as the sign of ceremonial body lg, took on the meaning 'feast': see **csökik**. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 441) this word could be back vocalic in PT; see **čok-* 'to pray, to sacrifice, to baptize, to worship, bailment, pledge'. One cannot exclude the possibility that the T etymon for the H word shows the same WOT feature of front vocalism which can be seen in some other cases; cf. **bölény**, **csődör**, **gödény** etc., but this has a low probability. It requires further investigation to ascertain whether the verbs *čokïn-*, *čokun-* etc. collected by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak fr several T lgs belong here. The T word was borrowed into Kam as *t'ūk*; see Joki (1952: 362). According to him, a back vocalic T word cannot be compared with the Kam item. His explanation, however, that the Kam word may go back to T *tök-* 'ausgiessen, ausschütten', cannot be accepted.

E/H It was Munkácsi (1906: 254) who first argued in favour of the T etymology of H *csök* 'Taufschmaus'. He claimed that this word could already have been part of the H religious terminology before the conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity. He also pointed out that there is another H word *tor* with a similar meaning which

is also of T origin. In another article, Munkácsi (1908a: 296) paid special attention to the description of the ceremony denoted by the word *čök*. He noted that the word *čok* [sic!] may also be used in some Western Pamirian lgs, where it is the name of a special ceremony. After the birth of a male child, one should immolate a (she-)goat. It seems to be the relict of an old sacrificial ceremony. According to Gombocz (1912b: 63), the H word *csök* may be of T origin. Gombocz did not mention any difficulties with the back vocalism of the SibT words etymologically tying them to the front-vocalic words. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1174) considered *csök* to be a Cum lw. Mészáros (1915: 126) did not exclude the possible connection between H *csök* and *csökik-* 'to kneel, sit down' and the noun for 'kneeling' (see **csökik** and **csekély**) both of which are of T origin. According to Mészáros, the semantic link between these words can be explained by the movement of kneeling done by participants in the sacrificial ceremony. This explanation can hardly be accepted. Ligeti (1986: 273) and Bartha (2002: 56) considered the word to be of Cum origin. As pointed out by Bartha, *csök* was regarded as one of the most important ceremonies by the people of Cumania Minor and Major in Hungary.

◆ Munkácsi 1906: 254; Munkácsi 1908a: 296; Gombocz 1912b: 63; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1174; Mészáros 1915: 126; Joki 1952: 362; Egorov 1964: 328; Räsänen 1969: 113–114; Clauson 1972: 413; Ligeti 1973: 149–150; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 894; Ligeti 1986: 273; Erdal 1991: 71, 434–435; Fedotov 1996/2: 426–427; Bartha 2002: 56; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 441.

CSÖKIK [čökik] 'to become smaller, remain small (1469), to sway, to totter (1545), to sprain (1763)' | 1198 ? PN *Cheke* [ček-e], 1469 PN *cheketh* [ček-et], 1519 *meghczøk-ween* [meg-čök-vēn], dial *csekik* | *čökik-* < **čök-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **čük-* ← WOT **čök-* || **csökken** [čökken] 'to diminish, decrease' | c1456 *megchekenik* [meg-čeken-ik], c1545 *csökkenést* [čökken-ēšt] | *čökken-* < *čök-* {with suff *-kAn-*} || **csökevény** [čökevēń] 'rudiment, remnant' | *čökevēń* < *čök-* {with suff *-(O)vĀń*} || **csekély** [čekēy] 'shoal (of water) (1581), small, insignificant (1584), cheap, valueless (1585)' | 1581 *chekelyen* [čekēy-en], 1584 *czekilyesb keppen* [čekiy-esb kēppen], 1585 *tsekély*, *tsǒkel* [čekēy, čökel], dial *csikill* | *čekēy* < **čök-* {with suff *-Āy*} | EOT *čök-* 'to kneel down, to sink, to collapse'.

OT *čökit-* 'niederknien' (UUII 47:78), *qïlġuluq čökä* (< **čök-gä*) *yaŋ* 'zu tuenden Kniebeugung Art' (UUII 41:21, see Erdal 1991: 381 'the manner of the kneeling to be carried out'), *čök-* 'sinken': *köngülüm čökdi* 'so ist mein Mut gesunken' (MTTII A 48), *čök-* 'sinken' (UBTIII 73, 1045), *čökid-* 'to kneel' (UXuanzangIndex), *čök-* 'to kneel, sink (iron in water)', *ol begkä čökdi* 'he kneeled before the emir (or other)', *tewe čökdi* 'the camel kneeled', *tämür suwda čökdi* 'the iron sank in the water (or other)', *čöküt* (< **čök-Ut*) 'short': *čöküt kiši* 'a short man (or other)', *čök čök* 'a word used to make camels kneel' (AK), *čök-* 'to bow down' (AQB), *čökög* (čökög – cyo kyo g) 'kniend': *čöküg*, *čökög* (*cyo kyo g*) 'kniend': *čökög polgoqā sezekleg* (*cyo-kyo*

g po lgo qā se ze kle g) ‘zweifelnd an dem Kniend–Sein’ (B A:18); **MT** *čök-* ‘çökmek’ (UY), *čök-* ‘s’agenouiller’ (UHy), *čök-* ‘s’agenouiller, en offrant le tribut’ (UHyS), *čök-* ‘to fall down’ (AGul), *čök-* ‘çökmek, oturmak’ (AHMA), *čök-* ‘klęczeć, zanurzać się (w wodzie), upadać (na duchu)’ (AHŠ), *čök-* (ǰ-) ‘stojaťna kolenjah, opuskať, pogružaťsja (v vodu), padať (duhom)’ (AHŠF), *čök-* ‘to kneel down, fall on one’s knees’ (AKor), *čök-* ‘diz çök-, çömel-’ (ANeh), *čök-* (ǰ-) ‘stojaťna kolenjah, opuskať, pogružaťsja (v vodu), padať (duhom)’ (ANehF), *čök-*: *tizin čök-* ‘stanoviťsja na koleni’ (ATef), *čök-* ‘çökmek’ (AYC), *čök* ‘action de fléchir le genou’, *čök-* ‘se mettre à genoux, s’affaisser’ (AChag), *čök- koren´ gl. čökmäk kolenopreklonenie* (AChagBud), *čök-* ‘opustiťsja na koleni’ (AChagMA), *čök-* ‘das Knie beugen, sich auf das Knie niederlassen, eine Kniebeugung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen’, *čök* ‘die Kniebeugung vor den Chanen’, *čögälä-* ‘aufs Knie fallen’ (AChagR), <ČWK->, <ČWKAK>, <ČWKAR-> (AChagS), *čök-* (spelt) ‘firū nišāstan (to subside)’, *čökäk* (< **čök-gäk*) ‘firū nišasta wa rāsib (sitting, sinking)’ also in the meaning of ‘durd wa lāy wa rusūb (sediment, lees, precipitate)’, *čökär-* (so spelt) ‘firū nišāndan (to cause to kneel, to suppress)’, *čök* ‘sitting down’ (AChagSC), *čök-* ‘deve aşağı kelmek, diz bükmek, çökmek’ (AChagŠS), ? *čükar-*, *čükür-* ‘deveyi oturdur-, çökdür-, yatır-, diz bökdür-; das Kameel niederknien lassen’ (AChagŠSK), *čök-* ‘sinken, niedersinken, einsinken, einfallen, zusammenfallen, fallen, untersinken (z.B. als Bodensatz), sich auf etwas lagern, sich ansetzen’ (AChagZ), *čök-* ‘die Knie beugen’ (LCCG), *čök-* ‘dizi üzerine çökmek’ (AAH), *čöküt-* ‘çökütmek – kıç üstüne oturup dizlerini karnına bitiştirek iki kolunu dizlerini kavuşturmak suretiyle bağlamak’ (AAHI), *čök-* ‘niederknien’ (AHou), *čök-* (š-) ‘letérdel; niederknien’ (AKav), *čök-* ‘stanoviťsja na koleni, spuskaťsja na zemlju (o verbljude)’ (ATuh), *čök-* ‘çökmek’ (ATuhA), *čok-* ‘staťna koleni, opustiťsja’ (AmD), *čök et-* ‘çök-’, *čöker-* ‘çökert-, çöktür-, oturt-’ (AOtT), *čök ur-* ‘diz çökmek, dize gelmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śăk-* ‘valiťsja, padať, (ust. to že, čto *śăkăn-*)’, *śăkăn-* ‘opuskaťsja, padaťna koleni, (ust.) prisedať, delaťreverans, preklonitť kolena’ (Chuv), *śăk-* (*śŏk-*) ‘upasť, vstavaťna kortočki’, *śăkăn-* (*śŏkŏn-*) ‘klanjaťsja, prisedať, delaťreverans’ (ChuvA), *śăkăn-* ‘térdet hajtani; das Knie beugen, eine Kniebeugung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čük-* ‘osedať, osesť, davaťť (daťť) osadku (o stroenijah), prisedať, prisesť, sadiťsja (sesťť) na kortočki, (dial.) osaživaťť, (osadiťť) nazad’ (Tat), *čügen-* = *čüklän-* ‘tezlänü; vstavaťna koleni’ (TatD2), *čük-* ‘leülepedni, leereszkedni, megszűnni; sich setzen, sinken, ablassen, aufhören’ (TatB), *sük-* ‘prisedaťť, sadiťsja na kortočki, osedaťť, davaťť osadku (o stroenijah), (peren.) sdavaťť, slabeťť (o požilyh ljudjah)’, *sügäl-* ‘prisedaťť, sadiťsja na kortočki’ (Bashk), *cük-* ‘čügäläü; prisesť; tezlänü; vstaťna koleni’, *cügälä-* ‘tez čügü; preklonjaťť koleni’ (SibTat), *cügälä-* ‘auf den Knien sitzen, niederknien’ (SibTatTR), *čök*, *čökö* ‘okrik na verbljudov, zastavljajuščij ih opustiťsja na koleni, trja (okrik, ponuždajuščij [verbljudov] povernuťť nazad ili ostanavlivaťsja)’, *čök-* ‘(o verbljude)

opuskaťsja na koleni, (o verbljuž́em žerebce) pokryť, pogruziťsja (v vodu), (peren.) drjahleť', *čögölö-*, *čögõlö-* 'stojať na kolenjah' (Kirg), *šök-* 'to sit down, to settle, to sink, to kneel (of a camel)' (Kaz), *šök šök* 'Zuruf an Kamele, damit sie sich niederlassen', *šök-* 'sich aufs Knie niederlassen (von Kameelen)' (KazR), *šök-* 'opuskaťsja na koleni (o verbljude), osedať, saditťsja, pogružaťsja', *šök* '(mežd.) šok! (okrik, zastavljajuščij verbljuda opustiťsja na koleni, uspokoiťsja)' (Kklp), *šök-* 'opuskaťsja na koleni', *šök* 'šok!' (okrik, zastavljajuščij verbljuda opustiťsja na koleni, uspokoiťsja) (KklpB), *šök-* 'opuskaťsja' (RKklp), *šök-* 'stanoviťsja na koleni, opuskaťsja na koleni (o verbljude), osedať, saditťsja', *šökkin* 'osadok, tina' (Nog), *čök-* 'osedať, opuskať-sja, prisedať (na kortočki)' (CrTat), *čök-* 'das Knie beugen, sich auf das Knie niederlassen, eine Kniebuegung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen' (CrTatR), *čök-* 'vstavať na koleni' (KarT), *čök-* 'nagibaťsja, opuskaťsja na koleni' (KarT, KarC), *cok-* 'stanoviťsja na koleni', *cėk-* 'vstavať na koleni' (KarH), *čok-* 'stanoviťsja na koleni' (KarT), *čoq-* 'stanoviťsja na koleni' (KarC), *cäk-*, *cök-* 'das Knie beugen, sich auf das Knie niederlassen, eine Kniebeugung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen' (KarLT), *čök-* 'prisedať, saditťsja na kortočki, ponikať, snikať, osedať, razvalivaťsja, obvalivaťsja, obrušivaťsja, (peren.) vpadať v unynie, padať duhom' (Kum), *čök-* 'saditťsja, sidet́, prisest́, sest́ na kortočki, osedať, (peren.) otpravljať estestvennuju nadobnost́, spadať, umeńšaťsja' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čök-* 'osedať, opuskaťsja na koleni, ložitťsja na brjuho (o verbljude), osedať, opuskaťsja (na dno čego-l.), (peren.) saditťsja, prisaživaťsja, (peren.) razoritťsja, obankrotitťsja, (peren.) nadlamyvaťsja, terjať sily, slabeť (ot žiznennyh nevzgod)', *čöküt*, *čöket* 'nizmennyj' (Tkm), *čök-* 'opuskaťsja, osest́, osedať, prisedať, prisest́' (Az), *çök-* 'to collapse, to fall down in a heap, to fall in, to give way, to cave in, to become sunk and hollow, to be doubled up (back), to be prostrated by age or fatigue, to break down, to kneel down (of a camel) etc.', *çök* (arch, only in) *çök et-*, *çök ur-* 'to kneel down' (Tt), *çöğ-* 'alçalmak, aşağı inmek' (TtD), *çöğ-* (*çoğ-*, *çöy-*) 'alçalmak, aşağı inmek' (TtD1), *čök-* 'prisedať, opuskaťsja (na kortočki), osedať, davať osadku, opuskaťsja, opuskaťsja, pogružaťsja (na dno), vvalivaťsja (o cenah, glazah)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čẹk-* '(Bodensatz des Wassers) sich senken, (Lendengegend der Lasttiere) sich senken, (grob) sich setzen' (Kh); ***SE*** *čŭk-* 'prisaživaťsja, saditťsja na koleni, osedať, dať osadku, pogružaťsja, tonuť, idti ko dnu, vvalivaťsja, byť vpalym, (peren.) vpadať v unynie, terjať uverennost́, padať duhom, (peren.) zavolakivať, ohvatyvať, vocarjaťsja', *čŭk*, *čŭkka*: *čŭkka tuš-* 'opustiťsja na koleni' (Uzb), *čök* – word used in bidding a camel go down on its knees, *čök-* 'to sink' (TurkiJ), *čuk-* (v. intr.) 'to sink (in water), to lie down (of a camel)' (TurkiSh), *čök-* 'stanoviťsja na koleni (o verbljude)' (TurkiL), *cük-* 'sich auf die Knie niederlassen, knien (von Menschen), sich niederlegen (von Kühen)', *čökür-* 'sinken, einsinken, herabsinken, sich senken lassen; hineinstecken, einen Nagel einschlagen' (TurkiTR), *čök-* 'pogružaťsja (prjam., peren.), tonuť, idti ko dnu, osaždaťsja, otstaivaťsja, opuskaťsja, prisedať,

(peren.) vnikat′’ (MUyg), *čüx-* ‘žalovat′sja, past′ nic’ (Sal), *ʒ‘ökï-*, *ʒ‘üke-* ‘sadit′sja, preklonjat′ koleni, klanjat′sja’, *ʒ‘ük-* ‘sadit′sja, klanjat′sja’ (YUyg), *čök-* ‘sidet′’, *čöki-*, *čökiy-*, *čökï-* (!) ‘opuskat′sja, sadit′sja’, *čoqï-*, *čoqïy-* ‘sadit′sja, usaživat′sja’, ? *čuq-*: *quzu čuqte* ‘došlo do nizov (?)’, ‘priblizilos′ k koncu’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *čögödö-* ‘stojat′ na kolenjah, spustit′sja na koleni, padat′ na koleni (o lošadjah, o verbljudah)’ (Alt), *čök-* ‘das Knie beugen, sich auf das Knie niederlassen, eine Kniebeugung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen’ (AltR), *čök-* ‘sinken, niedersinken, zusammenstürzen, sich setzen (von einem Gebäude), sich zu Boden senken’, *čögödö-* ‘aufs Knie fallen’ (AltLR), *čök-* ‘pogruzit′sja v vodu, podžat′ nogi, skorčit′sja’ (AltQK), *čöŋ-* ‘pogružat′sja’ (AltTK), *čök-* ‘das Knie beugen, sich auf das Knie niederlassen, eine Kniebeugung (als Ehrenbezeugung) machen, sinken, niedersinken, zusammenstürzen, sich setzen (von einem Gebäude), sich zu Boden senken’, *čögödö-* ‘aufs Knie fallen’ (AltTelR); ***Y*** *söx-* ‘osedat′ na dne’, *söŋ-* ‘sguščat′sja, otcěživat′sja, otsaživat′sja, otstaivat′sja (o moloke)’, *sügürüy-* ‘opuskat′sja na odno koleno, preklonjat′ koleno (s nakloneniem golovy), stanovit′sja na koleni (s naklonom, pros′boj), nizko kljanjat′sja, pripadat′ (k stonam), preklonjat′sja pred kem’, *sügüy-* ‘stanovit′sja na koleni’ (Y).

Mo **čöge*: *čögeken*, *čögüken* ‘few, scanty, insignificant’, *čöged-*, *čögede-* ‘to be too few, to be insufficient’, *sögöd-* ‘to kneel down’ (L).

E/T The T verb originally meant ‘to move down(wards)’. The etymological connection between the verb *čök-* ‘to kneel’ and the noun *čök*, which can be used as an exclamation to make camels kneel down or as a noun in compound verbs and in some sources (see ChagR) “seemingly” as an independent noun, can be regarded as a very plausible assumption. Clauson (1972: 413), rightly stated that *čök* is originally “the Imperat. of *čök-*”. Later, this exclamation became lexicalised as a noun, but its use remained restricted. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 64) discussed the T verb *čök-*, which, according to him, has some A parallels, i.e. Mo *čöke-*, *čökü-* ‘verzweifeln, nicht können, unfähig sein’, Tu *čuku-* ‘nicht können’, Kor *čuk-* ‘sterben, erlöschen, schwach sein’, but his comparison was rightly rejected by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 122). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 450) repeated Ramstedt’s comparison, adding a Jpn item to it. According to their comparison, PT **čök-* ‘to kneel down, to sink, to sit’ and its A counterparts may go back to PA **č‘ŏk‘i* ‘to incline, sink’. Doerfer considered the relationship between Mo *čöke-*, *čökü-* ‘to despair, lose hope, be unable, to cope with’ and T *čök-* to be uncertain. Ramstedt’s comparison of T, Mo *čök* ‘down, on the knees!’ (command to camels) with Kor *čhjuk* ‘hanging down, bowed down’ is, as mentioned by Doerfer early on (1963–1975/3: 121), obscure.

Egorov (1964: 205) erroneously thought that Chuv *śăk-* ‘padat′, sleč′’ and *śăx-* id. belong together. Chuv *śăk-* may go back either to T *čök-* or **yük-* (see Chuv *śăkăn-* ‘preklonit′ koleni’) and Chuv *śăx-* represents the T word *yïk-* ‘to overthrow, demolish,

destroy'. Egorov (1964: 205) has unfortunately confused the representatives of the T words *čök-* and *yükün-* under the entry for *šăkăn*.

E/H The H words *csökik-* and *csökken-* were considered to be of T origin early on by both Vámbéry (1870: 137) and Munkácsi (1906b: 254). Gombocz (1912a: 103; 1912b: 63–64) and then Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1175–1177) regarded the H verb *csökik-* to be an OChuv lw and they reconstructed a copied form **čök-* for it. According to Mészáros (1915: 126), there could be an etymological link between the H noun **csök**[2] and this verb *csökik-* and both of them go back to *t´š´ük* 'Opfer, Opferung, Opferfest, der Geist der Opferung', which is represented in Chuv. Németh (1921: 25–26) considered the H word *csökik-* as a T lw of the "middle layer". According to Bárczi (1941: 45), the H verb *csökken-* is the result of an internal H development and goes back to H *csökik-* 'to collapse, to be scrogged'. He thought it seemed accurate to say that the H word belonged in middle layer, but that this could not be proven since the T counterparts of the H word are present in many branches of T. According to Egorov (1964: 179–180), the H words *csekély* and *sekély* are interrelated with Chuv *saxal*, but this opinion cannot be accepted because of phonetic problems. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 562–563) accepted Bárczi's position. According to Palló (1982: 61–62), the T verb entered H not with its basic meaning 'to kneel, kneel down', but with its secondary meaning 'to grow less'. She also claimed that it cannot be a BulgT lw. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 230), the copied form could be **čök-* 'herabsteigen, sinken, zusammenbrechen' and it could be the base of the H verb *csökik*. However, he also considered Palló's view a plausible solution, thus the T verb could have been copied fr T with the meaning 'to grow less'. This possibility cannot be excluded because of some rare occurrences in the T data; cf. 'umen´šat´sja' (KrchBlk); Kashgari's *čöküt* (< **čök-Ut*) 'short' shows that this secondary meaning of the T base was already represented in relatively early times. Ligeti (1986: 89, 320) only mentions that *csökik-* is a T lw.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 137; Munkácsi 1906b: 254; Gombocz 1912a: 103; Gombocz 1912b: 16, 63–64; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1175–1177; Mészáros 1915: 126; Németh 1921: 25–26; Bárczi 1941: 45; Ramstedt 1949: 43; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 64; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 121–122; Egorov 1964: 179–180, 205; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 562–563; Clauson 1972: 413; Palló 1982: 61–62; Ligeti 1986: 89, 320; Erdal 1991: 381; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 230; Fedotov 1996/2: 90–91; Ščerbak 1997: 113; Tietze 2002: 533; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 450.

CSÖKÖNYÖS [čökőńöš] 'stubborn' | 1808 *tsökönyös ló* [čökőńöš lō] 'stubborn horse', 1818 *tsökönös* [čökönöš], dial *čëkënyës* [čëkëńëš] || **csökön**y [čökőń] same as *csökönyös* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 895) | *čökőńöš* < *čökőń* {with suff +(*V*)*š*} < **čükün* ⟵ WOT **čikin* < **čïk-* {with suff -*Xn*} or WOT **čïk-* >> **čikinči* ⟶ *čökőńöš* > *čökőń* {by back-formation} | EOT *čïk-* 'to go out', cf. Chuv *čăxăm*, *čăxămšă* = *čăxămăš*.

Of possible T origin.

OT *sü tašïqdï on oq süsi qalïsïz tašïqdï* ‘the army marched out, the entire On Oq army marched out (RMTon), *qaġan yeti yegirmi ärän tašïqmïš* ‘the kagan, as reported, marched out with 17 men’ (RMKT; RMBilg), *taš* ‘extérieur, hors, dehors’, *tašġaru* ‘vers l’extérieur, au dehors’ (UHamTouHou), *tašqar-* ‘entfernen’ (UTTIII 68), *tašïk-* (UBTXIII 6,13), *tašïqïp* ‘herausgehend’ (UMI 7:11), according to Kashgari Yaġma, Tuxsi, Qifčāq, Yabāqu and some of the Türkmān *är ävdin tašïqtï* ‘the man went out of the house’. Most of the Turks say: *čïqtï* (AK), *čïq-* ‘go out’ (AK), *čïq-* ‘to go out’, *taš* ‘outside’, *tašïrtï* ‘outside’ (AQB), *tašγaru* (tāśhārū – tā śhā rū) ‘heraus’ (BI 3); **MT** *čïq-* ‘herauskommen’ (UOg), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (UY), *čïq-* ‘sortir’ (UHy), *čïq-* ‘sortir, pousser, produire’ (UHyS), *čïq-* ‘to go/come out, to appear, emerge, to ascend, to leave’ (AGul), *čïq-* ‘(dışarı) çıkmak, yükselmek’ (AHMA), *čïqar-* ‘wydobywać, wyciągać, wyjawiać, usuwać’ (AHŠ), *čïq-* (j-) ‘vyhodit′, (služebnyj glagol)’, *čïqar-* (j-) ‘izvlekat′, vytaskivat′’ (AHŠF), *čïq-* ‘vyhodit′, vzojti’ (AIM), *čïq-* içerden dışarıya gitmek, çıkmak, güneş, ay ve yıldız gibi şeylerin doğması’ (AIMI), *čïq-*: *čïqmaq* ‘to go out’ (AKD), *čïq-* ‘to come out/forth, go/sally forth, move forward’ (AKor), *čïq-* (j-) ‘vyhodit′’ (AM), *čïḳ-* ‘çık-, ortaya çık-, ayrıl-, kaç-, eriş-, öl-’ (ANeh), *čïq-* (j-) ‘vyhodit′, (služebnyj glagol)’, *čïqar-* (j-) ‘izvlekat′, vytaskivat′’ (ANehF), *čïq-*: *čïqarïn qïldïŋïz* ‘you have done what came forth from (yourselves)’ (ARbg), *čïq-* ‘vyhodit′’, *čïqïn-* ‘vyhodit′, vystupat′ samomu’ (ATef), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (AYC), *čïq-* ‘survenir, sortir, monter, aller mieux, prendre le dessus’ (AChag), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (AChagAb), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (AChagAbA), *čïq-* ‘kimegy’ (AChagAbV), *čïq-* ‘vyhodit′’ (AChagB), *čïq-* ‘vyhodit′, vystupat′’: *čïqqalï* ‘dlja vyhoda, čtoby vydti’ (AChagBud), *čïq-* ‘to come/go out, to come forth (from), leave’ (AChagG), *čïqar-* ‘dobyvat′, izvlekat′, vynimat′, rasprostranjat′’ (AChagLN), <ČYQ-> (AChagS), *čïq-* ‘bar āmadan (to come out, rise)’ [Clauson’s remark (1972: 562) that ChagSC *tašïq-* ‘to be injured, wounded, abandoned in distress and affliction’ is another verb and it can be regarded as a der fr *tāš* ‘stone’ (> ‘to be stoned’) seems to be correct.] (AChagSC), *čïq-* ‘yerinden xarǰa varmak, uruǰ ve xuruǰ ve teǰavuz etmek’ (AChagŠS), *čïq-* ‘heraus- oder hinausgehen (-kommen, -fahren, -fliessen u.s.w.), aus seiner Stelle kommen oder gehen, sich losmachen, sich verschieben, sich verrenken, etc.’ (AChagZ), *čïq-*, *čïx-* ‘herauskommen, hinausgehen’, *čïġar-* ‘herausbringen, herausziehen’ (LCCG), *čïq-* ‘herauskommen’, *čïġar-* ‘herausbringen, herausziehen’ (LCCI), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (AAH), *čïq-* ‘wychodzić, ukazywać się’ (ABul), *čïq-* ‘herausgehen’ (AHou), *čïq-* (š-) ‘kimegy; hinausgehen; felkel (nap, hold); aufgehen (Sonne, Mond)’ (AKav), *čïq-* ‘to exit, to go out, to set out, to move up, to move out, to move through, to go, to pass, to ride out, to retreat, to leave, to appear, to come out, to charge’ (AMGh), *čïq-* ‘vyhodit′, voshodit′, podnimat′sja, pokazyvat′sja, pojavljat′sja’ (ATuh), *čïq-* ‘çıkmak’ (ATuhA), *čïx-*, *čx-* ‘sortir, se dégager’ (AmTr), *čïx-* ‘vyjti, vyselit′sja, okazat′sja’

(AmD), *čïx-* ‘to come, go, march out, sally forth’ (AmCh), *čïẖ-*, *čẖ-* ‘sortir’ (AmE), *čïḳ-* ‘çık-’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čăxăm* ‘stroptivosť, norov (u lošadi), stroptivyj, norovistyj, uprjamstvo, stroptivosť, uprjamyj, stroptivyj’, *čăxămśă* = *čăxămăś* ‘norovistyj, s norovom, uprjamec, stroptivec, uprjamyj, stroptivyj, (peren.) kapriznyj (o mehanizmah)’, *čăxămla-* ‘artačitʹsja, bytʹ norovistym, projavljatʹ norov (o lošadi), uprjamitʹsja, bytʹ uprjamym, stroptivym, (peren.) kaprizničatʹ, rabotatʹ s perebojami (o mehanizmah)’ (Chuv), *čăxămla-*, *čămăkla-* ‘uprjamitʹsja, artačitʹsja (o lošadi)’, *čăxămśă*, *čăxămăś*, *čămăkăś* ‘uprjamyj, norovistyj, s norovom (o lošadi)’ (ChuvA), *čăkămla-* ‘csökönyös lenni (lóról); stutzig, störrisch sein (v. Pferden)’, *čăkămśă* ‘csökönyös (lóról); stutzig (v. Pferden)’ (ChuvP), *tux-* – glagol dviženija, oboznačaet dejstvie, napravlannoe vovne, za predely čego-l. – perevod zavisit ot sposoba peredviženija: ‘vyhoditʹ, vyezžatʹ, vylezatʹ etc.’ (Chuv), *tux-*, *tox-* ‘vyhoditʹ, vyezžatʹ etc.’ (ChuvA), *tux-* ‘kijönni, kimenni, kelni (a nap); hinausgehen, hearuskommen, aufgehen (von der Sonne)’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čïgïmla-* ‘uprjamitʹsja (o lošadi), (peren.) uprjamiʹtsja, artačitʹsja (o čeloveke)’, *čïgïmčï* ‘norovistyj, uprjamyj’ (Tat), *čïgïnnan-* ‘čïgïmčila-; uprjamitʹsja – o lošadi’, *čïgïnčï* ‘čïgïmčï; uprjamyj (o lošadi)’ (TatD2), *čïk-* ‘kimenni, kijőni, kibújni, kikelni, kifolyni, mutatkozni, származni, kitelni, kicsikkanni; hinausgehen, herauskommen, sich herausstecken, aufgehen, sich zeigen, abstammen, sich verrenken’ (TatB), *čïġïn* (TatKR, Budagov), *sïġïnsï* ‘norovistyj (o lošadi), (peren.) uprjamyj (o čeloveke)’, *sïġïnsïla-* = *sïġïnla-* ‘(prjam., peren.) uprjamitʹsja, artačitʹsja’ (Bashk), *cïq-* ‘podnimatʹsja, vzbiratʹsja, otvykatʹ, vyhoditʹ’ (SibTat), *čïq-* ‘vyhoditʹ, vyskočitʹ’, *cïq-* ‘vyhoditʹ, vyskakivatʹ, podnimatʹsja, pokazyvatʹsja’ (SibTatBD), *cïq-* ‘herauskommen, hervorkommen, sich loslösen, sich erheben, ersteigen, sich bilden’ (SibTatBR, SibTatTR, TatMR), *čïgïn-* ‘delatʹ čto-l. zablagovremenno i staratelʹno, akkuratno, vybratʹ vremja i sledatʹ čto-l.’, *čïgïn*, *čïgïm* ‘rashod, ubylʹ, (ist.) čygym, sbor s naselenija dlja pokrytija rashodov na ugoščenie ili na drugie nuždy (proizvedennye dolžnostnym licom ili predstavitelem feodalʹno-rodovoj znati, ėtim sborom oblagal manap), pobory, obloženie, (s.-h.) othod’, *čïk-* ‘(glagol, vyražajuščij dviženie naružu ili vverh) vyhoditʹ, vystupatʹ, vydvigatʹsja, vshoditʹ, voshoditʹ, razdavatʹsja (o zvuke), dostignutʹ kakogo-l. vozrasta, okazatʹsja, projavitʹsja, vyjavitʹsja, obnaruživatʹsja, razvestisʹ (s mužem), prinjatʹsja (o privivke, napr. ospy), obguljatʹsja’ (Kirg), *šïq-* ‘to climb (up), to ascend, to germinate, to sprout, to shoot, to come to a head (of an abscess, festering sore), to dislocate, to sprain, to overtake, to catch, to surprise, to project, to jut out, to advance, to perform, to go out, to alight, to appear’ (Kaz), *šïq-* ‘vyjti, izbiratʹsja, prorastatʹ, naryvatʹ, vyvihnutʹ’ (KazM), *šïq-* ‘to climb (up), to ascend, to germinate, to sprout, to shoot, to come to a head (of an abscess, festering sore), to dislocate, to sprain, to overtake, to catch, to surprise, to project, to jut out, to advance, to perform, to go out, to alight, to appear’ (Kaz), *šïq-* ‘(v razn. znač.) vyhoditʹ, vyezžatʹ, vshoditʹ, voshoditʹ, vzbiratʹsja na čto-l., v

kačestve vspomogatel′nogo glagola oboznačaet zakončennost′ dejstvija' (Kklp), *šïq-* 'vyhodit′, vzbirat′sja' (KklpB), *šïq-* 'vyhodit′' (RKklp), *šïq-* 'vyhodit′, otpravljat′sja, vystupat′ (naružu), prostupat′, vskakivat′, pojavljat′sja (o boljačkah), probivat′sja, prorastat′, prorezat′sja, vylupit′sja (o ptencah), voznikat′, načinat′sja, pojavljat′sja (vnezapno), vyhodit′ v svet, byt′ izdannym, napečatannym, opublikovannym' (Nog), *čïq-* 'vyhodit′, polučit′sja (o zadače)' (CrTat), *čïx-* 'vyjti, ujti, vybrat′sja, vstavat′, podmanit′sja' (KarT), *čïq-* 'vyhodit′, lezt′' (KarSh), *cïk-* 'vyhodit′, vystupat′, pokazyvat′sja, otdeljat′sja' (KarH), *čïġïm* 'uprjamyj, stroptivyj, grubyj, neučtivyj, nedelikatnyj' (Kum), *čïq-* 'vyhodit′, uhodit′, uvol′njat′sja, ostavljat′ kakoe-l. zanjatie, pokidat′ čto, otpravljat′sja, vyezžat′, (prjam., peren.) pojavljat′sja, voznikat′, vyhodit′ iz pečati, izdavat′sja, byt′ opublikovannym, načinat′sja, brat′ načalo, ishodit′, najtis′, otyskat′sja i t.p.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čïk-* 'vyhodit′, otpravljat′sja, vzbirat′sja, podnimat′sja, zalezat′, vyhodit′ (v svet), izdavat′sja, opublikovyvat′sja, vyhodit′, polučat′sja, udavat′sja, etc.' (Tkm), *čïx-* 'vyhodit′, vyjti, vylezt′, vybrat′sja, vzojti, vshodit′, voshodit′ etc.' (Az), *çık-* 'to go out, to move out (of a house), to start off (from a place), to get out, slip one's memory, to leave (a job or hospital), to pass out (of a school), to be subtracted (from), to come out, to issue from (a fluid or smell), to result, to be made, produced (from), to be got out (of sufficient cloth or dress) etc.' (Tt), ? *çıkım* '(arch) verbal n. of çık-, rebuke, vituperation' (Tt), *çık-* 'vyhodit′ v razn. znač., vyezžat′, uhodit′, uezžat′, otrekat′sja, otkazyvat′sja, uhodit′ (s raboty i t. p.), ostavljat′ kakoe-l. zanjatie, otpravljat′sja, vyhodit′, vyezžat′ (kuda-l. s kakoj-l. cel′ju) etc.' (TtB), *çıẖ-* 'çıkmak', *çıkıntı* 'sürü içinde işe yaramayan koyun, koç' (TtD1), *čïk-* 'vyhodit′, vylezat′, podnimat′sja vverh, vzbirat′sja, vshodit′, voshodit′ (o nebesnyh svetilah), pojavljat′sja, pokazyvat′sja etc.', *čïkïn-* 'podavat′sja (nazad), pjatit′sja, otstupat′, ujti, uehat′, rashodit′sja' (Gag), *čix-* 'herauskommen' (Khor), *čïq-* 'herauskommen, besteigen' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čiq-* 'vyhodit′, vyjti, pojti, otpravljat′sja, vshodit′, voshodit′ (o svetilah), vzbirat′sja, podnimat′sja, voshodit′ etc.', *čiqim* 'rashod, izderžki' (Uzb), *čïq-*, *čïx-*, *čx-* 'to go, to go away, to leave, to go out, to go off, to depart, to go up, to fly up, to arise, to march off, to come, to come out, to come in sight, to show' (TurkiJ), *čiq-* (v. intr.) 'to go out' (TurkiSh), *čiq-* 'vyhodit′, polučat′ v rezul′tate' (TurkiL), *čiq-* 'vyhodit′, vystupat′, vyezžat′, napravljat′sja, vzbirat′sja, vlezat′, podnimat′sja vverh, prohodit′' (MUyg), *čix-* 'vyhodit′, uezžat′, vytaskivat′, izvlekat′, podnimat′sja, sadit′sja, pojavljat′sja, rasti (o rastenijah), vyhodit′, polučat′sja', *čïx-* 'uezžat′, vyhodit′, pojavljat′sja, izvlekat′, taščit′, vyhodit′ zamuž′, razmnožat′sja (o životnyh), vyhodit′, polučat′sja (v rezul′tate), osmatrivat′, issledovat′' (Sal), *čix̲-*, *čə̂x-* 'sortir, partir' (SalK); ***NE*** *čïk-* 'vyhodit′, vystupat′, vydvigat′sja, pojavljat′sja, vzbirat′sja, voshodit′, razdavat′sja (o zvuke)' (Alt), *čïq-* 'herauskommen, hervorkommen, sich loslösen, sich erheben, ersteigen, sich bilden' (AltLR, AltTelR), *čïg-* 'voshodit′, vyhodit′', *čïk-* 'vyhodit′, podnjat′sja, podnimat′sja, lezt′ vverh', *šïk-* 'vyhodit′, podnimat′sja, vzbirat′sja, rasti', *ščïk-*

‘vyhodit’’ (AltQK), *čïk-* ‘vyhodit′, vyezžat′, podnjat′sja, voshodit′, vybegat′, vyletat′, pojavljat′sja, roždat′sja’ (AltTK), *sïx-* ‘vyhodit′, vyezžat′, uezžat′, pojavljat′sja, vystupat′ (o predmete): vydvigat′sja (napr. o jaščike stola), vzbirat′sja, podnimat′sja, vshodit′, vshodit′ (o semenah)’ (Khak), *šïq-* ‘hervorkommen, herauskommen, herausgehen, besteigen (einen Berg)’ (KhakShR, KhakQchR), *cïq-* ‘herauskommen, hervorkommen, sich loslösen, sich erheben, ersteigen, sich bilden’ (ChulR), *šïh-* ‘to go out’ (FY); ***Y*** *taġïs-*, *taxsV-*, *taxxV-* ‘vyhodit′ (naružu, iz domu), vylezat′ otkuda, vystupat′, uhodit′ otkuda, ubirat′sja, otpravljat′sja, ishodit′, proishodit′, proistekat′, obnaruživat′sja kem ili čerez čto, vytekat′ (o rekah), vyhodit′ (iz mody), uhodit′ ot čego, udaljat′sja, otstupat′, othodit′, otkazyvat′sja ot dolžnosti, byt′ dalekim ot čego, terjat′ (silu), lišat′sja, minovat′, uklonjat′sja, uskol′zat′, zaviset′ ot čego, podnimat′sja na vysotu, voshodit′, vshodit′ (o solnce), prohodit′, proezžat′ (put′), prožit′ izvestnoe vremja, perehodit′, perestupat′, perepravljat′sja čerez čto, pereezžat′’ (Y), *tagïs-* ‘hinausgehen, herauskommen, klettern, aufgehen, frei vom Eis werden, fließen, bestehen’ (Dlg), *tagïs-* ‘hinausgehen etc.’, *taksī* ‘Ausgang’ (DlgS).

Mo *taliy-* ‘to disappear, get lost, go astray, to die’ (L).

E/T The T words which may directly belong with the possible T etymon for the H word *csökönyös* are rare and are only represented in a relatively narrow area of Turcia. This area seems, however, to be of great importance not only in this, but in many other cases of T lws in H. This is the region where the T lgs of the NW branch and Chuv are spoken nowadays: *čăxăm* ‘stroptivost′, norov (u lošadi)’, *čăxămăś* ‘norovistyj, s norovom, uprjamec, stroptivec, uprjamyj, stroptivyj, (mehan.) kapriznyj’ (Chuv), *čăkămla-* ‘csökönyös lenni (lóról); stutzig, störrisch sein (v. Pferden)’, *čăkămśă* ‘csökönyös (lóról); stutzig (v. Pferden)’ (ChuvP), *čăxămla-* ‘uprjamit′sja, artačit′sja (o lošadi)’, *čăxămśă* = *čăxămăś* ‘uprjamyj, norovistyj, s norovom (o lošadi)’ (ChuvA), *čïgïmla-* ‘uprjamit′sja (o lošadi), (peren.) uprjami′tsja, artačit′sja (o čeloveke)’, *čïgïmčï* ‘norovistyj, uprjamyj’ (Tat), *čïġïnnan-* ‘čïgïmčïla-; uprjamit′sja (o lošadi)’, *čïgïnčï* ‘čïgïmčï; uprjamyj (o lošadi)’ (TatD2), *sïġïnsï* ‘norovistyj (o lošadi), (peren.) uprjamyj (o čeloveke)’, *sïġïnsïla-* = *sïġïnla-* ‘(prjam., peren.) uprjamit′sja, artačit′sja’ (Bashk), *čïġïm* ‘uprjamyj, stroptivyj, grubyj, neučtivyj, nedelikatnyj’ (Kum).

The words cited above are ders of the well-known verbal base *čïk-*, which first occurred in the Karakhanid sources at the end of the OT period. (Therefore, the PT (**čïk-*) and PA (**čʿïkʿa*) reconstructions worked out by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 427–428) cannot be accepted.) The verb has the meaning ‘to go out, to come out/forth, go/sally forth, move forward’ in present-day T lgs and in almost all MT sources – except some records (see e.g. the special meaning ‘to die’ in ANeh). Although Clauson (1972: 405–406) considered the etymological explanation offered by Bang–Rachmati (1932: 27, n. 27) “quite unconvincing”, their idea that *čïq-* was formed fr the OT verb *tašïk-* is accepted by the overwhelming majority of scholars. One can

add to this that the explanation suggested by Bang–Rachmati is not unproblematic, but I do not know of any better solution for the etymology of T *čïk-*. Thus *čïk-* may go back to *tašïk-* via an unusual crasis. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 82) preferred another etymology, i.e. *tïš* 'Aussenseite' > **tïš+ïq-* > *čïq-* 'hinausgehen'. Fr a phonetic point of view, this attempt undoubtedly shows some advantages, but the T data clearly point to an early *taš* 'outside' (cf. Clauson 1972: 556–557), thus the vowel in the first syllable was not originally *-ï-*, but *-a-*. The occurrence of the high vowel in the word also calls for an explanation and it is seemingly related to the unusual crasis of *tašïk-* > *čïk-*. (On some details regarding the phonetic side of this problem, see **sok** and cf. also Berta (1999: 16–17).) On the other hand, Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 104) considered the item *tailikaŋ (tilikaŋ)* 'ziehet hinaus!', found in a 4th-c. Ch source, as a pre-T dial form and thought it to be identical with OT *tašïkïŋ*! id. According to him, Y *taġïs-*, *taxsV-* goes back to **tasïg-* < *tašïk-*, Chuv *tux-* represents **tulx-* < **tal′-x-* (cf. Chuv *tul* 'das Äussere, draussen' (< **tal′*)), and T *tašïk-* and Mo *tali-yi-* 'ausgehen, verschwinden' are of the same "Altaic" origin. In fact, the Mo word may be an early lw fr a non-CT lg. On the segmentation of T *tašïk-*, see Erdal (1991: 265, 496). T *tašïk-* is attested in Karakhanid, where one can also find *čïk-*, which later replaced it gradually.

The T etymon for the H word might carry a sense fr which the semantics of the H word could be understood even in its old form. In this respect, we do know of two important verbs in the early EOT sources. One of them is *tašïk-*, the other is *ičik-*. The latter signifies 'to submit to an enemy or foreign ruler' (cf. Clauson 1972: 25). The primary meaning of the verb was 'to go into, to become the internal part of something'. Its morphological segmentation is *ič+ik-*. On the base *ič* 'the interior, or inside of something', see Clauson (1972: 17). The secondary sense 'to submit, submit to an enemy, submit to a ruler etc., to become part of the empire' has arisen fr this basic meaning by semantic change. According to the EOT sources, this verb was an important term in the organisation of the imperial framework. The verb *taš+ïk-* has exactly the reverse meaning and shows the same semantic change: 'to go out, go forth' > 'to be alien to something, to conflict with somebody, to renounce allegiance to somebody'. The VT and other Kip words cited above show these secondary meanings. It is interesting that the Chuv word is only used with this connotation if used with regard to horses. The Chuv word is a lw fr Tat. The Tat, Bashk and Kum data go back to the ders **čïk-(X)m*, **čïk-Xn*, to which the suff *+čI* was added. The T word was borrowed into Cher (*čïgïn* 'norovistyj (o lošadi)') and MordM (*čigen* id.), see Fedotov (1996/2: 406–407). Despite Egorov (1964: 321) and Fedotov, the T word family has nothing to do with Tt *çamış*, *çamuş* '(prov.) unruly, restive, obstinate (horse)' which, according to Radloff (1893–1911/3: 1940), may be an Ar lw, however, its origin seems to be dubious.

E/H The H word may be a copy of the WOT form **čïkïn* or *čïkïnčï* or both. *čïkïn* is a dev noun fr *čïk-* (see above), the VT forms with the final *-m* may be either of Chuv origin, or show the dev suff *-(X)m*. *čïkïnčï* is a den formation fr *čïkïn* with the suff *+čI*. The H segment *-ös* in *csökönyös* may be a H suff but may also have resulted fr the T suff *+čI*; see **koldus** and **orvos**. On Chuv **nč* > *š*, see Róna-Tas (1999a: 6–13). In this case, *csökönyös* is a back-formation.

It was Vámbéry (1870: 137) who first thought the H word to be of T origin. Gombocz (1907a: 115–116) pointed out that it has a counterpart in Tat, *čïgyïn* 'eigensinnig, halsstarrig'. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 64–65) discussed it among the OChuv elements of the H lg and presumed the copied form **čikin*. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1177–1178), the etymology of the H word has two acceptable explanations: (1) It may be a newly formed der fr *csökön*, which is a variant of the H verb **csökken**. In this case, the primary meaning of *csökönyös* was 'shy, weak-kneed'. (2) It may also be an OChuv lw fr **čïkïn*. Németh (1921: 25–26) placed the word in the middle layer of T lws in the H lg. Bárczi (1941: 45) considered the T origin of the word more probable than the der fr H **csökken**, but could not decide when it was copied. This may have happened before or after the conquest. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 563) preferred the possible internal H development of *csökönyös*, and the OT origin of the H word less probable. Ligeti (1986: 194, 253) regarded the H word as a T copy and thought that the palatalised nasal *-ny-* could have occured in H. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 230) considered the H word as an internal H development fr the obsolete form *csökön-* 'plötzlich erschrecken'. Despite his opinion, the word may be of T origin although it was very late that the H word first occurred in the written sources, in the early 19th c. The labial vowels *-ö-* (< **ü*) in *csökönyös* can be regarded as substitutions of T *-i-* < *-ï-*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 137; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 1940; Gombocz 1907a: 115–116; Gombocz 1912b: 64–65; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1177–1178; Németh 1921: 25–26; Bang–Rachmati 1932: 27; Bárczi 1941: 45; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 82, 104; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 121, 172, 200; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 511; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 280; Egorov 1964: 263, 321; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 563; Clauson 1972: 17, 25, 405–406, 556–557, 562; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 895; Ligeti 1986: 89, 90, 194, 253; Erdal 1991: 265, 496; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 230; Fedotov 1996/2: 257–258, 406–407; Berta 1999: 16–17; Róna-Tas 1999a: 6–13; Tietze 2002: 505; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 427–428.

CSÖPŰ 'impurities, tow, chaff' see **csepű**.

CSŐREL, **CSŐRLE(NI)**, **CSŐRÖL** 'to wind the yarn to the bobbin or spindle' see **csűr**[1].

CSŐSZ [čȭs] 'field-guard; herald (1193); Turkish envoy (c1560)' | 1093/1399 ? GN *Cheuz* [čeüs], 1192/1374/1425 GN *guusci* [r: *cuusci* – čȗs-i], 1193 GN *cheuz* [čeüs], c1560 *Chósz* [čōs] | *čȭs* < **čäüš* ← WOT **čäwiš* | EOT *čabïš*, *čavuš* 'army commander' | cf. Ott → H 1541 *csausz*.

OT *čabïš*: *bilgäsi čabïšï ärdi* ‘his counsellor and commander’ (RMKöl), *čabïš* PN (RMTerh), *čabïš* ‘aide-de-camp’: *bilgäsi čabïšï bän ök ärdim* ‘I myself was his counsellor and commander’ (RMTon), *Čavuš Tun Tarxan bäŋ̈sī tikā̈ bärtimiz* ‘we have erected a memorial stone to Army Commander Tun Tarxan’ (RY 30, 3), *čawuš* ‘(the officer) who keeps the troops in battle order and holds them back from unwarranted violence’ (AK); **MT** *čavuš* ‘strażnik, straż przednia, zwiastun’ (AHŠ), *čavuš* (ǰ-) ‘stražnik, storož, vestnik, predvestnik’, ? *čawuq* ‘byt′ izvestnym, byt′ slavnym, proslavit′sja’ (AHŠF), *čāvuš* (mis-spelt *čāquš*) in a list of titles of office etc. (AIM), *čavuš* ‘askeri bir rütbe’ (AIMI), *čavuš* ‘leader, headman’ originally ‘army commander’, Arm. *čawuš* ‘leader’ (AKD), *čawuš* ‘huissier, conducteur d’une caravane’ (AChag), *čavuš* ‘Gerichtsdiener, Aufseher, Polizeidiener, Schweizer, Wächter’ (AChagR), <ČAWŠ> (AChagS), *čavuš* ‘čūbdār (mace-bearer) which is a word for the *yasawul* (mounted mace-bearer) and *ėšik aqasï* (door-keeper), a man who goes ahead of a caravan and acts as their guide (*baladī*) and announces the departure and the stop for the night’ (AChagSC), *čavuš* ‘serheng, bir rütbe ismidir, sekerde’ (AChagŠS), *čaus*, *čavuš* ‘Herold, Hofmarschal, Amtsfrohn oder Amtsvoigt, Führer einer Schar, nach der neuen Heeresanordnung: Feldwebel’ (AChagZ), *čavuš* ‘çavuş, padişahın önünde tazim ve ihtiramla bağıran adam’ (AAH), *čavuš* ‘çavuş’ (AAHI), *čavuš* ‘chawush (herald, messenger)’ (AmCh), *čavuš*: *čavuš ašï* ‘birkaç türlü hububat karıştırılarak yapılan bir yemek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *sauïš* (ust.) ‘tovarišč ženiha (soprovoždajuščij ego v dom nevesty), (ist.) telohranitel′ hana, hanskij telohranitel′’ (Bashk), *čavuš* ‘staršij (nad rabočimi), inspektirujuščij’ (CrTat), *čavuš* ‘staršij nad rabotnikami’ (KarSh), *čavuš* ‘(ist.) glašataj’ (Kum); ***SW*** *čovuš* ‘predvoditel′ karavana strannikov, piligrimov’ (Az), *çavuş* ‘(mil.) sergeant, guard, (hist.) halberdier of the bodyguard to the Sultan, herald, messenger, musician of the Palace’ (Tt), *çavuş* ‘*ist.* glašataj, čtec (prikazov, postanovlenij), ordinarec, seržant (unter-officer), *mor.* staršina, staršij [nad rabočimi], inspekturujuščij’ (TtB); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čauš* ‘čauš (nazvanie sorta vinograda)’ (Uzb); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The earliest OT word forms attested in the EOT inscriptions should be read – Clauson notwithstanding (1972: 399) – as *čabïš*, not *čavuš*, which is to say that the second syllable of the oldest T data contained an unrounded vowel *ï*. The phonetic change *ï* > *u* occurred under the influence of the adjacent labial sound *v* (? *β*). In Kashgari’s compendium, the word is already attested as *čawuš*. Clauson (1972: 399) did not use the signs F and D before the relevant entry, thus suggesting that he considered the word to be a simplex of T origin.

Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 35–38) paid special attention to the history and spread of this word. At the end of the entry, he did not reject the possible internal T etymology of the word, which had already been suggested by Vámbéry. According to his attempt, the word *čavïš* was a der fr the OT word *čab* ‘fame, good reputation’ (cf.

Clauson 1972: 393; *čav* 'ses (doğrusu at ve san)' (AIMI) and *čāv* '(ust.) slava' (Tkm)). In terms of phonetics and morphology, this etymology seems to be acceptable if we depart fr *čab+I-Xš* > *čabïš*. The only problem is that we do not know of an OT verb **čabï-*, *čavï-*. This does not pose a serious difficulty, since the OT corpus includes the ders *čavïk-* (Erdal 1991: 494) and *čavlan-*, *čavlaš-* (Erdal 1991: 576) and thus the verbal form **čavï-* can be reconstructed. The semantic side of the etymology, however, seems to have weaknesses. The word *čavïš* denoted a very high title in OT, a person who was the chief military officer, the army commander of the *kagan*. It cannot of course be ruled out that this honorary title may be etymologically related to a verb meaning 'to be or become famous', but this is not obvious. It is worth considering that the highest titles in T are mostly lws. The word occurs in two Sogd sources as *cp'š* (Gharib 1995: 128) and in 8th-c. Ch sources (Kara 2006: 109). But no Ir etymology has hitherto been put forward. The word has been copied into Pe, Kurd, Ar, Cauc lgs, Swahili etc. (Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 37–38). It has also been copied into H as *csaus* and *csausz* fr Ott (Kakuk 1973: 100–102).

The depreciation of earlier high titles is a well-known process. This is also documented in the case of this word. As we can see, *čavïš* denoted a very high officer in OT, but it sometimes occurs in MT, and then only with the meaning 'mace-bearer' or 'door-keeper', and it denotes 'under-officer' in the contemporary lgs. In Uzb and Tt one can even find it as the name of a kind of grape.

E/H The H word is a copy of a T form **čäüš*. It was Vámbéry (1870: 188) who first considered the H word *csősz* to be of Ott origin. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1190–1191) pointed out that H *csősz* cannot be an Ott lw in H for phonetic reasons and suggested that the word could have been borrowed into H fr Pech or Cum as a PN. They claimed that the copied form was **čäüš*. Kniezsa (1934: 105) accepted the Pech or Cum origin of the word, however, he thought that it was copied not only as a PN, but as a noun as well. According to him, its original meaning in H was 'királyi tárnok [royal treasurer]'. Kniezsa assumed that the copied form was **čäuš* (sic!) and the phonetic change *-äu-* > *-eü-* > *-ő-* was an internal H development. Mikos (1935: 166), Bárczi (1941: 46) and then Benkő (1967–1984/1: 567) have placed the H word in the middle layer of T elements in H and assumed with a borrowed form **čävüš* or **čäüš*. According to them, the unusual final *-sz* is due to the dissimilating effect of the initial *cs-*. Benkő was of the opinion that H *csősz* was originally the title of the keeper of the royal court. Ligeti (1979: 39–40; 1986: 124, 254–255) considered H *csősz* to be of Pech origin because there are some GNs in H that contain this word and they are attested in the sources which antedate the migration of the Cumans to the Carpathian Basin. Ligeti added that the category of T diphthongs → H long vowels is well-known in the corpus of "Bulgar–Khazarian" words in H. The T word was borrowed into H twice. The second borrowing resulted in the H word *csausz*.

Benkő (1993–1997/1: 232) accepted Ligeti's opinion. According to his later view, H *csősz*, with its early meaning 'vagiator, custos siluarum et pratorum; Feldhüter', may be of Pech origin. The back > front vowel shift had already occurred in T and the *-š* > *-s* sound change is due to an internal H phonetic change.

◆ Horvát 1833: 60; Vámbéry 1870: 188; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1190–1191; Kniezsa 1934: 105; Mikos 1935: 166; Bárczi 1941: 46; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 35–38; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 567; Bazin 1968: 243–252; Clauson 1972: 393, 399; Kakuk 1973: 100–102; Ligeti 1979: 39–40; Ligeti 1986: 90, 123–124, 253–255, 537, 542; Erdal 1991: 494, 576; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 232; Gharib 1995: 128; Kakuk 1996: 127–129; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99; Tietze 2002: 485; Kara 2006: 109.

CSÚNYA [čūńå] 'rough, coarse; ugly (1604); wild, unbridled (1763)' | 1221/1550 *czuna* [čunå] ? 'grob, roh', 1604 *czunya* [čuńå] | *čūńå* < **čuńa* < **čunaγ* ⟵ WOT **čunaγ* | MT *čunak*, *čonak* 'with ears cut'.

OT –; **MT** *čunaq* 'défectueux des cornes ou des oreilles' (AChag), *čunaq* 'qulaqlarï ve boynuzlarï ma'yub olan aybnak' (AChagŠS), *čunak* 'Tier mit fehlerhaften Ohren und Hörnern, verstümmelt' (AChagŠSK), *čonaq* '(čelovek) s otrezannym uhom' (ATuh), *čonaq* 'kulağı kesik' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** ? *čănkă* 'krutizna, krutoj, obryvistyj, otvesnyj, kruto, otvesno' (Chuv), ? *čănkă* 'krutoj, obryvistyj' (ChuvA), ? *čăngă* Szp. id. 'meredek; steil, jäh' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sonay* (*sonay kěšě*) 'čelovek s obrezannym (ili rvanym) uhom' (Bashk), ? *cuntïq* 'čulak; krivorukij; sakau; kosnojazyčnyj', ? *coŋġïr* 'čukrak; gluhoj' = *qolaqsïs* (SibTat), *čunay-* '(ob uhe) byt′ korotkim ili sil′no prižatym, (peren.) zlit′sja', *čunak* 'bezuhij, kornouhij, odnouhij, (peren.) ozornik, šalun (govoritsja v pohvalu), (peren.) bednjažka, nesčastnyj', *čunaŋ*: *kulagïn čunaŋ-čunaŋ ėttirip* '(o lošadi) prižimaja (svoi) uši' (Kirg), *šŭnaq* 'without ears', *šŭnti-* [šŭntiy] 'to have its tail docked (of horses etc.), to be made short, to become scanty' (Kaz), *šŭntiy-* 'sdelat′sja kucym' (KazM), *šunaq* 'bezuhij, odnouhij', *šunay-* 'byt′ korotkim, (peren.) imet′ žalkij vid', *šontïy-* 'imet′ vid korotkogo, kucego', *šontïq* 'korotkouhij (ob ovce, jagnenke)' (Kklp), *šontïk* 'kucyj (o životnyh s obrezannymi hvostami), kurtka, polupal′to' (Nog), *čontuq* 'kucyj, korotkij' (CrTat), *čontïq* 'obrezannyj, obrublennyj, otrublennyj, podrublennyj' (KarSh), *čontuq* '(dial.) kucyj, kurguzyj' (Kum), *čunaq* 'korotkouhij (ob ovce, koze i t. p.)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čonak* 'bespalyj' (Tkm), *čoynax* 'invalid, kaleka' (AzD), *çomu* (*comu*, *çomah*, *çomak*, *çomman* etc.) 'küçük kulaklı koyun veya keçi, boynuzsuz koyun, bodur, bacaksız, kısa boylu' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *činåq* 'kornouhij', ? *čŭltåq* 'kucyj, kurguzyj, (peren.) kucyj, nedostatočno polnyj, skomkannyj' (Uzb), *čunaq* 'a man or animal with ears cut' (TurkiJ), *čunâq* 'having lost an ear, one who has lost an ear' (TurkiSh), *čonaq* 'bezuhij' (MUyg); ***NE*** *čoltuk* 'kucyj, beshvostyj' (Alt), ? *čontïk*, *čoltïk* 'bezhvostyj, golyj (!); ohne Schwanz, schwanzlos' (AltTR), *čolduh* 'short' (FY), ? *šodugur*, *šoduŋ* 'beshvostyj (obyčno o lošadi)' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The Bashk, SibTat, Kirg, Kaz, KrchBlk, TurkiJ and TurkiSh data point to an etymological *-u-* in the first syllable, however Nog, CrTat, Tkm, Tt, MUyg, Alt, AltTR, FY and Tuv show an etymological *-o-*. In such cases one can reconstruct either **o* or **u* for PT, but a PT dial */o/, */u/ alternation is also possible. Moreover, one can imagine that half-closed labial vowels could exist in the PT vowel system.

Sorting the T words fr a semantic point of view, at least eight groups can be defined, namely (1) 'animals with cut ears or horns' (MT sources); (2) 'persons with cut or torn ears' (Bashk); (3) 'with wounded, improper ears, with only one ear (> 'miserable man)' (Kirg, Kaz); (4) 'animal with a cut tail or without a tail' (Nog, Alt, AltTR, Tuv); (5) 'cut, truncated, short' (KarC, CrTat, Kaz, FY); (6) 'man/animal with short ears' (KrchBlk, Uzb); (7) 'man or animal with cut ears or without ears' (TurkiJ, TurkiSh, MUyg); (8) 'without fingers' (Tkm). The second meaning of the AltTR word "golyj" occurs in the phrase *čoltïk agaš* 'ein Baum ohne Wipfel', thus the Grm translation 'schwanzlos' is not exact.

A morphological analysis of the words shows a base **čwn°*, in which the exact quality of the vowel cannot be defined. The noun may go back to a verbal base **čw-* and was formed with the dev suff *-Xn* (Erdal 1991: 300). According to the ders, we can see the following groups: (1) **čw-n+A-k* (MT, Kirg, Kaz, KrchBlk, Tkm, Uzb, TurkiJ, MUyg); (2) *čw-n+tIk* (SibTat, Nog, Kar, CrTat, Kum, AltTR); (3) with partial assimilation *čw-l+tIk* (Alt, AltTR, FY, Tuv). The Kirg verb *čunay-* may go back to an old form with the suff *+Ad-* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 485–492). SibTat *coŋgïr* 'čukrak, gluhoj' is a special form.

The possible etymological connection of the reconstructed base **čw°* to the base of the T word *čolak* 'one-armed' (see **csolák**) needs further investigation. In discussing the Kam word *šoltak* 'kurz', Joki (1952: 294–295) pointed out that T *čoltuk*, *šoltak* etc., meaning 'kurz, ohne Schwanz, stumpf etc.', may be etymologically interrelated with *čolak* 'verkrüppelt'. According to his explanation, *čolak* is a dev nominal fr *čol-*, and the forms *čoltuk*, *šoltak* go back to *čol-t-*, which is the fact form of *čol-*.

E/H The T etymon for the H word was *čunag* or *čonag* with typical WOT voicing of the final /k/. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1214–1215), the H word is of unknown origin. Fokos (1932: 110–116) considered the H word to be a T borrowing fr **čunak* '*defective'. According to him, fr this basic meaning one can explain the secondary senses of both T 'stumpy' and H 'ugly'. Bárczi (1941: 46) assumed an early copying fr T. Papp (1949: 99) saw no phonetic difficulties in the T origin of the H word. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 573; 1993–1997/1: 235) considered the H word to be of plausible OT origin and supposed the copied forms **čunak* or **čunaɣ*. The final *-a* is unusual, but see **csipa**, **dara**. In terms of semantics, Benkő reconstructed the following changes: '*deformed' > 'ugly' > 'harsh' > 'wild' > 'drastic, forceful'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *csúnya* among the T elements of H.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1214–1215; Fokos 1932: 110–116; Bárczi 1941: 46; Papp 1949: 99; Joki 1952: 294–295; Prohászka 1953: 199; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 573; Erdal 1991: 300, 337–338, 485–492; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 235.

CSŰR[1] [čűr] ‘to wind, to turn, to distrort, misinterpret, to spin a yarn’ | 1836 *tsűr-* [čűr] ‘to wind, to turn’, 1862 ‘to distort, to misinterpret’, 1864 ‘to spin a yarn’ | *čűr-* < **čevür-* ← WOT **čäwür-* | EOT *čävür-* ‘to turn’ || **csűr-csavar** [čűr-čåvår] ‘to distort, pervert, to wrap, to twist’ | 1602 *tsurtsauarásoc* [čűrčåvår-āšok], 1792 *tsürik tsavarják* [čűr-ik čåvår-yāk] | *čűr* + *čavar* || **csavar** [čåvår] ‘to turn, to steal’ | c1456 *chauar* [čåvår] ‘to wag (tail)’, dial *csever* [čever] | a secondary echo word to *čür-*, later independent || **csűr**[2] [čűr] *dial* ‘bobbin, spindle’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 937) | *čűr* < **čűri* < *čeviri* ← WOT **čäviri* < **čävir-* {with suff *-I*} | EOT **čävirgä* || **csőrel**, **csőrle**(**ni**), **csőröl**, **csűröl** [čőrel, čőrleni, čőröl, čűröl] ‘to wind the yarn onto the bobbin or spindle’ | (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 904–905) | *csőrel-*, *čőröl-*, *čűröl-* < *čűr* {with suff *+(V)l-*}.

OT ? *čäwiš* ‘Methode, Mittel’ (UTTVI 20), ? *čäβiš* ‘tour, astuce, artifice’ (UHamTouHou), *al-lïg̈ čäwiš-lig kiši-lär* ‘betrügerische (Hend.) Leute’ (UTTI 26), *čäviš* ‘Umwandlung’ (UUII 16:23), *čäwür-*: *är oq čäwürdi* ‘the man tested the arrow by turning it on his nail’ [The same for anything that you turn on the nail of your left thumb], also: *ol čïg̈rïnï čäwürdi* ‘he turned the pulley (or other)’ (AK), *čevril-* ‘to turn’ (AQB); **MT** *čevür-* ‘çevirmek, değiştirmek, döndürmek’ (AHMA), *čäwr-*, *čäwür-* ‘obracać, odwracać (twarz): tłumaczyć, przekładać’, *čäwrül-* ‘obracać się, być obracanym’, *čäwrä* ‘dookoła, wokół’ (AHŠ), *čävür-* (ǰ-, -f-) ‘otvoračivatʹ lico, obratitʹ, perevoditʹ’, *čävrä* (ǰ-) ‘krugom, vokrug’ (AHŠF), *čävir-* ‘okružatʹ, vertetʹ’ (AIM), *čevir-* ‘çevirmek’ (AIMI), *čavur-* (ǰ-) (r: *čävür-*) ‘otvoračivatʹsja’, *čävürül-* (ǰ-) ‘bytʹ oprokinutym, vozvraščatʹsja, bytʹ vozvraščennym’ (AM), *čew*(*ü*)*r-*, *čevür-* ‘çevir-, döndür-’ (ANeh), *čävür-* (ǰ-, -f-) ‘otvoračivatʹ lico, obratitʹ, perevoditʹ’ (ANehF), *čäwür-*: *arqa čäwür-* ‘to turn one’s back’ (ARbg), *čäwür-* ‘vraščatʹ, povoračivatʹ’, ? *čäwün-* ‘povoračivatʹsja, otvoračivatʹsja’, *čörä* ‘okrestnostʹ, okružnostʹ’ (ATef), *čawur-* ‘tourner, retourner’, *čäwrük* ‘tourbillon’ (AChag), *čavur-* ‘obratitʹ, okružitʹ’ (AChagBud), *čevür-* ‘otvoračivatʹ (lico)’ (AChagLN), *čavur-* ‘drehen’, *čävrä* ‘der Kreis, der Umkreis, der Umfang, die Umzäunung, die Peripherie, die Nahestehenden, die Günstlinge’ (AChagR), <ČYWWR-> (AChagS), *čėwür-* (spelt) Caus. f. ‘gardānīdan (to twist, turn (something))’ (AChagSC), *čawur-* ‘çevirmek, devirmek, döndürmek’ (AChagŠS), *čavur-* ‘drehen, umstürzen’, *čivra-* (?) (r: *čevrä-*) ‘drehen, umwenden’ (AChagŠSK), *čevir-* ‘drehen, umdrehen, unkehren, zurückkehren, umstürzen, umwenden, einen Gegenstand um einen andern drehen, umgeben, umhegen, umschliessen, umhüllen, verdrehen, verkehren, verwandeln’, *čewre* ‘Kreis, Umkreis, Umgebung, Umfang, Umschlagetuch’ (AChagZ), *čüvre* ‘Umkreis, umher, ringsum’

(LCCG), *čövür-*, *čövürü* (gerund) ‘drehen’, *čövrä* (çoura, zoura) ‘Umkreis, umher, ringsum’ (LCCI), *čevrün-* ‘çevrinmek, dolanmak, dönmek’ (AAHI), *čävir-* (š-) ‘forgat; drehen’ (AKav), *čävür-* ‘to turn, to rotate, to translate’, *čävrä* ‘around’, *čävril-* ‘to be turned’ (AMGh), *čävirči* ‘sapožnik’, *čävrün-* ‘vraščatʹsja, vertetʹsja’, *šävrün-* ‘vraščatʹsja, vertetʹsja’, *šävrän-* ‘bytʹ perevernutym, perevertyvatʹsja, bytʹ vyvernutym’ (ATuh), *čevirǰi* ‘pabuç çevirici’, *čevre-* (š-) ‘çevirmek’, *čevrün-* (š-), *čavrun-* ‘çevrilmek’, *čevren-* (š-) ‘çevrilmek, aktarılmak’, *šövrülmiš* ‘çevrilmiş’, *šövür-* ‘çevirmek’ (ATuhA), *čovur-* ‘circuler, tourner autour de, changer’ (AmTr), ? *čovra*: *oboz čovrasï* ‘vicinity, surroundings of the camp’ (AmCh), *čovra* ‘pourtour’ (AmE), *čevre* ‘etraf, muhit’, *čevir-* ‘idare etmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śavăr-* ‘krutitʹ, vertetʹ, vraščatʹ, kružitʹ, povoračivatʹ, povertyvatʹ, oboračivatʹ, obraščatʹ *kuda-l.*, zavoračivatʹ, povoračivatʹ [obratno], (peren.) povoračivatʹ, perevoditʹ razgovor, perevoračivatʹ, licevatʹ, vorošitʹ, mešatʹ, razmešivatʹ, kružitʹ (o vetre, vʹjuge), okružatʹ, ohvatyvatʹ etc.’, *śavra* ‘kruglyj, okruglyj, obščee nazvanie zakončennogo perioda reči, pesni – perevod zavisit ot haraktera zvukovogo perioda: kuplet, strofa, koleno, period (reči) i t.d., nebolʹšoj promežutok, nekotoroe vremja, krug, obʺezd etc.’ (Chuv), *śavăr-* ‘vertetʹ, vraščatʹ, perevertyvatʹ, navertyvatʹ, povernutʹ, zavernutʹ, etc.’ (ChuvA), *śavăr-* ‘fordítani, forgatni, göngyölni, esztergályozni; drehen, rollen, wickeln, drechseln’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čürä* ‘tirä, tiräse; vokrug, okolo’ (TatD), *čürä-čürä* ‘äylänep-äylänep; kružasʹ’, *cu̇̄r-* ‘äylänü; vertetʹsja krugom’, *čürä* ‘äylänä-tirä; vokrug, krugom’ (SibTat), *cürä* ‘vokrug, krugom’, *čürä* ‘vokrug, krug’ (SibTatBD), *čöyrö* ‘krug, sreda, okrestnostʹ’, *čöyrölö-* ‘dvigatʹsja vokrug kogo-čego-l., obstupatʹ so vseh storon’ (Kirg), ? *šu̇̄-* ‘to wind around (v. tr.)’ (Kaz), *šüyir-* ‘(dial.) krutitʹ, zapuskatʹ’, *šüyke* ‘čelnok (švejnoj mašiny)’ (Nog), *čevir-* ‘perevoračivatʹ’, *čevre* ‘okružnostʹ, okrestnostʹ, sreda’ (CrTat), *čėvir-* ‘otvergatʹ, otvoračivatʹ, povoračivatʹ, perevoračivatʹ, perelistyvatʹ, sovraščatʹ’, *čėvrė* ‘okružnostʹ, vokrug’ (KarSh), *civir-* ‘povoračivatʹ, prevraščatʹ’, *civrė* ‘krug, okružnostʹ, okruženie, sreda’ (KarH), *čüvrė* ‘okružnostʹ, krugom’ (KarC), *čʹuvrʹa* ‘(poslelog) vokrug, okolo’, *čʹuvʹur-* ‘vyvertyvatʹ, vyvinčivatʹ, vykručivatʹ, vyryvatʹ, menjatʹ, prevraščatʹ’ (KarT), *čüyür-* ‘zavoračivatʹ, zasučivatʹ, ottopyrivatʹ, vypjačivatʹ’, *čüyre* ‘naiznanku’ (Kum), *čüyre* ‘nevernyj, nesuraznyj, iznanka, naiznanku’, *čüyür-* ‘podvernutʹ čto’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čövre* ‘iznanka’, *čövür-* ‘vyvoračivatʹ, perevoračivatʹ naiznanku, podvoračivatʹ, podvertyvatʹ verh čego-l., perelicovyvatʹ, licevatʹ, perevoračivatʹ, perevertyvatʹ’ (Tkm), *čevrä* ‘okružnostʹ, kontur, očertanie, (mat.) periferija (okružnostʹ kruga)’, *čevir-* ‘povernutʹ, povoračivatʹ, perevoračivatʹ, oboračivatʹ, obraščatʹ, perevernutʹ, oprokidyvatʹ, prevraščatʹ, preobrazovatʹ, (ustar.) perevoditʹ (s odnogo jazyka na drugoj), perelicevatʹ, perelicovyvatʹ’ (Az), *çevir-* ‘to turn, turn round, to rotate, spin, to roast on the spit, to surround, encircle, enclose (with)’, *çevre* ‘surrounding, circle (of society) etc.’ (Tt), *çövür-* ‘ters çevirmek’, *çöyür-* ‘çevirmek, geri döndürmek’ (TtD1), *čevir-* ‘vraščatʹ, vertetʹ, krutitʹ, voročatʹ, povoračі-

vat′, svoračivat′, povoračivat′ kuda-l., napravljat′, ukazyvat′ napravlenie, zastavit′ vernut′sja, vorotit′, vozvratit′, perevoračivat′, perelistyvat′, iskažat′, izvraščat′, fal′sificirovat′, perevodit′ (na drugoj jazyk)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *čävir-* 'umdrehen' (Kh); ***SE*** *čörɛ*, *čö·rɛ*, *čö:rɛ*, *čöyɛ*, *čö·yɛ*, *čövrɛ* 'surroundings', *čörü-*, *čöyu-* 'to turn, to turn round, to circle, to move round, to turn round a spinning-wheel' (TurkiJ), *čâura* 'circuit, circumference', *čûwar-* (v. tr.) 'to throw over, to invert, to reverse, to turn over (entirely), to turn round (in to the opposite direction)' (TurkiSh), ? *čöra*, *čöre* 'okrestnost′' (TurkiL), *čörül-* 'sich drehen, sich umdrehen, sich herumdrehen, sich im Kreise drehen, rund herumgehen, untersucht werden', *čörü* 'der Umfang, der Rand' (TurkiTR), ? *čögü-* '(dial.) vraščat′, kružit′, vertet′, hodit′ krugom, vokrug', *čörül-* 'kružit′sja, vertet′sja, povoračivat′sja krugom' (MUyg), *čüvir-*, *čūr-*, *čuru-*, *čuvur-* 'perevodit′ (s odnogo jazyka na drugoj)', *čűr-*, *čör-* 'vyvertyvat′ na iznanku' (Sal), *čür-*, *cùxir-* 'tourner' (SalK), *šör-* 'perevoračivat′, vraščat′' (YUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T historical data seem to represent alternating forms with back and front vowels (*čävir-*, *čävür-* vs. *čavïr-*, *čavur-*), which is unusual in the T lgs and in many cases it only shows a misinterpretation of the form under investigation. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 424–425) provided a PT reconstruction **čebir-* 'to twist, turn, round' and claimed that it goes back to a PA form **č'ibe* 'to twist, turn'.

Forms in the ModT lgs are high vocalic except Chuv *śavăr-* and KarT *č′uv′ur-*, but both of them go back to a high vocalic form. In the second syllable of the T word, there was originally an *-I-* (**čAvIr-*), which was labialised under the influence of the consonant *-v-* (or *-w-*). In this process the suff *-Ur-* might have had an important role, having existed fr the OT period on; see Erdal (1991: 710–726).

It is important to note that the OT corpus contains some verbal forms (see *ägir-*, *äŋir-* 'to surround, encircle or besiege, spin or twirl thread', *kadïr-* 'to twist or turn back (tr.)', **tägir-* 'to surround', cf. Erdal 1991: 536, 537) which, like **čAvIr-*, are not transparent fr a morphological perspective and carry senses close to the meaning of the verb discussed here.

The petrified converb of the verb **čAvIr-* occurs with the meaning 'around', 'surroundings' etc. In some T lgs one can find forms contracted to monosyllabic ones; see Sal and YUyg. On the Cher words *savïraš-* and *säraš-* borrowed fr Chuv (see Fedotov 1996/2: 80).

The words *šüre* 'spulka, cevka' (Tat), *šüräkä* 'kätük (katuška, špul′ka)' (TatD2), *šüre*, *süre* 'katuška, spul′ka' (Bashk), *cür* 'šüre; špul′ka' (SibTat) are of VBulg origin. It is not VBulg **śürü* < WOT **jürüg* (EOT **yüzük*) ⟶ H **gyűrű**[2] (see Róna-Tas 1982: 139–140), but VBulg **śürä* < **čävrä* < WOT **čäviräg* < WOT **čävirgä*, EOT **čävirgä*; see *šű-* 'to wind around (v.tr.)' (Kaz), *šüyir-* '(dial.) krutit′, zapuskat′', *šüyke* 'čelnok (švejnoj mašiny)' (Nog) < **čüyke* < **čävirkä* < EOT **čävirgä* < **čävir-gA*.

E/H After earlier scholars, Vámbéry (1870: 135) connected the H verb *csavar-* with Tt *çevir-* 'to turn, turn round'. Gombocz first cited Chag *čawur-* 'drehen' (see Gombocz 1907a: 111), but later (Gombocz 1912b: 58–59) pointed out that the H form in the borrowing of the T verb *čawur-* would regularly be **csór-*, **csúr-*. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 893–894), the H verb *csavar-* is of probable T origin, but the history of the verb needs further investigation. Bárczi (1941: 37) considered the H verb *csavar-* to be of likely T origin. The noun *csavar* 'screw, bolt' was formed during a process of renewal in H and it goes back to the verb *csavar-*. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 581–582) considered H *csűr-*[1] and *csűr-csavar-* as a H development fr *csavar-*, which is, according to him (1967–1984/1: 488), of debated origin. It may be an internal H development like the pair of H *kavar-* and *kever-* 'to stir, to mix' with initial *č-*, but he did not exclude the possibility that it is an OT lw; further he stressed that if the H verb is an early T lw it would be **csór-* or **csúr-*. Abaffy (1973: 306) noted that H *csavar-* could be either tr or intr. According to Palló (1982: 63), it seems to be much more likely that H *csavar-* is a secondary form of *kavar-*. Ligeti (1986: 104) noted that one can only find phonetic difficulties in the borrowing of the T verb if it is an OChuv lw. However, the T origin of the H verb was not supported by Ligeti. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 195) claimed that the word is a der fr a fictitious stem of unknown origin.

According to Benkő, the constituent *csűr-*[1] in *csűr-csavar-* is an echo word of *csavar-*. However, in this case we would expect **csever-csavar-*, as in *kever-kavar-* 'to mix everything', fr *kavar-* 'to mix, to stir'. Benkő argued that *csűr-*[1] 'to wind, to turn, to distort, misinterpret, to spin a yarn' became secondarily independent fr *csűr-csavar-*. This is unlikely, because of the wide semantics of *csűr-*[1]. It is true that *csűr-*[1] is documented relatively late (1836), and *csűr-csavar-* is noted earlier (1602) than *csűr-*[1] while *csavar-* occurs even earlier, around 1456. This documentation would be important if the origin of the verb *csavar-* 'to turn' were clear. But if *csavar* is a secondary echo word to *csűr-*[1] and not vice versa, then the above chronology on the other words is of less importance. The verb *csavar-* was formed in the same way as dial *gyavar-* in *gyűr-gyavar-* 'to wring (wet clothes)' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 771), also cited by Benkő, and going back to **gyűr-**. It was not *csűr-*[1], but *csavar-* that became independent and this seems to have been very early.

The noun *csűr*[2] 'bobbin, spindle' has an independent origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 565; 1993–1997/1: 228, 231), the dial nouns *csür*, *csűr* are back-formations fr *csürlő*, *csűrlő* like words. *Csürlő*, *csörlő* themselves are secondary to dial *csől*, *csüll*, *csével*, which in turn go back to H *cső* < Sl *cev* 'bobbin, now: tube, pipe'. It is more simple to suppose that the noun *csőr* is the same T word which we find in the Volga–Ural–South Sib region (see above), and which is WOT **čävirgä* >

**čävirä* > H **čűri* > *čűr*. The verbs *csűröl-*, *csőről-* etc., are regular H inner ders fr *csűr-*[1].

The H verb *csór-* 'to steal' is, according to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 226), of Romani origin, and the Romani word was compared with OInd *caura* 'Dieb'. Benkő added that the homophonous H word *csór-* may have influenced its spread. According to Mayrhofer (1986–2001/1: 552), the origin of the OInd word is unclear, and it is perhaps a lw. H dial *csór-* 'to make a semicircle in the air with the hand (or with a scythe)' is the typical hand gesture for showing the act of stealing. The latter is a T lw fr *čavïr-*. Until the origin of the Romani word is finally cleared up, the relationship between it and the T lw in H cannot be clarified.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 135; Gombocz 1907a: 111; Gombocz 1912b: 58–59; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 893–894; Bárczi 1941: 37; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 35; Egorov 1964: 201–202; Károly 1966: 152, 158; Róna-Tas 1966: 329; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 488, 565, 581–582; Räsänen 1969: 102; Clauson 1972: 398; Abaffy 1973: 306; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 904–905, 937; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 771; Palló 1982: 63; Róna-Tas 1982: 139–140; Ligeti 1986: 104, 320; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 552; Erdal 1991: 536–537, 710–726; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 195, 226, 228, 231, 552; Fedotov 1996/2: 80–81; Tietze 2002: 501–502; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 424–425.

D

DAKSI [dåkši] *Cum dial* 'excellent; worthless' | *dakši* < **ǰakši* ← Cum **ǰakšï* | EOT *yaxšï* 'good, fine'.

Of Cum origin.

OT *yaqïš-*: *y*(*a*)*rlïqazunïn yavaš*(*ï*)*m birlä yaqïšïpan ad*(*ï*)*r*(*ï*)*lmal*(*ï*)*m* 'gnädiges Gebot mit meinem sanftmütigen Vereinigung erlangt habend, wollen wir nicht getrennt werden!' (UMII 8,17), *yaxši* 'good' (AK), *yaqšï* 'fair, well' (AQB); **MT** *yaqšï*, *yašqï* 'gut, geschicht' (UOg), *yaḫšï* 'iyi' (UYB), *yaqšï* 'bon' (UHy), *yaqšï* 'bon' (UHyS), *yaxšï* 'good' (AGul), *yaḫšï* 'iyi, güzel' (AHMA), *yaḫšï* 'dobry, dobrze' (AHŠ), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo' (AHŠF), *yaxšï* 'horošij' (AIM), *yaḫšï* 'iyi' (AIMI), *yaḫšï* 'good, fine' (AKD), *yaḫšï* 'good, fine, better' (AKor), *yäxšï* (r: *yaxšï*) 'horošij, horošo' (AM), *yaḫšï* 'yahşi, iyi, güzel, çok' (ANeh), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo' (ANehF), *yaxšï* 'horošij, horošo' (ATef), *yaḫšï* 'iyi' (AYC), *yaḫšï* 'bon, bien' (AChag), *yaxšïraq* 'jobb [better]' (AChagBL), *yaḫšï* 'good, fine, nice, beautiful' (AChagG), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj' (AChagLN), <YXŠY> (AChagS), *yaxšï* 'xūb wa nikū (good-looking, good)' (AChagSC), *yaxšï* 'güzel, iyi' (AChagŠS), *yaxši* 'güzel, eyi, nik; schön, gut' (AChagŠSK), *yaḫšï* 'gut' (AChagZ), *yaqši* (jakši), *yaxšï* 'gut' (LCCG), *yaqšï* 'gut' (LCCI), *yaqšï* 'iyi' (AAH), *yaxšï* 'yahşi, iğü, iyi' (AAHI), *yaḫšï*: *yaḫšï baq* 'regarde bien (avec attention)', *yaḫšï*: *yaḫšï išlä* 'travaille bien (avec application)', *yaḫšï* 'bon, beau' (ADur), *yaqšï* 'schön' (AHou), *yaḫšï* 'jó; gut' (AKav), *yaḫšï* 'good, well, beautiful, effective, graceful, proper, suitable, appropriate, properly, accurate, valuable, firmly, tightly, easily, very, freely' (AMGh), *yaqšï* 'horošij' (ATuh), *yaqšï* 'yahşı, güzel' (ATuhA), *iaxšï*, *iaxïšï*, *iaxši* 'bon, bien' (AmTr), *yaġši*, *yaxši* 'horošij' (AmD), *yaxšïlïx* 'goods, belongings' (AmCh), *yaḫšï*, *yaḫši* 'bon' (AmE), *yaḫšï*, *yaḫši*, *yaqšï* 'iyi, güzel', *yaqïš-*, *yaxïš-* 'yaklaşmak, meyletmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, slavnyj, priličnyj, horošo, dobro, slavno, priličnо, ladno' (Tat), *yakšï* 'jó, derekas; gut, tüchtig', ? *šakšï* 'csúnya, piszkos, tisztátalan; hässlich, garstig, schmutzig, unflätig' (← MChuv) (TatB), *yaqšï* '(v razn. znač.) horošij, horošo, (častica utverd.) horošo, ladno, horošo (ocenka)' (Bashk), *yaxšïlar* 'izgelär; svjatye', *yaqšïlaš-* 'kilešü, tatulašu; pomiriťsja' (SibTat), *yaqšï* 'horošij, horošo' (SibTatBD), *žakšï* 'horošo, horošij, (ust.) znatnyj (po rožděniju, po obščestvennomu ili imuščestvennomu položeniju)' (Kirg), *žaqsï* '(adj., adv.) good, well, beneficial, decent, (fig.) rich (abundant)' (Kaz), *žaqsï* 'horošij, dobryj' (KazM), *žaqsï* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo' (Kklp), *džaxsï*, *džaqsï* 'horošij, dobryj' (KklpB), *ǰaqsï* 'dobryj' (RKklp), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, slavnyj, prinjatnyj, priličnyj, horošo, prinjatno, horošij, dobryj, slavnyj čelovek' (Nog), *yaxšï* 'horošij, krasivyj' (CrTat), *yaksï* 'horošij, dobryj, prekrasnyj', *yaxsï* 'dobryj, horošij' (KarH), *yaxšï*

'horošij, dobryj, prekrasnyj' (KarC, KarT), *yakšï* 'horošij, dobryj, prekrasnyj' (KarT), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, slavnyj, (častica) horošo, ladno' (Kum), *džaxšï*, *axšï* 'horošij, horošo', *ašxï* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo, otlično, očen′ horošo' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yagšï* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo, lučše, značitel′nyj, osnovatel′nyj, značitel′no, osnovatel′no, (častica) horošo, ladno' (Tkm), *yaxšï* 'horošij, dobryj, blagoj, horošo, ladno' (Az), *yahşi* 'pretty, agreeable, good' (Tt), *yahşi*, *yakşı* 'horošij, krasivyj' (TtB), *yağşı* 'iyi, değerli, hatırlı kimselere verilen lâkap' (TtD), *yakïš-* 'godit′sja, podhodit′, byt′ vporu, sootvetstvovat′, podobat′, priličestvovat′, byt′ priličnym (dostojnym)' (Gag), *yaxšï*, *yaxši* 'gut' (Khor), *yaxči* 'gut' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yaxši* 'horošij, dobryj, slavnyj, priličnyj, horošo, lučše, značitel′nyj, osnovatel′nyj, horošen′ko, značitel′no, osnovatel′no, horošo, ladno' (Uzb), *yaxšï*, *yaqšï* 'good, nice, comfortable, excellent, beautiful, delicate, all right, well' (TurkiJ), *yaḫši* 'good, well' (TurkiSh), *yaqši* 'horošij', *yaxši* 'horošij, horošo' (TurkiL), *yaxši* 'horošij, dobryj, slavnyj, priličnyj' (MUyg), *yaxfa*, *yaxšař*, *yaxfar*, *yaxfara*, *yaxši*, *yaxfi* 'horošij, horošo' (Sal), *yaxši*, *yaxša*, *yax′ša* 'bon, beau, bien' [Pot. *yaxši*, *yakši*] (SalK), *yahši*, *yaxšï* 'horošij, horošo' (YUyg), *yaxšï* 'horošo, horošij' (YUygM); ***NE*** *d′akšï* 'dobro, dobryj, horošij, horošo' (Alt), *yaqšï* 'gut, schön, vortrefflich' (AltR), *yaqšï* 'gut, schön, vortrefflich' (AltLR), *čakšï*, *d′akšï*, *t′akšï* 'horošij, horošo' (AltQK), *d′akšï* 'dobro, horošij, horošo' (AltTK), *yaqšï* 'gut, schön, vortrefflich' (AltTelR), *čaxsï* 'dobro, blago, dobrota, dobryj, horošij, lučšij, horošo, lučše' (Khak), *čaqšï* 'gut, schön, vortrefflich' (KhakShR, KhakQchR), *ǰahšï* 'good' (FY); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for the H dial word has been attested in the sources since the Karakhanid period. As already mentioned by several scholars (see e.g. Joki (1952: 142–143); Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 174; 1952–1966/2: 100); Clauson (1972: 908); Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 63–64); Erdal (1991: 344); Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 458–459)), the T word *yakšï* is a der of the verb *yak-iš-* 'to draw near each other, to approach, draw near to one another', which is the co-op form of the verbal base *yak-*. The original meaning of the base could have been 'to approach, or be near to (something Dat.)' (cf. Clauson 1972: 896–897). Erdal (1991: 344) accepted Doerfer's opinion (1963–1975/4: 178–179) and pointed out that the der *yakšï* does not represent a gerund, but a dev nominal with the suff *-I*. The internal segment *-χš-* stems fr the spirantisation of the segment *-kš-*, which occurred as a result of syncopation (see e.g. Erdal 1991: 272, 344). As already stressed by Clauson, though all the authorities fr Kashgari to ATuh mainly use the same Ar words to translate both this word and *ädgü*, it is difficult to believe that they were originally synonymous. Clauson thinks that the original meaning of *yaxšï* was perhaps 'suitable, pleasing, good-looking', or the like.

E/H It was Mándoky (1993: 121–122) who first considered the H dial word to be of T origin. According to him, the copied form could be Cum *ǰakšï*, with the mean-

ing ‘good, well’. The word *daksi* is known nowadays, as pointed out by Mándoky, in almost all the settlements of Cumania Major in Hungary not only in the sense of ‘perfect, outstanding, very good’, but also with the opposite meaning ‘bad, worthless’, e.g. in H *daksi bunda* [dåkši bundå] ‘ragged fur-coat’. The H word shows the substitution Cum *ǰ-* ⟶ H *d-*, which is unusual; one would expect [d′] orth <gy>, i.e. **gyaksi*. The *d-* initial may be the result of avoiding the resemblance with the H dial word *gyak-* ‘to pierce, to fuck, copulate’. Ligeti did not discuss *daksi* among the T lws in H.

◆ Joki 1952: 142–143; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 174; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 100; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 178–179; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 553, 572; Räsänen 1969: 180; Clauson 1972: 896–897, 908; Šipova 1976: 434; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 63–64; Erdal 1991: 272, 344; Mándoky 1993: 121–122; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 458–459.

DAKU [dåku] *Cum dial* ‘a short fur coat’ | 1867 *dakujából* [dåku-yābōl] | *dåku* < **daku* ⟵ Cum **daku* (⟵ Mo *daku*) or Cum **ǰaku* | EOT *yaku* ‘raincoat’ ⟶ Mo.

Of Cum origin.

OT *yaġ-* ‘to rain’ (RTIrk), *yaġ-*: *yaġmur yaġdï* ‘es regnete’ (UTTI 5), *yaġ-*: *yaġmur yaġmïš täg* ‘als ob es regnete’ (UTTV A:107-108), *yaġ-* ‘to rain’, *yaġmur* ‘rain’ (UXuangzangIndex), *yaqu* ‘raincoat’. Its root form is *yāġqu*, which was lightened, *yaġ-* ‘to fall (of rain)’, *yaġmur*, *yamġur* ‘rain’ (AK), *yaġ-* ‘to rain’, *yaġmur* ‘rain’ (AQB); **MT** *yaɣ-* ‘tomber (la pluie)’, *yaɣmur* ‘pluie’ (UHy), *yaġ-* ‘to rain’, *yaġmur* ‘rain’ (AGul), *yaġ-* ‘(*yaġmur*) yağmak’, *yaġïn*, *yaġmur* ‘yağmur’ (AHMA), *yaġ-* ‘padać (o deszczu, śniegu etc.)’, *yaġdur-* ‘zsyłać (deszcz, śnieg itd.)’ (AHŠ), *yaġ-* ‘idti (ob osadkah)’, *yaġmur* ‘dožd′’ (AHŠF), *yaku* ‘çevrilmiş kürk’ (AIM, Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 283), *yaġ-* ‘akmak’, *yaqu* ‘çevrilmiş kürk’ (AIMI), *yaġmïr*, *yaġmur* ‘rain’, *yaġmurluq* = MMo *daqu* (AKD), *yaġmur* ‘rain’, *yaġtur-*, *yaġdur-* ‘to (cause to) rain’ (AKor), *yaġ-* ‘(yağmur) yağmak’ (ANeh), *yaġ-* ‘idti (ob osadkah)’, *yaġmur* ‘dožd′’ (ANehF), *yaġu* ‘fur coat’, *yaġïn*, *yaġmur*, *yamġur* ‘rain’ (ARbg), *yaġ-* ‘idti (o dožde, snege)’, *yaġmur* ‘dožd′’ (ATef), *daqu* ‘pelisse’, *yaġ-* ‘pleuvoir’, *yaġmur*, *yaġïn* ‘pluie’ (AChag), *yaġïn*, *yamġur* ‘yağmur’ (AChagAb), *yaġïn*, *yamġur* ‘yağmur’ (AChagAbA), *yamġur*, *yaġïn*, *yaġïš* ‘eső [rain]’ (AChagAbV), *yamġur* ‘dožd′’, *yaqïn* (sic!) id. (AChagB), *yaġdur-* ‘önteni, ömleszteni, hullatni [to pour, dump, let fall]’ (AChagBL), *daqu* ‘šuba, nadevaemaja noč′ju’, *yamġur*, *yaġïn* ‘dožd′’ (AChagBud), *yaġ-* ‘regnen’, *daqu* ‘ein Pelz mit den Haaren nach aussen’ (AChagR), <YAĠ-> (AChagS), *yaġ-* ‘barīdan (to rain)’ (AChagSC), *yaġ-* ‘nazl olmak, yokarıdan düşmek, yağmur, kar, dolu dökülmek; fallen, regnen, schneien, hageln’, *yaġïn* ‘yağış, baran, rahmet; Regen’, *yaġïš* ‘yağmur, baran, rahmet; Regen’ (AChagŠSK), *yaġ-* ‘regnen, fallen (wie Regen, Schnee, Nebel, Hagel, u.s.w.)’, *yaġmur* ‘Regen’, *daqu* ‘Pfeil ohne Feder, Schlaf-Pelz’ (AChagZ), *yav-* ‘regnen, schneien’, *yavdïr-* ‘regnen lassen’ (LCCG), *yaġ-* ‘regnen, schneien’ (LCCI), *yaġ-* ‘yağmak’, *yaġmur* – bugünkü manasında, Kïpč. *yaġmur* id. (AAH), *yaġmur*

'pluie' (ABul), *yamġur*, *yaġmur* 'pluie' (ADur), *yaġ-* 'regnen', Tkm. *yaġmur* 'Regen', Kipch. *yamġur* 'Regen' (AHou), *yaġmur*, *yamġur* 'eső; Regen' (AKav), *yamġur*, *yamġïr* 'rain' (AMGh), *yaġ-*, *yav-* 'idti (o dožde)' (ATuh, Tkm), *yaġmur* 'pluie' (AmE), *yaġïš* 'yağmur' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śu-* 'idti, liť, padať (ob osadkah)', *śumăr* 'dožď, doždik, liven', doždevoj, livnevyj' (Chuv), *śu-*, *śăv-* 'idti, padať (o snege, dožde, grade)', *śumăr*, *śomăr*, *šămăr* 'dožď'' (ChuvA), *śăv-* 'esik; es regnet', *śămăr*, Szp. *śŏmŏr*, Ucsebn. *śumăr* 'eső; Regen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yav-* 'idti, padať (o dožde, snege), leteť tučej, gustoj massoj (o puljah, snarjadah)' (Tat), *yawïn* 'yaŋgïr; dožď'' (TatD2), *yau-* 'esni (hó, eső, jég); fallen (von Regen, Schnee, Hagel)' (TatB), *yauïm*, *yauïn* 'osadki' (Bashk), *yaġï* 'ėče-tïšï mextan tegelgän tun; doha', *yauïn* 'yavïm-tösem, yaŋgïr, kar; osadki, dožď'' (SibTat), *yaŋġïr* 'dožď'', *yaŭ-* 'idti, padať (ob atmosfernyh osadkah)', *yä-* 'idti (o snege)' (SibTatBD), *yaġï* 'ein Pelz, der mit dem Felle nach aussen getragen wird' (SibTatBR), *dakï* 'kurtočka iz teljač'ej škury s korotkimi rukavami, žerebkovaja doha', *dākï* 'vesennjaja šerstť (ešče ne vylinjavšaja), žerebkovaja doha, (peren.) lohmoťja, kločja' (Kirg), *žau-* [žaw] 'to fall (of precipitation)', local SE *žaqï* 'winter colt-skin coat', *daxa*, local W *daqa* 'a kind of fur coat' (Kaz), *žau-* [žaw] 'idti (o dožde, snege, grade)', *žauïn*, *žaŋbïr* 'dožď'' (KazM), *žaw-* 'padať, idti (ob osadkah)' (Kklp), *džav-* 'padať, vypadať, idti (ob osadkah)', *džavun*, *žavun* 'dožď'' (KklpB), *ǰauïn*, *ǰamġïr* 'dožď'' (RKklp), *yav-* 'padať, idti (ob osadkah), (peren.) postupať v bolšom količestve (napr. o den'gah)' (Nog), *yaġ-* 'idti (o dožde i t. p.)', *yaġmur* 'dožď'' (CrTat), *yav-* 'idti (o dožde, snege i t.p.)' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *yavun*, *yangur* 'dožď'' (Kum), *džaŋur* (karač.) 'dožď, doždevoj', *džavum* (karač.) 'osadki, dožď'', *džavun* (balk.) 'osadki, dožď'', *džav-* 'idti, vypadať (ob osadkah)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yag-* 'idti, padať (ob osadkah), (peren.) sypať sja', *yagmïr* '(dial.) dožď, doždevoj, osadki', *yagïn* 'osadki' (Tkm), *yaġ-* 'idti, padať (ob atmosfernyh osadkah), sypať sverhu', *yaġmur* 'dožď'', *yaġïš* 'dožď, doždevoj' (Az), *yağ-* 'to rain, to be poured out in abundance', *yağmur* 'rain' (Tt), *yağmurluk* 'kaput, palto' (TtD), *yā-* 'idti (ob osadkah)', *yāmur* 'dožď'' (Gag), *yaɣïš*, *yaɣuš*, *yaɣụš*, *yaɣïš*, *yaɣiš*, *yāɣïš*, *yaġïš* 'Regen' (Khor), *yaɣ-* 'regnen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *yaɣ-* 'regnen', *yaɣïš* 'Regen' (Kh), *yaɣša-* 'regnen', *yaɣun*, *yaɣuš* 'Regen' (KhT); ***SE*** *yåġ-* 'idti, padať (ob atmosfernyh osadkah)', *yåġin* 'atmosfernye osadki' (Uzb), *yaɣ-*, *yaq-* 'to rain, to snow' (TurkiJ), *yaġdur-* (v. caus.) 'to cause to rain, to water (from above)' (TurkiSh), *yaġlïq* 'platok (voobšče), pelenki, platok na golovah ženščin', *daġu* 'nočnaja šuba' (TurkiL), *yaġ-* 'vypadať (ob osadkah)' (MUyg), *yaġ-* 'idti (ob osadkah)', *yaġmur*, *yaġmuř* 'dožď'' (Sal), *yaɣ-* 'il pleut' [Pot. *yag-*], *yaɣmur*, *yaɣmïr* 'pluie' (SalK), *yaġ-*: *yaġmïr yaġ-* 'idti doždju' (YUyg), *yaġ-* 'doždiť', *yaġmïr yaġ-* id. (YUygM); ***NE*** *ďā-* 'idti (o dožde, grade, snege)', *ďaka* 'doha' (Alt), *yaqqï* 'ein Pelz aus Rehfell, der mit den Haaren nach aussen getragen wird, ein Pelz mit Shawlkragen, gewöhnlich aus Murmeltierfell' (AltR), *čag-*, *ďag-* 'padať (o snege, dožde)' (AltQK), *ďaŋmïr* 'dožď'' (AltTK), *yaqqï*, *ďaqqï* 'ein Pelz aus Rehfell,

der mit den Haaren nach aussen getragen wird' (AltTelR), *čaġ-* 'idti (o snege, dožde)' (Khak), *čaxï* 'doha' (KhakB), *čā-* 'fallen (vom Regen)' (KhakShR, KhakSR, KhakQbR), *čag-* 'regnen' (KhakShR, KhakSR), *ǰā-* 'to rain', *namïr* 'rain' (FY), *čagï* 'doha', *čag-* 'padatʹ, idti', *ča˝s* 'dožd'' (Tuv), *čaġï* 'doha, tulup', *čaġ-* 'idti, vypadatʹ (ob osadkah)' (Tof); ***Y*** *samī̄r*, *sabī̄r* 'dožd'', ? *saġïnyax*, *saŋïnyax*, *saŋïyax*, *saŋïńax*, *sanïyax* 'daha, dlinnopolyj ženskij mehovoj kaftan, nadevaemyj šersťju', *sanayax* 'šuba, kaftan iz koži [škury]' [According to Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 61), T *yaġqu*, *yaqu* is perhaps interrelated with *saġïnńax* 'šuba mehom naružu', as previously proposed by Räsänen (1969: 180) with a question mark.] (Y), *hamïr*, *hamī̄r* 'Regen', *hanïyak* 'Damenjacke' (Dlg), ? *saŋïyax* 'Art Fellmantel' (DlgS).

Mo *daqu* 'coat with fur outside' (L).

E/T T *yaku* or its corresponding forms are represented in many sources such as AK, AIM (cited by Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 283), AChag, SibTat, SibTatBR, Kirg, Kaz, TurkiL, Alt, AltR, AltTelR, Tuv and Tof.

It is very interesting that the word only carries the sense 'raincoat' in Kashgari. In almost all other sources, it means 'a kind of fur coat' with hair on the outside – with the exception of some sources (see SibTat, KazSE). It is a well-known fact among the nomads that the coat is turned inside-out when it rains. Thus the meaning 'raincoat' in Kashgari is accurate. All the data with initial *d-* are re-borrowings fr Mo.

In the T linguistic literature, the base of the T word, which was borrowed into Mo and then re-borrowed by some T lgs, has, since Kashgari, traditionally been connected with the T verbal base *yag-* 'to rain' (on this base, see Clauson 1972: 898; Doerfer 1985: 37; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 57–58; Tenišev 2001: 25). According to Poppe (1960: 55) and Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 50), the T, Mo and Tu data (see e.g. Tu *yaku* 'Pelz, Pelzmantel', Mo *daku* id., Nan *daho* id.) are etymologically related to each other and may go back to an A base. Other scholars, e.g. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 283–284; 1985: 37), Clauson (1972: 898), Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 60–61), Ščerbak (1997: 121) and Tenišev (2001: 476), have pointed out, however, that the only compelling etymological explanation for the word *daku* lies in T and that the Mo word is an early T lw. This opinion was rejected by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 884; on their view see below) without any argumentation. Since the Mo word – via T? – was also borrowed by Rus (see *daha*, *doha* 'šuba, nadevaemaja mehom naružu', *doha* 'rod šuby iz sajgačeʹj škury mehom naružu' ← Mo (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 485, 532), it is no mean feat in some cases to decide whether the T word is an immediately re-borrowed form fr Mo or whether it occurs in T via Rus mediation.

According to Vasmer, Rus dial *jaga* 'škura žerebenka, šuba iz kozʹih škur mehom naružu', *jega* 'šuba iz meha kosuli' goes back to T *yaga* < *yaka* 'vorotnik' (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 7; 1964–1973/4: 543). But the final *-a* in the Rus item may be the result of system adjustment (*yagï* is like a pl).

Some details in the explanations offered by Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 284) and Clauson (1972: 898) can hardly be accepted. Namely, Doerfer presumed "frühbolgar. **daɣqu* (oder auch schon **daqqu*) ⟶ mo. *daqu*" and Clauson reconstructed **dag-ku* < **dag-gu* < **yag-* (? **dāg-*). According to Doerfer, the final segment of the base was assimilated by the initial segment of the suff, while Clauson thought that the first segment of the suff was dissimilated by the final segment of the base. Tenišev's explanation (2001: 476) is very strange: he assumed a dissimilation followed by an assimilation: *yagu* < **yaggu* < **yagku* < **yaggu* < **yag-* 'idti (o dožde, snege)'.

If the T etymon for the H word was a der of *yag-* 'to rain', its PT (? dial) form would have been **d´agV-*(*X*)*k-°gu* > **d´akku*. The OT caus form *yagït-* (see Clauson 1972: 899) shows us very clearly that the original verbal base consisted of two syllables. One can find the segmentation *yag-ït-* in Erdal's monograph (1991: 792). This segmentation can only be correct for OT, but not for the PT period. The reconstructed PT (? PT dial) verbal form **d´agV-*(*X*)*k-* fits perfectly in the small group of what Erdal (1991: 651) called "anti-transitive" words. He argued that these forms with the transparent suff -(*X*)*k-* are of relatively later origin and "-(*X*)*k-* appears to be a rejuvenated formative". This may be true, but this suff can also be reconstructed for the PT period. The suff *-gU* could be added to the verb **d´agV-* (*X*)*k-*. As regards the assumed phonetic changes **d´agV-*(*X*)*k-°gu* > **d´ag-Xk-°gu* > **d´akku* (⟶ Mo *daku*) > OT *yaku*, one must formulate a little too much hypothesis and one of the greatest problems is that we do not know of the verb **yagïk-*.

It must be noted that the traditional etymology was not preferred by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 884), who called it a folk etymology. According to them, PT **yaku* 'coat', PMo **daku* 'coat' and PTu **Ieku*, **Iaku* 'warm cotton trousers, deerskin footwear, slippers' may go back to PA **Ĺak'V* 'fur clothes'. They repudiated the T origin of the Mo word. However, their reconstruction cannot be accepted fr a Turcological point of view because it does not explain the gemination in the T words, which comes up in various T lgs.

E/H The H word is of Cum origin, whereas the Cum word *daku* is of Mo origin (see also **bóda**, **nyögér**). The Mo word is of early T origin.

According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1258) the origin of the H word is not clear: it has possible counterparts in Chag, Mo, Tu and Rus, but the immediate connection between these words and the H one seems to be impossible. It was Ligeti (1962: 148) who first considered the H word to be of T (Cum) origin. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 588) rejected the T etymology of the H dial word and considered it to be of unknown origin. The Cum origin of the H word was strengthened by Mándoky (1971: 367). According to Ligeti (1976a: 17; 1986: 236), this word is of Cum origin, but the Cum word was copied fr Mo and fr there it was borrowed by many lgs. The copied form for the H could be Cum *daku* 'fur coat'. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 242) accepted

Ligeti's position. According to Mándoky (1993: 122), one can surmise the Cum copied form **ǰaku*, which is less probable; in this case we would expect H **gyaku*, but see **daksi**.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1258; Ramstedt 1935: 72; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 50; Poppe 1960: 55; Ligeti 1962: 148; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 283–284; Egorov 1964: 216, 218; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 485, 532; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 7; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 543; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 588; Räsänen 1969: 180; Mándoky 1971: 367; Clauson 1972: 896, 898–899; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 192; Ligeti 1976a: 17; Doerfer 1985: 37; Ligeti 1986: 236, 318; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 57–58, 60–61; Erdal 1991: 651, 792; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 242; Mándoky 1993: 122; Fedotov 1996/2: 127–128, 135–136; Ščerbak 1997: 121; Tenišev 2001: 25, 453, 476; Bartha 2002: 59; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 884.

DARA [dårå] 'grist, groats, soft hail' | 1522 ? PN *Dara* [dårå], 1545 *semledarát* [žemledårā-t], dial *dera*, *dëra* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 949) | *dårå* < **dara* ⟵ WOT **tarï* or **darï* | EOT *tarïg* 'crops, millet, sowing' < *tarï-* 'to cultivate (the ground)' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}.

OT *tarïġ* 'crops' (RTIrk), *tarïγ* 'semence, lieu ensemence', *tarï-* 'disperser, semer, cultiver (un champs)' (UHamTouHou), *tarïg* 'Abstammung' (UHtI), *tarïq* 'Acker', *tarï-* 'bebauen' (UUII), *tarïγlaγ* 'Feld' (UHtII), *ï tarïġ* 'Saat' (UUII 61: 7), *ï tarïġ aslïġlar* 'die Saaten-Fresser' (ULeCoqSchriftk 14, 7), *tarïġ*: *ï tarïġ* 'Saat' (UTTIV B 6), *uruġ tarïġ* 'Saat, Nachkomme' (UTTVI 105, 454), *tarïg* 'Saat' (UTTVII 12:9), *ï taraγ* 'Arten Pflanzen' (M III 13, 62), *ï tarïġ* 'Gewächse' (MIII Nr. 23, Rückseite 3), *tarïġ* the generic word for 'cereal crops', *tarïġ* is 'wheat' according to most of the Turks, but 'millet' according to the Oġuz, this latter is wrong, they [i.e. Oġuz] call 'wheat' *ašlïq*, *tarï-* 'till', *tarïġlïġ yēr* 'land that is seeded', also 'granary', *tarïġlāġ* 'a sown field' (AK), *tarïġ* 'field', *tarï-* 'to sow', *tarïglaġ* 'field', *tarlaġ* 'field' (AQB), *tarïγ* (tārəg – tā r̲ g) 'Saat' (B K 4); **MT** *ḍarlaγu-sïz* [< **tarïglagusïz*] 'ackerlos' (UOg), *tarï-* 'ekmek', *tarïglïġ*, *tarïqlïq* 'tarla' (UY), *tarïγ* 'champ labouré', *tarïγučï* 'laboureur' (UHy), *tarïġ* 'Getreide, Weizen' (UCivEx 02:10), *tarï-* 'bebauen, kultivieren, bestellen' (UCivRH 13:11), *tarïġčï* 'cultivator', *tarlaġ* 'cultivation' (ABF), ? *ṭarī* 'fresh, green' (AGul), *tarï* 'ziarno, ziarenko', *tarï-* 'siać, zasiewać, uprawiać', *tarlaġ* 'pole, rola', *tarïġčï* 'siewca, rolnik' (AHŠ), *tarï* 'zerno, zernyško', *tarï-* 'sejat′, zaseivat′, vozdelivat′', ? *tar-* 'razveivat′, raspyljat′, rasseivat′, udaljat′, ustranjat′' (AHŠF), *dārū* 'wild millet' (AIM), *tarïġ* 'darı' (AIMI), *taru*, *ṭarïġ* 'pearl millet' (AKD), *tarïġčï* 'sower', *tarïglaġ* 'sown field, tillage' (AKor), *tarïġ* 'buğday, zahire' (ANeh), *tarïġ* 'hleb, zerno, proso' (ANehF), *tarïg* 'ripe grain': *ašlïq tarïg bolmïšda* (here *bol-* 'to ripen'), *tarïn* 'grain' (ARbg), *darïġ*, *tarïġ* 'posev, žatva', *tar-*, *tarï-* 'vozdelyvat′ zemlju, sejat′' (ATef), *tarï-* 'ekmek', *tarïglïq*, *tarïqlïq* 'tarla' (AYC), *tarïg*, *tarïq* 'millet, champ', *tarla* 'champ ensemencé' (AChag), *tar-* 'ekin ekmek', *tarïq* 'mezraa', *tarïġ* 'erzen [millet]' (AChagAb), *tar-* 'ekin ekmek', *tarïq* 'mezraa', *tarïg* 'erzen' (AChagAbA), *tarïg* 'köles [millet]', *tarïq* 'szántóföld [arable land]', *tar-* 'magot vet [to sow seeds]' (AChagAbV), *tarïg* 'proso'

(AChagB), *tarïġ* ‘proso’, *tar-* (sic!) ‘sejatʹ, zasejatʹ pole (kirgizy sejut proso i delajut iz nego rod kašicy)’ (AChagBud), *tari-* ‘ackern, säen’, *tariq* ‘das Ackerfeld’, *tarïġ* ‘die Hirse’ (AChagR), <TARYĠ> (AChagS), *tarïġ* ‘arzan (millet)’, *tarï-* ‘to scatter seed, sow’ (AChagSC), *tarïġ* ‘darı, erzen’ (AChagŠS), *tarïġ* ‘darı, erzen; Hirse’, *qara tarïġ* – Name einer Hirseart (AChagŠSK), *darï*, *daru* ‘Hirse, Heidekorn’, *tarla* ‘Acker, Saatfeld’, *tarïġ*, *tarïq* ‘Hirse’ (AChagZ), *tarï* ‘Hirse’ (LCCI), *tarï* ‘darı’ (AAH), *tarla* ‘(*tarı*, *tarığ*) yani tohum ekilen sürülmüş düz arazi’ (AAHI), *ṭaru* ‘mil, millet’ (ABul), *ḍarï* ‘mil, millet’ (ADur), *ṭarï* ‘Hirse’ (AHou), *ṭarï* ‘proso’ (ATuh), *tarï* ‘darı’ (ATuhA), *tarlov* ‘champ ensemencé, champ, terroir’ (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tĭră* ‘hleb i hleba, zerno, hlebnyj, zernovoj, posev i posevy’ (Chuv), *tĭr*, *tĭră* ‘hleb i pole’ (ChuvA), *tĭră*: *tĭrăpulă*, Szp. *tĭră* ‘gabona; Getreide, Korn’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tarï* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Tat), *tarï* ‘die Hirse’ (TatKR), *darï* ‘tarï; proso’ (TatD), *tarï* ‘köles; Hirse’ (TatB), *tarï* ‘proso, prosjanoj, pšeno, pšennyj’ (Bashk), *tarïq*, *taran* ‘tarï, proso’ (SibTat), *tarï* ‘proso’ (SibTatBD), *tarï* ‘die Hirse’ (SibTatTR), *tarï-* ‘(sev. redko) pahatʹ, sejatʹ, vozdelyvatʹ zemlju’, *tarïk* ‘(južn.) proso’, *tarū* ‘proso’ (Kirg), *tarï* ‘(bot.) millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), a dish prepared from millet (fried millet, but not kasha)’ (Kaz), *tarï* ‘proso, pšeno, kušanʹe, prigotovlennoe iz pšena (žarenoe pšeno, no ne kaša)’ (KazM), *tarï* ‘proso’ (Kklp), *tarï* ‘proso’ (KklpB), *tarï* ‘proso’ (RKklp), *tarï* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Nog), *tarï* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (CrTat), *darï*, *tarï* ‘proso’ (KarC, KarSh), *tari* (sic!) ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Kum), *tarï* ‘proso’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *darï* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Tkm), *darï* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Az), *darï* ‘suhoe (poroškoobraznoe) lekarstvo’ (AzD ← Pe), *darı* ‘millet, (prov.) maize, corn’ (Tt), *darı* ‘(bot.) proso (*Panicum*), (dial.) kukuruza’ (TtB), *darı* ‘mısır, mısır tanesi, darıya benzeyen, akdarı da denilen bir çeşit tahıl, mısıra benzeyen, tohumundan un yapılan bir bitki’ (TtD1), *darï* ‘proso’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tariq* ‘proso, prosjanoj’ (Uzb), *teri-*, *teyi-*, *tïrï-* ‘to cultivate, to grow, to plant, to sow’ (TurkiJ), *tari*, *tarïġ*, *tariq* ‘millet’, *tari-* (v. tr.) ‘to cultivate’, *tarim* ‘cultivated, that which has been cultivated’ (TurkiSh), *taiq* ‘proso’, *tayïq* ‘proso’, *tayï-* ‘vozdelyvatʹ, obrabatyvatʹ zemlju’, *tayi-* ‘vozdelyvatʹ zemlju’ (TurkiL), *teri-* ‘das Acker bebauen, säen’, *terik* ‘die Hirse’, *terik* ‘die Hirse’, *teri-* ‘das Acker bebauen, säen’ (TurkiTR), *tär-* ‘sejatʹ, sažatʹ (napr. ogorodnye kulʹtury)’, *teriq* ‘proso, pšeno’ (MUyg), *dar-*, *tar-* ‘sejatʹ, sažatʹ’, *tarïġ* ‘proso’ (YUyg), *tarïġ*, *darïx*, *tarïx* ‘proso’, *uruġ darïx* ‘rodstvennik’, *tarï-*, *taru-* ‘vozdelyvatʹ zemlju’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tarï-* ‘sejatʹ, nasaždatʹ’ (Alt), *tarï-* ‘ackern, beackern’ (AltR), *taru* ‘proso, krupa’ (AltQK), *tarū* ‘die Hirse’, *tarï-* ‘ackern, beackern’ (AltTelR), *tarï-* ‘sejatʹ’, *tarïġ* ‘posev, sev, posevnoj’ (Khak), *dari-* (sic!) ‘to plant’ (FY), *tarï-* ‘sejatʹ, sažatʹ, pahatʹ, delatʹ privivku, pahotnyj’ (Tuv), *tarï-* ‘sejatʹ (hleb), sažatʹ (ovošči)’, *tarïġ* ‘zlaki, kotorye seet čelovek, urožaj’ (Tof); ***Y*** ? *tarī*: *ilyä isäbin argïska ärä – urūnu urū kurduk, tarīnï tarī kurduk* ‘s soboju vedu ja (ėtu ženščinu) kak rodstvenniku – tolʹko sputnicej, rodstvennicu kak rodstvennicu’ (Y).

Mo *tari-* 'to sow, plant, to plough, to inoculate against infection, vaccinate', ? *tarig*: *urug tarig* 'distant relatives', *tariy-a* 'grain, corn, wheat, crop, field, farm, inoculation, vaccination', *tarimal* 'sown, planted' (L).

E/T T *tarïg* has been known since the OT period in the wide semantic field 'crop, cultivation, agriculture, cultivated land, grain, millet'. It is also present in Mo. According to Poppe (1960: 62), the T and Mo words may have the same PA origin. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 107; 1952–1966/2: 136; cf. also 1949: 113, 172, 268) added Tu and Kor data to this "PA word family"; cf. Kor *ṯiri-* 'urbar machen, bebauen', *kiṗ-ṯiri* 'a wet low paddy field' and Tu *tari-*. The Tu data were borrowed fr Mo and the Mo forms were copied fr T; see Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 244–245; 1963–1975/2: 480–482; 1985: 77; Tu *tari-*, *tarė-* 'säen', *tarigan* 'Brot' ← Mo *tari-* 'säen', *tariyan* 'Getreide', *tariyači* 'Ackerbauer' ← T *tarï-* 'säen', *tarïg* 'Saat', *tarïgčï* 'Ackerbauer').

The OT word *tarïg* is a der with *-(X)g* fr the verbal base *tarï-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 537–538; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 157; Erdal 1991: 206; Tenišev 2001: 456–457). As Clauson observed, *tarïg* could have had two basic meanings: (1) 'cultivated land' and (2) 'the produce from cultivated land'. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1356, 1438), this connection is debated. They hesitatingly separated the reconstructed forms PT **dạrɨ-g* 'millet; proso' and PT **Tari-* 'to cultivate (the ground); vozdelyvatʹ (zemlju)'. They compared **dạrɨ-g* with PTu **daragan* 'quitch, reed, cane; pyrej, kamyš', PMo **darki* 'brushwood; zarosli, valežnik' and PKor **tār* 'reed; trostnik' and, according to them, these forms may go back to PA **tăra* 'a kind of plant, reed'. This is one of the many cases in their work which must be rejected for semantic and other reasons. The comparison of PT **Tarɨ-* 'to cultivate (the ground); vozdelyvatʹ (zemlju)' with PMo **tariya-n* 'crops; zerno' and PJpn **tà* 'field (cultivated); pole (obrabotannoe)' < PA **t'i̯òra-* 'to cultivate (the earth)' shows internal contradictions and is not acceptable. One can, however, find some good explanations, in their entry as well. They considered WMo *tari-* 'to sow, plant' as a T borrowing and observed that AltD *tarān* is a Mo lw fr *tariyan*.

Doerfer (1982: 114) changed his earlier opinion on the etymology of *tarïg*. Accordingly, the T word may go back to a verbal base (*tar-* 'verstreuen') consisting of one syllable. The new etymology he proposed cannot possibly be correct. The verbal base of *tarïg* originally consisted of two syllables and the stem-final vowel on the base of MUyg verb *tär-* had to be an *-ï-* (as already stressed by Tenišev 2001: 465–467). The *-ä-* in MUyg *tär-* is the result of a secondary conditioned vowel shift fr *-a-* to *-ä-*, which is due to the influence of the original stem-final *-ï-*. Thus the MUyg verb *tär-* shows a secondary shortening of the etymological form *tarï-*. This shortening of the base also occurs in some other sources. Clauson (1972: 532) only cited the monosyllabic form (*tar-*) fr ATef, and he viewed it as erroneous. However, this form *tar-* also occurs as a secondarily shortened verb in other sources (AChagAb, AChagAbA,

AChagAbV, AChagBud). It must be added that the majority of these sources cannot be regarded as independent. We also have monosyllabic forms of this verb in YUyg. According to Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 157–159), the T word had the verbal base *tarï-*, *tara-*, which was not a simplex, but a den der fr **tar* '*posev', '*žniv´e', '*pole'. According to his reasoning, the reconstruction of this nominal may be based on the form *tarlag* (see **tarló**). The crucial point of this suggestion is unacceptable, because *tarlag* is a secondarily shortened form fr *tarï-g+lA-g*. Sevortjan's position nothwithstanding (1974–1980/3: 159), in the Qmd dial of Alt – as already mentioned above, see also Tenišev (2001: 456–457) – *tarān* and *taragan* are Mo re-borrowings. It is, however, very likely that the shortening of the vowel in the second syllable of *taran* is an internal Alt change. Based on Kashgari's view, Tenišev (2001: 456–457) thought that the meaning 'millet' could first have occured in the OOg dials. Tenišev's suggestion cannot be accepted, because Kashgari's description concerning the dial distribution of the forms and meanings is not plausible, nor can his position on this word be supported with the historical and contemporary data. Tenišev's discussion of the T word has other problems as well. The Bashk verb *tarïk-* 'neožidanno vstretit´' does not belong here. The supposed link between *tara-* 'to comb' and *tarï-* 'to plough' can be rejected without hesitation. Tenišev's argument that the semantic field in Mo also includes the meaning 'delat´ ukol, vpryskivanie, privivku' (cf. like the Tuv data) is not definitive, because – if it does belong here and is not merely a homophonous word – this meaning may also have been caused by a semantic change, namely it may go back to the basic meaning 'to produce crops'. See H *beolt-* in the senses 'to vaccinate' and 'to inoculate' as a semantic parallel. Finally, despite Tenišev's opinion, the T word family under investigation has no etymological connection with the T verb *tïra-* 'ryt´, kopat´'.

The forms with initial *d-* and the fact that *tarïglag* has not become **darla*, but *tarla* in the SW lgs, suggest that it is not necessary to presume that the T word was confused with Pe *dārū* 'medicine, drug' and hence 'gunpowder', as suggested by Clauson (1972: 532, 537–538). In some sources, one can find word forms with rounded word-final vowels; see e.g. AIM, AKD, AChagZ, ABul, Kirg, AltTelR. These forms may either go back to a word-final *-ïw* < **-ïg* segment or could have developed under the influence of Pe *dārū* referred to above.

It must be noted that the supposed basic meaning 'millet' of T *tarïg* is absent both in Chuv and in Mo.

E/H The H word is a relatively late copy of a T, perhaps Cum, form **darï*. The H forms *dara*, *dera* and *dëra* are the result of inner H changes.

H *dara* was seen by Vámbéry (1870: 138) to be of T origin; he compared the H word with its Chag and Tt counterparts. Gombocz (1912b: 68, 164–165, 172) and then Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1271–1273) supposed a T copied form **tarïγ*

and remarked that the T word could have changed to **taró* or **daró* in H and that H *dara* may be an internal secondary development fr these forms. However, there are only a few uncertain examples of the change in the initial **t-* > *d-* under the influence of the following consonant. For the H word-final **-ó* > *-a*, they point to **csúnya** and **káka**. Bárczi (1941: 48) saw *dara* as an early T lw. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 593) accepted the T origin (**tarïγ*) of the H word, but he did not rule out the possibility that it is also a later borrowing fr T and that it would not be necessary in this case to suppose the internal H change **t-* > *d-*. This second assumption can also be supported by the fact that *dara* only occurred in the H written sources relatively late in the 16th c. On the word-final short vowel, we can add **csipa** and **eke**. Ligeti (1986: 115–116, 122, 289) argued for the borrowing of a Kip (Cum) word **darï*. As he indicated, we do not know of any variant '*tara*' with initial *t-* in H – despite e.g. H *dörzsöl-* 'to rub', which shows variants with *t-* – and this fact makes it difficult to suppose a secondary internal H change **t-* > *d-*. Ligeti rightly pointed out that the final vowel *-a* in the H word may also stem fr a substitution of the T *-ï*; cf. **bicska** and **káka**. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 244) accepted Ligeti's arguments and changed his earlier view. He suggested the H word to be of Cum origin and assumed the possible copied forms **darï* or **tarï*.

◆ Beregszászi 1796: 118; Vámbéry 1870: 138; Gombocz 1912b: 12, 68, 164–165, 172; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1271–1273; Ramstedt 1935: 380; Bárczi 1941: 48; Ramstedt 1949: 113, 172, 268; Joki 1952: 314–316; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 107; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 136; Poppe 1960: 62; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 244–245; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 480–482; Egorov 1964: 268; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 593; Räsänen 1969: 464; Clauson 1972: 532, 537–538; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 157–159; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 949; Doerfer 1982: 114; Doerfer 1985: 77; Ligeti 1986: 43, 115–116, 122, 201, 287, 289, 542; Erdal 1991: 206; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 244; Fedotov 1996/2: 268; Ščerbak 1997: 153; Tenišev 2001: 456–457, 465–467; Tietze 2002: 563; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1356, 1438.

DÉL [dēl] 'noon, south' | [1237–1240] ? PN *Dele* [dēl-e], c1405 *del* [dēl], 1536 *deelÿ* [dēl-ī], 1549/1554–1555 *dȯl* [dȭl] | *dēl* < **töli*, *döli* ← WOT **tüli* or **düli* ← WOT **tülči* | EOT *tüš* 'midday, noon'.

OT *tüš* 'Zeit' (UBT III), *tüš* 'place or time of a halt', hence *tüš ȫ̱di* 'time to halt', *tȗš ȫ̄di* 'Siesta time' (AK), *tüšün* 'public inn, caravan-stop, caravanserai, inn' (AQB), *anïŋda narusï näčä tüš tün ol* 'and beyond that so many daytime and nighttime halts' (AQB; Dankoff 1983: 158, perhaps more correctly 'so many noons and midnights'); **MT** *tüš* 'öğle (vakti)' (AHMA), *tüš* 'midday', *kün tüš erdi* 'it was midday', *tüšlä-*, *tüšlän-* 'to have a midday rest' (ARbg), *mänzildin mänzilkä tüšä qopa barur ärdilär* 's ostanovki na ostanovku šli oni, ostanavlivajas´ i podnimajas´' (ATef), *tüš* 'heure de midi, sud' (AChag), *tüš* 'kaba kuşluk vaktine dirler ki kün kızmağa başlaya' (AChagAb, AChagAbA), *tüš* 'storona, mesto, polden´, vremja obeda', *tüšlük* 'udobnoe mesto, vygodnaja storona' (AChagBud), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (AChagR), <TWŠ> (AChagS), *tüš* 'nīm rūz wa waqt-i ẓuhr (midday, noon)' (AChagSC), *tüš*

'vaqti zuhr' (AChagŠS), *tüš* 'vakti zuhr; Mittagszeit' (AChagŠSK), *tüš* 'Mittag, Mittagszeit, heller Tag', *tüš* 'Mittag' (LCCI, corrected by a German hand), its meaning is part of a somewhat confused listing, the actual meaning being 'nona', i.e. 3 o'clock PM, *düşlen-* 'bir mahalle yönel-, teveccüh et-' (AAHI), *düš* 'Mittag' (AHou), *süri tüš* 'polden′' (ATuh), *süri tüš* 'öğle vakti' (ATuhA), *tuš* 'midi' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tĕl* 'mesto, mestonahoždenie, mestoraspoloženie, mestoprebyvanie, mestnost′, rajon, okruga, otryvok, otrezok, mesto, vremja, moment i.t.d.' (Chuv), *tĕl* 'opredelennoe mesto, slučaj, tolk, special′nost′, priznak, vremja' (ChuvA), *tĕl*, Szp. *tŏl* 'hely, értelem; Stelle, Platz, Sinn' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *töš* 'polden′, vremja obeda, ? mesto' (Tat), *töšlök* 'töš vakïtï; polden′' (TatD), *töš*: *töš köne* minz. 'töš vakïtï; polden′, vremja obeda' (TatD2), *töš* 'dél; Mittag' (TatB), *töš* 'polden′, vremja obeda' (Bashk), *töšlök* 'zenit; kön′yäk, jug' (SibTat), *tüšin* 'ostanovka v puti, prival', *tüšlän-* 'ostanavlivat′sja (na prival)' (SibTatBD), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (SibTatTR), *tüš* 'polden′' (Kirg), *tüs* 'hillside, noon' (Kaz), *tüs* 'polden′' (KazM), *tüs* 'polden′' (Kklp), *tüs* 'polden′' (KklpB), *tüs vaqït*, *tal-tüs* 'polden′' (RKklp), *tüs* 'polden′, vremja obeda' (Nog), *tis* 'polden′' (KarH), *tüš* 'polden′, jug' (KarC), *t′uš′* 'polden′' (KarT), *tüš* 'polden′' (Kum), *tüš* 'polden′, jug' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *düšlem* 'pereryv (vo vremja raboti na pole i.t.p.)', *düslem vagtï* 'prival, ostanovka' (Tkm), *düş*: *düş konak ol-* 'uzun müddet oturup misafir olmak' (TtD), *düš* 'öğle vakti' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tuš* 'polden′, poludennyj' (Uzb), *tüš* 'noon, midday' (TurkiJ), *tüš* 'mid-day' (TurkiSh), *tüš* 'polden′' (TurkiL), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (TurkiTR); *tüš*, *čüš* 'obedennoe vremja, polden′' (MUyg); ***NE*** *tüš* 'polden′' (Alt), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (AltR), *tüštük* 'mittaglich, südlich, der halbe Tag, der Mittag, der Süden' (AltLR), *tüš* 'polden′' (AltQK), *tüš* 'polden′' (AltTK), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (AltTelR), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (KhakQchR, KhakShR), *düš* 'midday' (FY), *tüš* 'der Mittag, der Süden' (ChulR), *dü″š* 'polden′, obedennoe vremja, obed' (Tuv), *düš*, *tüš* 'polden′' (Tof); ***Y*** *tüsük* 'podhodjaščee mesto dlja ostanovki', *tüsülgä* 'stanovišče, stojbišče, mesto (obširnoe pole) dlja sbora na kumysnyj prazdnik, pričem stavjat bol′šija posudy s kumysom, poljana dlja otdyha zvanyh gostej, častyj tyn iz berezok, ustraivaemyj vo vremja svad′by, sobranie ljudej, pišča, ugoščenie, pri ėtom i židkaja pišča (kumys, sora s maslom), čan, žban' (Y).

Mo *düli* 'half, middle, middle of the day or night, noon, midnight, middling, mediocre, average, halfway, partly' (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 559) accepted Kashgari's opinion and connected the T noun *tüš* 'place or time of a halt' with the T verb *tüš-* 'get off (a horse)', suggesting the existence of an old nomen-verbum. On the verb *tüš-*, see **dől**. Clauson thought that the original meaning of the noun could have been 'a halt on a journey' and "thence, since a halt is normally made at midday, it came, via phrase such as **tüš ōḍī* 'the time to halt', to mean 'midday'". Ligeti (1977–1979/1: 304–305; 1986: 17) agreed with Clauson's explanation and added that Mo *düli* 'half, middle, middle of the day or

night, noon, midnight, middling, mediocre, average, halfway, partly' and Tu *dulin* id. cannot belong to the T words. Doerfer (1985: 20) considered the Tu word *dulin* to be of Mo origin; cf. Mo *düli* 'Hälfte, Mitte', *duli* 'Durchschnitt'. He did not mention the possible T origin of these Mo words. Erdal (1991: 264; 2004: 124) pointed out that the T word *tüš* 'place or time of a halt', therefore sometimes 'midday' – despite Clauson's view – is a secondary shortened der fr the verb *tüš-*. The noun was formed with the suff *-Xš*. The change *tüš* < **tüš-üš* can be explained by haplology. Tenišev (2001: 78–79) reconstructed PT **dül′* 'polden′'. He did not accept Clauson's position and made no mention of Erdal's reasoning. He tied Mo *düli* 'seredina (dnja, noči)' and Tu **dōlō* 'jasnyj (o nebe)' to the reconstructed PT form, which ultimately may, according to him, go back to a PA form **dūl′i* 'žara, žarkij den′'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1384–1385) discussed *tüš* (< PT **dül′* 'noon; polden′') and *tüš-* (< PT **dül′-* 'to fall, move down; padat′, dvigat′sja vniz') under separate entries and they reconstructed a PA form with the phonetic shape **tŭ̯l̆e* for both of them. Concerning the T noun, they supposed an etymological connection with PTu **dōlā* 'clear, open sky; jasnyj (o nebe)' and PMo **düli* 'middle (of the day or night); seredina (dnja, noči)'. Ligeti notwithstanding, the Mo form cannot be excluded fr the investigation. It may be an early T lw in Mo.

According to Róna-Tas, T *tüš* 'midday, noon, half of the day, south' may be independent fr *tüš-* 'to fall, to move down', on which, see **dől**. The idea that this is 'a place where one dismounts, to have a rest, the time and place of encampment' goes back to one of Kashgari's frequent folk etymologies. The idea came fr the Ar verb *nazala* 'to move down, to fall, to dismount etc.' correctly attributed to *tüš-*. The translation of *tüš* as 'manzil, waqt an-nuzūl' using the forms with the same Ar root, gave Kashgari the idea to link the two T words. The basic meaning of the verb *tüš-* is 'to fall, to move downwards', e.g. fr a wall (*är tamdïn tüšdi* 'the man fell from the wall') and also fr a horse, and can thus refer to anything that falls fr a place. It occurs in a proverb: *ēwäk siŋāk sūtkä tüšūr* 'the hasty gnat falls in the milk'. It also occurs in a poem, *tägrä awïp ägrälim / attïn tüšüp yügrālim / arslanlayu kökrälim / kūči anïn käwilsūn* "We'll surround the enemy, / We'll get down from our horses and advance on foot, / We'll roar like lions / That the enemy's strength become week thereby" (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 394). There is not even a hint here of settling down, encamping or making a halt – and definitely not at noon. T *tüš* had the original meaning 'the marked place, the marked places of the circle of the day, i.e. noon and midnight'. This must be translated in the *Qutadgu Bilig* (3605): *anïŋda narusï näčä tüš tün ol* 'and beyond that so many noons and midnights' (AQB, Dankoff 1983: 158; 'daytime and nighttime halts'). The original meaning is preserved in Chuv dials in the expression *xĕvĕl tŏlĕ śitne* 'midday-time, *lit* the sun came to its place', in which one can find the almost exact equivalent in Rabguzi: *kün tüš erdi* 'it was midday'.

On Chuv *tŏlĕ*, *tĕlĕ* with Px3.Sg., see Róna-Tas (1967: 173). It is impossible to separate T *tüš*, Chuv *tŏl*, *tĕl* and Mo *düli*. Though Erdal's suggestion (1991: 264), *tüš* < **tüšüš* < **tüš-Xš* would be morphologically and phonetically possible, it fails to explain the Chuv semantics and the Mo *-i* in *düli*. In all probability, this is a simplex. The PT form was **tüšĭ* > WOT **tülčĭ* > **tülĭ* (→ Mo *düli*) > Chuv *tĕl*(*ĕ*).

E/H The H word is a copy of WOT **düli* 'noon, south'. As noted by Gombocz (1912b: 20), the H word was thought to be a T lw as early as Fábián (1861). Although Vámbéry (1870: 139) regarded the H word to be of T origin, he based his opinion on T data which have no connection with the H word. Gombocz (1912b: 68; 1917: 100–101) reconstructed an OChuv form **dül´* for H *dél*, which was repeated in a slightly different form by Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1303–1305), who proceeded fr a BulgT **dül*, which have occured in H as **dil*. The phonetic changes **dil* > *dël* > *dél* are therefore internal H developments. Gombocz's position was generally accepted in the H linguistic literature; see e.g. Ligeti (1935a: 214–215); Bárczi (1941: 49); Benkő (1967–1984/1: 606–607). Róna-Tas (1967: 173) called attention to the Chuv phrase *xĕvĕl tŏlĕ śitne* 'midday-time (the time of the sun came)'. Ligeti (1977–1979/1: 304–305) claimed that the initial **d-* of the supposed T copied form may be seen as an OChuv phonetic feature. Palló (1982: 66–67), however, reconstructed a BulgT copied form with an initial unvoiced *t-*, **tül*(-), being the BulgT counterpart of a CT nomen-verbum, and she erroneously claimed that it may be the source not only for H *dél*, but also for the base of the H verb *telepedik-* 'to settle down'. Ligeti (1986: 17, 199) reconstructed the T copied form as **dül*, but he added that the initial *d-* in H needs further investigation. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 250) believed *dél* to be of OChuv origin and tied it to the T etymon for H **dől**. The initial *d-* in T shows, according to him, an OT dial feature. It is of importance that *d-* appears not only in the SW T lgs, but also in Tuv and Mo.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 139; Gombocz 1912b: 20, 68; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1303–1305; Gombocz 1917: 100–101; Ligeti 1935a: 214–215; Bárczi 1941: 49; Joki 1952: 346–347; Egorov 1964: 245; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 606–607; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Räsänen 1969: 507; Ščerbak 1970: 198; Clauson 1972: 559; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 215; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 304–305; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 394; Palló 1982: 66–67; Dankoff 1983: 158; Doerfer 1985: 20; Ligeti 1986: 16–17, 50, 84, 118, 184, 199, 203, 526; Erdal 1991: 264; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 250; Fedotov 1996/2: 214; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 305–308; Tenišev 2001: 78–79; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1384–1385; Erdal 2004: 124.

DIÓ [diō] 'nut; walnut, *Juglans*', **gyió** [d´iō] id., **gyivó** [d´ivō] *dial* id. (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 982–983) | c1200 GN *Gyoyg* [d´o-id´], 1221/1550 GN *Gyad* [d´å-d], 1264 *gyofa* [d´o-få], 1307 GN *Dyozeg* [d´o-seg], 1536 *dÿio* [diyō] | *diō* < **ǰiwo* < **ǰiγaų̯* < **ǰiγaγ* ← WOT **ǰïγaγ*, *ǰȧγaγ* | EOT *yagak*, *yaŋak*, *yïŋak* id.

OT *yaġaq* 'nut' (RTIrk), *yaġaq* 'nut' (UPfhal, Clauson 1972: 900), *yïngaq* 'Nuß' (UUigTot), *yaġāq* 'walnut' (AK); **MT** *yïngaq* 'noix' (UHy), *yaġaq* 'Walnuß' (UCivWP

03:5), *yaġaq* ‘walnut’ (cf. Mo *ǰaġaq* id.) (AKD), *yaŋaq* ‘nut’ (ARbg), *yaŋaq*, *yaŋaġ* ‘noix, noix de coco’ (AChag), *yaŋaq*, *yaŋaġ* ‘ceviz’ (AChagAb), *yaŋaq*, *yaŋaġ* ‘ceviz’ (AChagAbA), *yangaġ* ‘oreh’ (AChagB), *yanġaq* ‘greckij oreh’ (AChagBud), *ǰïɣaq* ‘nazvanie rastenija’ (AChagMA), *yaŋaq* ‘die Nuss, Kokusnuss’ (AChagR), <YNAQ / YNKAĠ> (AChagS), *yanaq*, *yaŋaġ* ‘ǰawz (nut)’ (AChagSC), *yanqaġ* ‘ceviz, koz’ (AChagŠS), *yankaɣ* ‘ceviz, koz; Nusse’ (AChagŠSK), *yaŋaq*, *yangaq* ‘Nuss, Muskatnuss’, *yangaġ* ‘Nuss, Kokosnuss’ (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *ǰaŋġaq* ‘oreh’ (TatD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 59), *yaŋaq* ‘kuzï čiklävege; greckij oreh’ (TatD2), *yaŋaq* ‘Astraxan′ čiklävege; greckij oreh’ (SibTat), *žaŋgak* ‘greckij oreh, (sev.) korobočka hlopka’ (Kirg), *žaŋġaq* ‘nut’ (Kaz), *žaŋġaq* ‘greckij oreh’ (KazM), *žaŋġaq* ‘greckij oreh’ (Kklp); ***SW*** *yaŋaq* (TkmD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 59), *yangak* ‘ceviz’ (TtD), *yaŋġaq* ‘oreh’ (TtD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 59); ***Kh*** *yaɣāq*, *yuɣāq* ‘Nuß, Walnuß’ (Kh), *yaɣāq* ‘Walnuß’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yånġåq* ‘oreh, greckij oreh (derevo i plod)’ (Uzb), *yaŋaq*, *yaŋɣaq* ‘walnut’ (TurkiJ), *yangâq* ‘a walnut’ (TurkiSh), *yaŋaq* ‘greckij oreh, oreh’ (MUyg), *yaŋaq* ‘oreh’ (MUygMHot), *yaŋġaq* ‘oreh’ (MUygMTur); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰi’aq* ‘noix’ (ChHy; Ligeti 1986: 21), *ǰaġaq* ‘walnut’ (AKD), *džiaġ* ‘noix’ (Mngr), *yaŋġaġ* ‘Walnuss’ (Kalm ⟵ T).

E/T The alternations of *-a-* vs. *-ï-* (first syllable) and *-g-* vs. *-ŋ-* (internal) in the T word meaning ‘nut, walnut’ can already be seen in the OT sources. The majority of the MT sources contain *-a-* and *-ŋ-*, but see the exceptions *yagak* (AKD), *yanak*, *yaŋag* (AChagSC) and *ǰïgak* (AChagMA). This latter form, however, has the meaning ‘a kind of plant’, thus it is questionable whether it also belongs here. The word is widespread in the NW and SE branches of the T lgs, but its occurrence is sporadic otherwise; see e.g. TtD *yangak* ‘ceviz’ and Kh *yagāk* ‘Nuß, Walnuß’. The Kh word *yugāk* is not an aberrant item, as the vowel *-u-* in Kh may represent an older *-ï-*. Since the word is absent fr Az, it may be an original Kh form and not a borrowing. If this is the case its short vowel in the first syllable may show that the T vowel was etymologically a short one. The known etymologies of the T words in question are not convincing. According to Bang (1925a: 15), the T word may be a der fr *yag* ‘butter, fat’. This etymological proposal, which was not rejected by Levitskaja, however, does not explain the appearance of the *-ŋ-* sound and overlooks the fact that the vowel in **yāg* ‘butter’ was originally a long one. On the basis of the item *yagak*, we cannot presume an etymological long vowel. Clauson (1972: 900) hesitatingly proposed that the word may be a dev noun fr T *yag-* ‘to pour’ and in this case *yagak* would originally have meant ‘something which pours down (from trees)’. This suggestion, as he himself noted, seems to be very improbable. Indeed, there are not only semantic problems with it, but the same phonetic problem concerning the internal *-ŋ-* ~ *-g-* alternation as those of Bang. The T word also has other internal T etymologies, but none of them can be regarded as a possible solution. Ramstedt

(1952–1966/1: 75) compared the T word with Tu *naŋ-ta* ‘Zembranusszapfen’, *naŋ-ta-kan* ‘Zembranuss’, which cannot be accepted because of phonetic problems. The PA reconstruction by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1006), as **ńaŋo* ‘nut’, also seems lacking as a solution. If the T word has an internal T etymology, one can suppose an original old form **yan-gAk* or **yan+gak* fr a hypothetical stem **yan°*. It is also possible that the vowel in the first syllable was etymologically not an *-a-*, but an *-ï-*, or the word may be of foreign origin.

E/H The H word is a copy of T **ǰïɣaɣ*. It was Munkácsi (1903: 256) who first considered the H word to be of T origin, although his etymology was based on T data which cannot possibly belong here. Later, Munkácsi (1908b: 294) proposed another T etymology for *dió* and this proposal was based on the correct data. According to Gombocz (1912b: 215) and then Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1360–1361), there are phonetic difficulties with the T etymology. Under the pseudonym János Török (1926–1932: 238), Gy. Németh argued in favour of the BulgT etymology of the word and his opinion was accepted by Ligeti (1931–1934b: 242). Bárczi (1941: 51–52) regarded H *dió* as an early T borrowing, but he pointed out that there are problems with the T etymology. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 641), the H word is of OT origin and shows Chuv characteristics. The borrowed form could have been **ǰïɣaɣ*, fr which *gyió* developed and then, with the depalatalisation of the initial *gy-* [ɟ] > *dió* as well. The change *gy-* [ɟ] > *d-* can also be observed in the H word **disznó** (< *gyisznó*). The H variants *dijó*, *divó* are internal developments which occurred in H. Ligeti (1986: 21, 526–527), Benkő (1993–1997/1: 264–265) and Róna-Tas (1997a: 98) strengthened the T etymology. On the supposed **-ï-* of the first syllable in the T copied form, see also **tiló**, **tinó**, **tyúk**.

◆ Munkácsi 1903: 256; Munkácsi 1908b: 294; Gombocz 1912b: 215; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1360–1361; Bang 1925a: 15; Török [= Németh] 1926–1932: 238; Ligeti 1931–1934b: 242; Ramstedt 1935: 215; Bárczi 1941: 51–52; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 75; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 641; Räsänen 1969: 186; Clauson 1972: 900; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 982–983; Ligeti 1986: 21, 25, 43, 183, 194, 198, 287, 442, 526–527; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 59–60; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 264–265; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Tenišev 2001: 112; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1006; Róna-Tas 2004: 431–432.

DISZNÓ [disnō] ‘pig, *Sus domestica*’ | 1055 GN *gífnav* [ɟ'isnåu], 1228/1492 GN *gyznoowl* [ɟ'isno-oul], 1266/1297 GN *gesnov* [ɟ'ësnou], 1283/1464 GN *dyznopaz-torwelge* [disno-pāstorveld'e], c1395 *emegizno* [eme-ɟ'izno], dial *gyeszno* [ɟ'esnō] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 986–988) | *disnō* < **ǰisnaɣ* ← WOT **ǰäsnaɣ* (> **śïsna* > Chuv *sïsna*) | EOT **yasnag*.

OT *yas-* ‘to disband (troops), to unstring (a bow), to unfurl (the royal canopy)’, *yasi* ‘broad’: *yasi nāŋ* ‘something broad’ (AK); **MT** *yasï*, *yazï* ‘Ebene’ (UTTVII), *yasï*: *yasï alïnlïg* ‘geniş alınlı’ (AIMI), *yassï* ‘flat’ (ARbg), *yasï* ‘ploskij’ (ATef), *yas-man* ‘flache Flasche, Pulle’, *yastuq* ‘Kissen’ (LCCI), *yassï* bugünkü manasında, *yasïč*

'bir nevi maruf oj demiri' (AAH), *yassï* 'sahife halinde düz' (AAHI), *yasïč oq* 'espèce de flèche (plate et large)', *yaṣṣï* (*yaṣï*) 'large, plat' (ADur), *yasï* 'breit' (AHou), *yassï* 'flat' (AMGh), *yaṣ* 'širokij', *yaṣṣï* 'ploskij' (ATuh), *yas*, *yassï* 'yassı' (ATuhA), *yasang*, *yasï* 'large' (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sïsna* 'svin′ja, svinoj, (peren., prost.) svin′ja, negodjaj, brevenčatyj fronton, dymohod (gorizontal′nyj), borov (obl.)' (Chuv), *sïsna* 'svin′ja, osobyj sposob zabirat′ čego zdanija brevnami, kusok tverdogo dereva ili železa, na kotorom ležit os′, vala u vodjanoj mel′nicy, borov, dymvolok (ležačaja dymovaja truba na podvoloke)' (ChuvA), *sïsna* Szp. 'disznó; Schwein' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yassï* 'ploskij, spljusnutyj, pripljusnutyj', *yassïlan-* 'delat′sja ploskim, spljuščivat′sja, spljuščit′sja, raspljuščivat′sja, raspljuščit′sja' (Tat), *yassï* 'kin, inle; širokij' (TatD1), *yassï* 'yuan; tolstyj, polnyj' (TatD1), *yastï* 'lapos; flach' (TatB), *yaθï*, *yaθïq* 'ploskij, širokij' (Bashk), *yassï* 'ploskij, rovnyj, ravninyj' (Kum), *džassï* 'širokij, ploskij' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yasï* 'ploskij, (peren.) širokij' (Tkm), *yastï* 'ploskij' (Az), *yassı* 'flat and wide' (Tt), *yasï* 'ploskij, pologij, spljuščennyj, pripljusnutyj' (Gag), *yastï* 'flach' (OT *yasï* 'flach') (Khor); ***Kh*** *yassi* 'breit, weit', eher 'flach' (KhT); ***SE*** *yassi* 'ploskij, pripljusnutyj' (Uzb), *yasï* 'širokij (o kljuve pticy)' (TurkiL); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *sïsī* 'ploskaja poverhnost′, ravnina, pole, pole niva, lug, dolina, debr′, udol′e, lugovaja, polevaja, okružennaja lesom mestnost' (Y).

E/T The supposed T etymon for the H word meaning 'pig' is only known fr Chuv. If it is a T word and not a borrowing fr an unknown lg, it may be a der of the reconstructed WOT verb *ǰasV-* 'to be or become huge, wide, broad'; cf. *yas-* and *yasī* in Clauson (1972: 973, 973–974). In this case one may prefer the morphological segmentation **ǰasV-Xn+A-(X)g*; see the similar secondary base *yašna-* 'to become green (field)' (ARbg).

In discussing the T verbs *yasla-* (Tt, TtD), *yasta-* (Tt, Nog, ChagR), *žazda-* (Kirg), *žasta-* (Kaz, Kklp), *dasta-* (Kklp), *d′asta-* (Alt), *časta-* (Khak), *sïtta-* (Y), meaning 'prislonjat′sja, podložit′ podušku, poslat′ postel′, protjagivat′ etc.', Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 153–154) described this verb as a der fr **yas* 'ploskij, širokij' which may be the nominal counterpart of the verb **yas-*. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 465–466), one can reconstruct PT **yas-* (!) 'flat and broad' and it can be compared with PMo **dasiŋa* 'board' and PTu **dasi-* 'to cover'. This is semantically problematic. Mo *dasiŋga* has the meaning 'sleeping shelf, plank-bed, plank for crossing a ditch, shelf' and cannot be separated fr *dasila-* 'to put or place under'.

In his discussion of the T word *yastok* or *yastuk* 'pillow', which should be interrelated with *yasta-* 'to prop up on a pillow', Erdal (1991: 255) showed that *yasta-* could have the variant **yastw-* and that such a verb could exist if *yasta-* were den. On the data for *yasta-n-*, see (Erdal 1991: 628). On the different attempts at the etymology of the T word, see Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 155), and see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1507–1508).

The T words *yasï*, *yassï* (cf. Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 155–156) should not be confused with *yazï* 'desert, plain, flatland', which was formed with the same suff *-I* fr another verbal base, namely fr *yaz-* 'to untie, to unfold, to dissolve' (cf. Clauson 1972: 983; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 69–70; Tenišev 2001: 97).

In the Chuv word *sïsna* < **śïsna*, the second consonant had an assimilation effect on the first. This can be seen in the copied forms Cher *śöśnȧ*, *söśna*, *śöśna*, *sösna*, *sisna*; CherH *sasna* (cf. Fedotov 1996/2: 77). As suggested by Ligeti (1986: 45), and despite the opinions posited by Ščerbak (1961: 125), Egorov (1964: 201) and Fedotov (1996/2: 77), Alt, Kirg *čočko*, Bashk *susqa*, Kaz, Kklp *šošqa*, Tat *čučka* etc. do not belong with this word. The reconstruction of PT **sạs-na* 'pig' in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1237) is only based on the isolated Chuv word. The PT word was compared with PKor **sàsǎm* 'deer', PJpn **sisi* 'deer' and PTu **sesi-n* 'herd (of deer, wild animals)', but this comparison cannot be accepted, for phonological (*ś* < *ǰ* < *y*) and semantic ('deer, herd') reasons.

E/H The H word is a copy of T **ǰȧsnaɣ*. The H word was compared with the corresponding Chuv form as early as Gyarmathi (1799: 208). His idea was repeated by Hunfalvy (1864a: 285), Vámbéry (1870: 139) and Munkácsi (1903: 256), among others. Gombocz (1912b: 68–69) thought that Chuv *sïsna* may go back to OChuv **tïsnag*, but unfortunately he did not offer any explanation for the reconstructed copied form. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1364–1366), the copied form was BulgT **ǰïsnaɣ*. Their etymological explanation was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 52), who pointed out that the T etymon is only present in Chuv. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 646–647), the H word is of OChuv origin, and on the basis of the H item and of Cher *śöśna* id., the copied form could be **ǰïsnaɣ* (> **śïsna*). He observed the same phonetic change **d′-* > *d-* in the H word as in **dió**, which is an internal H depalatalisation. According to Szabadfalvi–Diószegi (1977: 587), the so-called *szalontai disznó* 'pig from the Szalonta region' has a huge body, long legs and hanging ears and it appeared in the Carpathian Basin when the Hungarians established their new homeland there. Ligeti (1986: 45, 284, 526–527) assumed a copied form **ǰïsnaɣ*, **ǰïsna* fr an OT lg of the Chuv type. He pointed out that the T word must be a relatively early borrowing in H because it is attested in H GNs in the 11th c. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 267) accepted Ligeti's point.

◆ Gyarmathi 1799: 208; Hunfalvy 1864a: 285; Vámbéry 1870: 139; Munkácsi 1903: 256; Gombocz 1912b: 68–69; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1364–1366; Bárczi 1941: 52; Ščerbak 1961: 125; Egorov 1964: 201; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 646–647; Clauson 1972: 973, 973–974, 983; Szabadfalvi–Diószegi 1977: 587; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 986–988; Ligeti 1986: 21, 25, 45, 194, 198, 278, 284, 526–527; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 69–70, 73, 153–154, 155–156; Erdal 1991: 255, 628; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 267; Fedotov 1996/2: 77; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Tenišev 2001: 97; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 465–466, 473, 1237, 1507–1508.

DŐL [dō̈l] ‘to lean, topple over, stream down’, **dönt** [dönt] ‘to overturn’, **dűlő** [dű̄lō̈] ‘a unit of field’ | 1254/1368 *dulew* [düleü], 1344 GN *felddelew* [feld-delō̈], 1422 GN *Zalagosra-delew* [zålågåroš-delō̈], 1432 GN *kezepredewlefelde* [kezēpre-dű̄le-felde], 1508 *le dv̊lven* [le dű̄l-vēn] ‘to topple over’, 1510 *le devle* [le dű̄l-e] ‘to stream down’, dial *dűl* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 1014) | *dō̈l-* < *dű̄l-* < **dül-* ← WOT **tül-* or **dül-* | EOT *tüš-* ‘to fall, settle down’.

OT *tüš-* ‘to fall, settle down’ (RMTon; RMShin), *tüš-* ‘to fall down’ (RTIrk), *tüš-* ‘tomber’ (UHuart), *tüš-* ‘abgestoßen’ (UHeilk I), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (UChristManManus), *tüš-* ‘sinken’ (UUII, UUIII), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (ULeCoqSchriftk), *[t]üš-* ‘niederfallen’ (UM I 20:4), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (UM I), *tüš-* ‘niedergefallen’ (UM II), *tüš-* ‘geraten’ (UM III), *tüš-* ‘fallen, eingehen, sterben’ (UTT I, UTTV), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (UTTVII 27:16), *tüš-* ‘herabsinken’ (UUII 4:8), *tüš-* ‘padat′’ (UPam), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (UUigTot), *tű̄š-* ‘fallen’ (UBT III), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (UBuddhUig I), *tüš-* ‘tomber, descendre, faire halte’ (UHamTouHou), *tüš-* ‘to fall’ (UXuangzangIndex), *tüš-* ‘to get off (a horse), fall’, *är attïn tüšdi* ‘the man got off the horse’, *är tāmdïn tüšdi* ‘the man fell from the wall, also for falling from a horse, or of anything that falls from a place’ (AK), *tüš-* ‘to dismount’ (AQB), *tüš-* ‘fallen’ (TBuddhKat); **MT** *tüš-* ‘herabfallen’ (UOg), *tüš-* ‘inmek, konmak’ (UY), *tüš-* ‘descendre, camper’ (UHy), *tüš-* ‘to fall, to fall down, to happen, to drop in, to arrive at, *used as auxiliary verb with -a gerunds*’ (AGul), *tüš-* ‘düşmek’ (AHMA), *tüš-* ‘padać, zsiadać (z konia)’ (AHŠ), *tüš-* ‘padat′, slezat′ (s konja)’ (AHŠF), *düš-* ‘yukardan aşağıya inmek, düşmek’ (AIMI), *tüš-* ‘to fall, fall down’, *tüšgü yär* ‘stage, station’ (AKor), *tüš-* ‘spuskat′sja’ (AM), *tüš-* ‘düş-, yıkıl-, (binek hayvandan in-), hakkına düş-, isabet et-, maruz kal-, dışarı çık-, yenil-, mağlup ol-’ (ANeh), *tüš-* ‘padat′, slezat′ (s konja)’ (ANehF), *tüš-* in the idiomatic construction *aġa tüš-* ‘to be caught in a net’ and also ‘to arrive’, ‘to occur’, ‘to dismount’, ‘to (come to) understand’ (ARbg), *tüš-* ‘padat′, spuskat′sja, ostanavlivat′sja, slučat′sja’, *mänzildin mänzilkä tüšä qopa barur ärdilär* ‘s ostanovki na ostanovku šli oni, ostanavlivajas′ i podnimajas′’ (ATef), *tüš-* ‘inmek, konmak’ (AYC), *tüš-* ‘tomber, descendre, camper, occuper, achever, arréter, comprendre’ (AChag), *tüš-* ‘atdan in-, bir yüksek yerden aşağıya düş-’ (AChagAb), *tüš-* ‘atdan inmek, bir yüksek yerden aşağıya düşmek’ (AChagAbA), *tüš-* ‘esik, leszáll lóról, vagy valamely magas helyről, megszáll állomáson [to fall off, come down from a horse, or some high place, stay at a post]’ (AChagAbV), *tüš-* ‘padat′’ (AChagB), *tüš-* ‘padat′, past′ v sraženii, shodit′, sojti (s vysotyi, s lošadi), stat′ lagerem, vstretit′sja, slučit′sja’ (AChagBud), *tüš-* ‘to descend, arrive (at), halt, stop, to fall (down, into), (dat.) to fall victim (to), (auxiliary verb)’ (AChagG), *tüš-* ‘padat′’ (AChagLN), *tüš-* ‘fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen, irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben’ (AChagR), <TWŠ-> (AChagS), *tüš-* ‘furūd āmadan (to alight), uftādan (to fall)’, and when it is used to make a compound V. with another V. it means *pardāxtan* ‘to complete’, e.g. *ata tüš-* ‘tīr-

andāzī pardāxtan (to finish shooting)' (AChagSC), *tüš-* 'suqut nuzul etmek, oğramak' (AChagŠS), *tüškür-* 'indir-; herunterlassen' (AChagŠSK), *tüš-* 'fallen' (AChagZ), *tüš-* 'fallen, herabsteigen' (LCCG, LCCI), *düš-* 'düşmek', *tüš-* 'düşmek ve inmek' (AAH), *düşlen-* 'bir mahalle yönelmek, teveccüh etmek' (AAHI), *düš-* (*-är*) 'padać, spadać' (ABul), *tüš-* 'fallen' (AHou), *tüš-* 'leszáll; herabsteigen' (AKav), *tüš-* 'to fall, to fall down, to fall off, to crop, to dismount, to be, to happen to be' (AMGh), *tüš-* 'shodit′, spuskat′sja, slezat′' (ATuh), *tüš-* 'düşmek' (ATuhA), *tuš-* 'tomber, attaquer, agresser, échoir en partage' (AmTr), *tuš-* 'to fall (down)' (AmCh), *tuš-* 'tomber' (AmE), *düš-* 'vâki ol-, mağlup ol-, müstevli ol-, üzerine yürü-, hücum et-, yakış-, âit ol-, kon-, in-, nüzul et-, şehit ol-, savaşta öl-, baş vur-, intisap et-, gir-, kapan-, sığın-, atla-, gir-, yıkıl-, âciz, çaresiz kal-, sefil ol-' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *töš-* 'spuskat′sja, spustit′sja, opuskat′sja, opustit′sja, vysaživat′sja, vysadit′sja, shodit′, sojti (napr. s mašiny), snižat′sja, snizit′sja (napr. o samolete), ponižat′sja, ponizit′sja, snižat′sja, snizit′sja (o cenah), byt′ svergnutym (nizvergnutym), vypadat′, vypast′ (ob osadkah), *v sočetanii s glagolami dviženija v roli vspomogatel′nogo glagola vyražaet napravlennost′ dejstvija sverhi vniz i sootvetstvuet russkoj pristavke s-*' (Tat), *töš-* 'koyïlu; vypadat′, vylezat′ (o volosah); tuktalu; ostanovit′sja' (TatD1), *töš-* 'baru; idti, ehat′' (TatD2), *töš-* 'esni, lefelé menni, leszállni, történni; fallen, abwärts gehen, heruntersteigen, geschehen, vorfallen' (TatB), *töš-* 'spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, shodit′, vysaživat′sja, shodit′, slezat′, sadit′sja, vesti na posadku, vypadat′, padat′, vyvalivat′sja, (peren.) snižat′sja, padat′, umen′šat′sja v stoimosti, (peren.) terjat′, utračivat′, (peren.) padat′, snižat′sja' (Bashk), *töš-* 'vypadat′, opustit′sja, spuskat′sja', *tüš-* 'upast′, svalit′sja, spustit′sja, ostanovit′sja na prival' (SibTatBD), *tüš-* 'spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, padat′, nispadat′, nastupat′ (o zime, temnote), vypadat′ (o snege), podhodit′ (napr. o ključe k zamku), postupat′ (polučat′sja), obojtis′, stoit′, sbivat′sja (o masle iz ajrana ili iz vzbaltyvaemogo kumysa), vyražaet vnezapnost′ ili silu dejstvija, esli emu predšestvuet podrazatel′noe slovo i glagoly *ėt-* ili *de-* v forme deepr.' (Kirg), *tüs-* 'to descend, to come down, to dismount, to alight, to dismount from a horse, to fall, to come off, to stop, to cost, to remember, to recollect, to ensue, to set in, to be displaced' (Kaz), *tüs-* 'spuskat′sja, padat′' (KazM), *tüs-* 'slezat′, spuskat′sja, spustit′sja, opuskat′sja, postupat′ (v vuz), snjatie s dolžnosti' (KazB), *tüs-* 'shodit′, slezat′, soskakivat′ s čego-l., spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, upast′, obrušit′sja, nastupit′, stoit′, obhodit′sja, ostanovit′sja, osest′' (Kklp), *düš-* 'padat′', *tüs-* 'padat′, shodit′, slezat′, soskakivat′ s čegolibo', *tüš-* 'padat′' (KklpB), *tüs-* 'padat′' (RKklp), *tüs-* 'slezat′, spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, peremeščat′sja sverhu vniz, vypadat′, byt′ uronennym, vyhodit′, shodit′ (s tramvaja, poezda, avtobusa i t.p.), ustupat′ (v cene), sbavljat′ (cenu), spuskat′sja, zastilat′ (o tumane, noči, večere i t.p.), kupat′sja, myt′sja, opuskat′sja (o zanavese), obhodit′sja, stoit′' (Nog), *tüš-* 'padat′, spuskat′sja, shodit′, slezat′, dostavat′sja (ot kogo-libo), popadat′sja, očutit′sja' (CrTat), *tis-* 'padat′, opuskat′sja, slezat′' (KarH), *kis-* (!) 'padat′,

upast′’ (KarH), *tüš-* ‘padat′, upast′, spuskat′sja, slezat′, popadat′, vhodit′’ (KarC), *čüš-* ‘padat′ (s vysoty)’ (KarSh), *t′uš-* ‘padat′, spadat′, vpadat′, popadat′’ (KarT), *tüš-* ‘spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, shodit′, slezat′’ (Kum), *tüš-* ‘padat′, vyhodit′, shodit′ (napr. iz avtobusa), slezat′ (s konja i t.p.), spuskat′sja (otkuda-l.), prizemljat′sja, sadit′sja, vypadat′ (ob osadkah), nastupat′, nastavat′, popadat′sja, (peren.) napadat′, obrušivat′sja (na kogo), okazat′sja, očutit′sja (v kakom-l. položenii) i t.d.’ (KrchBlk); **SW** *düš-* ‘padat′, spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, shodit′, slezat′, popadat′, etc.’ (Tkm), *düš-* ‘padat′, past′, upast′, vypadat′, popast′, snižat′sja, ponižat′sja, slazit′, shodit′, spuskat′sja, popadat′, slučat′sja, prihodit′sja, etc.’ (Az), *düş-* ‘to fall, fall down, to be overthrown (of a government), to be deposed (of a ruler), to be aborted (of a child), to decline in wealth, power, esteem, to fall away in health, to fall on evil days, to decrease, fall (in value), to drop (of a fever), (arch) to fall (in battle), to fall (into or upon), to be thrown (on) etc.’ (Tt), *düş-* ‘padat′, vypadat′, idti (ob atmosfernyh osadkah), slabet′, terjat′ (napr. v vese) etc.’ (TtB), *düš-* ‘padat′, svalivat′sja, padat′, ubyvat′, umen′šit′sja, (prjam. i peren.) opuskat′sja, (peren.) hudet′, slabet′, slučit′sja, byvat′, imet′ mesto, proishodit′, popadat′, okazyvat′sja, vstrečat′sja, kasat′sja, imet′ otnošenie’ (Gag), *dịš-*, *di̲š-*, *diš-*, *dūš-*, *düš-*, *dụ̈š-* ‘fallen’, *yuxiya dịš-*, *yụxïya düš-* ‘schlafen gehen’ (Khor), *diš-* ‘fallen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *tịš-*, *tiš-* ‘fallen’ (Kh), *tuš-*, *tüš-* ‘fallen, sich niederlassen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *tuš-* ‘spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, slezat′, shodit′, sadit′sja (na čto-l.), padat′, snižat′sja, byt′ snižennym, padat′, vypadat′, opuskat′sja, popadat′, popadat′sja, etc.’ (Uzb), *tüš-*, *tüš-* ‘to alight, to descend, to dismount, to go down, to fall, to perch, to put up, to put up for the night, to encamp, to pitch one’s camp, to sit down, to fly down, to enter, to proceed with’ (TurkiJ), *tüš-* ‘to descend, to come down, to get off, to settle down’ (TurkiSh), *tüš-* ‘padat′’ (TurkiL), *tüš-* ‘fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen, irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben’ (TurkiTR), *tüš-*, *čüš-* ‘opadat′, osypat′sja (o list′jah), vylezat′ (o volosah); spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, slezat′, zaezžat′, zahodit′, ostanavlivat′sja, zavernut′, padat′, ponižat′sja, snižat′sja’ (MUyg), *Duš-*, *D‘øš-* ‘tomber par terre’ (SalK), *t‘üs-*, *t‘us-*, *tu’s-* ‘spuskat′sja, padat′, vypadat′’ (YUyg), *tus-* ‘opuskat′sja, spuskat′sja, spešit′sja’, *tüs-* ‘spuskat′sja (upast′), vseljat′sja, nahodit′ nakogo-libo (o šamanskom naitii, vdohnovenii)’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tüš-* ‘spuskat′sja, padat′, nispadat′, opuskat′sja, *služit dlja podčerkivanija vnezapnosti ili sily dejstvija*’ (Alt) *tüš-* ‘fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen, irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben’ (AltR), *tūš-* ‘shodit′’, *tüš-* ‘padat′, shodit′, spuskat′sja, spustit′sja, tonut′, pyrovalit′sja’, *düš-* ‘padat′’, *tüs-* ‘padat′’ (AltQK), *tüš-* ‘vypadat′, spuskat′sja, spešit′sja, opustit′sja, shodit′ s sedla, padat′’ (AltTK), *tüš-* ‘fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen, irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben’ (AltTelR), *tüs-* ‘spuskat′sja, opuskat′sja, padat′, upast′, ostanavlivat′sja, kak vspomogatel′nyj glagol služit dlja ukazivanija na vnezapnost′ ili silu dejstvija’ (Khak), *tüš-* ‘fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen, irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben’ (KhakQchR, Khak-

ShR), *tüš-* 'fallen, umfallen, herabfallen, herabsteigen; irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben' (ChulR), *düš-* 'spuskatʹsja, slezatʹ, shoditʹ, (prjam. i peren.) padatʹ, vypadatʹ, opadatʹ, ložitʹsja, ostanavlivatʹsja gde-libo, tonutʹ, utopatʹ, vjaznutʹ, *kak vspomogatelʹnyj glagol oboznačaet dejstvie, soveršaemoe stremitelʹno, vnezapno*' (Tuv), *tü˝hü-* 'upastʹ (o davlenii krovi); ponižatʹsja (ob urovne)', *tü˝š-* 'slezatʹ, spuskatʹsja vniz, spešivatʹsja, padatʹ (vniz), snižatʹsja, vpadatʹ (o rekah, ručʹjah), nastupatʹ (o vremenah goda)' (Tof); ***Y*** *tüs-* 'padatʹ sverhu vniz, spadatʹ s čego, nispadatʹ s vysoty, valitʹsja, upadatʹ na čto ili vo čto, opadatʹ (o cvetahʹ), otpadatʹ, brjakatʹsja (na zemlju), pripadatʹ (k kolenam), preklonjatʹsja, ponižatʹsja (o cenah), spuskatʹsja (shoditʹ) vniz s čego, nishoditʹ, snishoditʹ, opuskatʹsja, vpadatʹ, vlivatʹsja (o reke), padatʹ, vypadatʹ (zuby), itti (o snege i dožde), ustremljatʹsja, brosatʹsja, kidatʹsja na čto, napadatʹ na kogo' (Y), *tüs-* 'fallen, sich senken, sinken, untergehen, sinken, (Wasser) zurückgehen, sich verlaufen', *tühär-* 'fallen lassen' (Dlg), *tüs-* 'fallen, sich senken, absteigen' (DlgS).

Mo *tüsi-* 'to lean against, to prop, assist, to help an infant or old person to stand up or walk, to rely on, count on, depend on' (L).

E/T The H verb *dől-* has generally been regarded in the Turcological linguistic literature as a copy of the T verb *tüš-* 'to fall, settle down' since the etymology posited by Gombocz–Melich (see under **E/H**). T *tüš-* has been well-attested fr the OT period on (see Clauson 1972: 560; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 330–333). The T verb has, as stated by Clauson, a general connotation of movement downwards. Ramstedt compared the word with Tu **ti-*, **tu-* 'fallen', SinoKor *či-* 'fallen, sinken' and Kor *ti-* 'fallen, giessen, regnen' (see Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 154; 1952–1966/1: 148). This only leaves the last consonant of the T word unaccounted for. On other comparisons, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 330–333). On the reconstructed PT verbal base, such as **düĺ-* 'to fall, move down', see Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1385) and **dél**.

E/H Vámbéry erroneously compared the H verb (1870: 139) with an Uyg verb *töŋül-* 'to bend'. Although Gombocz (1912b) did not discuss the word, according to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1401–1403), it may be a BulgT copy of **dül-* and this opinion was repeated by Gombocz (1917: 101) and Bárczi (1941: 53–54). The verbal base is absent fr Chuv, but the CT equivalents are well-attested in the T lgs. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 668–669) presumed an OChuv form **dül-* 'to fall, come down, pour' and thought that the phonetic change **-ü-* > *-ö-* > *-ő-* had occurred in H. Ligeti (1977–1979/1: 304–305) considered it possible that the same T base **dül(-)* could have developed in H into **dél** (as a noun) and *dől-* (as a verb). Palló (1982: 66–67) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 277) assumed an OT nomen-verbum which was copied by H as both a noun and a verb. Palló reconstructed the T copied form with initial **t-* while Benkő did so with **d-*. According to Ligeti (1986: 17), the given T etymology is not free fr phonetic difficulties and the initial *d-* of the H verb needs further investigation. The T

etymology of the H verb *dől-* ← WOT **dül-* or **tül-* can be regarded as generally accepted in the H etymological literature. It is a very oft-cited example because it seems to show a characteristic feature of Chuv, its so-called lambdacism. The etymology, however, suffers fr some minor semantic difficulties. In the OT corpus one can find the following meanings of the verb *tüš-*, 'to fall (the metaphorical use is also attested), get off (a horse), to retire, to settle', and one can only find data with other connotations fr the MT period: see e.g. 'to happen, to drop in, to arrive at' (AGul), 'to arrive, to occur' (ARbg), 'slučat′sja' (ATef), 'ponižat′sja, ponizit′sja, snižat′sja, snizit′sja (o cenah), byt′ svergnutym (nizvergnutym), vypadat′, vypast′ (ob osadkah)' (Tat), 'koyïl-; vypadat′, vylezat′ (o volosah)' (TatD), '(peren.) terjat′, utračivat′' (Bashk), 'to remember, to recollect' (Kaz), 'kupat′sja, myt′sja' (Nog), 'okazat′sja, očutit′sja (v kakom-l. položenii) i t.d.' (KrchBlk), 'vstrečat′sja, kasat′sja, imet′ otnošenie' (Gag) etc.

The meaning of the H verb cannot be explained with absolute certainty, neither fr the basic meaning, nor fr the secondary meanings of the T verb. It is nearer to the semantics of the corresponding Mo word for 'to lean against'. Since the word is absent fr Chuv, perhaps Mo and H preserved the WOT meaning. The verb *dönt-* and the noun *dűlő* are secondary H developments.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 139; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1401–1403; Gombocz 1917: 101; Bárczi 1941: 53–54; Ramstedt 1949: 31, 266; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 76, 148; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 154; Egorov 1964: 208; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 668–669; Räsänen 1969: 200, 507; Sčerbak 1970: 198; Clauson 1972: 560, 897, 902; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 330–333; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 304–305; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 1014; Palló 1982: 66–67; Ligeti 1986: 16–17, 50, 84, 184, 186, 195, 204, 208, 289, 320, 526; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 273–274; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 277; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 303; Tietze 2002: 677; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1384–1385.

DUG [dug] 'to squeeze, to thrust into' | p1372/c1448 *dugak* [dug-āk], 1585 *dugo* [dug-ō], 1604 *dugo* [dugō], dial *gyuk-* [d′uk] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 1031) | *dug-* < **dïg* ← WOT **dïg-*, **tïk-* | EOT *tïk-* 'to thrust, to squeeze'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *tïq-*: *töpüsin tongtaru tïqar* 'auf ihr Haupt einschlagend, stößt sie hinein' (UM II 13:5), *tïq-* 'versperren' (UHt2: 1912), *tïq-* 'vollstopfen' (UHeilk I), *tïq-* 'to thrust, squeeze' (UXuangzangIndex), *tïq-* 'to press, force something into a container', *ol qāpqa ūn tïqdï* 'he pressed the flour into the container', the same for anything that is forced into a vessel by kicking or pressing' (AK); **MT** *dïqïl-* 'dolmak', *dïqačlu* 'tıkaçlı, kapaklı', *tïqač* 'tıkaç', *tïqïl-* 'sık olmak, kilitlenmek' (AHMA), *tïqma* 'tıpa, kapak' (AIMI), *tïḳ-* 'tık-, tıka-, bir şeyle kapa-' (ANeh), *tïq-* 'zatykat′' (ANehF), *tïq-* 'to insert' (ARbg), *tïq-* 'zatykat′': *kämisi tälindi nä ḥülä qïlïb tutumadïlar närsä tïqa bilmädilär* 'korabl′ ih polučil proboinu, čto oni ni delali – zaderžat′ ne mogli, zatknut′ čem-libo ne smogli' (ATef), <TYK-> (AChagS), *tïq-* 'anbāštan wa ṭapāndan; to fill up, cram' (AChagSC), *tïk-* 'mit Gewalt hineinstopfen, unterbringen', *tïg̈a* 'Gerät zum Stopfen'

(AChagŠSK), ? *tik-*, *tïq-* ‘pflanzen, aufrichten, anhäften, nähen’ (AChagZ), *tïxa-* ‘zustopfen’ (LCCG), *tïq-* ‘sedetmek, tıkamak’ (AAH), *tik-* ‘wtykać, wetknąc’, *tïq-*, *tïqar* ‘zatykać, zamykać’ (ABul), *tïq-* ‘absperren’ (AHou), *tïq-* ‘betöm, bedug; hineinstopfen’ (AKav), *tïq-* ‘to stuff’ (AMGh), *dïq-* ‘zatykaťʼ, ? *tik-* ‘vtykaťʼ, *tïq-*, *ṭïq-* ‘zakryvaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, zakuporiťʼ (ATuh), *tïq-* ‘tıkmak, kapatmak’, ? *tik-* ‘tıkmak’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čïx-* ‘nabivaťʼ, napolnjaťʼ (dopolna), zasovyvaťʼ (plotno, tugo), uminaťʼ, utrambovyvaťʼ, (prost.) žraťʼ, nabivaťʼ puzo’, ? *těk-* ‘tolkaťʼ, (prjam. i peren.) zadevaťʼ, trogaťʼ, kasaťʼsja, bodaťʼ, bodaťʼsja, (peren.) namekaťʼ, poddevaťʼ (razg.), (peren. razg.) davaťʼ vzjatku’ (Chuv), *čïx-* ‘nabivaťʼ, sovaťʼ, žraťʼ, lopaťʼ (estʼ žadno i bez mery)’, ? *těk-* ‘tolkaťʼ, kasaťʼsja, bodaťʼ, trogaťʼ, zadevaťʼ, čerknuťʼ, daťʼ vzjatku, namekaťʼ, tykaťʼ v zemlju’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *tïk-* ‘sovaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, sunuťʼ, vsunuťʼ, zasovyvaťʼ, zasunuťʼ, vtykaťʼ, votknuťʼ, zatykaťʼ, zatknuťʼ, podsovyvaťʼ, podsunuťʼ čto-l., kuda-l., devaťʼ, zadevaťʼ čto-l. kuda-l., (peren.) zatračivaťʼ, zatratiťʼ, vkladyvaťʼ, vložiťʼ (denʼgi vo čto-l.), (grub.) žraťʼ, sožraťʼ, lopaťʼ, slopaťʼʼ (Tat), *tïq-* ‘feststopfen, festdrücken, hineinstopfen, hineindrängen, verstecken’ (TatKR), *tïgïnčïk* ‘böke, probka’ (TatD2), *tïk-* ‘bedugni; hineinstecken’ (TatB), *tïq-* ‘sovaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, vtykaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, podsovyvaťʼ, devaťʼ, zasunuťʼ (tak čto trudno najti), (prjam., peren.) zatračivaťʼ, tratitʼ sredstva’ (Bashk), *tïgïncïq* ‘böke; probka, zatyčka’ (SibTat), *tïk-* ‘tykaťʼ, vtykaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼʼ (Kirg), *tïq-* ‘to stick in, to thrust into, to drive into, to conceal, to hide, to squeeze, to press, to stuff, to shake down’ (Kaz), *tïq-* ‘feststopfen, festdrücken, hineinstopfen, hineindrängen, verstecken’ (KazR), *tïq-* ‘sovaťʼ, tykaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, vtykaťʼ, nabivaťʼ, napihivaťʼʼ (Kklp), *tïk-* ‘vtykaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, nabivaťʼ, (razg.) prjataťʼʼ (Nog), *tïq-* ‘vpihnuťʼ, vtisnuťʼ, vsunuťʼʼ (CrTat), ? *tïy-* ‘zatykaťʼʼ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tïq-* ‘vpihivaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, prodevaťʼʼ (KarSh), *tïx-* ‘vtykaťʼ, vvoditʼʼ (KarT), *tïq-* ‘sovaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, zapihivaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, napolnjaťʼ, zapolnjaťʼ, nabivaťʼʼ (Kum), *tïq-* ‘vonzaťʼ, vtykaťʼ *čto*, sovaťʼ *čto*’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *dïq-* ‘nabivaťʼ, sovaťʼ, zapihivaťʼ, zakladyvaťʼ, vpihivaťʼ, zakuporyvaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, konopatitʼ, (prost.) upletaťʼ, toroplivo estʼʼ, *dïkala-* ‘nabivaťʼʼ, *dïkï* ‘probka, zatïčka, ukuporka’ (Tkm), *tïxa-* ‘zapihivaťʼ, zasovyvaťʼ, vtiskivaťʼ, zakuporivaťʼʼ, *tïxaǰ* ‘probka, vtulka, zakuporka, zatïčka’ (Az), *tık-* ‘to thrust, squeeze or cram (into)’, *tıka-* ‘to stuff up, to plug, to gag’ (Tt), *dık-* (*dıḫ-*) ‘çok doldurmak, sokmak, koymak, kapamak’, *dıka-* ‘kapatmak, tıkamak’ (TtD1), *tïka-* ‘zatykaťʼ, zakuporivaťʼ, zakryvaťʼ, dušitʼʼ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tiq-* ‘vtykaťʼ, vonzaťʼ, kolotʼ, sovaťʼ, vsosyvaťʼ, zapihivaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, okunaťʼ, pogružaťʼ, napolnjaťʼ, nabivaťʼʼ (Uzb), *tïq-* ‘to put, to put on, to stuff, to stuff into, to press, to insert, to fix’ (TurkiJ), *tiq-* ‘to press anything into a receptacle, to ram in’ (TurkiSh), *tïq-* ‘tykaťʼ, vtykaťʼʼ (TurkiL), *tiq-* ‘sovaťʼ, vsovyvaťʼ, zasovyvaťʼ, prosovyvaťʼ, vtykaťʼ, zatykaťʼ, vpihivaťʼ, zapihivaťʼ, vtiskivaťʼ, vstavljaťʼ, vvoditʼ, vtalkivaťʼ, (razg.) devaťʼ, detʼ, zadevaťʼ kuda, (peren.) prjataťʼ, ukryvaťʼʼ (MUyg), *tix-* (al.) ‘vtykaťʼ, vonzaťʼʼ, (myn., udž.) ‘šitʼʼ (Sal), *tïx-* ‘vonzaťʼ, vtykaťʼʼ, *tʻïk-* ‘ustanavlivaťʼ, vodružaťʼʼ (YUyg), ? *tek-*, *tïq-* ‘šitʼʼ, *tïq-* ‘ustanovljaťʼ, vodružaťʼʼ

(YUygM); ***NE*** *tïk-* 'tykatʹ, vtykatʹ, vsovyvatʹ, nabyvatʹ, nasyščatʹsja, nabivatʹ (brjuho)' (Alt), *tïq-* 'feststopfen, festdrücken, hineinstopfen, hineindrängen, verstecken' (AltR, AltLR), *tïk-* 'nakladyvatʹ, napolnjatʹ, nabivatʹ' (AltQK), *tïk-* 'nabivatʹ, zapihatʹ, zasunutʹ, zapiratʹ' (AltTK), *tïq-* 'feststopfen, festdrücken, hineinstopfen, hineindrängen, verstecken' (AltTelR), *tïgïl-* 'vtykatʹsja, vsovyvatʹsja, skaplivatʹsja' (Khak), *tïq-* feststopfen, festdrücken, hineinstopfen, hineindrängen, verstecken' (ChulR), ? *dïk-* 'to put up, sew' (FY), ? *tik-* 'stavitʹ (kotel) na ogonʹ, stavitʹ, raskidyvatʹ, razbivatʹ (ustraivatʹ), gnatʹ, peregonjatʹ, podvergatʹ peregonke, nabivatʹ (trubku tabakom)', *dïgï-* 'plotno (tugo) nabivatʹ, protalkivatʹ, prosovyvatʹ' (Tuv), *tïgï-* 'plotno, tugo nabivatʹ, napihivatʹ, konopatitʹ (*ščelʹ*)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *čiki-* 'to jam, stuff, press, push, shove, to stuff oneself, overeat', *čigiraġ* 'strong, massive', *čigǰi-* 'to calk, to cork, to close an opening' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb may be WOT **tïgV-*, T **tïk-* 'to squeeze, thrust into', which is to be separated fr another T base **tikV-* 'to insert, sew'. Sevortjan has three headings for the relevant data and there are some muddles among them (see 1974–1980/3: 226–227, *dik-* I 'vtykatʹ, prokalyvatʹ, stavitʹ, sažatʹ (rastenija)'; 227–228, *dik-* II 'šitʹ, soedinjatʹ' and 337–340, *dïq-* 'sovatʹ'). The T data for the verbal base **tïk-* 'to squeeze, thrust into' are listed above in the database. Data indicated with a question mark may also partially belong with the base **tikV-* 'to insert, sew'. In the Chuv forms *těk-* and *čïχ-* one can see the merging of several bases. Mo *čiki-* 'to jam, stuff, press, push, shove, to stuff oneself, overeat' belongs with PT **tïkV-* > OT *tïk-* (see Clauson 1972: 465), however, Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 255) connected it erroneously to T *tik-* and considered these words to be of onomatopoeic origin. The Mo verb is an OT lw, despite the opinion posited by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1425–1426), and its initial *či-* may regularly go back to the segment *ti-* < **tï-*. It cannot be excluded that this verb is a der of an unknown base, but it may also be a simplex. In some sources (see e.g. LCCG, Tt), the verb seemingly preserved its supposed earlier bisyllabic structure. According to Clauson (1972: 467), Tt *tïka-* may be secondary, however, Kashgari also contains the form *tïkït-* (Clauson 1972: 467), besides *tïktur-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 468). This latter caus form is attested with the meaning 'to feed forcibly', thus it must belong here. On the pass *tïkïl-* 'to be crammed into something', see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 658), Clauson (1972: 469) and also Erdal (1991: 677). Tatarincev's (2002–2004/2: 309) assumption that the bisyllabic T forms (cf. Tuv *dïgï-*, Tof *tïgï-*) may be morphologically segmented as **tï-k-V-* and the ultimate base of the verb is identical with **tu-* 'zakryvatʹ' (cf. **torlódik**) cannot be accepted.

E/H The word *dug-* may be related either to PFUgr **tuŋke-* or less probably to T **tïk-*. FUgr **tuŋke-* 'eindringen, stopfen' is present in Finn *tunke-*, Est *tungi-*, MordE, MordM *tongo-*, perhaps in Vog TJP *tokr-*, KUSo *toxr-* 'stopfen' (Rédei 1986–1991/2:

537–538). The Vog word must have undergone a change **ŋk* > *ŋχ* > *χ*. In H the change was **ŋk* > *ŋg* > *g*, which is the expected one. The only problem with the FUgr etymology is the initial *d-*. According to Rédei (1986–1991/2: 537–538), the *d-* evolved under the influence of the following /g/. This did not occur in the case of H *tegez* 'quiver' < PUgr **täŋgät*. Rédei also mentioned T *tïg-*. The problematic part of the T etymology is the final /g/. If the dial forms with *-k* (see *gyuk-* above) preserved a more arch form (which we cannot verify at the moment), then the T etymology becomes more likely.

The possible T origin of the H verb was already supposed by Vámbéry (1870: 140, cf. also 1914: 151), who compared H *dug-* with Tt *tïk-* 'to thrust' and *tïka-* 'to stuff up'. Budenz (1873: 130) accepted Vámbéry's comparison, but he later (1873–1881: 261) took the H verb to be of Ugr der. Gombocz (1912b: 165), Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1432) and Szinnyei (1920a: 25) argued in favour of the FUgr origin. Németh (1928–1930: 75) was of the opinon that H *dug-* may belong to the oldest corresponding layer of the U and T lgs. According to Bárczi (1941: 54–55) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 684), the H verb *dug-* is a FUgr inheritance, which may go back to the FUgr verb **tuŋke-* '(hinein)drängen, dringen, stopfen, hineinstecken'. In the entry for *dug-* Benkő (1993–1997/1: 284) makes the interesting remark that the FUgr forms show parallels to T *tïg-* and Mo *čigi-* 'stopfen, pfropfen'. Otherwise, he stressed that the voicing of **t-* > *d-* occured in H under the influence of the consonant *-g*. The dial forms with initial *gy-* can be considered to be a result of the secondary palatalisation of *d-*. Ligeti (1986) did not list *dug-* among the T lws of the H lg.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 140; Budenz 1873: 130; Budenz 1873–1881: 261; Bálint 1877: 10; Gombocz 1912b: 165; Vámbéry 1914: 151; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1432; Szinnyei 1920a: 25; Németh 1928–1930: 75; Gombocz 1938–1940/2: 67, 68, 69, 94; Bárczi 1941: 54–55; Pais 1950: 97; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 255; Farkas 1955: 61; Fokos 1959: 58–60; Lakó 1962: 64; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 658; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 278; Egorov 1964: 329; Lakó 1965: 37, 58; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 684; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 135; Räsänen 1969: 477–478; Clauson 1972: 465, 467–469; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 226–228, 337–340; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 1031; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 537–538; Erdal 1991: 677; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 284; Fedotov 1996/2: 428–429; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 309; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1425–1426.

DŰLŐ 'a unit of field' see **dől**.

E, É

EGYHÁZ [ëd′hāz] ‘church (building and organisation)’ | 1193 GN *Faeregíaza* [feer-ed′āz-å], *feýrhigaz[!]* [feīr-id′āz], c1200 GN *Igfon* [īd′fon], 1220/1500 GN *igyhazas vifl* [id′hāz-åš višl], 1229 GN *feeyreghaz* [feēr-ed′hāz], p1372/c1448 *egÿhaʒaba* [ed′hāz-åbå] | *ëd′hāz* < *ëd′* ‘holy’ {comp with *ház* ‘building’} ⟵ WOT **edü*, **edi* | EOT *ädgü* ‘good, morally good’.

OT *ädgü bilgä kišig ädgü alp kišig* ‘good, wise men, good, brave men’ (RKT S6, RMBilg N4), *ädgü aġï berür* ‘they give goodly treasures’ (RKT S7, RMBilg N5), *ädgü* ‘good’ is one of the terms used to classify the omens (RTIrk), *ädgü* ‘gut’: *ädgü ögli* ‘gute Gesinnung’ (UM III Nr. 6:5), *äḍgü* ‘gut’ (UM III Nr. 20:9), *ädgü* ‘bon, bien, le bien, nom de personne’, *ädgüti* ‘bien, trés bien, à fond’ (UHamTouHou), *ädgü* ‘gut’ (UHeilk I: 5), *ädgüti* id. (UHeilk I: 146), *ädgü öglilär* ‘die Wohlgesinnten’ (U-Pfahl 12:18), *äd* ‘manufactured article’, *ädgü* ‘good’ (UXuanzangIndex), *äd* ‘Reichtum’ (UTTI 196), *äd tavar* ‘Habe’ (UTTVII 28:43), *ädgü* ‘gut’ (UTTVII 13:16, 20 etc.), *äd* ‘Besitz’ (UMI), *ād* anything ‘manufactured’ such as brocade and the like, it may be shortened to *äd* – this is the better pronunciation, *ädgü äd* ‘a good manufactured item’, *ädgü* ‘good’ of anything (AK), *äḍ* ‘wares’, *eḍgü* ‘excellent, good’ (AQB), *ėdgü* (ėdhgü – eya dhgyu) ‘gut’ (B C:1, B O:10), *ädgülärig* (ädhgülārrig – aya dhgyu lyā rrig) ‘Vorzüge (Acc.)’ (B F: 3), *ėδgülüg* (ėδgülüg – eya δgyu lyu g) ‘vortrefflich’ (B H:10), *ėdgü* (ėtgü – eya tgyu) ‘gut’ (B A:19); **MT** *eḍgü* ‘iyi’, *eḍgülük* ‘iyilik’ (UY), *eygü* ‘iyi’, *esgülük* ‘iyilik’ (UYA), *idgü* ‘iyi’ (UYB), *äsgülük* ‘iyilik’ (UYA), *ädgü* ‘bon, excellent’ (UHyS), *Ädgü* PN (UCivSa 03:8), *ädgü* ‘gut’ (UCivAd 03:21), *äygi* ‘fitting’ (ABF), *äygü* ‘good, good (n.)’ (AGul), *eḏgü* ‘iyi’, *eḏgülük*, *eygülük* ‘iyilik’ (AHMA), *äḏgü* ‘dobry, najlepszy’, *äḏgülük* ‘dobro, dobroć, dobre uczynki’ (AHŠ), *äzgü* (-ḏ-) ‘horošij, dobryj, nailučšij, dobro’ (AHŠF), *ädgü* ‘horošij’ (AIM), *äδgü*, *äygü* ‘iyi’ (AIMI), *eyü* ‘good’ (AKD), *äḏgü* ‘good’ (AKor), *äḏgü*, *äygü* ‘dobryj, horošij’ (AM), *äḍgü* ‘iyi’ (ANeh), *äzgü* (-ḏ-) ‘horošij, dobryj, nailučšij, dobro’ (ANehF), *äδgü* ‘well, righteous’ (ARbg), *äδgü*, *äzgü*, *äygü* ‘horošij, dobryj, zdorovyj’ (ATef), *äḍgü* ‘iyi’, *äḍgülük* ‘iyilik’ (AYC), *iygü* ‘horošij, dobryj, horošo’ (AChagBud), *ädgü*, *äygü*, *ödgü* ‘dostojnyj’ (AChagLN), ? *iyiγ* (sic!) ‘deb, eyi, huşyar, açık göz, kendine gelmiş, klug, gut, mit offenem Blick’ (AChagŠSK), *eyü*, *eyi*, *iyi* ‘gut, schön, wohl’, *izgü* ‘gut’ (AChagZ), *eygi*, *egi* ‘gut’, *eygilik*, *egilik*, *iygilik* ‘Güte, Wohlwollen, Gnade’ (LCCG), *eygi*, *eyi* ‘gut’ (LCCI), *äygü* ‘eyi’ (AAH), *eygü* ‘eygi; iyi, yahşi’, *eyü* ‘yahşi’ (AAHI), *äygi* ‘gut’ (AHou), *ägü*, *igi*, *iyi* ‘horošij, dobryj’ (ATuh), *egi*, *eyi*, *igi* ‘iyi’ (ATuhA), *igi* ‘good, well’ (AmCh), *igi* ‘bon, bien’ (AmE), *eygi*, *eyi*, *eyü*, *iyü* ‘iyi’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *ĭră* (*ĭr*) ‘dobro, *sušč.* horošee, prijatnoe, dobryj, horošij, prijatnyj, horošo, prijatno, uvažaemyj, dostojnyj uvaženija, dobroporjadočnyj, (mif.) dobryj duh, *s častičej ta v*

kačestve vvodn. sl. horošo' (Chuv), *ïră* (*ïrĭ*) 'dobryj, horošij, prevoshodnyj, otličnyj, zdorovyj, milyj, počtennyj, svjatoj, dobro, horošo, po-horošemu' (ChuvA), *ïră*, Szp. id. 'jó, gut' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *izge* 'svjaščennyj, svjatoj, blagoj, dobryj, (rel.) svjatoj, blagočestivyj' (Tat ← MChuv), *izge* 'szent, jámbor, jó; heilig, fromm, gut' (TatB), *ige* '(bor.) yaxšï', *izge* '(dini) böten gomeren allga bagïšlagan häm üze ülgännän soŋ dingä ïšanučïlarnïŋ yaklaučïsï dip il˝an itelgän, allaga yakïn (zat, äüliyä, päygambär turïnda) etc.' (TatE), *izge* 'svjatoj, svjaščennyj, dobryj. horošij, blagoj (ust.), (rel.) svjatoj, blagočestivyj', *ige* '(razg.) horošij, dobryj' (Bashk), *iygi* '(redko) horošo, horošij, dobro' (Kirg), *ezgĭ*, *ĭzgĭ* '(adj.) kind, good, cherished, sacred', *igĭ* [iygi] 'good, kind, helpful, useful, well, better' (Kaz), *iygĭ* 'blagorodnyj, poleznyj, dobroželatel´nyj, dobryj' (KazB), *ezgĭ*, *ĭzgĭ* 'svjaščennyj, zavetnyj', *iygĭ* 'lučše, horošo', *iygi* 'dobryj, poleznyj' (KazM), *izgĭ* 'fromm, gottesfürchtig, gut, trefflich, freigiebig' (KazR), *iygi* 'horošij, dobryj' (Kklp), *iygi* 'horošij' (KklpB), *iygilik* 'dobro' (RKklp), *iygi* 'horošij, blagorodnyj, dobryj, horošo, blagorodno' (Nog), *ėyi* 'horošo' (CrTat), *äyi* 'gut, schön' (CrTatR), *iyi* 'horošij' (KarT), *ėgi* 'horošij, dobryj, krasivyj', *ėyi* 'horošij, prevoshodnyj' (KarH), *ägi* 'gut, schön' (KarLR), *igi* 'horošij, horošo, kak sleduet, horošen´ko' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ėygilik* 'blagopolučie, dobro, blago' (Tkm), *eyi*, *iyi* 'good, well, in good health, kind, beneficial' (Tt), *ī* 'horošij, dobryj, horošo' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ėzgu* '(knižn.) blagoj, dobryj', *ėgilik* 'dostoinstva, horošie kačestva *ili* storony (čego-l.), dobroe delo, blagodejanie' (Uzb), *izgu* 'good' (TurkiSh), *äzgü* '(rel.) svjatoj, (peren.) dobryj, horošij' (MUyg), *ii*, *ī*, *i* 'bon, vrai, juste' (SalK); ***NE*** *äy* 'passend, genügend' (AltLR), *ėy* 'vporu, v samyj raz' (AltQK), *is* 'imuščestvo, dobro, bogatstvo', *izĭ*: *izĭ-čox* 'neudobnyj, neskladnyj (ob odežde), neudobno, ne po sebe' (Khak), *es* 'bewegliches Eigentum, Habe, Waren, alles was sich in der Jurte befindet (Geräte, Kleidung, Teppiche, Kostbarkeiten etc.)' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *äs* 'der Schmuck (der Frauen, wie Ohrringe, Kopfbehang u.s.w.)' (KhakShR), ? *ėki* 'horošij, horošo, lučšij, lučše, dobryj, zdravstvujte', *et* 'imuščestvo, vešč´ (predmet) obihoda' [*edilel* 'pol´zovanie, upotreblenie, vladenie, dostojanie, izdelie' (Tuv ← Mo), ? *ė˝kkĭ*, *ėkkĭ* 'horošij, prijatnyj, dobryj, horošo, ladno' (Tof); ***Y*** *ütüö*, *ötüö* 'horošij, prevoshodnyj, prekrasnyj, otličnyj, znamenityj, znatnyj, važnyj, udalec, dobryj, blagij, vseblagij, prijatnyj, čestnyj, dobryj, dobrodetel´nyj, zdorovyj, blagopolučnyj, blažennyj, dobroe, dobro, blago, blagodat´, milost´, blagost´, blagopolučie, blaženstvo, blagodenstvie, značitel´naja čast´, množestvo' (Y), *ütüö*, *ötüö* 'gut, Güte, Gutmütigkeit' (Dlg), *ötüö*, *ütüö* id. (DlgS).

Mo *ed* 'thing[s], object[s], property, possessions, belongings, article, item, (manufactured) commodity, material, haberdashery, textile, woven fabric; merchandise, matter, element, substance', *edege-* 'to recover, get well, heal' (L).

E/T The possible T etymon for the first segment of the H word *egy-ház* 'church' may be **ädü* (< **ädgü*) 'good, sacred', which is a der of the T base *äd* < PT **ād̄V*

'a thing, a manufactured article, property, goods, movable property'. Both *äd* and its der *ädgü* are well-attested in the early sources. The base word, however, later became obsolete and, with the exception of some MT and NT sources, disappeared. It is represented as an early T copy in Mo (cf. Ščerbak 1997: 113). The Tuv form *ät*, as rightly noted by Clauson (1972: 33), may be a re-borrowed form fr Mo. On the T words, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 329–330). It is uncertain whether the word *ā̲d̲* 'good omen' in Kashgari belongs with this base or whether it is a homophone.

The der *ädgü* is much better attested in the historical sources than its nominal base *äd* and it is also widespread in the MT lgs. It is not an easy task to determine the morphological segmentation of *ädgü*. Clauson (1972: 51) considered it as a simplex. Dankoff–Kelly (in the Index of the Kashgari edition) took it to be a den form of *ād* ~ *äd* 'manufactured'. Tenišev (2001: 326) was of the same opinion (**ädgü* 'dobro' < **ed* 'vešč''). According to Erdal (1991: 164), some of the OT words ending in *°gU* cannot be regarded as ders with the suff *+gU* and he wrote, "Other *°gU* lexemes like *karaŋgu* 'darkness', *ädgü* 'good, goodness' and *bäŋigü*, *mäŋigü*, *mäŋgü*, *mäŋü* 'eternal, everlasting, eternity, memorial' are even more idiosyncratic as far as their derivation is concerned". In agreement with other scholars, Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 245–247) considered the T word *ädgü* to be a der of a verbal base which, according to him, may have the phonetic shape **ey-*, **eg-*, **ed*, **ed-*, **ez-*. His reconstruction and his suggestion that the T word *eye*, *edi* 'hozjain' must also be a der fr this alternating root (see 1974–1980/1: 237–241) cannot be accepted.

The idea that a verbal base in PT could also be supposed besides the nominal one, seems, however, to be very likely. The base of Mo *edege-* 'to recover, get well, heal' (i.e. **ede-*) perhaps shows a preserved final vowel segment fr the ancient verbal base. The T and Mo data were rightly compared earlier on by Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 145; 1949: 57). The view held by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 492–493) that Mo *ed* is a T lw can also be accepted. Their PT reconstruction **ĕda* 'thing, goods', based on the unacceptable connection of PT **ed*, **ed-gü* 'thing, goods, good, excellent, good action, benefit' with PMo **aǰi-*, **ada-* 'household, work', must, however, be rejected.

The Chuv words *ĭră*, *ĭr* represent regular development; the change of the vowel quality front > back is not strange. Tat, Bashk *izge*, Kaz *ezgĭ*, *ĭzgĭ* preserved the WOT meaning 'holy' and are MChuv copies (see Róna-Tas 1977a: 293–298; 1982d: 152–157; and **író**, **karó**). The link between Chuv *ĭră* and WOT **arïg* is less probable; see **ártány**.

E/H H *egyház* 'church' is a compound of *egy* 'holy, sacred' and *ház* 'house'. The latter element is a preserved inheritance fr FUgr. The word *egy* 'holy' is an obsolete lexical element, but existed at the beginning of the 13th c., e.g. in *Igfon* [id′-fon] 'sacred, holy forest' (*fon* 'forest'). Nowadays, it can only be used in the word *egyház*, and does not occur as an independent word. The word *egy* 'holy', however,

may be etymologically connected with the root of some H words; see **üdül** ‘to take a holy day’, **ül** in *ünnepet ül-* ‘to observe a holy day’, **ünnep** ‘holy day’ and perhaps *üdvözül-*, all with an OH base **id′*. The copied form for the H word *egy* ‘holy’ could be WOT **edü*, **ädi* ‘good, holy’. The disappearance of the internal segment *-g-* after another consonant may be considered as a Chuv or WOT phonetic feature – as Ligeti and others did – but it must be added that this phenomenon also occurs in other parts of Turcia. The question of the exact phonetic quality of the *-d-* in the lending form must remain open here. It cannot be excluded that it was a [d′], but its secondary palatalisation could also have occurred in H, cf. § 6.2.2.

Vámbéry (1882a: 317) considered the first element of the H word *egyház* ‘church’ to be of T origin and he compared it with T *eye*, *ege* etc. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1494–1495), H *ëgy* is of doubtful origin. The interrelation of H *ëgy* with T **ädgü* ‘good, morally good’ seems to be, according to them, not very plausible because the H word originally had an initial *i-*; cf. *igy* (< *igyi ~ ügyü*). Németh (1921–1925b: 243) assumed *ëgy* is of BulgT origin and reconstructed the copied form as **ädgü* ‘good, holy’ . He noted, however, that the internal *-g-* might already have disappeared in T; see **bér**. Németh considered that the T source of *ëgy* could also be a der other than **ädgü* fr the same base. For this assumption he reconstructed the forms **ädi* or **ädü* fr a verbal base **äd-* and mentioned OUyg *ädi* ‘sehr, gut’ in support of his hypothesis. Németh’s explanation was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 59). According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 724–725), the OT origin of OH **id ~ *igy* can hardly be accepted because of phonetic, morphological and semantic problems. According to an idea posited by Räsänen (1969: 164–165), the H word could be a copy of T **ī̄-duk*. Ligeti (1986: 34) considered the H word *egy*° ‘holy’ to be an OChuv lw fr **edü* (< *edgü*). Benkő (1993–1997/1: 302, 602) changed his earlier opinion and accepted Ligeti’s explanation. As an interesting semantic parallel to H *egyház*, Ligeti (1986: 34) mentioned the same T constructions (cf. *yïx-öv* (LCC), *yïḫov* ‘église’, *yïḫkun* ‘dimanche’ (AmE)), which consist of the words *ïduk* ‘holy’ (Clauson 1972: 46) and *äb* ‘house’ (Clauson 1972: 3–4) with the meaning ‘temple’. According to Ligeti (1986: 120, 195), the T copied form might have a closed initial *ė-* or a dial *i-*. If the T copied form had an initial **i-* (**idü*) in this word, one can assume the well-documented internal H phonetic change **i-* > **e-*.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 317; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1494–1495; Németh 1921–1925b: 242–243; Bárczi 1941: 59; Ramstedt 1949: 57; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 145; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 176–178; Egorov 1964: 67, 344; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 724–725; Räsänen 1969: 164–165; Clauson 1972: 3–4, 33, 41, 46, 51; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 237–241, 245–247, 329–330; Róna-Tas 1977a: 293–298; Róna-Tas 1982d: 152–157; Ligeti 1986: 29, 33–34, 71, 120, 185, 195, 271, 528, 530; Erdal 1991: 164; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 302, 602; Fedotov 1996/1: 161–162; Fedotov 1996/2: 474–475; Róna-Tas 1997a: 288; Ščerbak 1997: 113–114, 119; Tenišev 2001: 324–326; Tietze 2002: 758; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 492–494.

ÉK [ēk] ‘wedge’ | 1213/1550 ? PN *Ecuft* [ek-üšt], 1508 *ekeken* [ek-eken], dial *ík* [īk] ‘a piece of material covering the armhole of a shirt’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 52) | *ēk* ← WOT **ēk* < **ā̆k* | EOT **ā̆k* id.

Of possible T origin.

OT ? *īk* ‘spindle’, a variant of *yīk*, *iyik* (AK); **MT** ? *ik* ‘kołowrotek, wrzeciono’ (AHŠ), ? *yig* ‘vereteno’ (AIM), *ik* ‘iğ’ (AIMI, but see Clauson 1972: 99: ? *iyīk* ‘spindle’), ? *yik* ‘spindle’ (AKD), ? *ek-* ‘intercaler, insérer’ (AChag), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (AChagR), <’YK> (AChagS), ? *ig* ‘an instrument with which they spin thread’ (AChagSC), ? *ek* ‘Gelenk, Fuge, Verbindungspunkt zweier Körper’, ? *ig* ‘Spindel’ (AChagZ), *iy* ‘kleiner, spitzer Gegenstand’, *iy qayïŋ* ‘Kiefer’ (LCCG), *ik* (r: *ig*) ‘ip eğirmeğe mahsus şiş’ (AAH), ? *ik*, *yik* ‘fuseau’(ADur), *yik* ‘Spindel’, *ig* ‘vereteno, prjalka’ (ATuh), *ig* ‘iğ’ (ATuhA), ? *iğ* ‘mihver, kutup’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xak* ‘klin (*kusok tkani*)’ (Chuv), *xak* ‘klin v odežde’ (ChuvA), *xak* ‘betoldás (ruhában); Keil, Einschiebsel (in einem Kleide)’ (ChuvP), ? *yĕke* ‘vereteno, veretennyj, os′, steržen′, osevoj, steržnevoj’ (Chuv), ? *yĕke* ‘vereteno, čast′ mel′nicy’ (ChuvA), ? *yĕke* Szp. id. ‘orsó; Spindel’ (ChuvP), *ăyă* = *iyĕ* ‘stameska’ (Chuv), *i* ‘doloto’, *ăyă* id. (ChuvA), *ăyyi*, *iyĕ* ‘véső; Meissel’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yek* ‘ščel′, paz, poloska (zametnaja sklepka meždu dvuh dosok)’ (Bashk), *iyik* ‘vereteno’ (Kirg), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (KirgR), ? *žĭk* ‘facet, (tech.) joint, junction, stratification’ (Kaz), ? *iyik* ‘vereteno’ (Kklp), *ėk* ‘probka, zatyčka’ (KarH); ***SW*** *ā̆k* ‘klin (všivaemyj v odeždu)’, *īk* ‘vereteno’ (Tkm), *ā̆k* ‘časti kolesa’ (TkmD), *iy* ‘cev′e, vereteno’ (Az), ? *ek* ‘joint, join, seam, scar, knot (tree), a piece joined to another piece to lengthen or widen it, (gram.) suffix, affix, prefix’, ? *iğ* ‘spindle, pivot, axis, axle’ (Tt), ? *ek* ‘priloženie, dobavlenie, dopolnenie, (anat.) pridatok, (gram.) affiks, suffiks’, ? *iğ* ‘(tekst.) vereteno, motovilo, (teh.) steržen′, os′, špindel′’, *iğtaşı* ‘žernov’ (TtB), ? *ek* ‘sustav, sočlenenie, zveno’, ? *ī* ‘vereteno’ (Gag); ***Kh*** ? *äk* ‘Faden, der beim Spinnen im Augenblick des Drehens aus dem Holz, das man zum sich hin und her (“nach links und rechts”) Bewegen in den Boden gesteckt hat, herausspringt’ [Ob zu Ttü. *ek* ‘Verbindung, Halsband, Anfügsel’?] (Kh); ***SE*** ? *yik* ‘(obl.) vereteno, cevka’, *ik* ‘(obl.) vereteno’ (Uzb), ? *yik*, *dʒik* ‘spindle’ (TurkiJ), ? *ik* ‘vereteno’ (TurkiL), ? *iyik* ‘a distaff’ (TurkiSh), *yig* ‘die Spindel’ (TurkiTR), ? *yik*, *žik* ‘vereteno’ (MUyg), *žik* ‘malen′koe vereteno, vereteno (paločka s kamnem)’ (YUyg), *džek* ‘malen′koe veretence’, *žik* ‘vereteno (paločka s kamnem)’ (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *iyik* ‘vereteno’ (Alt), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (AltR), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (AltLR), ? *īk* ‘vereteno’ (AltQK), ? *iyik* ‘vereteno’ (AltTK), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (AltTelR), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (KhakShR), ? *īk* ‘die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund’ (ChulR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ig* ‘spindle’ (L).

E/T One can surmise three possibilities: 1. One word that exists in the T lgs is surely connected with the H word, *āk* 'klin (všivaemyj v odežde)' (Tkm); only these two pertain to one another.

2. Perhaps the following words also belong with them. The initial *χ-* of the Chuv data is strange: *χak* 'klin (kusok tkani)' (Chuv), *χak* 'klin v odežde' (ChuvA), *χak* 'betoldás (ruhában); Keil, Einschiebsel (in einem Kleide)' (ChuvP). These data must back to *hāk*, with an odd preservation of the PT **h-* or a secondary *x-*. It is uncertain that several words with the meaning 'wedge' or any piece of wood or metal which can be inserted or stuck into a piece of material, joint etc. belong here; ? *ek* 'Gelenk, Fuge, Verbindungspunkt zweier Körper' (ACahgZ), *ėk* 'probka, zatyčka' (KarH), *ā̆k* 'časti kolesa' (TkmD), *ek* 'joint, join, seam, scar, knot (tree), a piece joined to another piece to lengthen or widen it, (gram.) suffix, affix, prefix' (Tt), *ek* 'sustav, sočlenenie, zveno' (Gag), *äk* "?Schwungradholz", 'Faden, der beim Spinnen im Augenblick des Drehens aus dem Holz, das man zum sich hin und her ("nach links und rechts") Bewegen in den Boden gesteckt hat, herausspringt' (Kh).

3. Finally, the word family for 'spindle' may be connected somehow with the word in question. In most cases, words for 'spindle' also have the meaning 'peg, plug': *īk* 'spindle', a variant of *yīk*, *iyik* (AK), *īk* 'die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund' (AChagR, KirgR), *yĕke* 'vereteno, veretennyj, os′, steržen′, osevoj, steržnevoj' (Chuv), ? *žik* 'facet, (tech.) joint, junction, stratification' (Kaz), *iğ* 'spindle, pivot, axis, axle' (Tt), *īk* 'die Spindel, der hölzerne Pflock, Stempel, Spund' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR, KhakShR, ChulR). On further data, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 336). These data have the initial alternation *ī- ~ yī-* (sometimes also *iyi-*) as of the OT period, which may point to the existence of an etymological long initial vowel in PT, to which perhaps a prothetic *y-* could also be added. One can perhaps see this prothetic *y-* in Chuv *yĕke* if the word belongs here. Its final *-e*, however, needs further investigation. Hypothetically, one can assume that the word had an ending *+Ak* > *+Ag*, which appears in some Chuv words originally consisting of one syllable.

As regards the third possibility, one can assume a reconstructed PT base **hāk̆V*, in which the alternation **hā̆* ~ (**y*)*ī* occurred very early. In one group of T lgs, *ā̆* > *e* was preserved; in the other it was *ī*, *yi*. There are serious problems with this hypothesis, however. Besides the semantic difficulties, its weakest point is that we do not know of any convincing data which can strengthen the reconstruction of the PT **h-* in this word. As we have seen, Chuv *x-* is dubious and Kh has no *h-*. Ramstedt (1949: 203) compared T *īk* (*yīk*) with Kor *pida* 'to spin'; cf. also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1141). Egorov's (1964: 77) etymological idea that Chuv *yĕke* 'vereteno' and its corresponding T forms go back to the verbal base *äg-* 'to bend' cannot be accepted. According to Fedotov (1996/1: 190), Chuv *yĕke* is the same word as T *ik*, *yig* etc.

According to Ščerbak (1997: 123), the Mo word *ig* is an OT lw. Ščerbak's opinion was accepted by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1141).

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 140) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. His attempt, however, was based on T data which cannot possibly belong with the H word. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1509–1510), the H word is of debated origin. Its FUgr etymology has serious phonetic problems. Bárczi (1941: 60) regarded the H word to be of plausible Ugr origin, but he added that there are phonetic difficulties with the Ugr etymology. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 732; 1993–1997/1: 305), the H word is perhaps an ancient inheritance fr Ugr or FUgr. Rédei saw serious phonological problems in the Ugr origin of the H word (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 846). Ligeti did not mention H *ék* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 140; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1509–1510; Bárczi 1941: 60; Ramstedt 1949: 203; Egorov 1964: 77; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 732; Clauson 1972: 99; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 336; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 52; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 846; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 305; Fedotov 1996/2: 190; Róna-Tas 1997a: 89; Ščerbak 1997: 123; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1141.

EKE [eke] 'plough' | 1331 GN *Ekee-mezo* [eke-mezö], 1332/1337 *ekemezev* [eke-mezō̆], 1358 GN *Kysekemezeu* [kiš-eke-mezō̆], c1395 *ekew* [ekō̆], 1467 *ekee* [eke], dial *eki* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 52) | *eke* < **ekeɣ* ← WOT **äkäɣ* < **äk-* {with suff -(*A*)*g*} | EOT *äk-* 'to sow (seed)'.

OT *äk-*: *uruġ äk-* 'to sow' (UShōAv, Erdal 1991: 213), *äkin* 'Saat' (UTT VI:14), *äkin* (UHochzeit 3, Erdal 1991: 304), *äk-* 'to sow, spread', *uruġ äkti* 'he sowed the seed', *ol tariġ äkdi* 'he sowed the seed', *äkim*: *bīr äkim yēr* 'land of an amount that can be sown at one time', (Oġuz) *äkin* 'sown land', *äkit-*: *ol tarïġ äkitti* 'he had the seed sown', the same for a powder that one spreads, *äktür-*: *ol tarïġ äktürdi* 'he had the seed sown' (AK), *ek-* 'to sow' (AQB); **MT** *äkin* 'sown field' (ABF), *äk-*, *ek-* 'to sow', *äkinči* 'a sower', *ekinči* 'peasant' (AGul), *ekin* 'ekin' (AHMA), *ek-* 'siać, zasiewać, czynić zasiewy', *ekinči* 'rolnik (siewca!), chlop' (AHŠ), *ek-* 'sejať, sažať, zasevať zemlju, proizvodiť sev', *ekin* 'posev, posevnoj' (AHŠF), *äk-* 'sejať' (AIM), *ek-* 'ekin ekmek', *ekinlik* 'ekin yeri, tarla' (AIMI), *äkin* 'seed, green crops, sown field, arable land' (AKor), *ek-* 'ek-' (ANeh), *ek-* 'sejať, sažať, zasevať zemlju, proizvodiť sev', *ekin* 'posev, posevnoj' (ANehF), *ek-* 'to sow', *äkin* '(a field with) crops', *ekinči* 'sower, farmer' (ARbg), *äkin* 'posev' (ATef), *ekinǰilik* 'ekincilik' (AYC), *ek-* 'semer', ? *iŋ-* <'YNK-> 'semer', *ekin* 'graine, semence, champ ensemencé' (AChag), *ik-* (r: *ėk-*) 'ekin ekmek' (AChagAb), *ik-* 'ekin ekmek' (AChagAbA), *ikin* 'vetés [crop]' (AChagAbV), *ekil-* 'byť posejannym' (AChagB), *äk-* 'säen, pflanzen' (AChagR), <'YK-> (AChagS), *ėk-* 'kāštan (to sow)', *ėktür-* 'kārānīdan (to order to cultivate)' (AChagSC), *ek-* 'serpmek, zer gars etmek' (AChagŠS), *ik-* (r: *ek-*) 'serpmek; säen, streuen', *iken* 'ekin; Saat' (AChagŠSK), *ek-* 'säen, streuen, bestreuen (mit Salz, Zucker u.s.w.), besprengen, das Feld besäen, den Acker bestellen', ? *ïŋ-*: *ïŋmaq* = *ek-* 'säen' (AChagZ), *exär* (*ekär*?)

(ehar – according to Grønbech it is a typo of echar) ‘Pflanze’ (LCCI), *äk-* ‘ekmek’, *äkin* ‘ekin’ (AAH), *iktü* ‘ekin, zahire, darı’ (AAHI), *äk-* (*-är*) ‘siać’, *äkin* ‘zasiew (pola); semaille, semence’ (ABul), *äkinči* (*äkinǰi*) ‘semeur, laboureur, agriculteur’, *äkin* ‘emblavure’ (ADur), *äk-* ‘säen’, *äkin* ‘Saat’ (AHou), *äk-* ‘vet; säen’, *äkin* ‘vetés; Saat’ (AKav), *äk-* ‘sejaťʼ, *äkin*, *ikin* ‘posev’ (ATuh), *ekin* ‘ekin’ (ATuhA), *ek-* ‘semer’ (AmTr), *ek-* ‘tohum at-, dök-, saç-, serpiçtir-, telef et-, harca-’, *ekin* ‘buğday’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *aka* ‘pahota, pašnja, pahotnyj, sev, posevnaja, posevnoj, (ust.) borozda’, *aka* ‘(ust.) starinnyj plug, saban’, *ak-* ‘sejaťʼ, zasevaťʼ, (peren.) tranžiriťʼ, rastračivaťʼʼ (Chuv), *aka* ‘dvukolyj plug; saban’, *ak-* ‘serere, semen spargere’ (ChuvA), *aka*, Szp. id. ‘eke; Pflug’, *ak-*, Szp. id. ‘vetni; säen’ (ChuvP), ***NW*** *ik-* ‘(s.-h.) obrabatyvaťʼ, obrabotaťʼ, vozdelyvaťʼ, vozdelaťʼ, kulʹtivirovaťʼ, vyraščivaťʼ, vyrastiťʼ, razvoditʼ (kakuju-l. kulʹturu)’, *igen* ‘hleb, hleba (v pole), (sobir.) zerno’ (Tat), *igen* ‘szántás-vetés; Ackerbau, Bestellung des Ackers’ (TatB), *ik-* ‘ackern, beackern, Bäume pflanzen, Wurzeln einpflanzen’ (TatKR), *igen* ‘basu, kïr; hlebnoe pole’ (TatD1), *igen igä-* ‘igen ik-; zanimaťsja hlebopašestvom’ (TatD2), *ik-* ‘vyraščivaťʼ, vozdelyvaťʼʼ (Bashk), *ik-* ‘ackern, beackern, Bäume pflanzen, Wurzeln einpflanzen’ (BashkR), *ik-* ‘igü; pahaťʼ, vozdelyvaťʼ, kulʹtivirovaťʼ; agač utïrtu; posaditʼ derevo, rassaditʼ posredstvom kornej’ (SibTat), *ik-* ‘ackern, beackern, Bäume pflanzen, Wurzeln einpflanzen’ (SibTatTR), *ėk-* ‘sejaťʼ, sažaťʼ, obrabatyvaťʼ (pod sev)’ (Kirg), *ek-* ‘to till, cultivate (the land), to sow, plant, to inoculate, vaccinate’, *egĭn* ‘sowings, standing crop’ (Kaz), *ek-* ‘sejaťʼ, zasevaťʼ, sažaťʼ, privivaťʼʼ, *egin* ‘posevy, hleb (v pole), hlebnyj’ (KazM), *ek-* ‘posaditʼ, privitʼ, rassaditʼ, sažaťʼ, sejaťʼʼ (KazB), *ek-* ‘sejaťʼ, sažaťʼʼ, *egin*, *egis* ‘posev, sev, posevnoj, (s.-h.) kulʹtura’, *egiw* ‘sev čego-l., posadka (napr. kartofelja)’ (Kklp), *ek-* ‘sejaťʼʼ, *egin* ‘posev’ (KklpB), *ėk-* ‘sejaťʼ, sažaťʼ, rastvorjaťʼ (v židkosti)’, *ėgin* ‘sev, posev, posevnoj’ (Nog), *ėk-* ‘sejaťʼʼ, *ėkin* ‘posev’ (CrTat); ***SW*** *ėk-* ‘sejaťʼ, sažaťʼʼ, *ėkin* ‘posev, posevnoj, kulʹtura’ (Tkm), *äk-* ‘sejaťʼ, posejaťʼ, sažaťʼ, nasažaťʼ, posaditʼ, sbytʹʼ, splavitʼ (kogo-nibudʹʼ), otoslaťʼ kuda-to pod kakim-libo predlogom, otdelaťʼsja ot kogo-nibudʹʼ, *äkin* ‘sev, posev, posevnoj’ (Az), *ek-* ‘to sow, to sprinkle (salt), scatter, to drop, leave behind one, (slang) to put off, to leave in the cold, (slang) to spend, to throw about (money), (slang) to kill, (slang) to hit, strike, to rain blows upon’, *ekin* ‘crop, growning grain, sowing of seed, flowerbed’ (Tt), *ek-* ‘zasevaťʼ, obrabatyvaťʼ, sejaťʼʼ (TtB), *ek-* ‘sejaťʼʼ, *ekin* ‘posev, posevy, hleba, hleb’ (Gag), *äk-*, *äć-*, *ạk-*, *ȧk-*, *ạɢ-*, *ẹk-* ‘säen’, *ẹkän* ‘Beet’, *deymä äkäʹrik* ‘Regenfeld, Ackerbau ohne künstliche Bewässerung’ (Khor), *äk-* ‘(aus)säen, pflanzen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *häk-* ‘säen, aussäen, pflanzen’ (Kh), *häk-* ‘säen’, *häkīn* ‘Aussaat’ (KhT); ***SE*** *ėk-* ‘sejaťʼ, sažaťʼʼ, *ėkin* ‘posev, posevnoj, kulʹtura’ (Uzb), *igin*, *ikin* ‘a young crop’ (TurkiSh), *äk-* ‘sejaťʼ, zasevaťʼʼ (MUyg), *i’-*, *ex-*, *e’-*, *ih-* ‘sejaťʼʼ (Sal), *ix-*, *ʸix-*, *ex-* ‘semer, labourer’ [Pot. *äx-*, *ix-*, *yax-* ‘labourer’] (SalK); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Clauson suggested (1972: 109, 725–726) reading *ekin* instead of *kün* in three inscriptions with the metaphorical meaning ‘progeny’ for ‘seed, crop’, and at the

same time reading the binom *el kün* as *elkün*, more precisely *elgün* with a coll suff *+gUn*. In these inscriptions, the reading <ü> may sometimes be uncertain, but the correct vowel is /ü/. The correct reading *kün* in the inscription at Elegest (Ščerbak 1964: 145–149 l.(5)) is what was read by Ščerbak as <kün> in *künim kïz kadašïm* (Ščerbak 1963: 145). It is the same with the two inscriptions edited by Malov (1952: 17, 80): E3 (Uyuk-Turan l. (1)) *künim kadašïm* and E44 (Kyzyl čira (5)) *kadašïm künim*. Vasilev (1983) re-checked the inscriptions and he transcribed <ü> in E3, but <i> in E44. However, this is only a question of visibility. The right vertical stroke of <ü> was not visible anymore in E44, so Ü > I. It is possible that we have to read *küŋ* here (i.e. it is <n²> written here, instead of <ŋ>) 'female slave'. It is more likely that *kün* must be read, and this is the word which we find in the binom *el-kün*. In any case, *ekin* 'progeny' must be ruled out.

The T etymon for the H word is a der of the widespread T verbal base *äk-* 'to sow, strew' < PT **häkV-* id. The verb *äk-* has many ders in Kashgari (*äkil-*, *äkin-*, *äkit-*, *äktür-*, *äkim*, *äkindi*), but some of them do not occur later (see Erdal 1991: 304, n. 337). On the original vowel quality (**ä*), see Az *äk-* and Chuv *ak-*; on the reconstruction of PT **h-*, see Kh *häk-* 'säen, aussäen, pflanzen'. We should remain open to the possibility that this *h-* goes back to an earlier *p-*; see § 6.2.1, 6.2.6. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 251) erroneously thought that there was also another alternative form **eŋ-*, besides the T verb *äk-* 'to sow, strew'. His assumption was based on the miswritten Chag forms *iŋ-* <'YNK-> 'semer' (AChag) and *ïŋ-*: *ïŋmaq* (AChagZ). Sevortjan, however, rightly pointed out that Ramstedt (1949: 53) erroneously connected the T verb with Kor *e̲kta-* 'to drag along'. Ramstedt's comparison was also rejected by Ligeti (1986: 49). The attempt in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1132) to reconstruct a PA verb **pʻèkʻà-* 'to emit, throw' needs further investigation.

The original meaning of the T verb could be 'to sow, strew', thus the meanings 'to crop, farm' and thence 'to plough' may be secondary meanings which, however, did not occur very late. The verb with the meaning 'to plough' is attested in several T lgs and that is very important for the T etymology of the H word *eke*. These secondary meanings can be found in Tat, TatKR, TatD, Bashk, BashkR, SibTat, SibTatTR, TtB, thus Ligeti (1986: 47) is wrong when he writes that the T verb *äk-* does not have the meaning 'to plough' in the T lgs. It is also very important that the Chuv word *aka* means not only 'old wooden plough with two wheels', but also 'pahota, pašnja' and '(ust.) borozda'. The semantic change 'to sow' > 'to plough' occurred with the sowing plough, on which see Á. Molnár (1982: 215–224).

The words *äkmäk* (*ätmäk*, *äpmäk*) 'bread', which also occur with initial labial (*ö-*) in some T lgs, cannot possibly belong here, as already demonstrated by Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 254–255); see e.g. *äkmäk* 'bread' (AGul), *ėt´m´ak*, *öt´m´ak* 'hleb' (KarT), *ekmek* 'hleb, hlebnyj' (Gag), *emex* 'hleb' (Sal).

The morphological segmentation of the Chuv form *aka* can be considered as the crucial point for the T etymology of the H word. It is certain that the Chuv verb *ak-* and the noun *aka* are etymologically linked. The morphological structure of *aka* seems, however, to be unclear.

As we have already seen in the case of the internal T reconstruction, the PT verbal base consisted of two syllables PT **häkV-*. If the final vowel segment of the PT base **häkV-* was a vowel with primary or secondary low quality, then the morphonological process of the word final and suff initial fusing produced *ä*: **häkä-*(*X*)*g* > **häkäg* > Chuv *äkäγ* > *aka*. It is more probable that WOT had -(*A*)*g* in place of EOT -(*X*)*g* (Erdal 1991: 172–223). The EOT function, among others, of forming the name of instruments, pertains here as well. Chuv *tuya* 'palka' < WOT *tayag*, EOT*tayag* has a similar structure; see **csipa**, **dara**, Chuv *sïsna* etc. (see Levitskaja 1976: 153).

It would be less plausible to reconstruct a PT form *häk°-gA* for the Chuv data, as proposed by Levitskaja (1976: 153). The suff *-gA*, which was no longer productive in OT (on the details, see Erdal 1991: 376–382), could originally be added either to tr or to intr bases. Thus the old suff *-gA*, if it was added to the verbal base (< **häk°-*), could form either an instrument nominal ('plough') or a noun with the meaning 'sown field' or 'throw'. In this case, we should presume the double consonant *-kk-* > *-k-* was simplified early on and that *-k-* regularly became *-k-* [G] in Chuv. According to Levitskaja, similar ders are Chuv *süre* 'borona' < *sür-* 'boronit′' (cf. Tt *sürgü* 'harrow'), *śïra* 'čerta' < *śïr-* 'čertit′' etc. (on more examples, see Levitskaja 1976: 153). However, in all these cases we can suppose the suff -(*A*)*g*: *sür-* > WOT **süräg* > Chuv *süre* and so on.

This was supposed by earlier researchers. Ligeti's (1986: 47) attempt to give the word a segmentation *ak-a*, i.e. to suggest that a dev nominal suff was added to the verbal base, can be regarded as unlikely. (According to Ligeti, the Chuv suff *-a* could be a counterpart of the suff *-k* in the CT lgs.)

The Chuv word was also borrowed into Cher (Räsänen 1920: 110), and it is also present as a copied form in Voty *aka-jaška* (Wichman 1903: 37); cf. also Fedotov (1996/1: 31).

E/H The H word is a copy of WOT **äk-äγ*. It was erroneously connected by Vámbéry (1870: 141) with T words which surely cannot be related with this word. It was Munkácsi (1895a: 268) who first pointed out that H *eke* and Chuv *aka* may have been linked. Gombocz (1912b: 69–70) and then Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1510) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **äkäg* for the H word. According to Bárczi (1941: 60), the base of the T etymon for the H word is present in many T lgs. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 733) accepted Gombocz's etymology. He suggested that the final vowel in the H word would regularly have been **-ő* or **-é*, therefore one can assume an internal secondary development **-ő* / **-é* > *-e* in H, on which see the dial forms *eki*,

ekí. According to Ligeti (1975: 286; 1976b: 198; 1986: 47, 289, 531), the H word shows clear Chuv criteria and it may be an important linguistic trace of BulgT or Khaz corn cultivation, for which see also **arat**, **árpa**, **búza**, **őr(öl)**, **sarló** and **tarló**. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 305–306) believed the H word to be an early Chuv copy. According to him the borrowed form could be **äkäk* or **äkäg*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 141; Munkácsi 1895a: 268; Wichmann 1903: 37; Gombocz 1912b: 69–70; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1510; Räsänen 1920: 110; Bárczi 1941: 60; Ramstedt 1949: 53; Malov 1952: 17, 80; Ščerbak 1964: 145; Egorov 1964: 22–23, 23; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 733; Clauson 1972: 109, 725–726; Balassa 1973: 174–175; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 251–252, 254–255; Ligeti 1975: 286; Levitskaja 1976: 153; Ligeti 1976b: 198; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 52; Molnár 1982: 215–224; Vasilev 1983; Ligeti 1986: 47, 49, 85, 120, 182, 201, 287, 289, 531; Erdal 1991: 172–261, 213, 297, 304, 376–382; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 305–306; Fedotov 1996/1: 30–31; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Tietze 2002: 700; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1132.

ENGED [enged] 'to allow, permit, concede; yield, give way' | c1195/late 12th c. *engede* [enged-e] 'to allow', p1416/c1450 *èngėdèlmèl* [enged-elmmel] 'to forgive', 1449 'to give way', 1645 'to grow milder' | *enged-* < **eng-* {with suff *-(V)d-*} ⟵ WOT **äŋ-* || **engesztel** [engestel] 'to propitiate' | p1416/c1450 *èngèztèl* [engestel-y] 'to compel sy to obedience', p1416/c1450 'to propitiate' | *engestel-* < **eng-* {with suff *-Ast-* and *-(V)l-*} ⟵ WOT **äŋ-* | EOT *äg-*, *äŋ-* 'to bend', *äŋit-* 'to bend, bow something'.

OT *äg-* 'krümmen': *ägip* (UUII 47:72), *äng-* 'biegen' (UTTV A: 57), *äŋid-* 'sich verneigen' (UUigTot), *ëŋit-* 'beugen' (TTVIII), *äg-* 'to bend': *ol butaq ägdi* 'he bent the branch (or other)', *tāg̈ig uqruqïn ägmā̈s* 'the (lofty) mountain cannot be bent with a lasso' (AK), *eg-* 'to bend' (AQB), *ėgim* (äkim̲ – aya ki m̲) '-fältig' (B K: 8), *ėŋit-* 'beugen': *ėŋitmä* (ėŋitmā̈ – eya ŋi tmyā) (B G:60); **MT** *eg-* 'eymek', *egil-* 'eyilmek' (UY), *ägin* 'shoulder' (ABF), *eg-* 'to bend, incline', *egil-* 'to bend' (AGul), *eg-* 'eğmek' (AHMA), *ig-* (r: *eg-*) 'chylić, schylać', *igil-* 'pochylać się, być pochylonym', *ägil-* 'pochylić się, zgarbić się', *äkil-* (*ägil-*) 'pochylić się, zgiąć się' (AHŠ), *eg-* 'nagibat', sklonjat'', *egil-* (~ *ägil-*) 'naklonjat'sja, sognut'sja' (AHŠF), *ägil-* 'skrivit'sja' (AIM), *eg-* 'dürmek' (doğru manası 'bükmek') (AIMI), *eg-* 'to bend, to curve' (AKD), *ägil-* 'to be curved' (AKor), *egdür-* 'sklonjat' (na vernyj put')' (ANehF), *äŋ-*, *eŋ-* 'to bow', *eg-* 'to change': *bu oġlannï egä bilmädim* 'I haven't been able to make this boy change his mind' (ARbg), *eg-* 'eymek', *egil-* 'eyilmek' (AYC), *eg-* 'courber' (AChag), *igme* 'eğilmiş iki kat olmuş' (AChagAb), *igme* 'eğilmiş iki kat olmuş' (AChagAbA), *igme* 'meggörbült, meghajtott (valami) [curved, bowed (of an object)]' (AChagAbV), *egmä* 'sognutyj, sogbennyj' (AChagB), *egiš-* 'görbülni, összehajtódni [to curve, fold up]' (AChagBL), *ig-* 'sognut', nakloniť, složiť, zalomiť (šapku)' (AChagBud), *äg-* 'biegen, herabbeugen, herabbiegen' (AChagR), <'YK-, 'YN-> (AChagS), *ėg-* 'xam kardan (to bend)' (AChagSC), *eg-* 'egmek, çarpık etmek' (AChagŠS), *eg-* 'krümmen, biegen, beugen, bücken, falten' (AChagZ), *eŋ-* 'sich herabbeugen' (LCCG), *äg-* 'eğmek' (AAH), *äg-*, *äng-* 'krümmen' (AHou), *eg-* 'to bend down', *egil-* 'to bend, to bend down,

to lean' (AMGh), *ägil-* 'sgibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja', *iyil-* id., *äŋil-* 'sklonjatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja', *ig-* 'naklonjatʹ' (ATuh), *egil-* 'eğilmek', *eyil-* id., *eng-* 'eğmek', *engil-* 'eğilmek' (ATuhA), *eg-* '(se) pencher, s' incliner' (AmTr), *eg-* 'pencher' (AmE), *eğil-* 'inhiraf et-, sap-' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *av-* 'gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, gnutʹ, plesti, (peren.) sklonjatʹ (na svoju storonu), ulamyvatʹ *razg.*, slomitʹ, odoletʹ', *avăn-* 'gnutʹsja, sgibatʹsja, izgibatʹsja, iskrivljatʹsja, petljatʹ, izvivatʹsja, delatʹ izviliny, nagibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja, (peren.) gnutʹsja, lomatʹsja, poddavatʹsja, drognutʹ' (Chuv), *av-* 'flectere, inflectere, incurvare, gnutʹ, sgibatʹ', *ay-* 'inflectere, incurvare, gnutʹ, sgibatʹ' (ChuvA), *av-*, Szp. id. 'hajlítani, meghajtatni; biegen', *avăn-* 'hajlani; sich biegen, gebogen werden' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *iy-* 'oblezatʹ, oblezʹ, linjatʹ (o šersti životnyh), sklonjatʹ, sklonitʹ, nagibatʹ, nagnutʹ, gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, sognutʹ, prigibatʹ, prignutʹ', *ey-* 'meghajtani; biegen', *eyel-* 'hajlani; sich biegen, gebogen werden', *igil-*, *eyel-* 'hajolni, görbülni; sich biegen, krümmen', (TatB), *ī-* 'herabbiegen, herabbeugen' (TatKR), *iy-*, *ėy-* 'bögü, bögep yasau, mäsälän, tägärmänče; gnutʹ, delatʹ, naprimer, koleso', *iyeŋke* 'yagïmlï; privetlivyj, laskovyj' (TatD1), *iŋ-* 'batu, bayu (koyaš turïnda); zajti, zakatitʹsja (o solnce)' (TatD2), *iŋ-* 'lejőni, leszállni, leereszkedni; herabsteigen, sich hinablassen' (TatB), *ėy-* '(prjam., peren.) klonitʹ, naklonjatʹ, gnutʹ, nagibatʹ, sgibatʹ, podgibatʹ, progibatʹ', *iŋkeü* 'naklonnyj, pokatyj (o mestnosti), sklon, uklon, skat', *iŋkäy-* 'naklonjatʹsja, sklonjatʹsja, nagibatʹsja' (Bashk), *iŋ-* = *iyil-* = *iŋkäy-* 'iyelü; nagibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja, sognutʹsja; söyälep toru; prislonjatʹsja', *iŋgäy-* 'bökräy- – gorbitʹsja', *iŋgäk* 'bökräygän, sognutyj' (SibTat), *iŋ-* 'sich beugen, sich herabbeugen' (SibTatBR), *iy-* 'gnutʹ, sgibatʹ', *ėŋ-* '(o vsadnike i nekotoryh hiščnyh pticah) naklonivšisʹ *ili* opustivšisʹ, kosnutʹsja zemli', *ėŋil-* 'nagibatʹsja', *eŋkey-* 'nagibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja, (o vsadnike) sklonitʹsja vpered (kogda on mčitsja ili sobiraetsja pomčatʹsja)' (Kirg), *i-* 'to bend, curve, incline, tilt (tr.), to get soft (of udders), to let milk run (of a cow when milked), (fig.) to become generous', *eŋkey-* 'to bend (intr.), to stoop' (Kaz), *eŋkey-* 'naklonjatʹsja, prigibatʹsja', *iy-* 'gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, razmjaknutʹ (o vymeni), spustitʹ (moloko), (peren.) razdobritʹsja' (KazM), *iy-* 'sgibatʹ, zagibatʹ, zagnutʹ, peregnutʹ, pognutʹ, priklonitʹ' (KazB), *iy-* 'gnutʹ, sgibatʹ' (Kklp), *iy-* 'gnutʹ, sognutʹ' (RKklp), *iy-* 'nagibatʹ, skolnjatʹ, gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, izgibatʹ, iskrivljatʹ, vydoitʹ ostavšeesja v vymeni moloko', *iyil-* 'gnutʹsja, sgibatʹsja' (Nog), *iyilʹ-* 'sgibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja, nizko klanjatʹsja' (KarH), *ėg-* 'sgibatʹ', *ėgilʹ-* 'nagibatʹsja, sklonjatʹsja' (KarC), *iyilʹ-* 'sgibatʹsja, naklonjatʹsja, nagibatʹsja, bytʹ sognutym, uklonjatʹsja, uvertyvatʹsja' (KarC, KarT), *ilʹ-* 'sgibatʹsja' (KarT), *ėk-* (dial.): *bašïn ėk-* 'opuskatʹ golovu, poniknutʹ golovoj', *iy-* 'preklonjatʹ, nagibatʹ, naklonjatʹ' (Kum), *iy-* 'otpuskatʹ, osvobožditʹ kogo, opuskatʹ čto, upustitʹ, uronitʹ čto, dopuskatʹ kogo k čemu, razrešatʹ komu (čto-l delatʹ), (těh.) zapuskatʹ, vključatʹ *čto*', *iyil- – strad. k iy-*, 'naklonjatʹsja, nagibatʹsja, (peren.) soglašatʹsja, sklonjatʹsja na čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ėg-* 'nagibatʹ, naklonjatʹ, gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, izgibatʹ, iskrivljatʹ' (Tkm), *äy-* 'gnutʹ, sgibatʹ, iskrivljatʹ, korobitʹ, klonitʹ, naklonjatʹ, sklonjatʹ', *äyil-* 'nagibatʹsja, nagnutʹsja,

nakloniťsja, naklonjaťsja, gnuťsja, sgibaťsja, kriviťsja, iskrivljaťsja, sgorbiťsja etc.' (Az), *eğ-*, *iğ-* 'to bend, to curve, to bow, to incline, to persuade' (Tt), *eğ-*, *iğ-* 'naklonjaťsja, sgibaťsja, gnuťsja' (TtB), *iyiri* 'krivoj' (Gag), *äg-* 'beugen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *äy-* 'beugen', *äyil-* 'gebeugt werden, sich beugen' (Kh); ***SE*** *ėg-* 'nagibaťsja, sklonjaťsja, gnuťsja, sgibaťsja, izgibaťsja, iskrivljaťsja' (Uzb), *eg-* 'to bend, to bow', *ɛŋiš-* 'to bow' (TurkiJ), *ig-* 'to bend' (TurkiSh), *äg-* 'biegen, herabbeugen, herabbiegen' (TurkiTR), *eg-* 'sgibaťsja, prigibaťsja' (TurkiL), *äg-* 'gnuťsja, nagibaťsja, naklonjaťsja, prigibaťsja, sgibaťsja, zagibaťsja, izgibaťsja, (peren.) sklonjaťsja, preklonjaťsja' (MUyg); ***NE*** *ėŋi-* 'naklonjaťsja, nagibaťsja' (Alt), *äŋ-* 'beugen, herabbeugen, zusammenbiegen' (AltR, AltTelR), *ėg-* 'gnuťsja, sgibaťsja čto-l.' (Khak), *eg-* 'biegen, herabbeugen, herabbiegen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *ig̱-* 'zusammenbiegen' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *äg-* 'biegen, herabbeugen, herabbiegen' (ChulR), *ėg-* 'povoračivaťsja obratno, vozvraščaťsja, sgibaťsja, gnuťsja, delaťsja dugoobraznym' (Tuv), *ėg-* 'sgibaťsja, gnuťsja, povoračivaťsja, svoračivaťsja (s dorogi), vozvraščaťsja' (Tof); ***Y*** *iäx-* 'gnuťsja (obrazovaťsja iz čego dugu ne lomaja), byťsja raspoložennym, sočuvstvovaťsja, simpatizirovaťsja', *iŋnär-* 'naklonjaťsja čto (Acc.), nakrenivaťsja na bok (ušat, vedro)', *iägäi-* 'gnuťsja, sgibaťsja, izgibaťsja, nagibaťsja na bok (otnositeľno čeloveka), nakrenivaťsja; sklonjaťsja celikom', *ögülün-* 'stanoviťsja krivym, iskrivljaťsja, gnuťsja (pognuťsja), izgibaťsja, vygibaťsja, zagibaťsja' (Y), *iäk-* 'biegen' (Dlg), *iäk-* 'biegen, krümmen, verbiegen', *iŋnär-* 'biegen, beugen, neigen' (DlgS).

E/T Clauson (1972: 168) hesitatingly considered T *äŋ-* 'to bend' to be a possible secondary form of the synonym *äg-* 'to bend (something *Acc.*)', occasionally, with 'head' or 'neck', understood as 'to bow' (1972: 99–100), but he ultimately thought that *äŋ-* and *äg-* may also be independent verbs. In his monograph on OT word formation, Erdal discussed *äg-* and *äŋ-* in certain cases (1991: 294, *äg-im* / *äŋ-im* 'fold'; 305, *ägin* / *äŋin* 'anything bent'; 317, *äg-mä* 'an arch (in a house)' etc.) and wrote (757) that *äŋ-* is perhaps a variant of *äg-* 'to bend'. Despite opinions posited by Clauson and Erdal, *äŋ-* has to be a primary form and *äg-* secondary. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 331) rightly observes that forms with *-ŋ* are older than those with *-g*. His assumption that *eŋ-* / *iŋ-* (!) perhaps goes back to **en-ik-* > **enk-* cannot be categorically repudiated, but there are no known intermediary forms with the segment *-n-*, thus Sevortjan's hypothesis cannot be verified. The word has to be separated fr *en-* 'to descend, come down', even if this word has forms with *-ŋ* in some T lgs (see *iŋ-* 'lejőni, leszállni, leereszkedni; herabsteigen, sich hinablassen' (TatB)). The vocalism shows an interesting alternation of long and short vowels and of open /ä/ and closed /e/, as well as the occurrence of the second /i/; see *eg-* 'to bend, to bow', *ɛŋiš-* 'to bow' (TurkiJ), *ig-* 'to bend' (TurkiSh), *äg-* 'biegen, herabbeugen, herabbiegen' (TurkiTR), *eg-* 'sgibaťsja, prigibaťsja' (TurkiL). The notations are, however, not always consistent. The *äg-* > *iy*(*i*)- change is possible if we depart fr a bisyllabic stem. For PT one can propose the form **äŋV-* (the OT caus *ėŋit-* 'beugen': *ėŋitmä* (ėŋitmā̆ – eya ŋi tmyā) (BG60)

shows very clearly that the word consisted of two syllables). It is also possible that the OT verb *ägir-*, *äŋir-* 'to surround, encircle or besiege, spin or twirl thread' can be connected with this base (as previously assumed by Erdal (1991: 536): "If there is such a connection, it can only be through the formative -(*I*)*r*-"). This question needs further investigation and it can be separated fr the problem of the T etymon for the H verb.

Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 101) and recently Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 494–495) attempted to find etymologically related parallels to the T base in the so-called "Altaic" lgs. Both of these attempts have their difficulties. PA **ĕgi-* does not take into account forms with a nasal *ŋ-*.

E/H The T etymology of the H word proposed by Vámbéry (1914: 153) was based mainly on data which cannot possibly belong here. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1562–1564), the base of the H verb is of unknown origin but the segment *-d* in *enged-* may be a H freq suff. Bárczi (1941: 64) and then Benkő (1967–1984/1: 768–769) were of the same opinion. Palló (1982: 70–71) considered the H verb to be of T origin and assumed a copied form *äŋ-*, *äg-* 'to bend, to bow'. It was also pointed out by her that the meaning of this verb is related in some T lgs and also in H to the semantic field in which we find 'to allow, permit', 'to obey' and 'to bow'. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 323) accepted Palló's etymology. According to him, the T copied form could be **äŋg-*, to which the dev verbal suff -(*V*)*d-* was added in H. Ligeti did not mention *enged-* among the T lws of the H lg.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 153; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1562–1564; Räsänen 1920: 110; Bárczi 1941: 64; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 101; Egorov 1964: 19; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 768–769; Räsänen 1969: 37, 168; Clauson 1972: 99–100, 168; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 331; Palló 1982: 70–71; Erdal 1991: 294, 305, 317, 536, 757; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 323; Fedotov 1996/1: 23–24, 28; Tietze 2002: 694; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 494–495.

ENŐ [enȭ] *arch* 'community work in agriculture, a kind of corvée' | c1226 *eneu* [eneü] in: debent facere communem aratrum que dicitur *Eneu*, 1240 araturam communem que vulgariter *Eneu* dicitur (OklSz) | *enȭ* < *eneu̯* < *ineγ* ← WOT **inäγ* < **in-* {with suff -(*X*)*g*} | EOT **üneg* and **ümä* 'mutual help' < *ün-*, *in-* 'to call, invite' {with suff *-mA*} | See also **vendég**.

OT *ün* 'son, voix', *üntä-* 'crier, élever la voix' (UHamTouHou), *ün* 'Stimme' (UHeilk I:146), *üntä-* 'rufen', *üntädäči til* 'die rufende Zunge' (UTTI 108), *ün* 'Stimme, Klang' (UTTV A:104), *ün* 'Stimme' (UMI, UMIII 45,5), *uluġ ünin ündädi maŋradï* 'called out with a loud voice and shouted' (UMIII 9,12–13), *ümä* 'guest who stays in one's house', *ümä kälsä qut kälīr* 'When a guest comes (to you) good luck comes (with him)', *ün*, *ün̄* 'voice', *ündä-* 'call', *ol mäni ündädi* 'he called me' (AK), *ümä* 'guest', *ün* 'voice', *ünde-* 'to call, to invite, to say' (AQB), *ümä*: *ümäg ädgü tutgïl* 'treat a guest well' (AQB); **MT** *ün* 'voice' (ABF), *indä-* 'to call, invite', *ündä-* 'to invoke, call upon', *ün* 'voice' (AGul), *ün* 'ses, ün', *ünde-* 'çağırmak, dâvet etmek,

duâ etmek', *ünleš-* 'çağrışmak' (AHMA), *ün* 'glos, dźwięk, pianie', *ündä-* 'wołać, nawoływać, zapraszać', *ündäg*(*siz*) 'bez wezwania, samorzutnie' (AHŠ), *ün* 'golos, zvuk, penie', *ündä-* 'zvatʹ, priglašatʹ, *ündägsiz* 'bez vyzova, bez priglašenija, samoproizvolʹno' (AHŠF), *ün̄* 'golosʹ' (AIM), *ün* 'ses', *ünde-* 'seslenmek, çağırmak' (AIMI), *ün* 'voice, sound, whisper', *ündä-* 'to call, invite, proclaim' (AKor), *ünde-* 'çağır-, seslen-, davet et-' (ANeh), *ündä-* 'zvatʹ, priglašatʹ' (ANehF), *ün*: *ün kötür-*, *ün kötär-* 'to let out a shout', *ündä-*, *indä-* 'to shout, call out, to summon' (ARbg), *ün* 'golos', *indä-* 'zvatʹ, kričatʹ', *ündä-* 'podavatʹ golos, zvatʹ', *indä-* 'zvatʹ, kričatʹ' (ATef), *indä-* 'inviter, appeller chez soi', *ün* 'voix', *ündä-* 'élever la voix, appeler' (AChag), *indä-* 'davet et-, kığır-', *ündä-* 'kığır-, davet eyle-' (AChagAb), *inde-* 'davet etmek, kığırmak', *ünde-* 'kığırmak, davet eylemek' (AChagAbA), *inde-*, *ünde-* 'meghív [to invite]' (AChagAbV), *ün* 'golos, vozglas' (AChagB), *indekči* 'hivogató, aki valami vendégségre szokott hívni [someone who usually invites someone else to be guest]' (AChagBL), *indä-*, *ündä-* 'zvatʹ, prizyvatʹ, priglašatʹ, privetstvovatʹ' (AChagBud), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme', *ündä-* 'einen Ton von sich geben, schreien, rufen' (AChagR), <'WN; 'WNDA- / 'YNDA-> (AChagS), *ün* 'ṣadā wa āwāz (voice, sound)', *ündä-* (spelt) 'ṣadā zadan (to call out) wa daʿwat kardan (to invite)', *indä-* (spelt) 'ba-xāna ṭalabīdan (to invite to one's house)' (AChagSC), *onda-* (sic!) 'schreien, rufen, herbeirufen', *ön* (sic!) 'Stimme, insbesondere von der Stimme der Tiere, lautes Geräusch, Ruf' (AChagZ), *ün* 'Laut, Stimme', *ündä-*, *ünde-* 'rufen, herbeirufen, einladen, melden' (LCCI, LCCG), *ün* 'ses', *ündä-* 'çağırmak, seslenmek, davet etmek' (AAH), *ün* 'Stimme, Geräusch', *ündä-* 'rufen' (AHou), *ün* 'hang; Laut', *ündä-* 'kiált; rufen' (AKav), *ündä-* 'zvatʹ, priglašatʹ' (ATuh), *ünde-* 'ünlemek' (ATuhA), *unda-* 'appeler, citer en justice' (AmE), *ün* 'ses, yüksek ses, nida, avaz, sada', *ünde-* (*inde-*, *ünle-*, *ünne-*) 'seslen-, çağır-, davet et-' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *nime* 'pomočʹ ust. (kollektivnaja pomošćʹ)' (Chuv), *vime*, *mime*, *nime* 'pomočʹ' (ChuvA), *mime*, Szp. *mimme* 'kaláka (= a szomszédok, ismerősök aratási munka idején kisegítik a gazdát, aki azután jutalmul megvendégeli őket); eine Hilfsarbeit zu der Erntezeit, zu welcher die Nachbaren und Bekannten sich versammeln und welcher dann ein von dem Hauswirt gegebenes Gastmahl folgt)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ömä* 'pomoč, podmoga v selʹskih rabotah, kollektivnaja pomošćʹ, subbotnik, voskresnik', *öndä-* 'prizyvatʹ, prizvatʹ (kogo-l.), obraščatʹsja (obratitʹsja) s prizyvom, ugovarivatʹ, ugovoritʹ, agitirovatʹ, sagitirovatʹ' (Tat), *bemä*, *bimä* 'ömä; pomočʹ, kollektivnaja pomošćʹ' (TatD1), *ümä* 'ömä; pomočʹ, kollektivnaja pomošćʹ', *öndä-* 'čakïru; zvatʹ' (TatD1), *ömä bašï* 'ömä bašlïgï; glava, veduščij, vo vremja pomoči, podmogi', *ümä* 'ömä; pomočʹ, kollektivnaja pomošćʹ' (TatD2), *ömä* 'segítség, kaláka; Hilfarbeit' (TatB), *ömä* 'eine Hülfsarbeit, zu der die Bekannten eingeladen werden' (TatKR), *ömä* 'kollektivnaja pomošćʹ (obyčno v selʹskoj mestnosti), subbotnik, vokresnik' (Bashk), *ön* 'tavïš; golos', ? *öndäü* 'yaučï; svat, svaha' (SibTat), *ündä-* 'prizyvatʹ' (SibTatBD), *ündö-* 'prizyvatʹ (gl. obr.

lovčuju pticu), (ili *ün de-*) izdavatʹ zvuk, molvitʹ' (Kirg), *üme* 'help', *ün* 'sound, tone', *ünde-*, *ündö-* 'to voice, to call, to give voice, to summon, to respond, to comment (on)' (Kaz), *üme* 'pomočʹ', *ünde-* 'prizyvatʹ' (KazM), *ün* 'golos, zvuk, ton', *ünde-* 'govoritʹ', *ündew* 'prizyv, vozzvanie, obraščenie, proklamacija', *inde-* 'molvitʹ (slovo), govoritʹ' (Kklp), *ünde-* 'izdavatʹ zvuk, podavatʹ golos, govoritʹ', *ün* 'zvuk, golos' (Nog), *inde-* 'podatʹ golos' (CrTat), *indė-* 'zvatʹ, prizyvatʹ, priglašatʹ, zvatʹ, nazyvatʹ, podavatʹ golos, govoritʹ, šeptatʹ' (KarH, KarC, KarT), *ündė-*, *inda-* 'zvatʹ' (KarC), *ünʹde-* 'podavatʹ golos, kričatʹ, zvatʹ, sozyvatʹ' (KarC, KarT), *inʹdʹa-* 'zvatʹ, vyzyvatʹ, prizyvatʹ, priglašatʹ, nazyvatʹ, obzyvatʹ' (KarT), *ön* (balk.) 'golos, tembr, ton, melodija, (rel.) propovedʹ, nazidanie, nastavlenie, nravoučenie, moralʹ' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *üme* 'sbor devušek, ženščin dlja pomošči odnoj iz nih v šitʹe', *üyn* [*ǖn*] 'zvuk, golos', *ünde-* 'nastavljatʹ, prizyvatʹ, zvatʹ' (Tkm), *ün* 'golos, šum, sluh, molva', *imäǰi* 'posobnik, dobrovolʹno i bezvozmezdno pomogajuščij v rabote' (Az), *ünde-* arch, same as *ünle-*, *ünle-* '(prov.) to cry out, to give out a sound, to sing' (Tt), *ünde* '(dial.) vozglas, vykrik, vosklicanie', *ünle-* '(dial.) kričatʹ, zvatʹ, gromko opoveščatʹ, petʹ' (TtB), *imece*, *imeci*, *emeč* 'birçok kimselerin toplanıp elbirliğiyle bir kişinin işini görmesi' (TtD), *meǰi* 'pomošč', ? *on-* 'prositʹ pomošči (v rabote)' (Gag), *i̱n*, *īn*, *i̱n* 'Stimme, Laut, Ton' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *un* 'zvuk, golos', *unda-* 'priglašatʹ, prizyvatʹ (k čemu-l.)' (Uzb), *u̇n* 'sound, tone, tune, voice, melody', *u̇ndɛ-* 'to cry like a bird', *u̇nlɛ-*, *u̇llɛ-* id., *inde-*, *indɛ-* 'to invite, to entice, to call' (TurkiJ), *ün* 'a voice, a sound', *ünda-* 'to summon with the voice (without crying out)' (TurkiSh), *indä-* 'laskatʹ rebenka (njuhatʹ rebenka), prinimatʹ k sebe, obraščatʹ vnimanie', *inde-* 'priglašatʹ', *ün* 'golos, slova, rečʹ, krik' (TurkiL), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (TurkiTR), ? *öm* 'družno', *öm išli-* 'rabotatʹ družno', *ömäk* 'obščestvo, kružok', *ömlük* 'edinstvo, spajannostʹ', *ömläškän* 'kollektivnyj, sovmestnyj', *ün* 'zvuk, golos', *ündi-* 'molvitʹ, vymolvitʹ, promolvitʹ, prizyvatʹ, priglašatʹ, ugovarivatʹ, vzyvatʹ, vosklicatʹ' (MUyg), *un*, *u̇n* 'golos' (Sal), *uni*, *uni̱*, *ūnʹi* 'voix' [Pot. *ün*] (SalK), *un-* 'priglašatʹ, zvatʹ' (YUyg), *on*, *un* 'golos', *unši-* 'čitatʹ, proiznasitʹ' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ömö* 'sovet', *ömö surap aldïr-* 'vyzvatʹ dlja togo, čtoby polučitʹ sovet', *ün* 'golos, zvuk, ton' (Alt), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (AltR), *ün* der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (AltLR), *ün* 'golos', *ünde-* 'zvatʹ, zvatʹ v gosti, priglašatʹ, priglasitʹ' (AltQK), *ün* 'golos, zvuk' (AltTK), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (AltTelR), *öme* 'obščimi silami, soobšča, sovmestno', *ün* '(v razn. znač.) golos, zvuk, ton', *ünne-* 'izdavatʹ zvuk, podavatʹ golos' (Khak), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *ün* 'der Klang, Ton, ein heller Ton, die Stimme' (ChulR), *ün* '(v razn. znač.) zvuk, (prjam. i peren.) golos' (Tuv), *ün* 'golos' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *öme čerig* 'reinforcements (mil.)', *ömüg* 'guard, protection, shelter, reinforcement', *ömügle-* 'to aid, to protect', *ömüle-* 'to help, aid, support, side with' (L).

E/T In the several T sources, we find *ün̄* ‘call, sound, voice, the one who is called: the guest’. The etymological long vowel has been preserved in Tkm (cf. Clauson 1972: 167; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 625–626). Instead of the old etymological initial rounded vowel, one can sometimes find unrounded representatives and alternating vowels *ü-*, *i-* as of the MT period; cf. *ündä-*, *indä-* ‘to shout, call out, to summon’ (ARbg), *indä-* ‘zvat′, kričat′’, *ündä-* ‘podavat′ golos, zvat′’ (ATef), *indä-* ‘inviter, appeller chez soi’, *ün* ‘voix’, *ündä-* ‘élever la voix, appeler’ (AChag) etc. (The word forms with an unrounded vowel were collected by Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 356–357) under the entry *inde-* ‘prizyvat′’.) Further, we find *ün̄-* ‘to call, to invite’, *ünde-* ‘to call here, to invite, to summon’ and *üme* ‘mutual help etc.’ The last word is the result of the following morphological procedure: *ün̄-mA* > **ün̄mmä* > *ümä* (> **ün̄mmä* > Chuv *vime* > *mime* (*mimme*) > *nime*. The initial segments *n-*, *m-* in Chuv are secondary; the segment *vi-* is a regular representation of the initial **ū-*. An older Chuv lw, *bime* can be found in Tat. The internal Chuv long consonant *-mm-* in *mimme* may be a preserved geminate, but even a secondary one on the place of an earlier simplified geminate. *-mA* is a dev nominal suff (Erdal 1991: 316) and “*üme*” denotes the special type of collective work or mutual help in building a house or at harvest time. **ündäg* was formed fr the verb *ündä-* ‘to invite’ with the dev suff *-(X)g* (on which see **vendég**), and this word was fixed in *ündägsiz* (AHŠ) ‘without invitation, free, of his/her own will’.

Neither Clauson (1972: 156, *ömā̆* ‘visitor, guest’), nor Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 633, *üme*, *imeje* ‘kollektivnaja rabota’) mentioned the interrelation between *ümä*, *imäjä* and the base *ün* ‘voice, sound’.

Munkácsi (1905: 378–379) attempted to connect the Tat data *ömä* ‘helpmate’ and Cher *vimä* id. with Skrt *ūmá-* id. The merely coincidental similarity between the T words and the Skrt word was also noted by Egorov (1964: 140). The Skrt word pertains to the basic verb *av-* ‘fördern, helfen, schützen’ > *ūma* ‘Helfer, Nothelfer, Freund’ (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 134). On the Cher and Voty words of Chuv origin, see Fedotov (1996/1: 358).

Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 56; 1949: 216) tied some T data (“uig. *ümä*, kaz. *ömä*, čuv. *mime*”) to Kor *phum* ‘a day’s work, exchange of work’ and Mo *ömür-* ‘zusammenarbeiten, einander helfen’, *ömü-ge* ‘Arbeitshilfe’. The Karakhanid item *ümä* ‘guest’ (AK, AQB), Chuv *nime* (Chuv), *vime*, *mime*, *nime* (ChuvA), *mime*, *mimme* ‘kaláka, segítség [voluntary mutual help]’ (ChuvP), VKip *ömä* id. (Tat, TatKR, TatD2, Bashk), Kip *üme* ‘help’ (Kaz, KazM) and Og *üme* ‘sbor devušek, ženščin dlja pomošči odnoj iz nih v šit′e’ (Tkm) are very likely related to the Mo words *öme*, *ömüg*. The Alt item *ömö* and Khak item *öme* may be re-borrowings fr Mo because of their vocalism in the first syllable. The Kor item needs further investigation.

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 618), PT **im-* ‘public gathering, to gather, collective work’ can be compared with PTu **umī-* ‘to gather’, PMo **öm-* ‘to

gather, to work collectively, help, property, inheritance' and PKor **umur-* 'to crowd, cluster'. They think that it is "a reliable common Altaic root; a small problem is fronted **im-* instead of the expected **ïm-* in Turkic". We think, however, that there are other serious problems with the comparison as well. The initial vowel **i-* (or even **ï-*) in PT **im-* cannot be compared without any argumentation with the initial rounded vowels of the other lg families. Another problem is that the PT reconstruction is only based on three items.

E/H The H word is a copy of a WOT form **inäg*. The initial vowel *e-* in the H word may be the result of H delabialization in case of a supposed **öneg*, but also of the process *i* > *e* is possible. The WOT form has a dev suff.

According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1564–1565), the H word is of unknown origin. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 208) mentioned *enő* under *ín* 'slave' but stated that the two words are most probably not connected. According to Palló (1980: 342–343), H *enő* is of T origin. However, she did not try to analyse the possible T etymon. Benkő (1993–1997) did not include *enő* under either *ín* or *ínség*. Ligeti (1986) did not list the H word among the T lws.

◆ Munkácsi 1905: 378–379; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1564–1565; Ramstedt 1949: 216; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 56; Egorov 1964: 140; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 208; Räsänen 1969: 521; Clauson 1972: 156, 167; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 356–357, 625–626, 633; Palló 1980: 342–343; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 134; Erdal 1991: 316, 418–429, 474–485; Fedotov 1996/1: 358–359; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 618.

ÉR [ēr] 'to arrive, to reach, get to', **érint** [ērint] 'to touch' | c1300 *er-e* [ēr-e], c1300 'to fulfil, to be proved', p1416/c1450 'to touch', 1519 'to reach (somewhere)' | *ēr-* < **er-* ← WOT **er-* | EOT *er-* 'to reach, arrive' →← PFUgr **šärɜ-*.

Of FUgr origin contaminated with a copy of the T verb *er-* 'to reach, get to'.

OT *tämir qapïġqa tägi erdimiz* 'we reached the Iron Gates' (RMTon 45), *äyičä erdim* 'I followed (them)' (RMShin E 3), *är-* 'ankommen' (UHtII Nr. Y 18:1882), *är-* 'to reach' (UXuanzangIndex); **MT** *eriš-* 'to arrive', *äriš-* 'to arrive, come up' (AGul), *er-* 'to reach, to cope with' (ARbg), ? *er-* 'posylatʹ': *mäŋä färyatïŋ ergil* 'pošli (okaži) mne svoju pomoščʹ' (ATef), *er-* 'arriver, parvenir' (AChag), *ir-* 'eriş-' (AChagAb), *ir-* 'erişmek' (AChagAbA), *ir!* 'érkezz!, érj el! [arrive!, get (there)!]' (AChagAbV), *eriš-* 'rassledovatʹ' (AChagB), *er-* 'sledovatʹ za kem (s dat.), soputstvovatʹ' (AChagBud), ? *ire-* 'prihoditʹ' (AChagMA ← Mo), <'YR-> (AChagS), *ėr-* occurs both as an intrans. and trans. verb 'rasīdan wa rasānīdan; to arrive, to cause to arrive' (AChagSC), *er-* 'vasıl olmak, mazher olmak' (AChagŠS), *er-*, *ir-* 'wohin reichen, gelangen, ankommen' (AChagZ), *ert-* 'vergehen (von der Zeit)' (LCCG), *ir-* (r: *er-*) 'vasıl olmak, irişmek' (AAH), *er-* 'einholen' (AHou), *er-* 'to reach', *eriš-* 'to reach' (AMGh), *yeriš-* 'to attain, arrive' (AmCh), *er-*, *ir-* 'yetişmek, kemale gelmek, erişmek, dokunmak, isabet etmek, vasil olmak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *ireš-* 'dostigatʹ, dostičʹ, dostignutʹ, dobivatʹsja, dobitʹsja' (Tat), *ireš-* 'érni, jutni, megérni; gelangen, reif werden' (TatB),

ireš- ‘dobivat′sja, dostigat′’ (Bashk), *er-* ‘to follow (tr.)’, *ert-* ‘to lead, to let someone follow oneself, to draw into’ (Kaz), *er-* ‘sledovat′ za kem-n., posledovat′ za kem-l.’ (KazM), *er-* ‘sledovat′ za kem-čem-l., primykat′, prsitavat′ v puti, uvlekat′sja’, *erdir-*, *ert-* caus. forms of *er-* (Kklp), *er-* ‘sledovat′ za kem-l., idti vsled za kem-libo’ (KklpB), *ir-*, *ėr-* ‘dostignut′’ (CrTat), *ėr-* ‘dostigat′, dohodit′, dobirat′sja’ (KarSh); ***SW*** *er-* ‘to attain, to reach, to arrive at maturity, ripen, to reach spiritual perfection’ (Tt), *er-* ‘dostigat′ čego, dohodit′ do čego, postigat′ *čto*, sozrevat′’ (TtB); ***Kh*** *ị̄ ᵉr-* ‘ankommen, erreichen, genügen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *ėriš-* ‘dobit′sja, dostignut′, udostoit′sja, dostignut′, dobrat′sja, dojti, doehat′’ (Uzb), *eyäš-* ‘sledovat′ za’, *eyeš-* ‘sledovat′’, *iriš-*, *irš-* (v. intr.) ‘to arrive up, to arrive after’ (TurkiSh), *eriš-* ‘dostigat′, dobivat′sja’ (MUyg), *eri-*, *ēri-* ‘sledovat′ (za kem-libo), sledovat′ (čemu-libo)’ (Sal); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *ire-* ‘to come, arrive, approach, aux. verb indicating the direction (in space or time) toward the speaker’ (L).

E/T As correctly stated by Clauson (1972: 194), the OT verb *er-* ‘to reach, arrive’ should be kept distinct fr *är-* ‘to be (something, somewhere etc.)’. Another problem is the clear distinction of the perfect form of *er-* fr that of *ärt-* ‘to pass’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 202). See e.g. the perfect forms of *er-* in the phrase *tämir kapïgka tägi erdimiz* <tmrKpGKA : tgI : rtmz> ‘we reached the Iron Gates’ (RMTon 45) or *äyičä erdim* <yIčA : Irtm> ‘I followed (them)’ (RMShin E 3) vs. the perfect form of *ärt-*: *anï ärt-timiz* <NIrtmz> ‘went past them’ (RMTon 44). The T verb *er-* often comes up with the co-op suff *-(X)š-*, *er-iš-* ‘to try to reach, one with respect to the other’, i.e. ‘to complete’ with some occurrences in the EOT sources; cf. Erdal (1991: 557). Chuv *śit-* ‘dostigat′, dohodit′’ goes back to PT **yet-*.

On the T verb, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 288–289: *er-* ‘dohodit′, dostigat′’). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 590), PT **ēr-* ‘to reach, to pass; dostigat′, prohodit′ mimo’ may go back to a PA verb **’īre* ‘to come, enter’, but this assumption is unconvincing. Mo *ire-* ‘to come; prihodit′’ is perhaps an old T lw.

E/H H lexicography usually distinguishes between three H verbs. *ér-*[1], which is intr ‘to get to, to reach, arrive, extend as far as’; *ér-*[2], which is tr ‘to touch (sg), to be worth, to hit, befall, catch, take, find’; and *érik-* ‘to ripen’. We claim (in agreement with Lakó, see below) that two words coincided. One word is of FUgr origin, but H also copied the T word, hence the great semantic variety and the extended word family of its ders.

Vámbéry (1870: 142) regarded the H verb *ér-* to be of T origin. According to Gombocz (1901a: 247), the H verb may be of T origin. Later, he (1912b: 70–71) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **är-*. Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1591–1596) and Németh (1942a: 4) were of the same opinion. Németh took T **er-* to be the starting point for the H verb *ér-*. Bárczi (1941: 65–66; 1952: 355–356) listed the H verb in the oldest layer of the OT elements in H. His most important argument was, how-

ever, that, like the T verb, the H verb shows a very broad semantic field. According to Lakó (1952: 368), there could also be a verb of FUgr origin with the meaning 'to touch, to reach' in H. The correspondences of this verb can be shown fr Vog, the Cher word turned out to be of Chuv origin. Besides this verb, the T lw *er-* 'to come up, arrive, to touch, to reach' could have occured in the H lg. The confusion of these two verbs could have produced the very large semantic field of H *ér-*. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 778–779) considered the H verb to be of debated origin. There are two etymological possibilities supported by facts: (1) H *ér-* may be of T origin and the copied form could be T **er-*, or less probably **är-*. Since it is part of an extended word family, it could already have been borrowed in the U homeland; (2) It may be of FUgr origin. In this case its FUgr corresponding forms may go back to FUgr **särɜ-* or **serɜ-*. According to Benkő, one cannot, however, exclude the possibility that there was a confusion between the verbs of FUgr and T origin. Katz (1971: 146) did not reject the T origin of the H verb, but he proposed its comparison with the Osty and Zyr corresponding forms. According to Palló (1982: 72–73), the H word may be of OT origin. The original meaning of the borrowed form could be 'to reach, to arrive'. This meaning underwent metaphorical semantic changes and the changes occurred on both the T and H sides. Palló stressed that the broad semantic field of the H verb *ér-* cannot be considered as a chronological criterion. Honti (1985: 446–447) repudiated the earlier FUgr explanations. He thought that H *ér-* may be interrelated with the H verb *ered-*, which is of FUgr origin and goes back to FUgr **šärɜ-* 'gelangen, erreichen, sich verbreiten'. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 497) was of the view that *ér-*, *ered-*, *ereszt-* etc. all go back to FUgr **šärɜ-* 'kommen etc'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 327), H *ér-* may be an early OT lw which could have been copied as **er-*. The FUgr origin is hardly possible. Ligeti (1986: 153, 197) mentioned *ér-* among the T lws in H without adding any remarks.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 142; Gombocz 1901a: 247; Gombocz 1912b: 15–16, 70–71; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1591–1596; Bárczi 1941: 65–66; Németh 1942a: 4; Bárczi 1952: 355–356; Lakó 1952: 368; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 778–779; Katz 1971: 146; Clauson 1972: 194, 202; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 288–289; Palló 1982: 72–73; Honti 1985: 446–447; Ligeti 1986: 153, 197; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 497; Erdal 1991: 557; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 327; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 590.

ÉRDEM [ērdem] 'merit' | p1372/c1448 *erdelmÿ* [erdelm-i], *erdemle* [erdem-le], p1416/c1450 *érdėmėt* [erdem-et], 1490 *yrdemleny* [irdem-leni], dial *érdem*, *írdem* 'of excellent value' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 200) | *ērdem* < **erdem* ← WOT **ärdäm* | EOT *ärdäm* 'virtue, excellence'.

OT *ärdäm* 'courage, manly qualities, manliness': *alpïn ärdämin üčün* 'because of his bravery and manly qualities' (RMKöl 7,12), *ärdämlig* 'capable' (RTIrk 10), *ärdäm* 'edep, terbiye, fazilet' (RTT II), *ärdäm* 'mužestvo, doblesť' (RY10, RY11, RY13 and many other occurrences), *ärdäm* 'gerojskaja doblesť' (RY29), *är* 'Mann' (UM I 15:18),

ärdäm ‘Tugend’ (UM I 5:12), *ärḍäm* ‘Tugend’ (UM III Nr. 7, III Rückseite 6), *ädrämlig* ‘fähig’ (UHt I), *ädräm* ‘Verdienst’ (UHt II), *ädräm* ‘Heilkraft’ (UHeilk II: 1,1), *ärdämlig kiši* ‘der tugendhafte Mensch’ (UTT VII 42:1), *ädiräm* ‘Tugend’ (UTT VII 17:21), *ärdäm* ‘Verdienst’ (UTT IX), *ädräm* ‘Tugend’ (UUigTot), *ädräm* ‘Tugend, Verdienst’ (UBT III), *alpïn ärdämin il tu[tmïš]* ‘durch seine Tapferkeit und Tugend das Reich ergriffen hat’ (UM III 43:4), *ärdäm* ‘Tugend’ (UManTürkTex), *ärdäm* ‘Tugend’ (UBuddhUig I), *ädräm* ‘Fähigkeit’ (UBuddhUig II), *ärdäm* ‘vertu, mérite, vaillance, virilité, nom ou éphitète’ (UManTouHou), *ärdäm* ‘refinement, virtue’, *är* ‘man’ (AK), *erdem* ‘virtue’ (AQB), *ėδrämliglär* (ėδrāmliglā̲r̲ – eya δryā mli g lyā r̲) ‘Tugendhafte’ (B H:10), *hārä* ‘Gatte’ (B D:20) [according to Gabain p. 36 one can find a rare prothetic *h-* here and one “Mongolian plus-vowel”], *ėrän* ‘Mann’ (ėrāṃ – eya ryāṃ) (B A:2); **MT** *ir* (r: *er*) ‘Mann’ (UOg), *erdem* ‘fazîlet’, *er* ‘er, kişi, adam’ (UY), *irdem* ‘fazîlet’ (UYA), *ärdim* ‘talent, habileté’ (UHyS), *Är* PN (UCivSa 02:21), *är* ‘Mann’ (UCivSa 10:4), *ärdäm* ‘virtue’, *er* ‘man’ (ABF), *ärdäm* ‘skill, craft’, *erdäm* ‘skill, art, craft’, *är*, *er* ‘man, husband, male’ (AGul), *erdem* ‘erdem’, *er* ‘kişi’ (AHMA), *erdäm*, *ärdäm* ‘cnota (virtus), męstwo’, *är*, *er* ‘mąż’ (AHŠ), *ärdäm* ‘mužestvo, mužestvennosť, sila, doblesť, iskusstvo, znanie’ (AHŠF), *erdemlig* ‘bir şeye hazırlanmış olan’ (AIMI), *er* ‘man’ (AKD), *är* ‘man’ (AKor), *äränn* ‘mužčina, muž, otvažnyj voin’ (ANehF), *ärdäm*, *erdäm* ‘good qualities, [adj. courageous]’ (ARbg), *är* ‘muž, mužčina, voin, vitjazʹ’ (ATef), *erdem* ‘fazîlet’, *er* ‘er, kişi, adam’ (AYC), *irdäm* (r: *erdäm*) ‘sipahilik ve silahşorluk mehareti’ (AChagAb), *irdem* ‘sipahilik ve silahşorluk mehareti’ (AChagAbA), *irdem* ‘iskusstvo sraženija, borʹby vladenija oružiem’ (AChagBud), *er* ‘man, male’ (AChagG), *er* ‘mužčina, muž’ (AChagLN), <’YRDAM> (AChagS), *ėrdäm* (spelt) ‘funūn-i furūsīyat wa ādāb-i sipāhīkarī (the science of chivalry and the military arts)’ (AChagSC), *ir*, *er* ‘Mann, Gatte’ (AChagZ), *erdem* ‘Tugend, Tüchtigkeit, Fertigkeit’, ? *erdeŋ* ‘Jungfräulichkeit, jungfräulich’ (LCCG), *erdämli* (erdamli) ‘tugenhaft’ (LCCI), *ärdäm* ‘fazilet’ (AAH), *ärdäm* ‘vernünftig’, *ärdämli* id., *är* ‘Mann’ (AHou), *är* ‘férfi; Mann’ (AKav), *ār*, *ir* ‘muž, suprug, mužčina’, *irdäm iyäsi* ‘remeslennik’ (ATuh), *irdem iyesi* ‘fenmen, fen bilen’, *er* ‘erkek, adam, er’ (ATuhA), *ėr*, ? *i̲ėr* ‘mężczyzna, mąż; homme, mari’ (AmTr), *erdem* ‘fazilet, hüner’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ar* ‘mužčina, mužskoj, muž, suprug, glava semʺi, mužnin, mužnij *razg.*’ (Chuv), *ar* ‘vir; mužčina’ (ChuvA), *ar* ‘férfi, fiú; Mann, Knabe’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ir* ‘mužčina, mužskoj, muž, suprug, mužnij, mužnin, mužčina, geroj, bogatyr’ (Tat), *ir* ‘férfi, férj; Mann, Gemahl’ (TatB), *yer* ‘ir; mužčina, muž’ (TatD1), *ir* ‘mužčina, mužskoj, muž, suprug, mužčina, geroj’ (Bashk), *ir*, *är* ‘ir; mužčina’, *iräm* ‘ir; mužčina’ (SibTat), *ėr*, *är* ‘mužčina, muž’ (SibTatBD), *ėrdem* ‘hrabrosť, mužestvo’ (Kirg), *er* ‘man, husband, hero, valiant, brave, manly’ (Kaz), *er* ‘mužčina, muž, geroj, bogatyr, hrabrec, mužestvennyj, hrabryj’ (Kklp), *ėr* ‘mužčina, mužskoj, geroj, hrabrec, mužestvennyj, hrabryj’ (Nog), *ėr* ‘muž, mužčina’ (CrTat), *ėr* ‘samec, mužčina, muž, suprug’ (KarT, KarH,

KarC), *ėr* ‘muž, suprug, mužčina, mužestvennyj čelovek’ (Kum), *ėr* ‘muž, suprug, hozjain, [nastojaščij] mužčina’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ār* ‘muž, suprug, mužčina, (peren.) molodec’ (Tkm), *ärdäm* ‘sila, moč’’, *är* ‘muž, suprug, mužestvennyj, hrabryj’ (Az), *erdem* ‘virtue’, *er* ‘male, brave man, manly man, capable man, clever man, man (of knowledge, art etc.) etc.’ (Tt), *erdem* ‘dobrodetelʹ, dostoinstvo’ (TtB), *är*, *ȧr*, *er*, *ẹr* ‘Ehemann’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *här* ‘Mann (allgemein), Ehemann’ (Kh), *här* ‘Mann, Ehemann’ (KhT); ***SE*** *ėr* ‘muž, suprug, mužčina, mužčina, mužestvennyj čelovek’ (Uzb), *ɛr*, *ɛ:*, *ɛj* ‘husband, man’ (TurkiJ), *ei* ‘muž, mužčina’ (TurkiL), *är [er] kiši* ‘a male person’ (TurkiSh), *är* ‘mužčina, muž, (peren.) geroj’, *er* ‘mužčina’ (Sal), *er qi̱š* ‘homme’ [Pot. *er kši*] (SalK), *eren*, *ören* ‘mužčina’, *yer* ‘mužčina’ (YUyg), *er*, *eren* ‘muž, mužčina’, *yer* ‘mužčina’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ėr* ‘muž, mužčina, vozmužalyj’ (Alt), *ėr* ‘mužčina, muž’, *ir* ‘muž’ (AltQK), *ėr* ‘muž, mužčina, vozmužalyj’ (AltTK), *ir-* ‘mužčina, muž, mužskoj’ (Khak), *ir* (*gïǰi*) ‘husband’ (FY), *ėrtem* ‘nauka, naučnyj’ (← Mo), *ėr* ‘mužčina, parenʹ, molodoj čelovek, samec, mužskoj’ (Tuv), *ėrdėm* ‘masterstvo, umenʻe, sposobnostʹ, talant’ (Tof ← Mo); ***Y*** *är* ‘muž, mužčina, hrabryj muž, vitjazʹ, vozmužalostʹ, sila, ėnergija, tverdostʹ, mužestvo’ (Y), *är* ‘Mann, Ehemann’ (Dlg), *är* ‘Mann, Ehemann’ (DlgS).

Mo *erdem* ‘knowledge, learning, science, skill, art, ability, wisdom, virtue, merit, [good] quality’, *ere* ‘man, male (often preceding names of animals, where in certain cases it may designate a castrated male), husband, manly, daring, bold, brave, plucky’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is a den der *är+däm* (see e.g. Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 31–32). The suff *+dAm*, however, was no longer productive in OT. It occurred very rarely, forming only adjs with a meaning that was similar or identical to that of the base (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 68–70). It is very likely a compound consisting of two suffs, as it has already been proposed by Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 209, cf. actually Erdal 1991: 70). However a verb **är+dä-* ‘*to be or become a man, to behave oneself manfully’ or the like is unknown. Since the suff *+dAm* is not productive in OT and its use is very limited, one can propose its occurrence in PT. As already mentioned by some scholars, one can find an excellent lexical parallel for the T word pair *är* ‘man’ and *ärdäm* ‘manliness, virtue’ in Lat; cf. *vir* ‘man’ – *vir+tus* ‘courage, virtue’.

The T word *är* ‘man, husband, male’ goes back to PT **hār̄ä* > **hār̄ä* > **ār̄ä* (see Doerfer 1971a: 332). Earlier, Doerfer (see e.g. 1963–1975/2: 179) argued for a PT reconstruction **ärä* and was of the opinion that T *härä* ‘Gatte’ in the Brahmi source may be another word. The etymological long vowel in the first syllable was preserved in Tkm (*ār̄*), the ancient initial **h-* and *ā̄* in Kh (*hār̄*). The assumption in Tenišev (2001: 303) that the initial *y-* in some T lgs may point to an ancient initial consonant is, however, not acceptable. The correspondence of Mo *ere* ‘man, male’ with the older form of *är* (< **ār̄ä*) is an indisputable fact. Their alleged PA origin (cf. actually Starostin–

Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 312) remains open here because we have nothing to substantiate this proposal. The traditional explanation for this T–Mo correspondence seems to be more plausible. According to this (see e.g. Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 179; Ščerbak 1997: 115), the Mo word is a copy fr PT **ärä*. Thus, the argument in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak that the Mo word cannot be a T lw because of its word-final *-e* loses its force. Erdal's new proposal (2004: 60) that Mo *ere* "does not necessarily come from **ärä* only because that form existed in Mongolic…: Mongolic *ärä* may, e.g., have been copied from the plural form *ärän*, the /n/ getting metanalysed through analogy with Mongolic *°n* stems" is very complicated and hardly acceptable. The Mod Anatolian Tt dial *äränlär* cited with the plus pl suff *+lAr* cannot help, since this very recent item fails to bear out his assumption.

The Mongols borrowed not only the basic T word, but also its der *ärdäm* (cf. Ščerbak 1997: 115), which occurs via Mo mediation in Man (*erdemu* 'Tüchtigkeit'), and fr there it was borrowed by some Tu lgs (e.g. *erdemu* 'klug', *erdemiči* 'kühn', see Doerfer 1985: 99). Tuv *ėrtem* 'nauka, naučnyj' and Tof *ėrdėm* 'masterstvo, umen′e, sposobnost′, talant' are re-borrowings fr Mo. The secondary metathetic form *ädräm* occurred in some sources very early.

The connection of Sum *ėre*, *uru* "ideogrammatic sign of the man from a strange country" with the T word, mentioned by Egorov (1964: 30), is due to mere chance and thus unacceptable.

E/H The H word is a copy of T *ärdäm*. The lengthening of the first vowel and the semantic change 'virtue' > 'merit' occurred in H. Gombocz (1912b: 71) presumed with an OChuv copied form **ärdäm*. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1598–1600), the T etymon for the H form was **ärdim*. Ligeti (1935a: 217–219) rightly proposed the morphological segmentation *är+däm* for the T word. The etymon reconstructed by Németh (1942a: 4–5) was **erdäm*. Bárczi (1941: 66) assumed an early T lw; see also Benkő (1967–1984/1: 781), Ligeti (1986: 30, 509), Benkő (1993–1997/1: 328) and Róna-Tas (1997a: 99). According to Ligeti (1986: 121), the initial *é-* in H can be explained much better if one supposes a secondary closed **e-* in the T form and cites the item *erdämli* (LCCI), which shows this secondary development in T. The length of H *é* is the result of an internal H phonetic change.

◆ Gombocz 1907a: 159; Gombocz 1912b: 71; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1598–1600; Ligeti 1935a: 217–219; Bárczi 1941: 66; Németh 1942a: 4–5; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 209; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 31–32, 179; Egorov 1964: 30; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 781; Räsänen 1969: 47; Doerfer 1971a: 332; Clauson 1972: 206–207; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 321; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 200; Doerfer 1985: 99; Ligeti 1986: 30, 48, 118, 121, 186, 188, 199, 202, 208, 271, 509; Erdal 1991: 68–70; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 328; Fedotov 1996/1: 54–55; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99; Ščerbak 1997: 115; Tenišev 2001: 303; Tietze 2002: 732; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 312; Erdal 2004: 60.

ÉRINT 'to touch' see **ér**.

ERKÖLCS [erkölč] ‘morals, morality’ | p1372/c1448 *erkewlczekben* [erkölč-ekben], c1405 *ercelch* [erkelč], c1456 *oerqwchwtekh* [örkȫč-ötek], 1470 *elkulczwth* [elkülč-öt], 1513 *erkůlče* [erkülč-e], 1527 *elkechben* [elkēč-ben], *elkȯlczeet* [elkölč-ēt], 1531 *erkylcz*et [erkülč-ēt] | *erkölč* < **erkelč* ⟵ WOT **ärkilč* < **ärkiš* < *ärk* {with suff *+A-* and *-Xš*} or *ärk-küč* | EOT *ärk* ‘authority, free will’ or *ärk-küč* ‘authority, free will’ and ‘power’.

Of debated T origin.

OT *küč* ‘strength’ (RMBilg E 11, RMKT E 12), *küč*: *ešig küčẅg ber-* ‘to give one’s services to somebody (i.e. to give company and force)’ (RMBilg E 8, RMKT E 8), *küč* ‘power, strength’ (RTIrk 17), *utsar küč ärtiŋiz* ‘vy byli sil′ny, priobretaja bogatstvo’ (RY 28), *išingin küčüngin ardatur* ‘Dein Geschäft und deine Kraft vernichten sie’ (UTTI 64), *täŋridäm kücläri* ‘himmlische Kräfte’ (UTTIII 170), *küč* ‘force, pouvoir, puissant, nom de personne’ (UHamTouHou), *küč* ‘Kraft’ (UUII), *küč* ‘Kraft’ (UUIV), *küčä-* ‘anstrengen’ (UM I 5:7), *küčün* ‘durch die Kraft’ (UM III Nr. 6:1-2), *küčlüg*: *küčlüg yruq tngrii* ‘der starke, leuchtende Gott’ (UM III Nr.10, Rückseite 7-8), *küč* ‘force’ (UXuanzangIndex), *küč* ‘Kraft’ (UHeilk II: 2,58), *kūč* ‘strength, violence or injustice’ (AK), *küč* ‘power, injustice’ (AQB), *küč* ‘Kraft’: *küčin* ‘durch die Kraft’ (küčiṃ – kyu ciṃ) (B I:5); **MT** *küč* ‘güç’, *küče-* ‘zorlamak’ (UY), *küč* ‘Macht, Kraft’ (UCivSa 02:17), *Küč* PN (UCivSa 06:22), *küč* ‘force, violence, oppression’ (AGul), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet’ (AHMA), *küč* ‘siła, moc’ (AHŠ), *küč* ‘sila, nasilie, mošč’’ (AHŠF), *gūč* ‘sila’ (AIM), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet’ (AIMI), *küčlü* ‘strong’, *küčlüg* ‘strong’, Mo *küčütü* ‘strong’ (AKD), *küč* ‘strength, force’, *küčä-* ‘to be a tyrant, be oppressive’ (AKor), *küč* (-ǰ) ‘sila’ (AM), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet, kudret, zulüm, kaba kuvvet’ (ANeh), *küč* ‘sila, nasilie, mošč’’ (ANehF), *küč* ‘power, violence, oppression, crime’ (ARbg), *küč* ‘sila’ (ATef), *küč* ‘güç’, *küčä-* ‘zorlamak’ (AYC), *güč* (-ǰ) ‘force, travail, affaire, peine’ (AChag), *küčlük* (-ǰ-) ‘kuvvetli’, *küčün* ‘güçle’ (AChagAb), *güčlük* (-ǰ-) ‘kuvvetli’, *güčün* ‘güçle’ (AChagAbA), *güčlük* (-ǰ-) ‘erős [strong]’, *güčün* ‘erővel, bajjal, alig [with effort, with trouble, barely]’ (AChagAbV), *küčlük* ‘sil′nyj, krepkij’ (AChagB), *küč* ‘sila, moč‘, vozmožnost‘, usilie, trud, tjagost′, trudnyj, tjagostnyj [cf. Mo *kücün* ‘sila’]’ (AChagBud), *küč* ‘sila, mošč’’ (AChagLN), *küč* ‘die Kraft, die Gewalttat, kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (AChagR), <KWǰ> (AChagS), *küč* ‘zūr (strength, violence)’ and ‘kār u bār wa muhimm (business, important affairs)’ – in this sense it cannot be used by itself, but only in the hend. *iš küč* (AChagSC), *göči* with Px3.sg. (r: *güč*) ‘Kraft’ (AChagŠSK), *güč* ‘Kraft, die rohe Kraft, Gewalt, Zorn, Grimm, Schwerfälligkeit, Unbeholfenheit, Ungeschick, die gegenwirkende Kraft, Schwere, Last, Schwierigkeit, Beschwerde, Kraft-Anstrengung, Arbeit, Beschäftigung, schwer, schwierig, hart, zuwider’ (AChagZ), *küč* ‘Kraft, Vermögen, Anstrengung, Arbeit’, *küčlü* ‘stark, mächtig’ (LCCI, LCCG), *küčsiz* ‘schwach’, *küče-* ‘nötigen, Gewalt antun’, *küčen-* ‘sich anstrengen’ (LCCG), *küč* ‘kuvvet, güç’ (AAH),

küç ‘difficile, dur’ (ADur), *küčsiz* ‘schwach’, *küčlü* ‘stark’ (AHou), *küčli* (-š-) ‘erős; stark’ (AKav), *küč* ‘force, strength’ (AMGh), *küč* ‘sila’ (ATuh), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet’ (ATuhA), *k’uç*, *kuç* ‘force’ (AmTr), *kuč* ‘force’, *kučlu* ‘fort’ (AmE), *güç* (güc) ‘zulüm, gadr, haksızlık, zor, cevir, eziyet, sitem, cidal, şiddet’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *köč* ‘sila, moč′, mošč′, moščnost′, moguščestvo, usilie, ėnergija, (ėk.) sily, sredstva (truda), (peren.) trud, (peren.) dejstvie, etc.’ (Tat), *köč* gäy. ‘avïr, kïyïn, čiten, tjaželyj, trudnyj, tjaželo, trudno’ (TatD), *kös* ‘köč, sila, mošč’’ (TatD2), *köč* ‘testi erő, tehetség; Körperkraft, Stärke, Fähigkeit’ (TatB), *kös* ‘(v razn. znač.) sila, mošč′, moščnost′, moguščestvo, ėnergija, usilie, naprjaženie (fizičeskoe ili moral′noe), trud, dejstvie, vlijanie, vozdejstvie (sootvetstvujuščee kreposti, nasyščennosti čego-l.), avtoritet’ (Bashk), *küc* ‘köč; sila; köčle; sil′nyj’, *köc*: *köc pöt-* ‘xäl betü, aru; obessileť, ustať’ (SibTat), *köčlü* ‘sil′nyj’, *küc* ‘sila’, *kücli* ‘sil′nyj’ (SibTatBD), *küč* ‘sila, sil′nyj, lošaď, kon′, (ist.) rabočij skot, vzjatyj na otrabotki’, *küčö-* ‘usilivať sja, zabirať silu, zadavať sja’ (Kirg), *küš* ‘force, strength, difficulty, heaviness’ (Kaz), *küš* ‘sila, ėnergija, tjažest′’ (KazM), *küš* ‘(v razn. znač.) sila, kadry, sily’ (Kklp), *küš* ‘sila’ (KklpB), *küš* ‘sila, mošč′, moguščestvo, usilie, (fiz. teh.) sila, (ėk.) sila, (jur.) sila, pravomočnost′’ (Nog), *küč* ‘sila, mošč′, tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (CrTat), *küč* ‘sila, mošč′’ (KarC), *güč* ‘sila, mošč′, moč′, (fiz., teh.) sila, (ėk.) sila, (jur.) sila, pravomočnost′’ (Kum), *küč* ‘sila, mošč′, moguščestvo, ėnergija’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *güyč* [*gӱč*] ‘sila, mošč′, moč′, (jur.) sila, pravomočnost′, (fiz., teh.) sila, (ėk.) sila’ (Tkm), *güj* ‘sila, mošč′, moščnost′, napor, usilie, nasilie’ (Az), *güc*, *güç* ‘strength, force, violence, (phys.) power’, *güç* ‘difficult, difficulty’ (Tt), *güč* ‘sila, mošč′, nesčast′e, beda, gore, pečal′’ (Gag), *güj* ‘Kraft’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *kӱ̄č* ‘Schwierigkeit, Mühsal’, *kī̤ʲč* ‘mühsam, schwierig, Kraft’ (Kh), *kīč* ‘Unterdrückung, Tyrannei’, *kӱ̄č kör-* / *kälī-* / *kälür-* ‘unterdrücken’ (KhT); ***SE*** *kuč* ‘sila, mošč′, moč′, (fiz., teh.) sila, (ėk.) sila, (tol′ko mn.) (voen.) sily, vojska’ (Uzb), *kuč*, *kүč*, *quč* ‘power, strength, force’ (TurkiJ), *küč* ‘sila’ (TurkiL), *küč* ‘strength, power’ (TurkiSh), *küč* ‘die Kraft, die Gewalttat, kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (TurkiTR), *küč* ‘sila, mošč′, moč′’ (MUyg), *kuſli* ‘sil′nyj’ (Sal), *quš* ‘force’ [Pot. *küšlüg*] (SalK), *kuš* ‘sila’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *küč* ‘sila, mošč′, usilie, sil′nyj, moščnyj, sil′no, moščno, trud, trudnyj, tjagostnyj’ (Alt), *küč* ‘die Kraft, die Gewalttat, kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (AltR), *küč* ‘die Kraft, die Gewalttat, kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (AltLR), *küč* ‘sila, sil′nyj trud, usilie, sil′nyj, krepkij, očen′, mnogo’, *küš* ‘sila, sil′nyj, trud, usilie, nužda’ (AltQK), *küč* ‘sila; die Kraft; nasilie; die Gewalttat; sil′nyj, krepkij, trudnyj; kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (AltQKR), *küč* ‘sila, mošč’’ (AltTK), *küč* ‘die Kraft, die Gewalttat, kräftig, kraftvoll, schwierig, schwer’ (AltTelR), *küs* ‘sila, mošč′, ėnergija’ (Khak), *güštïh* ‘strong’ (FY), *küčü* ‘mošč′, moščnost′’ (← Mo), *küš* ‘(v razn. znač.) sila, fizičeskij’ (Tuv), *küš* ‘sila’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kӱ̄s* ‘sila, telesnaja i duhovnaja, moč′, krepost′, vlast′, moguščestvo, dar, sposobnost′, nasilie, sil′nyj’ (Y), *küs*, *kӱ̄s* ‘Kraft’ (Dlg), *kӱ̄s huok* ‘schwach, nicht stark’ (DlgS).

Mo *küčü*(*n*) ‘power, force (also military), strength, effort, energy, validity’ (L).

E/T There are two possible solutions to determine the T etymon. (1) The base of the T etymon for the H word may be T *är*(*i*)*k*, on which see **erő**. In this case one can suppose a der fr the noun *är*(*i*)*k* with the suff *+A-* > **ärkä-* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 418–429) and fr the verbal base **ärkä-*, another der with the dev nominal suff *-Xš* > **ärkiš* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 262–275). The WOT form of this supposed and unattested EOT der would be **ärkilč* ‘strength, force’.

(2) The T etymon for the H word may be a compound consisting of two elements. The first of them is the T word *är*(*i*)*k*, on which see **erő**. The second element of the supposed compound may be T *küč* with the same or a similar meaning, ‘strength, force, power’.

The T word *küč* ‘strength, power’ (on the different secondary meanings of the word, see Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 96–98) is – except for Chuv – well-attested in the T lgs and it seems to go back to PT **kūčV*. Clauson (1972: 693) discussed it in the entry for *kūč* (*gūj*). The initial *g-* (< **k-*) (despite Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 730–731) and the final *-j* (< **-č*) of the word may be secondary. On the basis of its Mo equivalent, the original final vowel could be a high rounded one. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 96, 154; 1954: 11) compared T *küč* ‘Kraft’ and Mo *küčün* ‘Kraft’ with Man *kusun*, *husun* ‘Arbeiter’ and Kor *kuže* ‘alms, help, aid’. As already noted by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 627), Ramstedt’s attempt to find a genetic relationship here is hardly acceptable. The Man word may be a lw fr a Mo dial. The Mo word *küčü*(*n*) is of T origin; cf. Ščerbak (1997: 128).

E/H The H word *erkölcs* ‘Moral, Sitte’ documented in H as of the end of the 14th c. was considered by Bárczi (1941: 67) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 788; 1993–1997/1: 331) to be of unknown origin. According to Benkő, its T origin fr a supposed compound **ärk-küč* cannot be accepted because of the absence of this form in the T sources and because of phonetic and semantic problems in the explanation. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *erkölcs* among the T lws in H.

These etymological explanations can only be qualified as working hypotheses.

The first explanation, according to which one can assume a WOT copied form **ärkilč* ‘strength(ness)’, is not out of the question. Although the der **är*(*i*)*k+A-Xš* (*ärkäš*) is yet unattested fr OT, this circumstance itself does not make the explanation impossible. The labial vowel in the second syllable of the H word may be the result of an internal H development.

According to the second and even less probable explanation, one can presume the T compound **är*(*i*)*k+küč* ‘force’. In this case, the internal *-l-* in the H word would have resulted fr a secondary hypercorrection, on which see e.g. **ács**, **bölcs** and § 6.2.4, 6.2.8.

◆ Ramstedt 1935: 249; Bárczi 1941: 67; Joki 1952: 219–220; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 96, 154; Ramstedt 1954: 11; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 627; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 788; Räsänen 1969: 306; Clauson 1972: 693; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 96–98; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 438–439; Erdal 1991: 262–275, 418–429; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 331; Ščerbak 1997: 128; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 730–731.

ERNYED [erńed] 'to tire, lose vitality, slacken, relax' | 1803 *ernyed* [erńed] 'to fray, to get threadbare', 1816 'to lose vitality' | *erńed-* < **erin-* {with suff -(*V*)*d*-} ← WOT **ärin-* | EOT *ärin-* 'to be lazy, indolent'.

OT *arïnïp* (r: *ärinip*) *ärmägürüp* 'lässig (oder) träge werden' (ULeCoqChuast T.M. 183:5,11), *ärinügsüz* 'unermüdlich' (UHtII: 1939), *ärmägü* 'lässig' (UTTVI 021), *ärmägürsär* 'wenn irgend jemand lässig wird' (MTTII A:94), *ēr-*: *är ērdi* 'the man was lonely' – this is from lack of company, *är īšqa erindī* 'the man was indolent in the matter out of boredom' (AK), *arïg̈ din idisi kiši irinmäz qïlur barča yalnġuq iši saqïnuq kiši* 'such a man never shirks the performance of his duty', *irin-* 'to shirk' (AQB), ? *ėrmägü* 'Mattigkeit' (ėrmākü – eya rmyā kyu) (B I:8); **MT** *ernük* 'tembel, üşengeç' (AHMA), *ermegü* 'yavaş, duragan (at)' (AIMI), *ir-* 'to be weary, bored' (AKor), *ärinč*, *irinč* 'miserable', *erinčäk*, *yerinčü* 'wretched, miserable' (ARbg), ? *ärik-* 'sich langweilen, eine Leere in sich fühlen, sich sehnen, sich belästigt fühlen, nicht zufrieden sein, überdrüssig sein, Ekel empfinden, verabscheuen' (AChagR), *irinǰek* 'tembel, kahil, ağır; faul, schwer' (AChagŠSK), *erinček*, *erinčäk* (erinčak) 'faul, Faulheit' (LCCG), *irin-* 'erinmek, tembelleşmek, vücuda yorgunluk çökmek, bıkmak, usanmak' (AAHI), *irin-* (r: *ėrin-*) 'byt′ lenivym', *irinčäk* (r: *ė-*) 'lenivyj, neradivyj' (ATuh), *irin-* (r: *ėrin-*) 'erinmek, tembellik etmek', *irinček* 'tembel, erincek' (ATuhA), *ėrin-* 'se négliger, être paresseux' (AmTr), *erin-* 'tembellik etmek, üşenmek, gevşek davranmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *iren-* 'lenit′sja, poleniť sja' (Tat), *iren-* 'renyhéskedni; faulenzen', *irenčäk* 'renyhe; faul, träge' (TatB), *irek-* 'yalkaulanu, irenü; lenit′sja', *iren-* 'yalïgu, arïu, tuyu; utomit′sja, ustat′, nadoest′', *irengeč* 'yalkau, ėšlämičä tik yatučï; lentjaj, lodyr′, lenivyj' (TatD1), *irek-* 'irenü; lenit′sja, poleniť sja' (TatD2), *iren-* 'lenit′sja' (Bashk), *eren-* 'irenü, yalkaulanu; lenit′sja', *ireü* 'äkren; medlenno, tiho, edva slyšno', *irü* 'yalkaulïk, yalkau; lenost′, lenivo', *irencäk* 'yalkau; lenivyj' (SibTat), ? *yĕrä-* 'iznemogat′' (SibTatBD), *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja' (Kirg), *erĭnšekten-* 'to be lazy', ? *erik-* 'to be bored, to become infuriated from idleness' (Kaz), *erin-* 'lenit′sja, lodyrničat' (KazB), *erin-* 'lenit′sja', *erinšek* 'lentjaj, lodyr′' (Kklp), *erin-*, *erik-* 'lenit′sja' (KklpB), *erin-* 'lenit′sja' (RKklp), *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja' (Nog), *erin-* 'lenit′sja' (CrTat, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 376), *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja, byt′ lenivym' (KarH, KarC), *ėrin′-* 'lenit′sja, byt′ lenivym' (KarT), *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja' (Kum), *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja', *ėrinček* 'lentjaj, lodyr′' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *irin-* 'lenit′sja', *irinǰeŋ* 'lenivyj, neradivyj' (Tkm), *erin-* 'lenit′sja' (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 376), *ärin-* 'lenit′sja, poleniť sja' (Az), *erin-* (*-ir*) '(prov.) to be too lazy, to feel lazy', *erincek* '(prov.) to be too lazy, to feel lazy' (Tt), *erin-* 'lenit′sja' (TtB); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ėrin-* 'lenit′sja' (Uzb), *erin-* 'lenit′sja' (UzbD, Sevortjan

1974–1980/1: 376), *irin-* ‘to be lazy, to procrastinate’ (TurkiSh), *ein-* ‘byt′ lenivym, byt′ nedejatel′nym’ (TurkiL), *ärin-* ‘faul sein, faulenzen’ (TurkiTR), *erin-* ‘lenit′sja’, *irinčäk*, (dial.) *irinǰük* ‘lentjaj, lodyr′’ (MUyg); ***NE*** dial. *ėrin-* ‘lenit′sja’, *irĭn-* ‘lenit′sja’ (Khak), *ärin-* ‘sich langweilen, Langeweile haben, sich sehnen’ (KhakShR), *erän-* ‘faul, überdrüssig sein’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *erin-* ‘faul sein’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), ? *irgi* ‘decrepit’ (FY); ***Y*** *ïrān-* ‘lenit′sja’ (Y).

E/T It is no easy task to select OT data that relates to the proposed T etymon for the H word, because homophonous bases existed with similar meanings in the OT corpus and one can also assume some confusions among them. Thus the word forms sometimes seem chaotic as regards their etymology. It appears highly likely that the OT verb *ärin-* (? *erin-*) ‘to be lazy, indolent’ is not a simplex. According to Clauson’s cautious suggestion (1972: 235), the verb seems to be a refl der formed with the suff *-(X)n-*. The data in OT show alternating forms *ärin-*, *erin-*, *irin-* and Clauson supposed – albeit with a question mark – that the original form of the verb could be *erin-*; cf. also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 376). In Erdal’s view (1991: 366), the basic verb for the OT forms was *yer-*, *er-* ‘to loathe, criticise, despise, oppose’. See also Erdal (1991: 599–600): *erin-* ‘to be annoyed at or impatient with and therefore in some examples to be negligent about someone or something’. Erdal thought that the entries in Clauson, *ärin-* (? *erin-*) ‘to be lazy, indolent’, *irin-* (? *erin-*) refl. f. of *īr-* (? *ēr-*) ‘to be miserable, unhappy’ and *yerin-* ‘to be distressed, miserable, to feel regret’, were interconnected. In any case, one can consider the OT verb *ärin-* (? *erin-*) ‘to be lazy, indolent’ as a counterpart of the T etymon for the H word.

Egorov’s opinion notwithstanding (1964: 281), Chuv *ürken-* ‘lenit′sja’ cannot be interrelated with the T words *erin-* etc. discussed here. Räsänen (1969: 47–48) erroneously connected T *äri-* ‘schmolzen, morschen, auftauen, schmelzen, sich auflösen etc.’ with T *ärin-* ‘faul sein, nachlässig werden’.

E/H According to Bárczi (1941: 67), the H verb *ernyed-* is of unknown origin. It was Németh (1942b: 298–300) who first considered it to be of T origin. He reconstructed the T immediate copied form with the phonetic shape *ärin-*, which could go back, according to him, to a base *är-*. The segment *-d*, as pointed out by him, is a H dev freq suff. He contended that the disappearance of the vowel *-i-* in the second syllable and that the palatalisation *-n-* > *-ny-* occurred in H. He also added that the semantic fields of the T and borrowed H forms are identical. Despite Németh’s reasoning, Benkő (1967–1984/1: 788–789) considered *ernyed-* as a member of a word family of unknown origin. Palló (1982: 80–81) argued for the OT origin of *ernyed-*. According to her, the copied form was *ärin-* ‘to be lazy’. It only occurred in the common H lg via the H literary lg in the 19th c., but it was used earlier in the H dials. According to Palló, the H verb also carried the concrete sense ‘to yield (frost) etc.’, which has a good correspondence with the basic T verb *ärü-* ‘to melt, become liquid

(of ice, fat, wax etc.)'. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 331) accepted Palló's opinion. According to his new position, the T copied form could be **erin-* 'faul oder lässig sein'. Although the H verb occurs in the H sources very late, it may be of T origin. Such meanings of the H verb as 'nachlassen (Kälte), schmelzen (Eis)' support the T etymology. Ligeti (1986) did not take *ernyed-* to be a word of T origin.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 67; Németh 1942b: 298–300; Egorov 1964: 281; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 788–789; Räsänen 1969: 47–48; Clauson 1972: 235, 970; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 376–377; Palló 1982: 80–81; Erdal 1991: 366, 599–600; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 331.

ERŐ [erə̄] 'strength, power' | 1086 ? PN *Ereuca* [ereü-ke], 1211 PN *Ereus* [ereü-š], p1372/c1448 *ereynek* [ere-inek], p1416/c1450 *èrǫs* [erə̄-š] | *erə̄* < *ereü̯* < **eriɣ* ⟵ WOT **äriɣ* < **ärk* | EOT *ärk* 'authority, power, will' < *är-* 'to be' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}.

Of T origin but debated morphology.

OT *ärklig* 'powerful, authoritative' (RTIrk 66), *ärk* 'vlasť' (RY5), *ärk* 'doblesť' (RY 10), *ärk* 'sila'(RY 29), *ärk* 'force' (UHuart), *ärk* 'Macht': *ärkkä türkkä* 'nach Macht und Stärke' (UUII 10:15), *ärklig xan* 'mächtiger Herrscher' (UUII 33:7), *ärk* 'Macht' (UTT I:121), *ärk* 'Macht, mächtig' (UTT IV A:4), *ärklig* 'mächtig, Machthaber' (UTTVI 92), *ärik* 'Macht': *ärikkä tägir-* 'zur Macht gelangen' (UTT VII Nr. 34:6), *ärklig qan* 'mächtiger *qan*' (UTT VII Nr. 13:33), *ärk* 'Kraft, Belieben' (UBuddhUig I), *ärk* 'puissance, volonté, libre arbitre' (UHamTouHou), *ärk* 'authority, power to act' (AK), *erk* 'power, strength, authority' (AQB), *ėrksintür-* 'herrschen': *ėrksintürmäk* (ėrksiṃtürmä̱k – eya rksiṃ tyu rmya ḵ) 'Herrschaft' (B A:7); **MT** *erk* 'kuvvet, kudret, nufûz' (UY), *irk* 'kuvvet, kudret, nufûz' (UYA), *ärklig* 'mächtig, Besitzrecht habend, Eigentümer' (UCivSa 02:13), *ärkli* 'mighty' (AGul), *erk* 'güç, kuvvet, yetki' (AHMA), *ärk* 'siła, moc' (AHŠ), *ärk*, *erk* 'volja, sila, vlasť' (AHŠF), *irklig* 'buyruk sahibi' (AIMI), *ärk* 'power' (AKor), *erk* (Cl. *ärk*) 'güç, kuvvet, yetki' (ANeh), *ärk* 'volja, sila, vlasť' (ANehF), *ärk* 'power, authority, free will', *öz erkindä erdi* 'he was his own master' (ARbg), *ärk* 'sila, moguščestvo' (ATef), *erk*, *irk* 'kuvvet, kudret, nufûz' (AYC), *erk* 'puissance, libre arbitre' (AChag), *ėrk* 'free-will, liberty to choose' (AChagAb), *erk* 'volja' (AChagB), *irik* 'volja, vlasť, moguščestvo, svoboda' (AChagBud), *erk* 'volja, sila, vlasť' (AChagLN), *erklig* 'silʹnyj' (AChagMA, *erik* 'die Kraft, Gewalt, der Wille, der Wunsch, die Meinung, die Laune', *ärk* 'die Macht, Kraft, Gewalt, die Citadelle der mittel-asiatischen Städte, sie befindet sich meist auf einer Erhöhung und in ihr befindet sich der Palast des Fürsten' (AChagR), <'YRK> (AChagS), *ėrk* (spelt) 'qudrat (power)' (AChagSC), *erk* 'kudret' (AChagŠS), *irik* 'intihab, kudret, kalenin ortasındakı yüksek yer, bala hisar, hükümdarın serayı; Auswahl, Macht, eine erhöhte Stelle in der Mitte einer Festung, Fürstenpalast' (AChagŠSK), *erik*, *irik* 'gross, derb, rauh, hart, stark', *iri* 'gross, grob, derb, dick, roh, hart, *oder* Grosse, d.i. Gott', *irk* 'Wahl, freie Wahl, freier Wille, Macht etwas zu tun' (AChagZ), *erk* 'Kraft, Macht, Wunsch, Wille', *erksiz* 'machtlos, ungern',

erkli ‘mächtig, freiwillig’, *erksin-* ‘über etwas verfügen’ (LCCG), *irik-* ‘hayvan yorga ol-, kuvvetli, şen dinç ol-’ (AAHI), *ārk* ‘volja, svoboda, vybor’ (ATuh), *erk* ‘erk, irade’ (ATuhA), *ėrk’* ‘pouvoir, volonté, gré’ (AmTr), *erk* ‘volja, pravo’ (AmD), *erk* ‘will’ (AmCh), *erk* ‘pouvoir, volonté, gré’ (AmE), *erk* ‘kuvvet, kudret, irade, ihtiyar, hakk-ı ihtiyar’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *irĕk* ‘svoboda, volja, svobodnyj, vol′nyj, svobodno, vol′no, pozvolenie, razrešenie, prostor, privol′e, prostornyj, privol′nyj, vol′gotnyj *razg.*, prostorno, privol′no, vol′gotno *razg.*, obil′nyj, obil′no, v obilii’ (Chuv), *irĕk* ‘svoboda, volja, svobodnyj, vol′nyj, svobodno, vol′no, privol′e, privol′nyj, vlast′, soizvolie’ (ChuvA), *irĕk*, Szp. id. ‘kény, akarat, szabadság, tágas, téres; Wille, freier Wille, Freiheit, geräumig’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *irek* ‘volja, svoboda, privol′e, razdol′e’ (Tat), *irek* ‘kény, akarat, szabadság, jog, rendelkezés; Wille, freier Wille, Verfügungsrecht’ (TatB), *irekläp* ‘üz irke belän, irekle räveştä; dobrovol′no, neprinuždenno; irkenläp, ǰaylap, ašĭkmïyča; čuvstvuja sebja svobodno, ne toropis′’, *ïrïq* ‘irek; volja’ (TatD2), *irĭk* ‘die Freiheit, das freie Verfügen über sich selbst’ (TatKR), *irek* ‘volja, svoboda’ (Bashk), *irek* ‘irek, svoboda’, *irgen* ‘irkenlek, räxätlek; volja, udovol′stvie’ (SibTat), *irkän* ‘svobodnyj’ (SibTatBD), *ėrk*, *ėrik* ‘volja, svoboda’ (Kirg), *erĭk* ‘freedom, liberty, possibility’ (Kaz), *erĭk* ‘volja, svoboda, vol′nost′, vozmožnost′’ (KazM), *erĭk* ‘volja, svoboda, harakter’ (KazB), *erk*, *erik* ‘pravo, volja, svoboda’ (Kklp), *erik* ‘vol′nyj, vol′nost′, volja, svoboda’, *erkin* ‘volja, svoboda’ (KklpB), *erik* ‘volja’ (RKklp), *ėrk* ‘(v razn. znač.) volja’, *ėrüw* ‘volnost′, svoboda’ (Nog), *ärk* ‘der Wille, Eigenwille’ (CrTatR), *ėrk* ‘sila, moguščestvo, vlast′, gospodstvo’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *ärk* ‘die Macht, Kraft, Gewalt’ (KarLR), *ėrk* ‘(ust.) volja, sila voli, svoboda, razdol′e’ (Kum), *ėrkin* ‘svobodnyj, nezavisimyj, vol′nyj, širokij, prostornyj, svobodnyj (ob odežde), polnopravnyj, pravomočnyj, polnomočnyj, dostatočnyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ėrk* ‘volja, svoboda, sila voli, vyderžka, pokoj, spokojstvie’ (Tkm), *ärk* ‘famil′jarnost′ (pravo neprinuždennogo, svobodnogo obraščenija, obuslovlennoe staršinstvom, blizkim rodstvom ili družeskimi otnošenijami meždu dvumja licami)’, ? *ärkän* ‘devstvennica, nevesta, devuška na vydan′i’ (Az), *erk* ‘(neol.) power, faculty, authority’ (Tt), *erk* ‘sila, mošč′, moguščestvo, vlast′, vlijanie, avtoritet’ (TtB); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ėrk* ‘volja, svoboda’ (Uzb), *ɛrik* ‘strength, power’ (TurkiJ), *ärik* ‘die Kraft, Gewalt’ (TurkiTR), *ärk* ‘volja, svoboda’ (MUyg), *erk-* ‘vozmužat′, vojti v silu’ (YUyg), *erk*, *erq* (!) ‘sila’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ėrik* ‘volja’ (Alt), *ärik* ‘die Kraft, Gewalt, der Wille, der Wunsch, die Meinung, die Laune’ (AltR), *ärik* ‘die Kraft, Gewalt’ (AltR, AltTelR), *ėrkin* ‘volja’ (AltQK), *ėrik* ‘volja’ (AltTK), *ärik* ‘die Kraft, Gewalt, der Wille, der Wunsch, die Meinung, die Laune’ (AltTelR), *irĭk*: *irĭk-čox* ‘nehotja, ponevole, protiv voli, volej-nevolej’ (Khak), *ärik* ‘die Kraft, Gewalt, der Wille, der Wunsch, die Meinung, die Laune’ (KhakShR), *ėrge* ‘pravo, rasporjaženie, vedenie’, *ėrge-šölē* ‘volja, vol′nost′, svoboda’ (Tuv ← Mo); ***Y*** –.

Mo *erke* ‘right, privilege, power, authority, self-willed, willed, willful, wayward, capricious, spoiled (of children), willfulness, waywardness, capriciousness’ (L).

E/T Ramstedt’s comparison (1952–1966/1: 156) (SinoKor *ljə̲k*, *njə̲k* ‘Macht’ ~) of Mo *erke* id. ~ T *ärk*, *ärik* id. was considered by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 44) as very dubious. Doerfer also rejected Poppe’s point (1960: 87) that the corresponding words T *ärk* ~ Mo *erke* may show an ancient genetic relationship. Doerfer regarded the Mo word to be a not very early borrowing fr T, which later also occurred in Man via Mo mediation. On some Tu forms borrowed fr Mo, see Fedotov (1996/1: 171). According to Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 44) and Ščerbak (1997: 115) – and in agreement with Brockelmann (1954: 110) – the T word *ärk* is perhaps a den der (**är+k*) fr the same base as *ärdäm* (**är+däm*). There are phonetic difficulties with this assumption (see below). Clauson (1972: 220) considered the T word to be a simplex (*ärk*) which “has two basic meanings: (1) ‘authority’, that is the power to impose one’s will on others; (2) ‘free will, independence’, that is freedom to decide for oneself without being subject to the authority of others”. Despite Doerfer’s opinion, Clauson (1962a: 98; 1972: 220) and Ščerbak (1997: 115–116) listed Mo *erke* in the group of earlier T lws in the Mo lgs. According to Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 295), the earlier form of T *ärk* ‘volja, sila’ was the der *ärik*, and one can find the base for it in the verb *eriš-* ‘obéir’, which is attested in AChag. His etymological idea cannot be accepted for semantic reasons. It was also proposed by Sevortjan that *erk* and *erkin*, which mainly appears in the contemporary T lgs (see e.g. *erkin* ‘volja, svoboda’ (KklpB), *ėrkin* ‘svobodnyj, nezavisimyj, volʹnyj, širokij, prostornyj, svobodnyj (ob odežde), polnopravnyj, pravomočnyj, polnomočnyj, dostatočnyj’ (KrchBlk), *ėrkin* ‘volja’ (AltQK) etc. (on further data see Sevortjan)), may be ders fr the T word *är* ‘man’. All kinds of etymological proposals which were and are based on the connection between the T words *erk* and *är* ‘man’ (on which see **érdem**) can be repudiated. The OT word *är* ‘man’ < PT **hārä* is present in Chuv as *ar* and in Tkm as *ār*; while T *ärk* is attested in Chuv as *iřĕk* and in Tkm as *ėrk*. These words cannot be etymologically interrelated, not even if the Chuv word *iřĕk* turned out to be a lw fr Tat, as it was suggested by Ligeti (1986: 78–79).

Morphologically, the noun *ärk* may be an early der fr *är-* ‘to be’. As Róna-Tas (2004a: 56–57) pointed out, Mo is instrumental in answering the question whether the T suff contains voiced *g* or unvoiced *k*, i.e. whether it is **r-(O)k* > *rk* or **r-(X)g* > **rg* > *rk*. Since *erke* exists in Mo, *ärk* must be a der in *-(O)k*. According to Erdal (1991: 224), “when the base is monosyllabic, has a rounded vowel and ends in /r/, the suffix vowel [in *-(O)k*] is syncopated”. Thus we have to suppose an earlier phase when the suff vowel was syncopated in all monosyllabic stems ending in *r*, and this was restricted to stems with labial vowels only later.

The semantic side is more difficult. As for the primary meaning of *erk*, we have to take the binom *erk-türk* into account (on this item, see Clauson 1972: 543). Standing alone, *türk* has the meaning 'being on the highest point of existence, being in one's prime etc.' We can find the following in Kashgari: *türk üzüm ödi* 'the mid-time of ripening grapes', *türk kuyaš ödi* 'mid-time, noon', *türk yigit* 'a young man in the prime of his youth'. (On the details and the connection with the ethnonym *Türk*, see Róna-Tas 1991: 12–13). Thus both *erk* and *türk* have something in common with the positive side of existence.

If PT **ärk* turns out to be independent fr *är-* 'to be', this does not affect the relationship between the H and the T words. PT **ärk* became **ärik*, later **ärig* in WOT and this was copied by H as **eriγ* and changed through *ereg̈* to present-day *erő*.

The various T dicts contain entries in which the T word was confused with another T word with the meaning 'old'. The latter word does not pertain here, but is included in the entry for *öreg* (in 8.1). The T word is widespread in the FUgr lgs of the Volga region; cf. Fedotov (1996/1: 171).

E/H The H word was considered to be of T origin by Vámbéry (1870: 142), Munkácsi (1884b: 103) and Gombocz (1901a: 247), among others. Gombocz (1912b: 72) and Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/2: 20–23) reconstructed a BulgT form **ärig* for the H word and this etymology was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 67) and Németh (1942a: 6). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 789–790) considered *erő* as an OT lw fr **ärig* or **ärüg*. Ligeti (1986: 78–79) proposed the T copied form as **ärik* and his opinion was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 332), who defined the reconstructed forms for the H word as **ärik* or **ärük* (correctly: **ärig*).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 142; Munkácsi 1884b: 103; Gombocz 1901a: 247; Gombocz 1912b: 15, 72; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/2: 20–23; Bárczi 1941: 67; Németh 1942a: 6; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 122, 156; Brockelmann 1954: 110; Kononov 1958: 100; Poppe 1960: 87; Clauson 1962a: 98; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 44; Egorov 1964: 71; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 789–790; Räsänen 1969: 47, 48; Clauson 1972: 220, 543; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 295; Ligeti 1986: 78–79, 120, 194, 200–201, 313, 530; Erdal 1991: 224; Róna-Tas 1991: 12–13; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 332; Fedotov 1996/1: 170–171; Róna-Tas 1997a: 216; Ščerbak 1997: 115–116; Tietze 2002: 734; Róna-Tas 2004a: 56–57.

ES [eš] *arch* 'oath' | p1372 *efeknek* [eš-eknek], c1405 *eses* [eš-eš] 'juratus' | *eš* < **ešü* < **ečü* < **ičü* ⟵ WOT **ičü* < **ičγü* || **eskü** [eškü] 'oath', *esket-* [ešket] 'to take an oath, to marry', p1372/1448 *eſkewm* [eškü-m] | *eškü* < **iškü* < **ičkü* ⟵ WOT **ičkü* < **ičγü* | EOT *ičgü* 'drink' | See *and ič-* 'to swear on oath'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *ič-*: *sub ičipän* 'drinking the water' (RTIrk 17), *ič-* 'trinken' (UU IV T III 84-85:108), *ič-* 'trinken' (UHeilk I: 108, 112 a.m.a.o.), *ič-* 'trinken' (UHeilk II: Nr. I:7,9 a.m.a.o.), *ič-* 'trinken': *qan ičtäčilär* 'die Blut-Trinker' (ULeCoqSchriftk Taf. III

M. 231:1), *ičkü* ‘Trank’ (MMIII Nr.6, II Rückseite 2), *ičgün* ‘mit Trank’ (MMIII Nr. 20:12), *ičkü* ‘Getränk’: *ašïngïz ičküngüz* ‘Ihre Nahrung, Getränk’ (UU IV T III 84-18:117), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (UHeilk I:96), *ičkü* ‘Getränk’ (UM I), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (UTT I), *ičgü*: *ašï ičgüsi* ‘Opferspeise’ (UTT VII 24:8), *aš ičgü* ‘Speise und Trank’ (UTT VII 24:22), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (UUigSün), *ič-* ‘trinken’, *ičgü* ‘Getränk’ (UUigTot), *ič-* ‘trinken’, *ičgü* ‘Getränk’ (UManTürkTex), *ičgü* ‘boisson’, *ič-* ‘boire’ (UHamTouHou), *ičkü* ‘drink (of anything)’, *ič-* ‘to drink, to absorb’, *är sūw ičdi* ‘the man drank the water (or other)’, *ičkü* ‘drink (of anything)’ (AK), *ič-* ‘to drink’, *ičgü* ‘drink’, *bor ičsä* ‘if a man drinks wine’, *ičgüči* ‘drinker’ (AQB), *ič-* ‘trinken’: *ičip* ‘trinkend’ (icip – i ci p) (B I:2), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (B M: 27,30), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (B Mz208); **MT** *ič-* ‘trinken’ (UOg), *ič-* ‘içmek’ (UY), *ič-* ‘içmek’ (UYB), *ič-* ‘to drink’ (ABF), *ič-* ‘to drink’, *ant ič-* ‘to take an oath’ (AGul), *ič-* ‘içmek’, *ičkü* ‘içki’, *ant ič-* ‘yemin etmek’ (AHMA), *ičkü*, *ičgü* ‘napoj, trunek’, *ič-* ‘pić’ (AHŠ), *ičkü* ‘napitok, pitʹe’, *ič-* ‘pitʹ’ (AHŠF), *ič-* ‘pitʹ’, *ičkü* ‘pitʹe’, *and ič-* ‘davatʹ kljatvu’ (AIM), *ič-* ‘suyu ve sulu bir şeyi ağızla içeriye çekmek’, *ičkü* ‘içilecek nesne, içki’ (AIMI), *ičkil* ‘drink!’, cf. *and* ‘swearing, oath’, Mo *andaġar* ‘oath, swearing’ (AKD), cf. *and* ‘oath’, *ič-* ‘to drink’, *ičgü* ‘drinkable, drink, beverage’ (AKor), *ič-* (-ǰ) ‘pitʹ’ (AM), *ič-*, *iš-* ‘iç-’ (ANeh), *ič-* ‘pitʹ’ (ANehF), cf. *and* ‘oath’: *and ič-* ‘to swear an oath’, *ant ič-* id. – *ič-* is only documented in this phrase (ARbg), *ič-* ‘pitʹ’, *ičḳü* (? *-g-*, ? *-k-*) ‘pitʹe’, cf. *and* ‘kljatva’, *ant ičti* ‘pokljalsja, prisjagnul’ (ATef), *ič-* ‘içmek’ (AYC), *ič-* ‘boire’, *ičkü* ‘action de boire, de déguster, partie de débauche’ (AChag), *ičkü*, *ički* ‘şarab sohbeti’, *ič-* ‘iç-’ (AChagAb), *ičkü*, *ički* ‘şarab sohbeti’, *ič-* ‘içmek’ (AChagAbA), *ič-* ‘iszik [to drink]’, *ičkü*, *ički* ‘ivó társaság [drinking companions]’ (AChagAbV), *ičkülük* ‘pitʹe’ (AChagB), *ičür-* ‘itatni, innia adni [to give sy sg to drink]’ (AChagBL), *ičkülük* ‘to čto dlja pitʹja, čto dolžno pitʹ, pʹjanyj čelovek, popojka’, *aš ič-* ‘pokušatʹ, poobedatʹ’ (AChagBud), *ič-* ‘to drink’, *ant ičmäk* ‘taking an oath’ (AChagG), *ič-* ‘pitʹ’ (AChagLN), *ič-* ‘trinken’, *ant ičkü* ‘das Leisten des Eides’ (AChagR), <’YČ-; ’YČKW> (AChagS), *ič-* ‘šarab wa nūšīdan (to drink)’, *ičgü* ‘šurb wa taǰarru (drinking and imbibing)’ with some implication of excess (AChagSC), *ičku* ‘meşrubat, muskirat; Getränke’, cf. *ant* ‘and, kasem, ahd, peyman, sükende; Schwur, Eid, Vertrag, Bund’, *ant ič-* ‘ahd-i peyman etmek, yemin ve sükende etmek; einen Bund schliessen, schwören’ (AChagŠSK), *ič-* ‘trinken, einschlürfen’, *and ič-* ‘schwören’, *ički* ‘geistiges Getränk, Wein, Schluck, Trunk’ (AChagZ), *ič-* ‘trinken’ (LCCG, LCCI), *ant ič-* ‘einen Eid leisten’ (LCCG), cf. *ant* ‘yemin’, *ič-* ‘içmek’ (AAH), *iṣ-* (*iṣ-*) ‘pij, bois’, *iṣmäk* (*iṣmäk*) ‘ boire, boisson’ (ADur), *ič-* ‘trinken’, *and ič-* ‘schwören’ (AHou), *ič-* (-š) ‘iszik; trinken’, *ant ič-* (-š) ‘esküszik; schwören’ (AKav), *ič-* ‘to absorb’ (AMGh), *ič-*, *iš-* ‘pitʹ’ (ATuh), *ič-*, *iš-* ‘içmek’, *ant ič-* ‘ant içmek’ (ATuhA), *iṣk’i* ‘boisson (spiritueuse)’, *ič-* ‘pić; boire’ (AmTr), *ič-* ‘boire’, *ant ič-* ‘jurer’ (AmE), *ički eyle-* ‘içki ziyafeti ver-’, *ičkiǰi* (*ičküǰü*) ‘sarhoş, ayyaş’ (AOtT), *ičgü et-* ‘işret etmek, içki içmek’, *ički eyle-* ‘içki ziyafeti vermek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ĕškĕ* ‘piršestvo,

piruška, pir, vypivka prost., p′janstvo, alkogolizm, spirtnoe, vodka, vypivka prost.', *ěś-* 'pit′, ustraivat′ piršestvo, pirovat′', cf. *ant* '(ust.) kljatva' (Chuv), *ěśkĕ* 'vypivka, pir, piruška, p′janstvo, napitok', *ěś-* 'pit′, p′janstvovat′' (ChuvA), *ěśkĕ* 'ünnep, lakoma: a pogányvallású csuvasoknál egy három napig tartó ünnep, melyet a mezei munka befejezte után tartanak; Fest, Schmaus, Gastmahl', *ěś-*, Szp. id. 'inni; trinken' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ėč-* 'pit′, vypit′, pit′, vypivat′, p′janstvovat′' (Tat), *eč-* 'inni; trinken', *ečkelek* 'ivás, nagy ivás; Trinken, Sauferei' (TatB), *ėčke* 'isertkeč; alkogol′nyj napitok; ečü mäjlese' (TatD1), *ėčke* 'ečemlek, isertkeč; alkogol′nyj napitok; vino; ėčü; pit′e' (TatD2), *eske* 'vypivka, p′janstvo, p′janka', *es-* 'pit′, vypivat′ (spirtnoe), sil′no pereživat′' (Bashk), *ec-* 'ėčü; pit′; ašau; est′, kušat′' (SibTat), *ic-* 'pit′', *toy ic-* 'pit′ na svad′be', *ĕč-* 'pit′', *ĕčki*, *ĕčü* 'pit′e' (SibTatBD), *ič-* 'pit′, prinimat′ pišču', *ički*, *ičkilik* 'napitok, spirtnoj napitok, p′janstvo' (Kirg), *ĭš-* 'to eat, to drink', *ĭškĭlĭk* 'alcoholic beverage' (Kaz), *ĭš-* 'pit′, est′, kušat′' (KazM), *ĭš-* 'vypivat′, pit′, hlebat′, hlebnut′, vypit′' (KazB), *iš-* 'pit′, est′' (Kklp), *ič-*, *iš-* 'pit′', *išüv* 'pit′e' (KklpB), *iš-* 'pit′', *išiv* 'pit′e' (RKklp), *iš-* 'pit′, est′, kušat′, vypivat′ (spirtnoe), vpityvat′', *iški* 'napitok (preimuščestvenno o spirtnyh napitkah), p′janka, p′janstvo, popojka' (Nog), *ič-* 'pit′, kurit′', *ički* 'spirtnye napitky, alkogol′' (CrTat), *ič-* 'pit′' (KarT, KarC), *ic-*, *yic-* 'pit′, kurit′' (KarH), *icki* 'pit′e, napitok, piršestvo, popojka' (KarH), *ički* 'pit′e, napitok, vino' (KarC, KarT), *ič-* 'pit′, vypivat′, est′ (židkuju pišču)', *ički* 'napitok (spirtnoj)' (Kum), *ički* 'spirtnoe, spirtnye (alkogol′nye) napitki', *ič-* 'pit′ čto, vpityvat′ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ič-* 'pit′', *ičgi* '(razg.) napitok, pit′e' (Tkm), *ič-* 'pit′, vypivat′, hlebat′', *ički* 'napitok, spirtnye napitki', *and ič-* 'kljast′sja, prisjagat′' (Az), *iç-* 'to drink, to smoke, to absorb, imbibe (fluid), to drink (alcohol habitually)', *içki* 'intoxicating drink, liquor, drink' (Tt), *ič-* 'pit′, vypivat′, pit′ (spirtnoe), vypivat′, p′janstvovat′, (so slovami cıgara, sigara, tütün i t.p.) kurit′, vpityvat′, vsasyvat′', *içki* 'spirtnoe, hmel′nye (op′janjajuščie) napitki, spirtnye (alkogol′nye) napitki (vodka i t.p.), upotreblenie spirtnyh napitkov (vodki, vina i t.p.), vypivka' (TtB), *ič-* 'pit′, kurit′', *ički* 'napitok' (Gag), *ị̈č-*, *ič-*, *iš-*, *ị̈š-*, *īč-*, *iś-* 'trinken' (Khor), *ič-* 'trinken' (SOg); ***Kh*** *ič-* 'trinken', *ičgilük*, *ičgül̈ük* 'Getränk' (Kh), *ič-* 'trinken', *ičγilik sū̲*, *ičγilik sū̲*^{i} 'Trinkwasser' (KhT); ***SE*** *ič-* 'pit′, est′ (židkuju pišču)', *ičgulik* 'prigodnyj dlja pit′ja', *ičuvčilik* '(redk.) p′janstvo' (Uzb), *ič-*, *iš-*, *is-* 'to drink, to eat (about soup or other fluid dishes)', *ičkü* 'drink', *ant ič-* 'to take the oath, to swear' (TurkiJ), *ič-* 'to drink' (TurkiSh), *ič-* 'pit′', *ant ičin peî-* 'kljast′sja' (TurkiL), *ič-* 'trinken' (TurkiTR), *ič-* 'pit′, upotrebljat′ spirtnye napitki, orošat′sja, byt′ orošaemym', *ičkülük*, *ičkilik* 'napitki, spirtnye napitki, p′janstvo' (MUyg), *ič-* 'pit′', *iç-* 'pit′ (o čae, vodke i t.p.), est′, kušat′ židkuju pišču', *iſ-* 'pit′, est′, kušat′', *īſ-* 'pit′' (Sal), *iš-*, *i̲š-* 'boire' [Pot. *iš′-*, *iš-*] (SalK), *ič'-*, *i'č'-*, *hiʒ-*, *hiʒ'-*, *ši-*, *i'č-*, *iš-* 'pit′, est′ (o židkoj pišče)' (YUyg), *eč-*, *ič-*, *iš-*, *išt-* 'pit′', *iški*, *iške*, *išqï* 'pit′e', *išqi* 'pišča' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ič-* 'pit′, est′, kušat′, vkušat′' (Alt), *ič-* 'trinken' (AltR, AltLR), *ič-*, *iš-* 'pit′', *ički* 'p′janstvo' (AltQK), *ič-* 'pit′, est′, kušat′', *ičer* 'pit′e' (AltTK), *ič-* 'trinken' (AltTelR), *ĭs-* 'pit′ *čto-l.*', *ĭskĭ* 'p′janstvo, vypivka' (Khak),

is- ‘trinken’ (KhakSR, KhakQbR), *iš-* ‘to drink’ (FY), *iš-* ‘pit′, vypit′’, *ižer* ‘pit′evoj’ (Tuv), *iš-* ‘pit′’ (Tof); ***Y*** *is-* ‘pit′, kušat′ (čaj), pit′, kutit′, p′janstvovat′, imet′ strast′ k pit′ju’ (Y), *is-* ‘trinken’, *ihär-* ‘tränken, zu trinken geben’, *ihär/t-*, *isärt-* ‘zu trinken geben, zu trinken geben lassen’ (Dlg), *is-* ‘Flüssiges essen, tränken, zu trinken geben, trinken lassen’ (DlgS).

E/T The T word *ičkü* < *ič°gü* is a dev nominal form of the well-known base *ič-* < PT **ičV-* ‘to drink’. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1141) reconstructed the PT form as **ič-*. There is no justification for comparing this verbal base with PMo **(h)ečüg-le-* ‘to give drinks to spirits’ and PTu **hiče-* ‘to sprinkle, gush forth’. Mo *ečigle-*, *ečegle-*, *öčigle-*, *öčigül-* go back to *öčig* ‘prayer’, a der of *öči-* ‘to pray’. According to Clauson (1972: 19), the verb *ič-* ‘to drink’ was used “primarily of animated beings, but also of porous objects, earth etc. ‘to absorb’; used without an object the implication is often ‘to drink to excess’”. On the verbal base, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 391). Zenker’s remark in the entry for *ič-* ‘trinken, einschlürfen’ (AChagZ) that the verb *ič-* is “verwandt mit *ič* ‘das Innere’” is, of course, erroneous.

The basic meaning of the dev nominal *ič°gü* could be, as suggested by Clauson (1972: 24), neutral ‘drink’, “usually in association with *āš* ‘food’, and its meaning ‘strong drink, intoxicant’, or even ‘orgy’ occurred later.” (Similarly, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 391) and Erdal (1991: 294–295)). As shown by Erdal, *aš ičgü* was synonymous with the phrase *aš ičim* ‘food and drink’.

It is important to note that the T sources contain the construction *and ič-* with the meaning ‘to swear an oath’ relatively early (on the word *and* ‘Eid, Schwur’, see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 128). The phrase *ašï ičgüsi* ‘Opferspeise’ (UTT VII Nr. 24:8) with Px.3.sg. also shows the connotation of a ritual action. Although the word *ič°gü* ‘drink’ cannot be separated fr the base *ič-* ‘to drink’, its suff is not identical with the suff *-gU*, which forms “a verbal nominal of purpose” (cf. Erdal 1991: 359). It is possible that this is a case of a homophonous dev nominal suff, as in *bergü* > *berü* → **bér** and perhaps *edgü* > *edü* → **egy**, but this question can be left open.

E/H Early on, Vámbéry (1870: 142) compared H *eskü* with T *ički* ‘drink’. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/2: 40), the H word *eskü* was created by Verseghy. Gombocz–Melich thought that the word which served as the base for Verseghy’s creation could be the H verb *esket-* ‘to swear in’, which is of FUgr origin. In Bárczi’s view (1941: 68), the H word is perhaps an internal H der fr the verb **esik-* ‘to swear’, which is of Ugr or FUgr origin. Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 92) considered the H word to be of T origin fr T *ičkü* ‘das Trinken, der Trunk’ and pointed out that the T *ičkü* occurs in the construction *ant ičkü* ‘Schwurfreundschaft trinken’. Rásonyi (1979: 142–143) argued in favour of the T etymology of the word. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 71) considered the H word family to be of FUgr origin and thought that its central member may go back either to the reconstructed FUgr verb **ečkɜ-* ‘loben, preisen’, or to *ećɜ-* ‘fallen’.

Róna-Tas (1997a: 99) suggested that the H word may be among the OT lws in H. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *eskü* among the T lws in H.

Two other etymologies for the H word have to be taken into account (see Lakó 1967–1978/1: 164). There was a word *es*, which occurred in MH (p1372 *eſeknek* 'to the oaths', 1405 *eses* 'juratus'). According to one of the etymologies, *esket-* 'to take an oath, to marry' was formed fr this noun with a momentaneous suff *+k-* (**esk*) and the fact *-t-*, and the noun *eskü* resulted fr re-analysis. The main problem is that the obsolete suff *-k-* was not den, but dev. The other etymology connected the noun *eskü* 'oath' with the verb *esik-* 'to fall'. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 796–797; 1993–1997/1: 334) discussed *eskü* and its reconstructed base **es* 'oath' under the entry *esküszik-*. In his view, H *es* has its verbal pair H *esik-* 'to fall, to fall to one's knees' > 'to beg for mercy, forgiveness etc., to implore' and the H word family may be an Ugr inheritance with the semantic changes 'fallen' > 'sich jemandem zu die Füße werfen' > 'sich auf die höheren Mächte berufen'. The word may be linked to the H verb *esd-* 'to implore'. On the other hand, the supposed verb **es-* has never existed with the meaning 'to give or take an oath', but only with 'to fall (e.g. rain)'. The semantic change 'to fall' > 'to implore' > 'to swear' is highly unlikely. While morphological problems exist with the first etymology, semantic ones hinder the second.

One solution is that this may be a case of a double borrowing. The older form is *es*, which goes back to an earlier **ičü* with the loss of the final closed vowel and deaffrication, as in T *kiči* → **kiši* > **kis** (under **kicsiny**). The T form **ičü* goes back to *ičgü* 'drink' with the loss of *-g-* as in *bergü* > **berü* → **berü* > **bér** and *edgü* > **edü* → **edü* > **ed* > **egy**.

The T word *ičgü* changed to *ičkü* by assimilation. This was then adapted by H as *ečkü* > *eškü*. The suffixed noun **ešküm* 'my oath' was taken to be as a past tense form of a verb **ešk-* by re-analysis. The verb occurred very early: p1416 *eſkewm* [ešküm] 'I swore [contemporary H *esküdtem*]', *eſkėuėk* [eškevēk] 'I was swearing', *èſkeznèc* [eškeznek] 'they swear'. These data represent the first occasions on which the word is mentioned, but it is in fact attested earlier. In the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200), we find the following text on the election of Almus, father of Árpád, first ruler of the Hungarians: *Tunc supradicti viri pro Almo duce more paganismo fusis propriis sanguinibus in unum vas ratum fecereunt iuramentum* 'The above-mentioned [seven] gentlemen let for Almus dux – according to the pagan customs – mix their respective blood into one vase, and sanctioned with this their oath' (chap. 5). This is a clear case of the famous blood pact, where the participants drank their mixed blood. The word also occurs in the same Gesta after Tuhutum's victory over Gelu; here Anonymous recorded that the people of Gelu elected Tuhutum the father of Horca as their lord: *...et in illo loco qui dicitur Esculeu, fidem cum iuramento firmaverunt et a die illo locus ille nuncupatus est Eskuleu eo, quod ibi iuraverunt* '...and

they confirmed their faith with an oath at the place which is called *Eškülő* [today *Esküllő*, near Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)], and fr this day on, this place was called *Eskülő*, because they swore at this place' (chap. 27). Pais believed that the GN is of T origin and reflects a T form *ičkülig* 'locus, ubi ius iurandum datur' (see Szentpétery 1937–1938/1999: 68, should be *ičkülik*). The origin of the GN is debated. L. Kiss (1988/1: 431) argued that the first part of the name is H *ős* 'ancestor' and the second is **küllő**[1] 'laughing bird, *Picus viridis*'. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 857). However, more recently, Benkő (2003: 157) stated that the origin of the GN *Esküllő* is unknown. Whatever the case may be with the origin of the GN, the popular etymology by Anonymous reflects the existence of a H word *eskü* c1200.

Until the morphological problems are finally resolved, the T origin of H *eskü* remains only as one of several possibilities.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 142; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/2: 40; Szentpétery 1937–1938/1999: 68; Bárczi 1941: 68; Joki 1952: 141; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 92; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 128; Egorov 1964: 66–67; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 796–797; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 163–164; Räsänen 1969: 168; Clauson 1972: 19, 24; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 391; Rásonyi 1979: 142–143; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 71; Kiss 1988/1: 431; Erdal 1991: 294–295, 359; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 334; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 857; Fedotov 1996/1: 159; Róna-Tas 1997a: 99; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 383–384; Benkő 2003: 157; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1141.

ész [ēs] 'reason, mind' | p1372/c1448 *ezzebe* [es-ēbe], 1541 *esz* [ēs] | *ēs* < *es* ← WOT **es*(*V*) | MT *es*, *äs* id.

OT –; **MT** ? *essiz* <'sys> 'without intelligence' [not vocalised, maybe read as *ussïz* 'stupid'] (AKD), *eslä-* 'to remember' (ARbg), *ės* 'intelligence' (AChag), *is* 'akıl' (AChagAb), *is* 'akıl' (AChagAbA), *is* 'ész [intelligence]' (AChagAbV), *eslik* 'umnyj, blagorazumnyj' (AChagBud), *essiz* 'nerazumnyj' (AChagMA), *äs* 'der Verstand, der Sinn, das Gedächtnis, die Besinnung' (AChagR), *es* 'huš, aqïl' (AChagŠS), *is* (r: *es*) 'huš, akıl; Klugheit, Verstand' (AChagŠSK), *is* 'Vernunft, Einsicht, Geist, Verstand' [compared by Zenker with *us*] (AChagZ), *es* 'Vernunft, Gedächtnis', *esker-* 'bedenken, erwägen', *eslä-* (eslα-) 'beachten' (LCCG), *äs* 'his' (AAH), *ės* 'esprit, intelligence, raison' (AmTr), *es* 'esprit, intelligence' (AmE), *esle-* 'dinle-, ısga et-, kabul et-, itaat et-' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *as* 'pamjaťˊ, um, razum, rassudok' (Chuv), *as* 'memoria, pamjaťˊ' (ChuvA), *as* 'emlékezet, ész; Gedächtnis, Verstand, Vernunft' (ChuvP); **NW** *is* 'soznanie, čuvstvo, pamjaťˊ' (Tat), *is* 'emlékezet, ész; Gedächtnis, Sinn, Verstand' (TatB), *is* 'xäter; pamjaťˊ; köč, xäl; sila, mošˊ' (TatD1), *is* 'akïl, zihen; rassudok, razum', *islä-* 'iskärü; primečaťˊ, primetiťˊ; aŋlau, töšenü; soobražaťˊ, ponjaťˊ', *iskär-* 'xäterläü, xäterdä saklau, istä totu; pomniťˊ, hraniťˊ v pamjati' (TatD2), *iθ* 'čuvstvo, soznanie, pamjaťˊ', *iθ-aqïl* '(sobir.) razum' (Bashk), *is* 'xäter; pamjaťˊ' (SibTat), *is* 'pamjaťˊ, soznanie, pamjaťˊ (ob umeršem)', *ěs* 'pamjaťˊ, soznanie' (SibTatBD), *is* 'das Denkvermögen, Gedächtnis' (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *ės* 'pamjaťˊ, um, soznanie' (Kirg), *es* 'memory, recollection, mind, intellect, sense' (Kaz), *es* 'das Gedächtnis, der

Sinn' (KazR), *es* 'pamjat′, soznanie (sposobnost′, vosprinimat′, dejstvitel′nost′), um, voobraženie' (Kklp), *es* 'soznanie, um, pamjat′' (KklpB), *es* 'um' (RKklp), *ės* 'pamjat′, um, razum, rassudok' (Nog), *ės* 'soznanie, rassudok, um' (CrTat), *ės* 'um, razum, mysl′, soznanie, vnimanie, pamjat′' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *es* 'um, razum, vnimanie' (KarT), *ės* 'pamjat′, um, razum, rassudok' (Kum), *ės* 'pamjat′, vnimanie, um, soobrazitel′nost′, dogadka' (KrchBlk), *es* 'Verstand, Vernunft, Bewustsein' (BlkP), *es*, *yes* 'Gedächtnis, Erinnerung, Gedanke, Sinn' (KrchP); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ės* 'pamjat′, pamjat′ (sposobnost′ sohranjat′ v pamjati), um, razum, rassudok' (Uzb), *is* 'memory, recollection, understanding' (TurkiSh), *es* 'um, pamjat′' (TurkiL), *äs* 'pamjat′, um, razum, soznanie' (MUyg); ***NE*** *ės* 'pamjat′, čuvstvo, um, soznanie, voobraženie' (Alt), *äs* 'der Verstand, der Sinn, das Gedächtnis, die Besinnung' (AltR), *äs* 'der Verstand, der Sinn, das Gedächtnis, die Besinnung' (AltLR), *äs* 'der Verstand, der Sinn, das Gedächtnis, die Besinnung' (AltTelR), *äs* 'der Verstand, der Sinn, das Gedächtnis, die Besinnung' (ChulR); ***Y*** –.

E/T The occurrences of the T etymon of the H word show an interesting distribution. Its historical data are attested since the Karakhanid period. The word is well-known in the Kip branch of the T lgs, as well as in Chuv and in some lgs of the SibT and Turki, but it is not documented in the Og branch and is also absent in Y and Kh. Despite this distribution, this is surely a case of a very old T word. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 306) proposed that one can assume an old verbal base **es-* both on the basis of the Tt dial word *äst* (!) 'pamjat′', which, according to him, may go back to a form **äs-(i)t*, and on the basis of the Kaz dial word *ese* 'pamjat′' – but this cannot be accepted. The Kaz dial word (cited fr an unpublished collection of G. Kaliev) needs further investigation. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 521–522) thought that PT **es* 'memory, mind' could also have had the verbal meaning 'to pity, regret' and they compared this form with Mo **asara-* 'to take care of', but their idea cannot be accepted for semantic and morphological reasons.

The PT form could be **esV*. The Chuv data *as* points to an original **ä-* in the word, while H points to a closed vowel. Egorov (1964: 42–43) and then Fedotov (1996/1: 88–89) erroneously thought that Chuv *ăs* 'um, razum, rassudok, umstvennye sposobnosti' may be interrelated with *as* 'pamjat′'. The Chuv word *ăs*, however, represents OT *us* 'intelligence, the power of discrimination' (cf. Clauson 1972: 240). The Chuv word was copied into the Voty (*ės*) and the der fr Chuv *as*, *as-ăn-* occurred in CherH (see Fedotov 1996/1: 60–61).

E/H The T etymology of the H word was first suggested by Vámbéry (1870: 142), who compared the H word with partially related but also unrelated T words. Although Gombocz (1912b) did not mention the word among the H words of T origin, according to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/2: 57–59), the H word, which is of doubtful origin, may also go back to a BulgT base **äs*. They did not exclude another pos-

sibility: that the H word may also reflect an old FUgr root. The FUgr data on which they built this hypothesis are of T origin. Beke (1928: 52–53), Bárczi (1941: 69) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 798) presumed an OT lw and defined the copied form as **äs*. Ligeti (1986: 253, 265–266) pointed out that the counterparts of the H word *ész* in the FUgr lgs (Osty, Vog, Cher) are of T origin and the H word may go back to an OChuv form. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 335–336) repeated his former opinion and added that the original form in H could have an initial *ë-*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 142; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/2: 57–59; Beke 1928: 52–53; Ramstedt 1935: 128; Bárczi 1941: 69; Egorov 1964: 33, 42–43; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 798; Räsänen 1969: 49; Clauson 1972: 240; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 306; Ligeti 1986: 253, 265–266; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 335–336; Fedotov 1996/1: 60–61, 88-89; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 521–522.

ETEL [etel] 'river, name of a river' | c950/11th c. PN *Ἀτελκούζου* [etel-küzü], *Ἐτέλ και κουζού* [etel kai küzü], c1200 *fluuium Etyl* [etül], 1282–1285 *etul* [etül], 1358/1479 *ethel* [etel] (Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 170–171; 1914–1944/2: 94) | *etel*, *etil* < **etil* ← WOT **ätil* | EOT *ätil* 'a river, the River, the River Volga'.

OT *ätil* 'name of a river [the Volga] in the country of Qifčāq which flows into the Bulġār Sea, it has an arm which flows over Rūs' (AK); **MT** *Iḍil* (Itil) 'Itil-Fluß' (UOg), *Ätil*, *Ädil* 'reka Volga (v skazkah), reka, der Strom, Fluss', *ädilčä*, *ädilčik* 'ein kleiner Fluss, Flüsschen' (AChagR), *Ätil* 'Rusya'da vaq' Volga nehri' (AChagŠS), *atil* 'Volga-Fluss in Russland' (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** *Atăl* 'Volga' (Chuv), *Atăl* 'Rha, fluvii nomen, Volga' (ChuvA), *Atăl*, Szp. id. 'Volga folyó; der Fluss Wolga' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *idel* 'Volga, volžskij, reka, rečnoj', *Agïydel* 'Belaja r.' (Tat), *Idel*, *izel* 'Volga, folyó; grosser Fluß, Strom' (TatB), *idĭl* 'ein grosser Strom, besonders die Wolga' (TatKR), *iδel* 'bolʹšaja reka', *Iδĕl* 'Volga' (Bashk), *Ädil* 'Idel, reka Volga' (SibTat), *Edĭl* 'Volga' (KazB), *Edil* 'die Wolga' (KazR), *aq idel* 'Kama' (NogBud), *Edil* '(ust.) Volga (reka)' (Kum); ***SW*** *İdil* '(hist.) Volga River' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *Ädäl* 'ein Fluss (Wolga)' (AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

Mo MMo *Idil*, *Adil*, *Ejil* (SH), *idžḷ* 'die Wolga' (Kalm).

E/T On the historical data of the Khaz toponym *Ätil*, which was the name of both the Volga River and the Khaz capital itself, see Golden (1980/1: 224–229). Among the sources he carefully collected, there are Ar, Heb, Arm and Byzantine works which contain this Khaz toponym. In Kashgari, *ätil* was a hydronym denoting the River Volga. As early as Chag, however, the word also appears as a common noun meaning 'river'. T *ätil* is known partially as the name of the Volga River and partially as a noun with the meaning 'river' in some Kip lgs (cf. Tenišev 2001: 90). The Vog lg has *ėėtl* 'Wasser des Meeres' (Kannisto 1925: 81) as a Kip lw.

In Tt and AltTelR, it is the hydronym 'Volga'. The majority of the contemporary T–Rus dicts have an appendix for toponyms and one can mainly find the Rus form for the River Volga in these sources. The use of the word as a common noun can only

be verified in Chag, Bashk, Tat. The semantic change 'the name of a river' > 'river' cannot be considered as unusual. A similar change can be detected, e.g. in Tof, where the word *hėm* can denote the River Yenisei, but it is also known in the sense of 'river'; see also Tuv *xem* 'reka' (the word is of Sam origin, on which see Vásáry 1971: 469–482). Furthermore, the Ir word for 'water, river' *don* became the name of the Don River. The etymology of the T word *ätil* is unclear. The idea proposed by Pritsak without any argumention (cited by Golden 1980: 229, n. 768) that this a Hunnic word which can be connected with the name (title?) *Attila* cannot be accepted.

E/H The GN recorded by Constantine VII as *Atilkuzu* reflects the H name of a territory where the Hungarians lived before they conquered the Carpathian Basin. It reflects a H form like *Ätil küzü* where *küzü* is *köz* 'what is in between, "meso-"' in ModH. It is debatable whether this must be interpreted as "Mesopotamia", that is a territory between rivers, or whether *Ätil* is a GN, here the name of the Dnieper (according to others, the Don). Whatever the correct solution may be, the GN *Ätil* in the GN *Ätil küzü* has to go back to a common noun denoting 'river'. A common noun *ätil* 'river' existed in OH, which was of T origin. In later H documents, *Etul* [Etül] is the name of the Don River.

According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 170–171; 1914–1944/2: 94–95), the etymon for H *etel* is identical with a T river name which has some variants. Gombocz (1917–1920: 183) connected the H word *etul* 'river' (to be read as *etül*) with the T name of the Volga. The T basic form could be **Ätil*. This T word is also presented in the H form *Etël-küzü*, which was attested in Constantine VII and in the *Gesta Hungarorum*. Melich (1926: 347; 1928: 85) pointed out that the T hydronym was used not only for the Volga, but also for the Don. Benkő (1985: 9–10) argues that it can hardly be decided whether the T noun *ätil*, *itil* 'river' served as the base for some T river names or whether the name of a particular river changed to that of other rivers. In Harmatta's view (1985: 45), if a common noun *etil* existed with the meaning 'river' in H, it could also have been used as a hydronym. Ligeti (1985: 10–15) considered T *ätil* as a geographic name which could have denoted both the Volga and Don Rivers for the Hungarians at the time of its borrowing. Its use as a common noun may be secondary in T. In this function its appearance is very limited. The copied form could be **ätil*. The change in the second syllable (T *i* > H *ë*) in H *Etël* is the result of an internal H development. In the index of his monograph published in 1986, Ligeti listed *Etël*(*köz*) and *Etül*. The form *Etül*, as noted by Ligeti (1986: 405), may show the OH phonetic change *i* > *ü*, since the older form *Etil* (*Ethil*) is documented in earlier sources (the report by Julianus; Plano Carpini; Benedictus Polonus). In some earlier sources, it was used as a hydronym denoting the River Volga. Ligeti (1986: 478–480) also pointed out it was the Khazars that played the most important role in the spread of the GN *Ätil* as the name not only of the Volga, but also of that of the Khaz capital.

According to Kiss (1988/1: 435), the H GN *Etël* is to be considered of Khaz origin and its primary meaning was the Volga River. It has denoted the River Don since the 14th c.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 170–171; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/2: 94–95; Gombocz 1917–1920: 183; Kannisto 1925: 81; Melich 1926: 347; Melich 1928: 85; Ramstedt 1935: 205; Räsänen 1969: 52; Vásáry 1971: 469–482; Golden 1980/1: 224–229; Benkő 1985: 9–10; Harmatta 1985: 45; Ligeti 1985: 10–15; Ligeti 1986: 172, 405, 478–480; Kiss 1988/1: 435; Zimonyi 1994a: 203–204; Zimonyi 1994b: 204; Fedotov 1996/1: 69–70; Tenišev 2001: 90.

G

GAZ [gåz] ‘weed’ | c1150/13th–14th c. GN *Petürgaz* [petür-gåz], 1478 PN *Gaz* [gåz], c1512 *gazdnak* [gåzd-nåk], 1584 ‘settling, dregs’, 1584 ‘dirt’, 1760 ‘dry, broken plant, hay, culm’, dial *gaz*, *gaį̇z* [gayz], *gāį̇z* [gāyz] ‘bushy forest, hay, all kinds of water-weeds (edible for animals)’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 613–614) | *gåz* < **kāz* < **kayzu* ← WOT **kaɣδu* < **kagdu* | EOT *kagdan* ‘dry grass from the last year’ < *kag* ‘dry grass’, cf. EOT *kak* ‘something dried’.

Of possible T origin.

1 OT *qāq* ‘a dried plum, or other’, *qāq sūw* ‘pond’, *qaq* ‘something split in two’, *ärük qaqï* ‘a split peach (or other) [i.e. dried fruit]’, *qaq ät* ‘jerked meat’, the same for anything that is cut and dried in the sun, cf. *ät qaqlandï* ‘the meat was jerked’, *sūw qaqlandï* ‘the water collected as pools in the hollows of rocks’ (AK); **MT** *qaqla-* ‘(*eti dilip*) kurutmak’ (AHMA), *qavut* ‘travjanaja voda, tizana’ (AIM), ? *qavut* ‘a kind of mush made of wheat or barley (also with sugar and dates)’ (AKD), *qaġ-* ‘to be cooked’ (presumably the root from which *qaġur-* is derived, *boġuzġa q[a]ġa bitgän aš* ‘cooked food ready for consumption’, *qaḫša- = qaqša-*: *čuvāl ičindä buz nätäg q[a]ḫšasa, sünükläri terisi ičindä andaġ q[a]qšayur erdi* ‘the way ice becomes soft in the sack, so weak were his bones inside his skin’ (ARbg), *qaq*, *qaġ* ‘sec, fruit sec’ (AChag), *qaq* ‘kurumış nesne’ in Xorasan and Samarkand they dry melons like other fruit, and when they need them they moisten them with water and they become like fresh melons (AChagAb), *qaq* ‘kurumış nesne’ (AChagAbA), *kak* ‘valami megszáradt dolog [some dried thing]’ (AChagAbV), *qaq* ‘dry bread’ (AChagG), *qaq* ‘trocken, hart, dürr, kahl’, *qaurma* ‘gerösteter Weizen oder geröstete Gerste’ (AChagR), *qaq* ‘xušk (dry); rainwater which collects in open ground (dašt) and forms a pool (tālāb) and disappears’ (AChagSC), *qaq* ‘güneş ve ateşden kurumuş olan, kubkuru’ (AChagŠS), *qaq* ‘güneş ve ateşden kurumuş olan, kup-kuru, kavun kakı; von Sonne und Feuer getrocknet, ganz trocken’, *kavut* ‘leblebi, nohut, kavrulmuş olan arpa ve buğday ve bakla; geröstete Gerste, Weizen und Erbsen’ (AChagŠSK), *qaq* ‘trocken, getrocknet, gedürrt (z.B. Früchte, Fleisch)’ (AChagZ), ? *qovra* ‘Halm, Stroh, Unkraut (im Korn)’, *qavdan* ‘Land mit dürrem Gras’ (LCCG), ? *qaq* ‘taş üzerinde olan ve su toplanan göz gibi çukur, pastırma’, *qavut* ‘kavrulmuş buğday’ (AAH), *kakač et* ‘kurutma et’, *kaklanmïš balïk* ‘balık kurutması’ (AAHI), *qaq ät* ‘viande coupée en longues tranches et sechée au feu ou au soleil’ (ABul), *qaq* ‘sušenoe mjaso’ (ATuh), *qaq* ‘kadit, kuruyan, kakırdıyan her şey’ (ATuhA), *qaḫla-* ‘kurut-, kadit haline getir-’, *qaq* ‘elma, armut, kayısı gibi meyvaların kurusu, kadit, yani kurutulmuş et-’, *kavut* ‘kavrulmuş hububat unu’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *xavtan* ‘prošlogodnjaja trava (vystupajuščaja iz-pod snega)’ (Chuv), *xavtan* ‘prošlogodnjaja trava, vyšedšaja iz-

pod snega', *xavša-* 'rassyhaťsja, staťdrjablym, iznurjaťsja, rashljabnuťetc.', *xura*: *xït*(*ă*) *xura* 'nazvanie rastenija: dikij cikorij, tysjačelistnik, černobyl, obščee nazvanie suhih, zasohših, žestkih trav' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *kak* 'pastila, suhoj, sušenyj, vjalenyj, golyj (ne zastlannyj), (peren.) hudoj, hudoščavyj, suhoščavyj', *kagay-* 'vjaliťsja, provjalivaťsja, sušiťsja, vysyhať(vysohnuť) na vozduhe, (peren.) hudeť, pohudeť' (Tat), *qau* 'čapmïy kipkän ülän; trava, vysohšaja na kornju' (TatD1), *qaudan*, *qaudar*, *qauzan* 'čabïlmïy kalïp kar astïnda kïš čïkkan häm kipkän ülän; prošlogodnjaja trava, vysohšaja na kornju', *kagït* 'kak"; suhaja tonkaja pastila domašnego prigotovlenija', *qaq* 'yalangač, ülän üsmi torgan; golyj, lišennyj rastiteľnosti' (TatD1), *qaq* 'yalangač, ülän üsmi torgan; golyj, lišennyj rastiteľnosti', *qaġït* 'kak; suhaja tonkaja pastila domašnego prigotovlenija', *qaġay-* 'katu, katïp kalu; zastareť, zatverdeť', *qau* 'čabïlmïy kalïp kar astïnda kïš čïkkan häm kipkän ülän; prošlogodnjaja trava, vysohšaja na kornju' (TatD2), *qaq* 'golyj (lišennyj rastiteľnogo pokrova, ničem ne pokrytyj), sušenyj, vysušennyj, vjalenyj, (peren.) pustoj, nikčemnyj, nikudyšnyj, pastila (tonkolistnaja, suhaja)' (Bashk), *qaq* 'korï, kiptergän; suhoj, sušenyj; korï, buš; pustoj, pusto, golyj; töče (kamïr); presnoe testo' (SibTat), *qaq* 'suhoj' (SibTatBD), *qaulaq* 'trockenes, vorjähriges Gras' (SibTatTR), *kak* 'sušenyj, suhoj, lišennyj rastiteľnosti, suhoj komoček, (peren.) hudoščavyj, nebolťšoe uglublenie, ostavšeesja ot vysohšego bolotca na solončakovoj počve, (južn.) nebolťšoe uglublenie v gorah, gde zaderživaetsja vlaga atmosfernyh osadkov', *kagïr*, (južn.) *kagïra* 'nazvanie gorťkoj travy', *kagïra-* 'vysohnuť, issohnuť, zasohnuť, prisohnuť' (Kirg), *qaq* 'trocken, hart, dürr, kahl' (KirgR), *qau* [qaw] 'last year's grass, uncut (high) grass', *qaq* 'a sweetmeat made of fruit or berries, water hole' (Kaz), *qaq* 'pastila' (KazM), *qaq* 'suhofrukty' (KazB), *qaq* 'trocken, hart, dürr, kahl' (KazR), *qaq* 'suhaja, vysušennaja dynja' (KklpB), *qaqla-* 'sušiť' (RKklp), *qaq* 'suhoj, sušenyj' (Kklp), *kak* 'vjalenyj, sušenyj (o mjase)', *kav* 'othody, otbrosy, vysohšaja na kornju trava, hudoe telo', *kavra-* 'sohnuť, zasyhať(o trave)', *kavragan* 'zasohšij (o trave)', *kavrak* 'vysohšij, zasohšij' (Nog), *qaqač* 'vjalenoe mjaso' (CrTat), *qaqač* 'sušenoe, vjalenoe mjaso (bolťšej častťju kozťe)' (KarSh), *qaq* 'suhoj, sušenyj, vysušennyj, vjalenyj (o mjase)' (Kum), *qaq* 'vjalenyj, sušenyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kak* 'sušenaja dynja' (Tkm), *gax* 'sušenye frukty', *gaxač* 'vjalenoe mjaso, vjalenyj' (Az), *kak* '(prov.) dried fruit, jam, meal made of flour, butter and eggs', [according to Redhouse, it is a word of Pe origin] *kâk* '(lrnd.) biscuit, dry bread', *kakaç* '(prov.) dried meat, salted and dried fish', *kağşa-* '(prov.) to crack with dryness, to become old and wizened, to be on the verge of collapse', *kağşak*, *kavşak* 'dry and crackling, about to collapse', *kavrak* '(prov.) dry leaves or brushwood for lighting a fire' (Tt), *kavut* '(dial.) roasted wheat ground to flour, gruel made of such flour' (Tt), *kak* '(dial.) tonkoslojnaja suhaja pastila iz fruktov, sušenye frukty, (peren.) hudoj, toščij, podžaryj (o čeloveke)', *kakaç* 'vjalenyj produkt, vjalenoe *ili* kopčenoe bujvolinoe mjaso', *kavruk* 'vysohšij, suhoj, vyžžennyj, žarenyj, za-

žarennyj, (peren.) hudoj, toščij, čahlyj' (TtB), *kauk* 'žarenaja kukuruza' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qåq* 'suhoj, sušenyj, golyj, obnažennyj' (Uzb), *qaq* 'dried peaches' (TurkiJ), *qaq* 'dried, desiccated' (TurkiSh), *qaq* 'sušenye frukty', *qaq-* 'sušit′' (TurkiL), *qaq* 'trocken, hart, dürr, kahl' (TurkiTR), *qaq* 'suhoj, sušenye frukty, sušenaja pastila' (MUyg), *q'aq* 'suhoj, sušenyj' (YUyg), *qaqïr* (< *qaq yer*) 'suhaja, zasohšaja sverhu zemlja solončaki' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kak* 'suhoj, pesčanyj' (Alt), *qaq* 'trocken, hart, dürr, kahl, das trockene Land' (AltR), *qaq* 'trocken, hart, dürr, kahl, das trockene Land' (AltTelR), ? *xax* 'poloe derevo, duplo v dereve' (KhakS), *xaxsa-* 'sohnut′, vysyhat′, peresyhat′, rassyhat′sja' (Khak), *xax* 'nagar, nakip′ na dne posudy, sor, sorinka, pyl′, ostanki, ostatki posle sžigania, prah' (KhakB); ***Y*** *xagdan*, *xagdaŋ*, *xaġdan* 'bleklyj, pobleklyj, povjalyj, peresohlyj', *xaġdarïy-* 'stanovit′sja želtym, želtet′, želknut′, bleknut′, vjanut′, uvjadat′, belet′, otcvetat′ (o trave, list′jah)' (← Mo) (Y), *kagdarïy-* 'Vergilben' (Dlg), *kak* 'harte Schale', *kak*: *muŋur kaga* 'eine Speise aus geräuchertem Fisch' (DlgS).

Mo *qagda* 'dry grass of the preceding year', *qag* 'dirt sticking to something, especially the body, scale, scab, dandruff, scurf, soot, dust, dross, slag, salt marsh, salty mud, moss on trees, lichen, placenta of animals' (L).

2 OT *qavïr-* 'rösten' (UHeilk I:137), *qagur-* 'rösten' (UHeilk I:173; UHeilk II Nr. 2:23), *qagur-*, *qawur-*, *ol tarïġ qaġurdï* 'he fried the wheat (or other)', *qawur-* is a variant, with thin *fā'* instead of *ġayn*, *qāġūt*. Name of a dish made from millet. The millet is boiled, dried and ground, then mixed with butter and sugar. It is one of the foods given to confined women, *qavut* is a variant of *qāġūt* (AK); **MT** *qavur-* 'žarit′' (ANehF), *qavurmač* (-ǰ) 'kuru et' (AChagAb), *qavurmač* (-ǰ) 'kuru et' (AChagAbA), *kavurmaǰ* 'pörzsölt hús, pörzsölt búza s egyébféle pörzsölt [roasted meat, roasted wheat and other kinds of roast]' (AChagAbV), *qawur-* (spelt) 'biryān kardan (to roast)' (AChagSC), *qavurma* 'yağda kızartılmış et parçası' (AAH), ? *qavur-* 'smażyć, prażyć' (ABul), *qawur-* 'braten' (AHou), *kovur-* 'kavurmak' (ATuh), *qōwūr-* 'kavurmak' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qaur-* 'rösten, braten' (SibTatBR), *qavur-* 'žarit′' (KarSh); *SW* *govur-* 'žarit′, zažarivat′, podžarivat′, sžigat′, issušat′, istrebljat′ (o solnce)', *govurga* 'žarenaja pšenica' (Tkm), *govur-* 'žarit′, zažarit′, podžarit′' (Az), *kavur-* 'to fry, to roast, to dry' (Tt), *kavur-* 'žarit′, zažarivat′, kalit′, žeč′, palit′, issušat′' (TtB), *kaur-* 'žarit′, zažarivat′' (Gag), *ġogr-*, *ġoo̲ur-*, *ġogur-*, *ġovur-*, *ġọwur-*, *ġọgur-* 'braten, rösten' (Khor), *qauur-* 'braten, rösten' (SOg); ***Kh*** *qāgur-* 'braten, rösten (Fleisch, Erbsen usw., transitiv)' (Kh), *qāgur-*, *qāvur-* 'rösten, leicht anbraten' (KhT); ***SE*** *qovur-* 'žarit′, zažarivat′, podžarivat′, (peren.) zadat′ percu, vsypat′ kak sleduet' (Uzb); ***NE*** *kaur-* 'žarit′' (AltQK), ? *xār-* 'žarit′, podžarivat′, žeč′, obžigat′ (napr. o železe, na moroze)' (Tuv), ? *hārï-* 'žarit′, podžarivat′ (na skovorode)' (Tof); ***Y*** *xārïy-* 'obžigat′, ožigat′' (Y).

Mo *qaġur-* 'to fry', *xaġuray* 'dry, dried up, dry land, dryness, drought', *qaġurġa* 'roasted meat dish, fried, roasted' (L).

E/T To define the ultimate base of the T words listed in the database under headings **1** and **2** is a difficult task. On the PT level, one can presume the possible reconstruction of a verbal base **kā-* with the meaning 'to be or become dry'. This basic form can help to explain the OT nominal der **kā-(O)k* 'something dried' (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 393–394; Clauson 1972: 608, *kak*, *kāk* the general connotation is 'something dried', often with the implication that it is so dry that it is splitting; Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 1997: 218–220: *kāk* 'suhoj' and 220–221: *kak* 'vysohšee ozero', cf. also Tenišev 2001: 92–93). Tatarincev (2000–2004/3: 76) was of the opinion that Tuv *kak* 'žažda' may also belong here, and cf. also *kaga-*, *kagï-* 'ispytyvatʹ žaždu, stradatʹ ot zasuhi' (Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 31). Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 393–394) gives a good summary of the spread of the word *kak* in the T lgs. It has been attested since Kashgari with the meanings 'dry, something dried, a dry material, dried fruits etc.' The word was borrowed by Pe; see *qāq* 'flesh or fish smoked or dried, tall, lank, dry bread, lean, weak, silly, flight, flighty'. It was also borrowed into Mo and some FUgr lgs. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 795) reconstructed PT **KAk* 'dry' and PMo **kag-* 'to become hard, dry, last year's grass' under the entry PA **kʻi̯ăkʻe* 'dry'.

Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 393–394) pointed out that suggestions made by Ramstedt (1935: 160: Kalm *xaG* 'ganz trocken, Schmutz, Unreinigkeit', *xagd*^{a} 'vorjähriges Gras') and Poppe (1960: 17) to the effect that the T and Mo data are genetically interrelated can neither be verified nor rejected. In a separate entry, *kakša-* 'trocknen, ausfallen (vom überreifen Getreide)', Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 394) also discussed other ders.

Clauson's reconstruction of the verbal base **kāg-* (1972: 609) can be accepted and the following words can be derived fr this base: *kāgut* (610: 'something roasted', cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 407–408), *kāgur-* (612: 'to parch, to bake, roast'). On *kāgur-*, see heading **2** which contains, however, only a limited collection of our data.

Despite Clauson's opinion, T *kāgïl* (610: 'a willow shoot') and *kāgūn* (611: 'melon') cannot be interrelated with the reconstructed base **kāg-*. Otherwise, Clauson did not connect the reconstructed verb **kāg-* with the nominal *kak*, *kāk* and considered both the verb and the nominal as a simplex. (Clauson's reconstruction can be supported with the verb *kag-* 'to be cooked' (ARbg), although this verb has a secondary special meaning.)

According to Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 169), the word forms *kaw* 'neskošennaja vysohšaja na kornju trava, suhaja trava, sternja, goloe suhostojnoe, vysohšee derevo, vjaly etc.' (cf. Tat, TatD, Bashk, SibTat, Nog), which also has the phonetic shapes *kou* (SibTatTR), *kuw* (Blk, Tat, Kklp, Nog), *kū* (Kirg, Alt), *xū* (Khak), *kïw* (SibTat, Bashk, BashkD), may go back to the alternating nominal forms **kag*, **kog*. These forms may be compared with Mo *kag* and *kog* (see Lessing 1960: 904, 951). Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 169) thought that these nominal forms **kag*, **kog* could have served as the base for the verbal forms *kavar-*, *kuvar-*, *kavra-* etc. with the

meanings ‘sohnuť, vysyhať etc.’ They also discussed the word *kawdan* (Kum, Blk, Nog, Tat, Y etc.), which is well attested in the T lgs and also documented in Chuv *χavtan* ‘prošlogodnjaja trava (vystupajuščaja iz-pod snega)’. They rightly considered the T word to be of Mo origin. Ramstedt (1922–1923: 25) compared Chuv *χura* with CrTat *kaudan* (Radloff 1893–1911/2: 53).

On the T words which may be members of an extended word family and interrelated with *kaw* < **kag* discussed above, see also the following entries in Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin *kavur-* ‘žariť’ (1997: 175–177), *kak* I ‘suhoj’ (218–220), *kak* II ‘vysohšee ozero’ (220–221).

Using the reconstructed PT verbal base **kā-*, the word **kāg-* can be explained in two different ways. (1) It is possible that a dev verbal suff **-(X)gV-* existed in PT, which was no longer productive in the OT period. (2) Fr the ancient base **kā-*, according to the known morphological rules of OT, the nominal **kā-(X)g* and hence its der **kā-(X)g+I/U-* had already formed in PT, which appeared in OT as **kāg-*.

The complicated interrelation of the words above was also discussed by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 541–542), who explained the tr verb *kavur-* fr a reconstructed intr base **kab-* ‘braten’. Dankoff–Kelly (in the Kashgari edition) reconstructed an alternating verbal base **kāg-*, **kāw-* ‘to fry, roast’ and Erdal (1991: 311) thought that the word *kagut*, the name of a dish described in Kashgari, probably comes fr *kagur-* ‘to parch’ and not fr its unattested base. In another place in his monograph (Erdal 1991: 661), however, he contradicts his former statement: *kagr-ul-*, *kagur-ul-* ‘to parch or roast’ “apparently a simplex”. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 684–685) reconstructed PT **KAgur-* ‘to roast, fry’ and PMo **kagur-* ‘to roast, bake, fry’. The other “Altaic” parallels under the entry **kı̯ăgru-* ‘to bake, boil’ seem not to belong here and the Mo words may be copies fr the T lgs.

In OT one can assume an attested nominal *kāk* and a reconstructed verb **kāg-*, which may be etymologically related to each other. In the dict of Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 221), one can find an entry for *kak-* ‘sušiť’ which cannot be verified. Perhaps other lexemes may be related to the PT base **kā-*, see e.g. **kāb* ‘tinder’ (see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 532–533; Clauson 1972: 579; Ščerbak 1970: 194).

E/H Bárczi (1941: 92) thought that the suggested Ir origin of the H word needs further investigation and considered the H word to be of unknown origin, as did Benkő later (1967–1984/1: 1036–1037). According to Benkő, the original meaning of the word in H could be ‘weed’. The Sl and Ir etymologies of *gaz* are unconvincing because they show the primary meaning ‘bushy’. Palló (1970: 431–432) considered the H word to be of OChuv origin and thought that the correspondence between Mo *kagda*, Chuv *χura* and H **kaz(a)* (> *gaz*) offers a very good parallel to the corresponding forms Mo *bugday* ‘Weizen’, Chuv *pări* and H *búza*. (On Chuv *pări* not pertaining here see **búza**). She pointed out, however, that some problems (the short

vowel in the first syllable and the loss of the stem-final vowel *-a*) of the supposed etymology have to be resolved. Joki (1973: 261) argued in favour of the Ir (OOs) etymology of H *gaz*. He supposed that when it comes to this word there is a confusion of homophonous words in H, and in some dials the original meaning of the H word, i.e. 'Wald', was also preserved. According to É. Kiss (1985: 99), the H word goes back to the Sl word *gozd* 'forest' and the final *-d* may have disappeared in H because it was felt to be a dim suff by the Hungarians. The original meaning of the H word according to É. Kiss could be 'forest'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *gaz* among the T lws in H. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 450) regarded the word to be of debated origin and saw semantic difficulties in the proposed Sl and Ir etymologies. The meaning 'forest' of *gaz* is first documented only in the 19th c.

According to Harmatta (1997: 81), the H word may be of Ir (NPe) origin and its copied form *gaz* could have the meaning 'tamarisk shrub'. According to him, the difficulties in the semantics can be explained if the word was borrowed via Os or Cauc mediation. H *gaz* 'weed' < EAH **gazə* < **kazə* ← Al **gaz* > Os *qæz*, *qæzæ* 'trostnik, kamyš', MIr Khot *gaysa-* (= gaza) 'reed', NIr Pe *gaz* 'tamarisk tree', Pash *az* 'tamarisk' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 302; Morgenstierne 2003: 34; Bailey 1979: 80; Digor *q-* is secondary fr *ǧ-*). Even in Os the word had earlier the meaning: 'wood, tree', see *qæzyn k'ūs* 'derevjannaja myska', *qæzyn wšdyg* 'derevjannaja ložka'. The semantic problems can be eliminated only if the H dial meaning 'bushy forest' was the original one.

The disappearance of the final *-a* of a supposed form **kagda* cannot be explained, thus all etymologies which connect the H word with the Mo and Chuv words have to be excluded. We can suppose a copied form **kāg-du* > *kaγδu* ⟶ **kazu* > *kaz* > *gaz*. As shown by Erdal (1991: 332–334), the dev nominal suff *-dU* formed the subject of intr bases in OT, see **koldus**. The disappearence of the final *-u* and the change *-γδ-* ⟶ *γz* > *z* are H changes. On the latter, see **búza**, **túzok**. The shortening of the vowel also occurred in H; see the dial forms above. The etymology remains uncertain until we find the prototype in any T lg.

◆ Radloff 1893–1911/2: 53; Ramstedt 1922–1923: 25; Ramstedt 1935: 160; Bárczi 1941: 92; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 302; Lessing 1960: 904, 951; Poppe 1960: 17; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 393–394, 407–408, 532–533, 541–542; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1036–1037; Palló 1970: 431–432; Ščerbak 1970: 194; Clauson 1972: 579, 608–612; Joki 1973: 261; Bailey 1979: 80; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 613–614; Doerfer 1985: 116, 142; É. Kiss 1985: 99; Erdal 1991: 311, 332–334, 661; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 450; Fedotov 1996/2: 331, 361; Harmatta 1997: 81; Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 1997: 169, 175–177, 218–221; Ščerbak 1997: 132, 134, 198; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 31, 76; Tenišev 2001: 92–93; Morgenstierne 2003: 34; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 684–685, 795.

GÖDÉNY [gödēń] 'pelican, *Pelicanus*' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Guden* [güden], 1198 PN *geuden* [güden], 1620 *gödenyek* [gödeń-ek], 1643 *pellican, gödény, és egyéb vizi madarak*

'pelican, gödény and similar waterbirds', 1781 'heron' | *gödēń* < **güden* < **güden* ← WOT **güdän*, **kütän* | MT *kutan* 'a kind of bird'.

Of possible T origin.

OT ? *qutān* – a man's name (AK); **MT** *qotan* 'pélican' (AChag), *qutan* 'saka kuşu [goldfinch, Stieglitz]' (AChagAb), *qutan* 'saka kuşu' (AChagAbA), *qutaq* (r: *qutan*) 'tengelic (madár)' (AChagAbV), *qutan* 'rod pticy, izvestnoj krupnym tuloviščem, pelikan' (AChagB), *qutan* 'aist' (AChagBud), *qotan* 'der Pelikan' (AChagR), *qotan* 'saka kušı' (AChagŠS), *qutan* 'saka kuşu; Stieglitz' (AChagŠSK), *qutan* 'der Stieglitz' (AChagZ), *qutan* 'pelikan' (ATuh), *qutan* 'bir çeşit kuş adı' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kïtan*: *kök kïtan* 'seraja caplja', *ak kïtan* 'belaja caplja' (Kirg), *kökqŭtan* '(zool.) stork' (Kaz), *qŭtan* 'caplja' (KazB), *qutan* 'caplja' (Kklp), *qutan* 'caplja' (KklpB), *qutan* 'caplja' (RKklp), *kutan* '(zool.) caplja' (Nog); ***SW*** *gotan* 'pelikan' (Tkm), *balïgudan* 'caplja', *gutan* '(zool.) pelikan (ptica)' (Az), *kutan* 'saka kuşu [goldfinch]' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qŭtan*, *qŭton*: *oq qŭtan*, *qŭton* 'caplja belaja', *kŭk qŭtan*, *qŭtån* 'caplja seraja' (Uzb), *qodan* 'water-hen', *qoday* 'swan' [according to Jarring, the latter word is of Pe origin] (TurkiJ), *qutan* 'pelikan' (TurkiL), *qodan* 'krasnaja vodjanaja kuročka, (dial) lebed'' (MUyg); ***NE*** *kudan* 'belaja ptica s dlinnymi kryl'jami, voditsja u ozer, otnositsja k rodu koršunov' (TuvD, Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 261); ***Y*** ? *kutaŋ* 'kakaja-to ptica', *kütän* 'osobaja ptica veličinoju s žuravlja' (Y), *kudan*, *kudan kuogas* 'poljarnaja gagara', *kutan turuya* 'seraja caplja' (YD, see also Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 260).

Mo *qotan* 'pelican' (L).

E/T The T words possibly related to the H word for 'pelican' are only documented fr the MT period, and all have back-vocalic forms. The majority of these data show not only this phonetic problem, but also a semantic difficulty. The T word *kutan* (readings with *-o-* in the first syllable are less probable) is attested in the Chag sources and in TtD with the meaning 'goldfinch', which does not fit the supposed T etymon, because all species of this group are small birds in the genus *Carduelis*. In AChag and AChagR, however, the corresponding words have the meaning 'pélican' and in AChagBud one can find 'aist' and 'a kind of a bird with large body' in AChagB, thus, the latter meanings are probably similar or identical to the meaning of H *gödény*.

The interrelation of the NT words is not free fr problems and their connection with the supposed T etymon of the H word also has difficulties.

According to Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (2000: 83–85), the T word *kotan* may be an early lw of the "Altaic period" because of the alternation of the first-syllabic vocalism *o* ~ *u* ~ *ï*.

Among the contemporary T data, one can only find a front-vocalic form in Y: *kütän* 'osobaja ptica veličinoju s žuravlja'. The Y word *kutaŋ* 'kakaja-to ptica' is a Nordic cultural wandering word; see PUgr **kottəŋ* (> POUgr **kŏtɜŋ* > PVog **kŏtāŋ*,

POst **kŏtəŋ*) > EAH **xottăɣ* > H *hattyú* ‘swan’, the palatalisation of /t/ being a H development (see § 8.7).

Another item which may belong with the T data is TurkiJ *kodan* ‘water-hen’. Animal names such as Chuv *kutan* (dial.) ‘peskarʹ, golavlʹ’ (Chuv) and *kutan*, *kotan* ‘nazv. ryby, peskar’ (ChuvA) are fish names, thus they must be excluded fr the investigation. Perhaps one can connect some Kip and Y words with the T etymon for the H word with the meanings ‘Reiher; caplja’ because they are similar to the pelicans. The vowel *-ï-* in the first syllable of the Kirg word may be secondary.

The word-forms *kordāy* etc., which are known fr the Karakhanid sources (AK, AQB, see Clauson 1972: 649) and some contemporary T lgs (cf. *korday* ‘černo-seraja bolʹšaja ptica s krasnymi i dlinnymi nogami’ (TurkiL), *kordoy* ‘pelikan’ (TurkiTR), *kordoy* ‘der Reiher’ (AltR), *kordoy* ‘der Reiher’ (AltTelR), ? *kordï*, *kordo* ‘der Reiher’ (KhakQbR)) cannot belong here. On these words, see Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (2000: 79) and Tenišev (2001: 173). Tatarincev (2000–2004/3: 260) mentions TuvD *kutay* ‘gusʹ’, thinking that it may be the result of the confusion of *kutan*, *kudan* and *korday*. The Mo word *korda* ‘pelican’ may be a T lw.

Despite the different vocalism in the first syllable, the T word *kutan* can be compared with Mo *kotan*.

E/H The H word may be a copy of a front-vocalic form of T *kutan*, i.e. *kütän*. On such copies, see **bölény**, **csődör**, **tőr**, see § 6.4.3. The voicing of *-t-* could occur in T.

It was Munkácsi (1884a: 260) who first regarded H *gödény* to be of T origin – comparing it with Chag *kotan* ‘pelican’. He supposed that the copied form could be a front-vocalic variant of this Chag form. Gombocz (1912b: 72, 166) reconstructed an OChuv form **ködän* for his etymological attempt and he thought the initial *g-* in H may be the result of an internal regressive assimilation. Despite Gombocz’s opinion, Ligeti (1935a: 199–200) claimed that the *k-* > *g-* change could already have appeared in T. According to him, the T change was a conditioned one because it occurred only before rounded vowels; cf. **görény**, **güzü**. Bárczi (1941: 97) regarded *gödény* to be an early T lw. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1082) and Kiss (1984: 56) accepted Ligeti’s opinion. Later, Ligeti (1986: 184, 305) did not exclude the possibility that the occurrence of the initial *g-* can also be regarded as an internal H development. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 472) the H word is of possible T origin and it may belong to the early layer. The copied form could be **kütän* or perhaps **küdän*.

◆ Munkácsi 1884a: 260; Gombocz 1912b: 72, 166; Ligeti 1935a: 199–200; Bárczi 1941: 97; Sinor 1946–1947: 48; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1082; Räsänen 1969: 284; Clauson 1972: 649; Kiss 1984: 56; Ligeti 1986: 184, 194, 202, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 472; Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 2000: 79, 83–85; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 260–261; Tenišev 2001: 173.

GÖRÉNY [görēń] ‘polecat, *Putorius foetidus*’ | 1221 PN *Geren* [geren], 1296 GN *Geurenes* [güren-eš], c1395 *geren* [geren], 1429 PN *gewren* [gören], 1571 *georeny be-*

oreket [göreń böreket], 1595 *göreny-fyu* [göreń fü] ‘name of a grass’ | *görēń* < **güren* ← WOT **gürän*, **kürän* ‘polecat’ | EOT *küzän* see (AK).

OT *küzän* ‘one of the rat genus, used to hunt small birds, also the gerboa’ (AK); **MT** *küzän* ‘łasica, kuna’ (AHŠ, cf. Clauson 1972: 761, though Zajączkowski suggested ‘weasel, marten’ the context would equally admit of ‘polecat’), *küzän* ‘horek’, *küzän* (cuxan, chusan): *qara küzän* ‘Iltis, Iltisfell’ (LCCI), *küzän* ‘sansar (belette)’ (AAH), *küzän* ‘belette, furet’ (ABul), *küzän* (MS *kūnān*) ‘al-‘arsa; weasel’ (AHou 11:14, cf. Clauson 1972: 761), *küzän* ‘kunica’ (ATuh), *közen* (r: *küzän*) ‘sansar, firavun sıçanı’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *közän* ‘hor´, horek, hor´kovyj’ (Tat), *közön* ‘der Iltis’ (TatKR), *köδän* ‘horek, hor´, hor´kovyj’ (Bashk), *küzän* ‘der Iltis’ (SibTatTR), *küzön*, *küsön* ‘horek’ (Kirg), *küzen* ‘(zool.) polecat, ferret’ (Kaz), *küzen* ‘horek’ (KazM), *küzen* ‘horek’ (KazB), *güzen* ‘horek’ (Kklp), *güzen* ‘horek’ (RKklp), *küzen* ‘(zool.) horek, hor´’ (Nog), *kuzen* [ü] ‘hor´, horek’ (CrTat), *gözen* ‘kunica’, *sasïk gözen* ‘horek’ (Kum); ***SW*** *gözen*, *küzen* ‘horek’ (RTkmAB), *küzen* ‘horek’ (TkmD, Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 1997: 86); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kuzan*: *sassiq kuzan* ‘horek’ (Uzb), *küzän* ‘horek’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *küzen* ‘horek’ (Alt), *küzön* ‘der Iltis’ (AltR), *küzön´* ‘horek’ (AltL), *küzän* ‘der Iltis’ (AltTelR), *küzen* ‘(zool.) horek’ (Khak), *küzen* ‘horek’ (KhakB), *küzen* ‘kunica, kolonok, kunij, kolonkovyj’ (Tuv), *xürene* ‘kunica, kolona’ (TuvD ← Mo, Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 344), *küzen*, *küsen* ‘(zool.) kolonok’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kürene* ‘skunk, polecat, weasel’, *küren*, *kürin*, *küreŋ* ‘[dark] brown, maroon (esp. of fur), deep violet’ (L).

E/T The T words in the database may go back to a reconstructed form **küzänV*, which may be, despite Clauson’s opinion (1972: 761), a der with the characteristic for animal names ending in *+An*, but the base is unknown. The Mo word *kürene* ‘skunk, polecat, weasel’ – as pointed out earlier by some scholars, see e.g. Clauson (1972: 761), Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 87) – may be a borrowing fr a lg of the Oguric type. According to Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 112, 148; 1949: 118), the base of the T word was *küz* ‘Herbst’ and he explained T *küzän*, Kirg *küzön* ‘Iltis’; Mo *küreŋ* ‘braun, gelb-braun’, *kürene* ‘Iltis’; Nan *kuri* ‘grau’, *kuybulę* ‘gräulich’; and Kor *kiru* ‘a second crop (the same year)’ as etymologically corresponding forms. The “Altaic” etymological interrelation between Mo *küreŋ* ‘braun, gelb-braun’ and T *küz* ‘Herbst’ supposed by Ramstedt was rightly rejected early on by Joki (1952: 203–204) and Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 463–464). Joki and Doerfer, however, did not exclude the possible etymological connection between Mo *küren*, *küreŋ* ‘[dark]brown, maroon (esp. of fur), deep violet’ (L) – which was later borrowed by some T lgs – and T *küzän* ‘Iltis’. Their opinions were also accepted by Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 86–87). Clauson (1972: 761) and Tenišev (2001: 163) considered this possibility unconvincing. The suggested “Altaic parallels” of the T word were listed by Tenišev (2001: 163), according to whom T **küzän* ‘horek’ corresponds to Mo *kürene* ‘horek’, Tu **xurgu-*

li ‘medved′’, **xuri-ke* ‘surok, nerpa’. As mentioned above, the Mo word is a T lw. The Tu words do not belong here, although Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 856–857) argued for a genetic relation between the words under the entry PA **kʻuŕe* ‘a kind of fur animal’.

The Mo word *kürene* was borrowed into the Tu lgs (*kurönö*, *xurene*, *kuren*) and is attested in Man (*kurene*, *kurune*); cf. Joki (1952: 203); Doerfer (1985: 99); Ligeti (1986: 15); Cincius (1975–1977/1: 437).

The Mo colour name *küren*, *küreŋ* was borrowed by some T lgs; see e.g. *kĕren* ‘rozovyj, temno-ryžij (o masti lošadi)’ (Chuv), *körän* ‘buryj, burovato-koričnevyj’ (Tat), *körän* ‘buryj, koričnevyj, (dial.) fioletovyj’ (Bashk), *küräŋ* ‘körän; buryj’ (SibT), *küräŋ* ‘koričnevyj’ (SibTatBD), *küröŋ* ‘buryj (o masti)’ (Kirg), *küreŋ* ‘temno-ryžaja mast′ lošadi’ (KazB), *küreŋ*, *güröŋ* ‘temnoryžij (mast′)’ (Kklp), *küren* ‘temno-ryžij (o masti lošadi)’ (Nog), *küren* ‘(karač.) buryj’ (KrchBlk), *kürän* ‘ryžij (mast′ lošadi)’ (Az), *küran*, *küreng* ‘dun horse’ (Tt), *küreŋ* ‘koričnevyj, temnoryžij, buryj (o masti lošadi)’ (Alt), *küreŋ* ‘koričnevyj’, *kürlöŋ* ‘karij’, *güröŋ*, *küröŋ* ‘buryj’, *küreŋ* ‘koričnevyj’ (AltTK), *küreŋ* ‘koričnevyj, smuglyj, temnoryžij, buryj’ (Khak), *hüreŋ* ‘koričnevyj, buryj’ (Tof), *küräŋ*, *kürün*, *kürüŋ* ‘o lošadjah: buryj, krasnovatyj, solovoj etc.’ (Y) etc. On these words, see Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 146–147).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 145; 1882a: 219; 1914: 160) considered the H word to be of T origin, but his etymology was based on T words which cannot possibly belong with the T etymon for the H word. The T etymology of the word was rightly explained by Munkácsi (1884a: 260) based mainly on words fr SibTat, however, he also mentioned – following Vámbéry’s lead – the Tt item *girin* ‘Iltis’, which, if it exists at all, cannot be related to the T words mentioned above. Gombocz (1912b: 72–73, 166) reconstructed the OChuv copied form **kürän* and he supposed that the phonetic change **k-* > *g-* can be explained as a result of an internal H regressive assimilation. Bárczi (1941: 98) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1089) accepted Gombocz’s etymology. On the *k-* > *g-* change, Benkő mentioned the words **gödény** and **güzü**, showing the same phonetic feature. Ligeti (1986: 118, 184, 186, 199, 306–307, 349, 526) reconstructed the copied form as **güren*, but he did not exclude the possibility that the initial *g-* could also have occurred in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 145; Vámbéry 1882a: 219; Munkácsi 1884a: 260; Gombocz 1912b: 72–73, 166; Vámbéry 1914: 160; Ramstedt 1935: 248; Bárczi 1941: 98; Ramstedt 1949: 118; Joki 1952: 203–204; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 112, 148; Ščerbak 1961: 146; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 463–464; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1089; Räsänen 1969: 310, 312; Clauson 1972: 761; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 437; Doerfer 1985: 99; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 118, 184, 186, 199, 202, 305–307, 349, 526; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 475, Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 1997: 86–87, 146–147; Róna-Tas 1997a: 247; Ščerbak 1997: 146; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 344; Tenišev 2001: 163; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 856–857.

GÜGYŰ [güd′ű] ‘matchmaker’ | 1825 *gűgyű* [gűd′ű] dial ‘an old male person who is commissioned by the bridegroom to sue for the hand of the bride, groomsman’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 719) | *güd′ű* < **küd′ű* < **küd′eü̯* < **küdeɣü* ⟵ Cum **küdägü* | EOT *küdägü* ‘son-in-law’.

Of Cum origin.

OT *küdägü* ‘Schwiegersohn’ (UTTVI 344), *küdänlik* ‘Gästehaus’ (UTTVI 86), *küdän* ‘Gast’ (UTTVII 35:13), *är küdägü* ‘zjaťʼ (RY 3:6), **küdä-* ‘wed’: *küd̲ägü* ‘groom’, *küdän* ‘wedding feast’ (AK), *küdägü* ‘son-in-law’ (AQB); **MT** *küdägü* ‘gendre’ (UHy), *küdänlä-* ‘inviter (un hôte)’ (UHyS), *küdägü* ‘Schwiegersohn’ (UCivSa 12:3), *Küdägü* PN (UCivSa 21:18), *Küdän* PN (UCivSa 23:17), *küyägi* (?) (MS: <KLĠY>) ‘bridegroom’ (ABF), *küyägü* ‘son-in-law’, *küyäv* ‘bridegroom’, *küyü* ‘son-in-law’ (AGul), *küdegü* ‘güyeği’ (AHMA), *küdägü* ‘pan młody, narzeczony, oblubieniec, zięc’ (AHŠ), *küdägü* ‘zjaťʼ, ženih’ (AHŠF), *güyägü* ‘zjaťʼ (AIM), *güyeg* ‘güveyi’, *küyev qonuqluġu* ‘güveyi ziyafeti’ (AIMI), *küyevü*, *küyegü* ‘son-in-law, bridegroom, husband of the daughter’ (AKD), *küdägü* ‘zjaťʼ, ženih’ (ANehF), *küyägü*, *küdägü*, *küzägü* ‘son-in-law’ (ARbg), *küδägü*, *küzägü* ‘zjaťʼ (ATef), *küyäw* ‘gendre, fiancé’ (AChag), *küyäw* (AChagAb), *göreġan* ‘kız alsa anga göregan dirler’, *küyev* ‘güyekü’ (AChagAbA), *köyeü* (r: *küyäü*) ‘vő’ (AChagAbV), *kiyev* ‘zjaťʼ, ženih’ (AChagB), *küyäw* ‘son-in-law’ (AChagSC), *güyav* ‘Bräutigam, Schwiegersohn’ (AChagŠSK), *küyägü* ‘der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager’ (AChagR), *göyegü*, *güwegi* ‘gendre, fiancé; Eidam, Bräutigam’ (AChagZ), *küyöv* ‘Bräutigam’ (LCCG), *küyegü* ‘Schwiegersohn’ (LCCI), *küyäwü* ‘güvey’ (AAH), *güyegü* ‘güveği, damad’ (AAHI), *küyägü* ‘Schwiegersohn, Bräutigam’ (AHou), *küyä* ‘zjaťʼ, *küyäv*, *küyägi* ‘zjaťʼ, svojak’, (Tkm) *küyägü* ‘zjaťʼ (ATuh), *küyev*, *küyegü* ‘güvey’ (ATuhA), *güyeğü* ‘güveği, damat’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kĕrü* ‘zjaťʼ (muž dočeri ili rodstvennicy molože govorjaščego), ženih, družka (ženiha)’ (Chuv), *kĕrü* ‘zjaťʼ (muž moej dočeri, muž moej mladšej sestry i voobšče muž moej rodstvennicy, kotoraja molože menja), obraščenie k postoronnemu, kotoryj molože govorjaščego, ženih, pominal′noj obrjad’ (ChuvA), *kĕrü* ‘sógor, hugom férje; Schwiegersohn, Schwager, der Mann meiner jüngeren Schwester’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *kiyäü* ‘ženih, zjaťʼ (muž dočeri ili mladšej sestry), molodoj muž (v pervye gody braka)’ (Tat), *’eyüw* ‘kiyäü; ženih’, *keyäü* ‘kiyäü; ženih’ (TatD1), *küwäü* ‘kiyäü; ženih’ (TatD2), *keyäü* ‘vőlegény; Bräutigam’ (TatB), *keyäü* ‘ženih; molodoj muž’ (Bashk), *köyäü* ‘kiyäü; ženih, zjaťʼ, *küyō̈ü* id. (SibTat), *küze* id. (SibTat, Egorov 1964: 109), *kiyiv*, *küyäü* ‘ženih’ (SibTatBD), *kiyäw* ‘der Schwäger, Bräutigam, junge Ehemann’ (SibTatTümR), *küyā̈* ‘der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager’ (SibTatTR), *küyō̈*, *küyöv* (južn.) ‘ženih, molodoj muž; zjaťʼ (v otnošenii vseh starših rodstvennikov i rodičej ženy)’ (Kirg), *küyō̈* ‘der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager’ (KirgR), *küyeu* [*küyew*] ‘betrothed (man), fiancé, young husband, son-in-law (daughter’s husband) or brother-in-law (husband of elder sister)’ (Kaz), *küyöü* ‘der Schwiegersohn, jün-

gere Schwager, Bräutigam, junge Ehemann' (KazR), *küyew* 'ženih, zjaťˊ, muž' (Kklp), *kiev* (-iye-) 'zjaťˊ' (Nog), *kiev* (-iye-) 'ženih, zjaťˊ' (CrTat), *güyäw* 'der Schwiegersohn', *güyū̄* 'der Schwiegersohn, Brätigam' (CrTatR), *küyüv* 'zjaťˊ, ženih' (KarSh), *guvėyn* 'zjaťˊ', *guyėv* 'zjaťˊ' (KarC), *kiyiv* 'ženih' (KarSh), *kiyov* 'zjaťˊ' (KarT), *kiyüv* 'ženih' (KarSh), *kiyėv* 'zjaťˊ' (KarH), *küyėv* 'zjaťˊ' (KarC), *giev* (-iye-) 'zjaťˊ, ženih' (Kum), *giyäv*, *giyaw* 'zjaťˊ' (KumD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 43), *kiyew* 'zjaťˊ' (BlkD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 43), *küew* (-üye-) '(karač.) zjaťˊ', *küew nöger* 'družka (rasporjaditeľ v svadebnoj ceremonii so storony ženiha), mužčina, provožajuščij ženiha k neveste v prevuju bračnuju noč', obyčno muž sestry ženiha' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *giev* (-iye-) 'zjaťˊ, (redko) ženih', *kō̆reken* (← Mo) (Tkm), *giöv* 'zjaťˊ' (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 44), *g´iyäv* (genuin), *küräkän* (← Mo) 'zjaťˊ (muž dočeri)' (Az), *giyov*, *ǰiyäv* 'zjaťˊ' (AzD, Tenišev 2001: 298), *giyov* 'evli erkek' (TtD1), *güve*, *güva*, *gövegi*, *göveği*, *güyae*, *güyo* 'damat, güveyi' (TtD1), ? *güvä*, *güvā̄* 'ženih, zjaťˊ' (Gag), *güyägę*, *giyągį* 'Schwiegersohn' (Khor); ***Kh*** *kịdäy* 'Bräutigam, Schwiegersohn' (T *küdägü*), *kidän* 'Hochzeit' (T *küdän*) (Kh), *küdän* 'Hochzeit', *küdäyi* 'Schwiegersohn', cf. *küräkän* ? 'Schwiegersohn' (KhT); ***SE*** *kuyåv* 'zjaťˊ (muž dočeri)' (Uzb), *kiyäw*, *küyäw*, *küyöv*, *küyüv* 'zjaťˊ' (UzbD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 43–44), *küy*: *küy oġol* 'son-in-law' (TurkiJ), *küyā̄* 'der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager' (TurkiTR), *küyo* (!) 'zjaťˊ (muž dočeri), muž', *küyoġul* 'zjaťˊ (muž dočeri), ženih' (MUyg), *küzeġï* (!), *kuzeġï, quziġï* 'ženih' (YUyg), *kuzeġï* (!) 'zjaťˊ', *kuzikse* (!) (< *küzegü* with Px3.sg) 'zjaťˊ ego, ženih ego', *küzegi*, *küzegü*, *küzekse* (< *küzegü* with Px3.sg) 'zjaťˊ, ženih, muž', *küzige* 'zjaťˊ, ženih' (YUygM); ***NE*** *küyü* 'zjaťˊ' (Alt), *küyū̄* 'der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager' (AltR, AltTelR), *küye*, *küyö* 'zjaťˊ' (AltQK), *küye* 'zjaťˊ' (AltTK), *küyā̄* 'der Schwiegersohn, jüngere Schwager' (AltLR, ChulR), *kizö* 'zjaťˊ' (Khak), *küzē*, *kizö* 'zjaťˊ, ženih, svaďba' (KhakB), *küzā̄* 'der Schwiegersohn' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *küdā̄* 'der Schwiegersohn, (KhakSR), *güzï* 'fiancé' (FY), *küdē* 'zjaťˊ' (Tuv), *kütō̄* 'zjaťˊ' (TuvD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 44), *xüregen*, *xürgen* 'zjaťˊ' (← Mo) (TuvD, Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 339), *hüdē* 'zjaťˊ, ženih' (Tof); ***Y*** *kütüö*(*t*), *kütüö* 'zjaťˊ (muž staršej rodnoj sestry, esli govorjaščij – ženščina, muž staršej dvojurodnoj sestry, t.e. dočeri brata otca ili materi, rodnogo djadi po otcu ili materi etc.' (Y), *kütüö*, *kütüöt* 'Schwigersohn, Ehemann' (Dlg), *kütöü* 'Ehemann der Tochter des älteren Bruders von *ego* etc.' (DlgS).

Mo *kürgen* 'husband of one's daughter or sister, son-in-law, bridegroom' (L).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 703), the EOT word *küdāgū̄* is morphologically a probable der fr **küdä-* (702) and it has the cognate *küḏān* 'entertainment, feast, wedding feast, a guest' (704–705). According to Doerfer–Tezcan (1980: 150), the latter word only survives among the T lgs in the Kh as *kidän*. On the T word, see also Räsänen (1969: 306). Dankoff–Kelly were of the same opinion as Clauson and they

reconstructed the verbal base **küdä-* 'to wed' for the T word family. Erdal (1991) did not discuss the word.

Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 43–46) attempted to explain **küdä-* as a den form (**küd+ä-*) and that is theoretically a good solution, but the nominal base *kűy* (*kū*) presumed by him is only attested in some MUyg and Az dials (*köy* 'zjat′') and these forms seem to be secondary. MUyg *küyo* is a special word: one can suppose the compound *küyoġul* 'žjat′ (muž dočeri), ženih (po otnošeniju k roditeljam nevesty)' for this. Tenišev (2001: 297–298) was of the same opinion as Sevortjan. He pointed out that the etymology of the T word is dubious, however it seems to be very plausible that the word has a verbal base **küy-*, **küd-*. According to Tatarincev (2000–2004/3: 336–339), the original meaning of *küdägü* could be 'gost′' or 'tot, kto polučaet udovol′stvie, predaetsja razvlečenijam'. His opinion is very close to that of Clauson (1972: 703).

Chuv *kĕrü* goes back regularly to **küdägü*, which was shortened relatively early on to **küdäg* in the T lgs, and shows the so-called second rotacism (**-d-* > **-δ-* > (**-z-*) > *-r-*).

Ščerbak (1997: 128–129) considered the Mo words *küreken*, *küregen* 'zjat′' to be of OT origin fr a lg of the Chuv type. He pointed out that the Tkm word *kōreken* is a reborrowed form fr Mo.

Under the entry NPe *kűrgān* 'Schwiegersohn, als spezieller Titel, ein Fürst, der die Tochter eines Čingisiden geheiratet hat', Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 475–477) does not mention the T word *küdägü*. He pointed out that the Mo form was borrowed into Evnk and some T lgs. Despite Poppe's opinion (1960: 57), Doerfer claimed that the Mo and Tu forms cannot be genetically interrelated. Cf. also Doerfer (1985: 127). The widespread occurrence of the Mo form results fr the special social status of sons-in-law in the Mo ruling class.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 732) reconstructed the PT base as **güde-* 'son-in-law, guest'. Their idea that it is a cognate of PMo **kuda* 'relative-in-law' cannot be accepted. They, however, rightly accepted that Mo *küdegü* is a T lw, and Evnk *kutē* came fr Y.

E/H The H word is a copy of the Cum form **küdägü* denoting the male matchmaker who sued for the hand of the bride on behalf of the bridegroom. Its present form perhaps developed under the influence of the H word of onomatopoeic origin *gügyög-* 'to coo, crow, babble, chirp'. The only uncertainty lies in the late occurrence of the word.

According to Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/2: 1142), *gügyü* is identical to the H word *gügyő*, i.e. *gügyögő* or *gugyogó* with the meaning 'an old woman who is a go-between in matrimonial affairs, matchmaker'. Nyíri (1956: 44) cited the data *gügyü* fr the region of Szeged (south-eastern part of Hungary) with the same meaning. Pais

(1958a: 194) thought that *gügyü* may be of internal H origin and of onomatopoeic character. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1112; 1993–1997/1: 487), the H dial word is of uncertain origin, and it can, perhaps, be connected with the H verb *gügyög-* 'to coo, crow, babble, chirp'. The word is absent fr Ligeti (1986).

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/2: 1142; Nyíri 1956: 44; Pais 1958a: 194; Poppe 1960: 57; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 475–477; Egorov 1964: 109; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1112; Räsänen 1969: 306; Clauson 1972: 702–705; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 43–46; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 719; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 150; Doerfer 1985: 127; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 487; Fedotov 1996/1: 283; Ščerbak 1997: 128–129; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 336–339; Tenišev 2001: 297–298; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 732.

GÜZÜ [güzü] 'gleaner mouse, *Mus spicilegus*' | 1198 ? PN *Guzu* [güzü], 1302 PN *cuzu* [küzü], c1395 *geʒeu* [gezü] | *güzü* < *güzṻ* < *güzeü̯* < **küzeɣü* < **küseɣü* ← WOT **küsäɣü* | EOT *küsgü* 'rat, a calendric year', *küskü* id.

Of possible T origin.

OT *küs°gẅ* 'rat': *küs°gẅ yïlïqa* 'in the Year of the Rat' (RMTerh S5), *[k]üskü* 'Maus': *[k]üskü yïl* 'im zyklischen Jahre "Maus"' (ULeCoqSchriftk T.M. 222. D. 51:1), *küskü* 'Maus': *küskü kündä* 'am Tage der Maus' (UTTVII 19:2), *küskü*: *buu küskü* '*wu*-Maus' (UTTVII 1:72), *küzgü* 'krysa, myš'' (USp), *küskü* 'mouse' (UXuanzangIndex); **MT** *küskü* 'Maus' (UCivSa 05:1), *küskü* 'rat' (U, cf. Bazin 1974: 488); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *küse* 'krysa, krysinyj' (Tat), *köšöl* 'küse, krysa' (TatD1), *küse* 'patkány [rat]' (TatB), *kösö* 'die Ratte' (TatKR), ? *kōsmär* 'küse; krysa; sukïr tïčkan; krot' (SibTat), *küskä* 'myš' (SibT, Budagov 1869–1871/2: 412), *küskü* 'die Ratte' (SibTatTR); ***SW*** *köskü*, *kösnü* 'köstebek' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *küskedžek*, *küskeček*, *küsküdžük*, *küsküček* 'myš', myška' (AltQK), *küskü* 'die Ratte' (AltTölR), *küske* 'myš'' (Khak), *küskä* 'die Ratte' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *küskä* 'die Ratte' (ChulR), *güskï* 'mouse' (FY), *küske* 'mys', myšinyj' (Tuv); ***Y*** *kütär* 'krysa vodjanaja, *Microtus* (*Arvicola*) *amphibius*, po-russki, na Lene: krot, vodjanoj krot [vodokrot], suslik' (Y), *kütėr* 'krysa' (RY).

E/T The etymology of the T word is debated. Doerfer's (1963–1975/3: 597) proposal that the T word *küskṻ* may be a dev nominal, the base of which is attested in AltTelR as *küs-* 'in Unordnung bringen, untereinander werfen, herumsuchen, herumkramen' (Radloff 1893–1911/2: 1500), seems to be unconvincing despite the opinion posited by Tatarincev (2000–2004/3: 357–358). Joki (1952: 220) and then Räsänen (1969: 312) discussed the T word *küskü* in connection with some other T words which do not seem to belong here (see CrTat *küšül*, Alt, AltTel *küžül* etc.). Joki (1952: 220) rejected Ramstedt's (1935: 248) reconstruction for Mo as **küsi-ley* and he pointed out that the Kalm word *küšlē* is perhaps a T lw, which was also stated by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 774). They reconstructed the PT form in the phonetic shape **küĺül*, which cannot be accepted; see Tat, Y. On the T words *küzül*, *küšül*, *küžül*, see Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 155). Their interrelation

with the T ders *küsi*, *köskü*, *küske*, which were formed with suffs other than *küskü* is otherwise possible. During the regular historical phonetic changes, the ancient segment *˚si˚* could have provided a new segment *˚ši˚* in Chuv and Mo. In the current phase of the investigation, however, we do not connect the words *küzül*, *küšül*, *küžül* and *küsi*, *köskü*, *küske*.

Clauson (1972: 750, 752) does not look for any relation between T *küskǖ* 'rat, mouse' and *kösürgā*, *kösürgān* 'a mole'. He regards the Karakhanid forms *kösürgā* 'a type of rat' and *kösürgān* 'a type of mole' as old forms with the ending *˚gA* and *˚gAn*. The partial correspondence between these forms and Az *köstäbäk* '(zool.) krot', Tt *köstebek* is not etymological. The Og word may be a compound; cf. Tenišev (2001: 167). Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 153–154, *küsi*, *köskü*, *küske* 'krysa, krot') listed the appropriate words and gave an old reconstructed base **kös*, **küs* for them, however the editors of this volume do not reject the possibility that the T words *küsi*, *köskü*, *küske* and the lexemes *kösürgā*, *kösürgān* may also belong here etymologically. They cite the contemporary Uyg dial word *küsötkä* 'polevaja myš'' and the MUyg item *küsätkä* '(zool.) polevka, polevaja myš''. Tenišev (2001: 167) accepted the opinion of Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin (1997: 153–154). The word-internal *-t-* (< **-s-*) in the Y form *kütär* is regular. The T words may show us that the labial vowels could demonstrate an early alternation in the etymon.

E/H The H word is a copy of a T form *küsägü* → **küseɣü* > **küseü̯* > **küzṻ* > *güzü*.

The possible T origin of the H word was mentioned early on by Munkácsi (1884a: 260), who later (1905: 378) considered the word to be of IE origin, a position which was rejected later by Joki (1952: 220). Gombocz (1912b: 73, 166) considered *güzü* as an OChuv borrowing (**kösüg*) and noted that the initial H *g-* may be the result of in internal H regressive assimilation. Ligeti (1935a: 199) thought that the initial *g-* appeared as early as in T. Bárczi (1941: 99) considered H *gözü* (*güzü*) to be of T origin. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1113) reconstructed the OT copied form as **küsäg*, which regularly changed to *güzű* in H. Ligeti (1986: 194) accepted the T etymology of the word, however he added that there are some problems with it (initial *g-*, internal *-z-*, final short vowel *-ü*) which need further investigation. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 487–488) slightly changed his former opinion and presumed a copied form **küsäk* or **küsük* 'Ratte, Maus'. The word-final vowel in H could originally have been a long one, i.e. /ṻ/.

◆ Budagov 1869–1871/2: 412; Munkácsi 1884a: 260; Radloff 1893–1911/2: 1500; Munkácsi 1905: 378; Gombocz 1912b: 73, 166; Ligeti 1935a: 199; Ramstedt 1935: 248; Bárczi 1941: 99; Joki 1952: 220; Ščerbak 1961: 151; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 597; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1113; Nadeljaev 1969: 329; Räsänen 1969: 312; Clauson 1972: 750, 752; Bazin 1974: 488; Tekin 1976: 112; Ligeti 1986: 194, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 487–488; Levitskaja–Dybo–Rassadin 1997: 153–155; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 357–358; Tenišev 2001: 167; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 774.

Gy

GYALÁZ [d′ålāz] ‘to abuse, calumniate’ | p1372/c1448 *gyalazafoknal* [d′ålāz-āšoknāl], p1416/c1450 *galozat’t’a* [d′ålāz-åt′t′å] | *d′ålāz-* < **d′ala-* {with suff -(*V*)*z*-} < **ǰala-* ⟵ WOT **ǰala-* | EOT *yala-* ‘to make false accusation’ < **yal* ‘lie’ {with suff +*A*-}.

OT *yala* ‘Verdächtigung’ (UI 75), *yalġan* ‘mensonage’ (UHamTouHou), *yala* ‘accusation’, *yala-* ‘falsely accuse’ (AK); **MT** *yalġan* ‘yalan’ (UY), *yalġan* ‘faux, mensonger’ (UHy), *yalġan* ‘Täuschung, Lüge’ (UCiv), *yalġan* ‘lie, false’ (AGul), *yalġan* ‘yalan’ (AHMA), *yalġan* ‘lož′, lživyj’ (AHŠF), *yalan*, *yaġan*, *yalġan* ‘lož′’ (AIM), *yalġan* ‘yalan’, *yalġančï* ‘yalancı’ (AIMI), *yalġan* ‘lie’ (AKD), *yalġan* ‘liar’ (AKor), *yalġan* ‘lož′’ (AM), *yalġan* ‘lož′, lživyj’ (ANehF), *yalġan*: *yalġanġa čïqar-* ‘to show or declare to be false’ (ARbg), *yalġan* ‘lož′’ (ATef), *yalġan* ‘Lüge, falsch’ (AChagŠS), *yalġan* ‘falsch, lügnerisch’ (LCCG), *yalġan* ‘yalan’ (AAH), *yalan* ‘yalan’ (AHou), *yalġan* ‘mensonger, menteur, faux’ (AmTr), *yalan* ‘yalancı, vefasız, sözünde durmaz’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *yula* ‘ust. kleveta, navet, kljauza’ (Chuv ⟵ Tat); ***NW*** *yala* ‘kleveta, poklep’, *yalgan* ‘lož′’ (Tat), *yala* ‘kleveta, lož′noe obvinenie, poklep’ (Bashk), *yala* ‘kleveta’, *yalan* ‘lož′’ (SibTat), *ǰalā* ‘kleveta, hula’ (Kirg), *ǰala* ‘false accusation, calumny, libel’ (Kaz), *ǰala* ‘kleveta’ (Kklp), *yala* ‘kleveta, poklep’ (Nog), *yalan* ‘lož′, nepravda’ (CrTat), *yalan* ‘lož′, obman’, *yalgan* ‘lož′, lživyj, lož′nyj’ (Kar), *yala* ‘kleveta, poklep’ (Kum), *ǰalġan* ‘lož′nyj’(KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yalan* ‘lož′’ (Tkm), *yalan* ‘lož′, lož′nyyj’ (Az), *yalan* ‘lie, falsehood, false, deceitful’, *yalanla-* ‘ to deny, to contradict’ (Tt), *yalan* ‘lož′’ (Gag), *yalan* ‘Lüge’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yålgån* ‘nepravda, lož′, vran′e’ (Uzb), *yala* ‘kleveta, poklep’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *d′ala* ‘penja, štraf’; ***Y*** –.

Mo *yala* ‘guilt, fault, crime, felony, misdemeanor, compensation, punishment, penalty, fine’, *ǰali* ‘ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit’ (L).

E/T In Kashgari we find the verb *yala-*: *ol aŋar ogrï yalādï* ‘he suspected or falsely accused him of theft (or other)’. We have to suppose a hitherto unattested noun **yal* ‘lie’ fr which the verb *yala-* ‘to make a false accusation’ was formed by adding the den suff +*A*- (Erdal 1991: 418–429). Fr the verb *yala-* and the addition of the dev suff *-gAn* (Erdal 1991: 382–389) the noun **yalagan* ‘a lie, a liar, untruthful’ was formed, which appears in many sources as *yalgan*. With the regular loss of *-g-* *yalan* ‘lie, liar etc.’ developed. There is no clear morphological connection between the verb *yala-* and the noun *yala*. Most probably, this is a case of either a “nomen-verbum” or a zero morpheme. The semantic change ‘a lie’ > ‘a lie with which one accuses’ > ‘false accusation’ causes no problem. The hitherto unattested T **yal*, as Levitskaja correctly pointed out (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 92), is present in Mo *ǰali*. The Chuv word *śïlăχ* ‘greh’ does not belong to this word family. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1026) cite a Y word *jula* ‘slander, kleveta’, which does not seem to exist. Perhaps

they mean *ǰulay-* 'bojaťsja', but this word does not belong here. On p. 1533, they connect T *yala* with a Mo **ǰali-*, citing the latter as a verb, but *ǰali* only exists as a noun. They compared Tu **ǰele-* or **ǰeli-* 'to lie' which is, however, front-vocalic.

E/H The H word seems to be a construction with the H freq suff *-(V)z-*. This suff is dev and therefore the earlier suggestion to combine the H word with the T noun *yala* had morphological difficulties. Palló (1970a: 333–334) was first to point to the fact that we also have the T verbal stem *yala-*. Ligeti (1986: 320) only cites the word as a verbal lw. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 490) accepted Palló's suggestion.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 146; Budenz 1873–1881: 178; Simonyi 1903: 529–530; Munkácsi 1905a: 379; Gombocz 1907a: 162–163; Gombocz 1912b: 74, 193; Paasonen 1913: 45; Gombocz 1920: 113; Gombocz 1960: 21; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1116; Palló 1970a: 333–334; Palló 1982: 82–83; Ligeti 1986: 320; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 92; Erdal 1991: 382–389, 418–429; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 490; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1026, 1533.

GYALOM [ďålom] 'drag-net, a kind of fishing net' | 1291 ? PN *Galmar* [ďålmār], 1323/1351 PN *Gyalmastou* [ďålm-āš tō], c1550 *gÿalom* [ďålom] | *ďålom* < **ǰalum* ← WOT **ǰalïm* | EOT **yalïm* 'a kind of fishing net'.

OT –; **MT** *ilim* 'Fischgarn' (LCCG), *yïlïm* 'lovuška, silok' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śilĕm* 'nevod' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ǰïlïm* 'nevod, rybačʹja setʹ' (Tat), *yïlïm* 'nevod' (Bashk), *yïlïm* 'ein grosses Netz' (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *ǰïlïm* 'setʹ, prisposoblenie lovli ryby' (KazD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 282), *ǰïlïm* 'nevod' (Kklp), *yïlïm* 'nevod' (Nog), *yïlïm* 'tral, nevod' (Kum); ***SW*** *yïlïm* 'bolʹšaja ribolovnaja setʹ, setka, lovuška dlja lovli ptic' (TkmD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 282); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yïlïm* 'setʹ' (UzbD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 282); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *ilim* 'setʹ, setʹ dlja rybnoj lovli, puščalʹnica, set' dlja lovli utok' (Y), *ilim* 'Fischfangnetz' (Dlg).

E/T It is unlikely that *yïlïm* has anything to do with *yïl-*, *il-* 'to catch (something with the hand, a hook, a noose etc.), to hang on', not because the verbs are consistently front-vocalic, but because we find *yilim yï* 'creeper plant' in UHochzeit (cf. Erdal 1991: 296), and *yilim* (also *yelim*) 'glue', and Erdal is right to say that they have to belong together. Nor is the idea posited by Egorov (1964: 213) and Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 283) very conclusive that the word belongs to the verb *yïl-*, *ïl-* 'to glide' (see **ildom**), based on the concept that the fishing net glides into the water and on to the bottom. The origin of the Y and Dlg forms is uncertain because we would expect an initial *s-*. In Kaz the word means a hole in the ice, which surely is used for fishing. This belongs with *yïl-* 'to warm up' and can hardly be connected to 'fishing net', all the more since in some lgs **yïlïm* also means 'net for catching other animals (birds)' (see also KrchBlk). Chuv *śilĕm* goes back to an earlier *śïlăm*. Non-reduced *ï* goes back in Chuv to *a* (cf. *ïltan* < *altan* 'gold', *ïr-* 'to get tired' < *ar-* etc.). Thus we have to reconstruct **ǰalïm* for OChuv and this is exactly what is reflected by H *gyalom*. The same form is present in Vog as *jåləm* 'Zugnetz' (VogT) and Osty as *iatəm* id. (OstyKo) (Gombocz 1912b: 74), which reflect a T **yalïm* or

**ǰalïm* ‘fishing net’. Cher has *silim* which is a late lw fr Chuv. The word can hardly be connected with Skrt *ǰala-m* (nominative fr *ǰala*) ‘net’, as suggested by Munkácsi (1900a: 157; 1905: 379), because the Skrt word has no cognates in Ir, as pointed out by Mayrhofer (1992–2001/1: 588). This means that WOT had a word **ǰalïm* in place of **yïlïm* in the other T lgs. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 959) compare Evnk *nalba* and Ul *nalbïxan* ‘fish trap’ (< PTu **nalba*) with the T word under discussion and reconstruct a PA **nable*, which has no phonological foundation.

E/H The T origin of the word was first supposed by Munkácsi (1893: 193). Gombocz reconstructed an OChuv **ǰïlïm* and this was accepted by the later research, though some of the authors pointed to the fact that T *ï* : H *a* is not a regular correspondence. Accepting the earlier opinion, Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1118) mentioned that, though we have a similar correpondence in H **karvaly** and **sajt**, the correspondence raises some doubts. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 491) reconstructed the T copied form as **ǰalïm*. As Reuter pointed out (1988: 73), the H word also has the meaning ‘net for hunting’. The word seems to be an old Eurasian cultural word, but entered H through OChuv. With this etymology, all doubts raised by Agostini (1989: 445, i.e. that the word should be front-vocalic in T and the first syllable should be *-i-*) can be eliminated.

◆ Munkácsi 1893: 193; Setälä 1896: 379; Munkácsi 1897a: 156; Munkácsi 1900a: 157; Munkácsi 1905: 379; Gombocz 1907a: 163; Gombocz 1912b: 74; Gombocz 1920: 114; Egorov 1964: 213; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1118; Ligeti 1986: 21; Reuter 1988: 73; Agostini 1989: 445; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 282–283; Erdal 1991: 296; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 588; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 491; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 959.

GYANÚ [ď anū] ‘suspicion, mistrust’ | 1233 ? GN *Gyanow* [ď ånou], p1372/c1448 *gyanakoduan* [ď åná-kodvān], 1573 *gyanuba* [ď ánū-bå], 1584 *gyanót* [ď ánō-t] | *ď ånū* < **ǰanaų* < *ǰonaγ* ← WOT **ǰonaγ* | EOT *yoŋag/k* ‘false accusation’ < *yoŋa-* ‘to make false accusations’ {with suff *-(X)g* or *-(O)k*} < *yoŋ* ‘slander’ {with suff *+A-*}.

OT *yoŋšur-* ‘to cause to slander each other’ (RMKT E6), *yoŋaqčï* (? *yoŋaγčï* [YWNK’XCY]) ‘calomniateur’ (UHamTouHou), *čašur- yonga-* ‘verleumden’ (UTTIV A71), *yoŋa-* ‘to slander’, *yoŋaġ* ‘to slander and calumniate before the emir’ (AK), *yoŋaq* ‘slanderer’ (AQB); **MT** *yonġaq* ‘kavga, gürültü-patırtı’ (AIMI), *yoŋ* ‘örfî hukuk, hak’ (AAH), ? *yoha-*, *yoqa-* ‘el sürmek, dokunmak, yoklamak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *yõn* ‘uprek’ (SibTat); ***SW*** *yoŋ* ‘prostuda, navalivanie’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *yoŋ* ‘der Vorwurf, die Anklage, Beschuldigung’ (AltR), *yoŋdo-*, *yoŋna-* ‘Vorwürfe machen, murren, beschuldigen, auf ein anderen die Schuld wälzen’ (AltR, AltTR), *ńoŋ* ‘uprek’ (AltTK), *čoŋ* ‘der Vorwurf, die Anklage, Beschuldigung’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *čoŋ* ‘der Vorwurf, die Beschuldigung’ (KhakSR), *yoŋna-* ‘uprekaťˊ, penjaťˊ, roptaťˊ, obvinjaťˊ, slagaťˊ vinu na drugogo’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *čoŋna-* ‘Vorwürfe machen, murren, beschuldigen, auf einen anderen die Schuld wälzen’

(KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *čoŋna-* ‘Vorwürfe machen’ (KhakSR); ***Y*** *soŋ* ‘navjazyvanie, navalivanie’ (Y).

E/T The base is *yoŋ* ‘false accusation, slander, unjustified harm, forced justification, something which is forced upon somebody’, hence also the Y meaning ‘the forcing of something on somebody’ and Abu Hayyan’s ‘everyday law’. It remains open whether the Tkm item *yoŋ* ‘prostuda, navalivanie (‘cold (as illness), indisposition)’ belongs with this word, as Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 223) claims, but it is possible; see Tkm *yoŋ bol-* ‘rasprostranjat′sja kak épidemija’. The verb *yoŋa-* (later *yoŋla-* etc.) was formed with the den suff *+A-* and fr this verb the noun *yoŋak* ‘slanderer’ and *yoŋag* ‘false accusation, slander’. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 891) compare the T word with Mo *doŋgud-*. This has the following meanings: ‘to make a sound, to cry, sing, chatter, cuckoo (of birds), to blame, rebuke, reprimand, scold, bawl out’. The basic meaning is ‘to speak in a certain manner, to talk in an unusual way etc.’ See e.g. *doŋsi-* ‘to talk too much, babble, prate, to wander about idly, gad, saunter’, or *doŋgus-* ‘to chatter, jabber, make idle talk’. The meaning ‘to blame, rebuke, reprimand etc.’ of *dongud-* is secondary. Therefore, the T and Mo words may have different origins.

E/H The H word has a den verb *gyanúsít-* ‘to suspect, insinuate’, which shows that the basic noun also had a negative connotation, not only of suspicion, but also of ‘insinuation, false accusation, slander’. The H word *gyanú* regularily corresponds to WOT *ǰonaγ* < **ǰoŋag*. The *ŋ* > *n* change (beside *m*) seems to be a Chuv phenomenon. See *siŋäk* ‘mosquito’ > Chuv *šăna, săma* (H **szúnyog**), *yeŋ* ‘sleeve’ > Chuv *śană* etc. On T *o* H *a*, see **ápol** and § 5.8.6, 6.3.1. Vámbéry’s comparison (1870: 146) with Tt *aŋ-* ‘suspect’ was correctly rejected by Budenz (1873: 100), and since then no T comparison has been offered. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1120; 1993–1997/1: 492), the word is of unknown origin.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 146; Budenz 1873: 100; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1120; Manzonetto 1987: 207–210; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 223; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 492; Róna-Tas 1994: 107; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 891.

GYAPJÚ [d′åpyū] ‘wool’ | 1332–1337 ? GN *Gapyu* [d′åpyū], *Gapid* [d′åpi-d, read ? d′åpy-åd], c1395 *gepiu* [d′epyū], c1405 *gapiu* [d′åpyū], dial *dzsepű* [ǰepū], *gyepű* [d′epū] (Chango dial) | *d′åpyū* < **ǰapyu* < **ǰapγu* ⟵ WOT **ǰapaγu* | EOT *yapagu* ‘a thick mass of wool etc.’ < *yap* ‘hair of low quality’ {with suff *+(A)gU*}.

OT (*yūŋ*) *yap* ‘refuse of wool’, *yapaqu* ‘refuse of wool’, ‘when the hair on the head “becomes matted” you say *yapāqu boldï*’, *yapï* ‘saddle-cushon’, *yaptač*, (? *yapġuč*) ‘a small felt cloak’ (AK); **MT** *yapaġu* ‘yapağı, keçe’ (AHMA), *yabaġu* ‘welnisty, kosmaty, (owca) o dużej obfitej welnie’ (AHŠ), *yabaġu* (*qoy*) ‘pušistyj, kosmatyj’ (AHŠF), *yapġï*, ? *yapuġï* ‘pokryška, čerpak’ (AIM), *yapaġu*, *yabaġï*, *yapaġï* ‘wool’ (AKD), *yabaq* ‘laine molle qui sert de ouate’ (AChag), *yapaġu sačlig* ‘so savljavši-

misja volosami' (AChagMA), *yabuq* 'couvert, couverture, couvercle' (ADur), *yabaġu* 'kırkılmış yün' (AHou), *yabaq* 'volosy na kože, šerst' pušok' (ATuh), *yapov* 'voile, rideau, couverture, couvercle' (AmTr), *yapaġïlu* 'sık, birbirine girmiş' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *yupax* 'strigun, strigunok, šerstʹ-linʹka, peren. junec, zelenyj parenʹ' (← Tat), *yăptăx* 'šerstʹ-linʹka (u životnyh), perʹja-linkʹka (u ptic)' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yabaga* 'šerstʹ-linʹka (vesennjaja)' (Tat), *yabaġa* 'šerstʹ-linʹka (vesennjaja)' (Bashk), *ǰabagï* 'džebaga, šerstʹ-linʹka (vesennjaja ovečʹja šerstʹ)' (Kirg), *ǰabaġï* 'wool of spring sheering, colt or filly in its first fall' (Kaz), *ǰabaġï* 'džebaga, ovečʹja šerstʹ vesennej strižki' (Kklp), *yapaġa* 'šerstʹ' (KKlp, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 125), *yabaġï* 'šerstʹ-linʹka (vesennjaja)' (Nog), *yabaġa* 'runo, ostrižennaja šerstʹ ovcy' (KarC), *yabaġï* 'neobrabotannaja, grubaja šerstʹ, šerstʹ-linʹka (vesennjaja)' (Kum), *ǰabaġï* 'linʹka, šerstʹ vesennej strižki, šerstʹ (nizkogo kačestva)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yapï* 'pokryvalo, kriška' (Tkm), *yapaġï* 'šerstʹ vesennej strižki' (Az), *yapaq*, *yapaġ*, *yapaġï* 'ovečʹja šerstʹ nastrižennaja vesnoj' (AzD), *yapağı*, *yapak* 'wool, especially the wool of a sheep shorn in the spring (as opposed to *yün*, the shorter wool of an autumn-shorn sheep)' (Tt), *yapağı*, *yapā*, *yapak* 'kırkılmış koyun yünü' (TtD), *yapā* 'šerstʹ, volokno (prjaža), šerstjanoj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ǰabiqa* 'vesennaja šerstʹ' (MUyg, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 125), *yapġaq* 'koža bez šersti' (MUygKh); ***NE*** *čabïx* 'pokrityj, zakrityj', *čabïġ* 'ukrytie, zakrytie, kroblja, navesʹ, kryša' (Khak), *čavaġa* 'ust. čavaga (uzorčatoe ukrašenie dlja kosy)' (Tuv), *čaʺpï* 'lenčik, lavka sedla' (Tof); ***Y*** *sabï* 'pokryvanie, prikritie, kriša' (Y), *habī* 'Deckel' (Dlg).

Mo *daġaki* 'snarl, tangle, combings of hair, shedding of hair, hair of a child before cutting it for the first time' (L).

E/T There exist two basically different etymologies of this word. The earlier literature has been analysed by Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 126). According to the majority of the authors (Bang, Atalay, Ligeti (see 1980: 235) and others), the word is a dev der fr the verb *yap*(*a*)- 'to cover' (see **gyepű**), behind which the idea is that the hair, the wool, covers the body. According to the other opinion (Sevortjan and Levitskaja), there existed a verb **yapa*- fr the base *yap*, which was originally an "imitative" word expressing the curling of the hair. The data in Kashgari are clear. He has *yap* 'the refuse of wool' and *yuŋ yap* 'wool and the refuse of wool'. This excludes the possibility of connecting the words with a verb *yap*(*a*)- 'to cover'. Whatever the origin of the noun *yap* 'the refuse of wool, a kind of worthless or lower-quality wool, rubbish' is, the dominant meaning of the ders is 'spring-cut wool, shedding of hair, wool of lower quality than the autumn-cut wool etc.' The suff +(*A*)*gU* forms colls fr nominal bases (Erdal 1991: 93–97) as in *ičegü* 'intestines', *toyagu* 'pieces of dried clay, clay figures' etc. Since 'hair' is a coll denotation of the single hair, there can be no doubt that **yapagu* has to be segmented as *yap+agu*. The early delabialisation of the final *-u* is interesting, but this may be due to partial assimilation **yapagu* > *yapagï*.

Mo *dagaki* is a very early lw, which has no connection with Mo *daga-* 'to follow'. On the latter, see *dagagan* 'colt between one and two years'. The hapax *yapaku* in Kashgari is surely a contaminated form if not a scribal error (see Aydemir 2002: 202). Some forms have other suffs like **yapak* with the dim suff +(*A*)*k* 'small hair, trifle, rubbish'.

The word in question has to be separated fr the noun *yapïg* which is a dev noun fr *yap-* 'to cover' with the meaning 'cover', also 'saddle cover', and *yapïg* 'building', the latter being fr *yap-* 'to put together'. OT *yapag* 'aggregate etc.' also belongs with the latter and not with *yapagu*. Clauson (1972: 874) does not separate the above words under the heading *yapa:ku:*. He also includes the tribal name *Yapākū* here, which is a variant of the title *yabgu*. Such data as *yapagu koy* 'a sheep with a thick fleece' (AHŠ) or *yapaglï* 'a one year old colt' (ATuh) are all animals with hair or wool of lower quality. However, Mo *dagagan* 'colt between one and two years' does not pertain here. Instead, it is a dev noun fr *daga-* 'to follow', since it is the colt which still follows the mare. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 887) rightly compared Mo *dagaki* and EOT *yapagu*, but its comparison with Tu **lepu* 'feather' is far-fetched.

E/H The H form shows the same development as **borjú** [boryū] 'calf ' < **buryu* < **buryu* < **buragu* ⟵ **buragu* thus *ǰapayu* > *ǰapyu* > *d´apyū*, orthographically *gyapjú*, with a typical H *Cy* > *Cy* change. On the possible connection of the dial *dzsepű*, *gyepű* 'wool', see Aydemir (2002: 200–202). According to him, the front-vocalic dial form among the Chango Hungarians living in Bukovina is due to an unattested Kip variant **ǰäpäy*. It is more probable that the front-vocalic form evolved under the influence of the medial *-y-* in the word and perhaps also under the effect of the word **gyepű** 'borderland, hedge'; see that entry in this lexicon.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 146; Gombocz 1907a: 163; Gombocz 1912b: 75; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1121; Räsänen 1969: 178, 187–188; Clauson 1972: 874–875; Hadrovics 1975: 43–44; Ligeti 1980: 232–237; Ligeti 1986: 21, 68–69; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 125–126; Erdal 1991: 93–97; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 492; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Aydemir: 2002: 200–202; Róna-Tas 2006: 129–133; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 887.

GYAPOT [d´åpot] 'cotton' | p1372/1448 *gÿapotual* [d´åpot-vål] 'a cloth used for dressing a wound', c1395 *gaputh* [d´åput] 'cotton', 1833 'wool' | *d´åpot* < **ǰaput* ⟵ WOT **ǰaput* < **ǰapgut* | EOT *yapgut* 'a stuffing or matted mass of hair or wool' < *yap* {with suff +*AgUt*}.

See most data under **gyapjú**.

OT *yapġut* 'Kamelwollstoff' (Zieme 1995: 488), *yapġut* 'a stuffing or matted mass of hair or wool' (AK); **MT** *yapaq* 'laine molle qui sert de ouate' (AChag), *yapaq* 'Fliess, Wolle' (AChagR); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *yapağı*, *yapak* 'wool, especially the wool of a sheep shorn in the spring (as opposed to *yün*, the shorter wool of an autumn-shorn sheep)' (Tt), *yapaq* 'Fliess, Wolle' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Both Clauson (1972: 874) and Ligeti (1986: 33) consider the word to be a dev der fr *yap-* 'to cover' and consider it to be of the same origin as *yapagu* (see **gyapjú**). However, a dev suff **-AgUt* did not exist in OT. The suff *+AgUt* (Erdal 1991: 78–83) is den. Its function in most cases is to form social classes mainly fr titles, such as *alpagut* fr *alp* 'hero', and *uzagut* 'expert' fr *uz* 'master'. In this suff the *-t* is a pl (see Erdal 1991: 80) and the *+AgU* is the same suff that forms colls, as seen in *yapagu*. We therefore have to suppose that the suff *+AgUt* had an earlier and, in WOT, a broader function, and was not restricted to denoting social classes. It could also denote things which consisted of multiple units like cotton. The word *yapak* is also a den der fr *yap* with the dim suff *+Ak*.

E/H The H word was linked to H **gyapjú** and consequently with T words by Munkácsi (1883: 95) and Vámbéry (1882a: 210), but it was not dealt with by Gombocz and the word was considered by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1121) to be of unknown origin. Ligeti (1986: 33) suggested again that it is a T lw but derived it fr *yap-* 'to cover'. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 492) accepted this but remarked that the data in Kashgari are isolated.

◆ Munkácsi 1883: 95; Vámbéry 1882a: 210; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1121; Clauson 1972: 874; Hadrovics 1975: 43–44; Ligeti 1986: 33; Erdal 1991: 78–83; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 492; Zieme 1995: 488.

GYARAPODIK, **gyarapszik** [d'åråpodik, d'åråpsik] 'to increase, to put on weight, to grow stronger' | c1518 *gÿarapogÿatok* [d'åråpod-yåtok], 1519 *gýaropodnýj* [d'åropodni], 1527 *gyoropyk* [d'åråp-ik] | *d'åråpodik-* / *d'åråpsik-* < **d'åråp-* {with suff *-(V)d-* / *-s-* and *-ik-*} < **ǰarap-* < **ǰarpa-* ← WOT **ǰarpa-* | EOT **yarpa-* 'to be firm, solid' < *yarp* 'firm, solid' > *yarpad-* 'to become stronger, to grow'.

OT *yarp* 'firm' (UTTX 480), *yarpat-* 'to become stronger' (UXuanIX 18a17), *yarp* 'firm', *yarp neŋ* ' something firm', *yarpat-*: *yarpattï* 'to recover (of a sick man), crawl (of a baby)' (AK: "its root form is *yarpād-*"), *yarp* 'hard, strong' (AQB), *yarp* 'stark' (BA, BD); **MT** PN *Yarp* (UCiv); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śirĕp* 'krepkij, pročnyj, tverdyj, zdorovyj' (Chuv); ***NW*** *širip* 'stark, hart' (TatR), *širipläп-* 'fest, hart sein' (TatR), *širep* 'svežij' (TatD ← Chuv), *yarpay-* 'razg. važničat', deržat' sebja važno, zaznavat'sja' (Tat), *yarpay-* 'raspahivat'sja, raskadyvat'sja (o polah odeždy), priobretat' prijatnyj oblik, rascvetat'' (Bashk), *ǰarbay-* 'negromko, dovol'no, zaduševno smejat'sja, rasplyvat'sja v ulybke' (Kirg); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Chuv *śirĕp* goes back to an earlier *śirăp* < **čarïp* < **ǰarp* < *yarp*. Tat borrowed it relatively late, as did Cher (*sirïp* ~ *serïp* 'uvesistyj, tjaželyj', see Fedotov 1996/2: 123). Kashgari has another word, *yarp* 'brightness (of a face)', which had a dev form **yarpayï-*, and this is reflected in the verbs cited fr Tat and Kirg. The latter has some reflexes in Mo *yarabagana-* 'to grimace, to be supercilious', *yarabagar* 'wry, contorted, haughty, arrogant' and *irbagana-* 'to make grimaces, wrinkle one's

forehead, to be supercilious or haughty', *irbayi-* 'to wrinkle, pucker, purse, to knit one's eyebrows, make grimaces, make a sour face, to be supercilious'; see also *ir-* 'to be folded', *iraga* 'ripples on the surface of water'. As demonstrated in Róna-Tas (2005b), the two basic words *yarp* 'firm, strong' and *yarp* 'brightness of face' do not belong together. Further, the Tat, Bashk and Kirg verbs are of Mo origin. On the other hand, T *yarp* 'firm, strong' may have links to Mo *darayi-* 'to become stiff, hard or solid', if it goes back to an earlier **daragi-*, which would correspond to a T **yarapï-* 'to become hard, solid, firm' < **yar*(*a*)*p*+*I-*. This is phonologically and morphologically impeccable, but not hitherto attested. The verb *yarpad-* noted by Kashgari is a caus form of the verb **yarpa-* 'to grow hard, solid, firm, stronger', itself a den verb fr *yarp* 'firm, solid' with the well-known den suff +*A-* (Erdal 1991: 418–419).

E/H The oldest simplex form in H is *gyarapik-* (see 1527 *gyoropyk*). The H word has hitherto been connected with T *yara-* 'to be suitable for, to be successful etc.' The caus of this T verb, *yarat-*, is present in H; see **gyárt**. However, it is hardly acceptable semantically to link T *yara-* and H *gyara-p-* (with a H momentaneous suff *-p-*). Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1122) rejected this etymology, and later (1993–1997/1: 492–493) stated: "Der Stamm ist unbest[immt] ev[en]t[uel]l a[lt]türk[ischen] Urspr[ungs] und könnte mit dem Stamm von → *gyárt* zusammenhängen; diese Herleitung hat aber haupts[ächlich] sem[antische] Schwierigkeiten". H *gyarap-*, which entered the *-ik-* conjugation, is a copy of T **ǰarap-*. The metathesis **-rpa-* > *-rap-* may have occurred either in T or H. It is hardly mere chance that the base is present in Chuv. The H verb *gyarapik-* took on several additional suffs, -(*V*)*d-ik-* and *-sz-ik-*, similarly to *ülepedik-*, *ülepszik-*, *telepedik-*, *telepszik-*, on which, see Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1122).

◆ Balassa 1941: 186–187; Bárczi 1956: 7; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1122; Palló 1974: 206–209; Palló 1982: 84–85; Erdal 1991: 418–419; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 492–493; Fedotov 1996/2: 123; Róna-Tas 2005b: 95–101.

GYARAT 'to scratch, to clean (leather)' see **gyárt**.

GYARLÓ [ď årlō] 'poor, frail, feeble' | c1456 *garlofagus* [ď årlō-šāguš], 1470 *gÿarlobol* [ď årlō-bōl], c1512 *yarlo* [yårlō], 1566 *iárlo* [yārlō] | *ď årlō* < **ǰarlo̯u* < **ǰarlïγ* ← WOT **ǰarlïγ* | EOT *yarlïg* 'poor, destitute' < *yar-* {with suff *-I* and +*lXg*}.

OT [*yarliġ* (Clauson 1972: 967) seems to be *uyrlġ*, i.e *uyarlïġ* in RMIheI: 1] (R), *yarlïġ* 'pitoyable, piteux, pauvre' (UHamHouTou), *yarlïġ* 'wretched, poor' (AK); **MT** PN *Yarlïgčï* (UCiv), *yarlï* 'poor' (AGul), *yārlï* 'nesčastnyj, bednyj' (AHŠF), *yar* 'sadness, grief' (AKD = MMo *ǰobalantu* read *ǰobalangtu*), *yarlïġ* 'miserable, poor' (ARbg), *yarlï* 'pauvre, misérable' (AChag), *yarlï* 'arm, elend' (AChagŠS), *yarlï* 'arm' (LCCG), *yarlu* 'miskin' (AAH), *yarlï*, *yarlïy*, *yarlu* 'pauvre, misérable, chétif' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *yur*, *yură* 'bednost'', *yurlă* 'bednyj' (Chuv ← Tat); ***NW*** *yarlï* 'bednyj, neimuščij, bednyj, ubogij, skudnyj, nedostatočnyj' (Tat), *yarlï* 'bednyj, neimuščij, bednyj, ubogij, bedno, bednjak' (Bashk), *yarïlū* 'arm, elend, bedürftig' (SibTatBR),

ǰardï ‘bednyj’ (Kirg), *ǰarlï* ‘poor person’ (Kaz), *žarïlï* ‘arm’ (KazR), *ǰarlï* ‘bednyj, neimuščij’ (Kklp), *yarlï* ‘bednyj, neimuščij’ (Nog), *yarlï* ‘arm’ (CrTatR), *yarlï* ‘bednyj, ubogij, žalkij’ (Kar), *yarlï* ‘bednyj, neimuščij, bednyj, ubogij, skudnyj’ (Kum), *ǰarlï* ‘bednyj, neimuščij tž. sušč., bednjak, nesčastnyj tž. sušč., goremyka m, ž’ (Krch-Blk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *yarïlïg* ‘arm, elend, bedürftig’ (AltLR); ***Y*** –.

E/T For a history of the semantics of the T word, this couplet in AK is important: *kälsä kalï yarlïg bolup yunčïg ümä* / *käldür anuk bolmïš ašïg tutma uma* “When a guest comes (to you) tattered and distressed, then offer (him) what food is available and don’t keep him waiting and hoping” (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 126). Nevertheless, both the morphological structure and the semantic history of the word are debated.

According to Clauson (1972: 967), *yarlïg* ‘poor, destitute’ is “prima facie a P.N./A. in *-lığ*, but not obviously connected w. 1 or 2 *ya:r*”, i.e. ‘spittle, saliva’, or ‘cliff, cleft’. Following Ramstedt’s lead, Doerfer derived the word fr *yar* ‘Speichel’ (Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 158). According to Ligeti (1986: 266–267), the word has a suff *+lXg* but no base can be demonstrated for the word. Räsänen derives the word fr a base **yar* ‘Leere’ (Räsänen 1969: 190). This non-existing word appears later in Benkő (1993–1997/1: 493) with a question mark.

Samojlovič derived the word fr a verb *yarïl-* ‘to be split, split (intr)’. This has been accepted by Ishakov, who also brings in Kiekbaev’s idea: *yarlï* < *yarï+lï* ‘plenčatyj’ → ‘hudoj, hudoščavyj’ → ‘bednyj’; see Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 143). To this Levitskaja adds that the word *yargak* ‘skin’ also has the meaning ‘thin, skinny’, and we have the binom *yarlï yabagï* ‘poverty’, where *yabagï* may be the shed wool (šerstʹ-linʹka) (see **gyapjú**), and thus Kiekbaev’s contribution may be possible. Further, Levitskaja points to the fact that besides the Chuv form *yurlă* we have *yur* (dial *yor*, *yură*) ‘bednostʹ’, fr which *yurălan-* ‘pridti v sostojanie bednosti, obniščatʹ’ and *yurlăχ* ‘bednostʹ’ have been formed. This may mean that Chuv preserves the *y*-Kip stem **yar*. She further cites the dial Tat word *yar* ‘plenka’ (TatD1), but leaves open the possibility that Chuv *yur* is a back-formation fr *yurlă*. Chuv contains lws with *y-* fr Bashk and some Tat dials. These include *yura-* ‘to please’ ← Bashk *yara-*, Chuv *yurt-* ‘to ride at a trot’ ← Bashk *yurt-*, but nowhere do we find **yar* ‘poverty, poor etc.’ The idea that the word underwent a semantic change ‘thin, skinny’ > ‘meagre’ > ‘poor’ as opposed to such changes as ‘fat’ > ‘rich’ is highly probable (cf. Eng *skinny*). In this case, the meanings ‘miserable, unlucky’ would be secondary. Tat has the word *yarï* ‘plenka, pereponka, oboločka’, of which the dial form *yar* is a local variant. See also Bashk *yarï* ‘plenka, pereponka’ and Kirg *ǰarō* ‘podžaryj [meagre, skinny]’. These words belong with *yar-* ‘to split, slice’ and have different suffs. Thus the dial Tat *yar* with the meaning ‘film, thin skin’ can hardly be the base for *yarlïg*, but we may agree with Kiekbaev that the base was *yarï* ‘thin skin’ > *yarïlïg* > *yarlïg* ‘the one with thin

(only) skin, meagre, poor', and *yarï* is a dev noun fr *yar-* 'to split, to cleave' (see under **gyárt**) with the suff *-I* (Erdal 1991: 340). In this case, the meaning 'miserable etc.' would be a later development fr 'poor'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 972) depart fr a base *yar*(*ï*) 'thin, lean' without further analysing the morphological structure of this word. They connect it with Mo **nari-n* 'thin'. According to them, this would point to a PA **n-* which resulted in PMo **n-*, PT **y-*, while a PA **ń-* gave PMo **ǰ-* and PT **y-*. This is hardly acceptable. To account for the existing correspondences, they distinguish the following initials: **nV-*, **n̯iV-*, **ńV-*, **ń̯iV-*. All vowels may be either long or short, either with high or low pitch, that is they reconstruct twelve *nV-* initials. Thus they have the following correspondences:

	PA	PT	PMo
1.	**nèra* 'thin, flat' (972)	*yar*(*ï*) 'thin'	*narin* 'thin'
2.	**ń̯iőĺe* (~ *-i*) 'green, vegetable' (1015)	*yaš* 'green, fresh'	*ǰülge* 'soft lawn, meadow, grass'
3.	**nàjĺV-* (~ *-e-*) 'age' (961)	*yaš* 'age'	*nasun* 'age'
4.	**n̯iä̀* 'eye' (981)	*yaš* 'tear'	*nidün* 'eye'
5.	**n̯iáĺi* 'raw, fresh' (985)	*yaš* 'fresh, raw'	*nilagun* 'raw'
6.	**ńáĺba* 'young' (1003)	*yaš* 'young'	*ǰalagu* 'young'

I have to make the following remarks on these comparisons: (1) For No. 2 they reconstruct **ǰöl*(*ü*)*ge*. Khal and Bur have *-ü-*, but Kalm has *-ö-* and perhaps Mngr *čorgō* 'a valley with a river in the middle' belongs here. The *-e* is reconstructed because of Khal *dzüleg*. However Khal *dzüleg* is a late secondary form due to metathesis. A special flower that grows on these meadows is called *ǰülgelig čečeg*, which in Khal is *dzülgeleg ceceg*. That means that the older form *dzülge* was preserved before a third syllable. There is no such den der suff *+gA* in Mo. One of the *+gA* suffs forms local or temporal advs (*edüge* 'now' < *edüy* 'as much as this' out of the demonstrative *e-*), which is out of the question here. Another suff *-gA* is dev and forms the nomen imperfecti. (2) In the case of No. 4, PT *-š* or *-Ĺ* should be a suff, which is not attested or accounted for anywhere, while *-š* or *-Ĺ* belongs with the stem in No. 2, 3 and 5. In this case, Mo *-dün* should also be a den suff, for which there is no evidence. The Mo suff *-dUn* is dev, as shown by *iniyedün* 'laughter' < *iniye-* 'to laugh' etc. (3) There is no reason to separate Nos. 2 and 5, which further suggests that No. 2 stands on very shaky ground. (3) In No. 3, PT *-š* or *-Ĺ* is considered to belong with the stem, but it is not represented in Mo. We would have to suppose that a PMo **nalsun* existed, for which we have no data. On the other hand, T has two words for 'year': *yaš* is the general denotation for 'year' as the unit of time, while *yïl* is the word for the calendric year. It is of great importance that the word for the calendric year is *ǰil* in Mo. These words have been correctly connected by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 475), but the semantic counterpart for T *yaš* 'year' is (*h*)*on* in Mo. They could not

find a T correspondent (1111) for this Mo word and they do not accept that Man *fon* 'time season', Ju *fo*, *fon* are Mo lws. Ul *punele* 'south(ern wind)' does not belong with the Man word; it is *fanti* in Ju (Kiyose 1977: 130), a third word. In Oroch and Udihe, the words are lws fr Ul. (4) T *yaš* 'tears' under No. 4 corresponds to Mo *nilbusun*, *nilmusun* 'tears' and not *nidün*. Mo *nilbusun* has the stem **nil*; see *nilbu-* 'to spit', *nilčagay* 'sticky viscous', perhaps also *nilka* 'infant, tender', and *nisun* 'nasal mucus' (< **nilsun*). Mo **nil* is a perfect match for T *yaš*. In summary, we have a corresponding Mo *ni-* : T *y-* which may go back to an earlier *ń-* but the existence of a corresponding Mo *n-* : T *y-* is rather doubtful. Therefore, Mo *narin* and T *yar*(*ï*) cannot be linked at the present stage of our knowledge.

E/H The basic meaning of the H word is 'frail, feeble, one who easily commits a sin', hence 'somebody/something not perfect'. Something which is not perfect is of poor quality, thus the word can also mean 'poor'. But it is not an antonym for 'rich'. In the earliest H texts, it has the meaning 'fallible, frail, feeble, peccable, liable to sin'. See *menere valaki giarlob*, *anneual kiseb istenek elwte* 'the more somebody is *gyarló*, the less is he before God' (*Virginia Codex*, cited by Németh 1918: 114). Early H **gyarló* renders Medieval Lat 'miser', for which see Eng 'miserable beggar'. Thus, Németh attempted to connect the word with the base *yaz-* 'to lose one's way, to sin', hence **yazïl-* 'gefehlt werden' and also **yazïlïk* or **yazïklïk* 'sinner, sinful' (Németh 1918: 114; 1921–1925a: 75–76), and then supposed a form with rhotacism, i.e. **ǰarlïk*. Ligeti (1986: 266–267) correctly refuted these speculations, which have no solid background in T morphology. Ligeti also rejected another suggestion of Benkő's (1967–1984/1: 1122–1123), which derived the word fr a Chuv word corresponding to T *yazïl-* 'to make a mistake' > **yazïlïg*, **yazlïg* 'defective, sinful'. Nor did Ligeti accept the suggestion made by Palló (1962: 490) that the H word corresponds to a T equivalent of Mo *yada-* 'to have no strength, or power, to be unable'. He did not agree, furthermore, with the idea that there existed an (unattested) T **ǰad-*, which would have resulted in a MChuv **ǰar-* and in a present Chuv **śur-*. All these are non-existing forms, only allegedly present in the Chuv expression *śur śïn* 'tak nazyvajut hudogo i bessil'nogo čeloveka, kotoryj ne možet kak sleduet rabotat'' (ChuvA). For Ligeti this der was unacceptable because it involved too many hypothetical forms. He has not pointed to the fact that in the expression *śur śïn* the first part *śur* means 'half' as in *śur śul* 'half year etc.' Thus *śur śïn* has the original meaning 'half man, a man who is not perfect'. Further, Ligeti cited Samojlovič's view that the original meaning of the word was not 'poor' but 'miserable (nesčastnyj)' and that its present meaning radiated fr the Golden Horde. Here Ligeti quotes Egorov (1964: 351): "V značenii 'bednyj' … slovo polučilo preimušestvennoe rasprostranenie v jazykah na byvšej territorii Zolotoj Ordy … V čuvašskom jazyke ja čitaju slovo *yorlă* vkladom kipčakskogo jazyka posle XIII. veka". Accepting the critical survey by Ligeti, Benkő

(1993–1997/1: 493) changed his opinion and derived the H word fr T *yarlïg*, OChuv **ǰarlïγ* 'poor'. To this he added [? < T **yar* 'Leere'] the latter fr Räsänen (see above). Benkő suggested solving the semantic problem through the supposed earlier meaning of the T word 'unglückselig, unglücklich'. Ligeti (1986: 266) cites Chuv *yurlă* 'poor' without mentioning that this is a lw fr Tat. He arrives at the result that, notwithstanding the semantic problems, we have to return to the old suggestion that H *gyarló* is a copy of the T word *yarlïg* 'poor', and reflects a form **ǰarlïg*. To this we can now add that the original WOT word was *ǰarlïγ*, which was copied with the meaning 'miserable, weak' but, contrary to Samojlovič and Ligeti's position, this was a secondary and relatively late semantic development of the word. We have to suppose 'skinny' > 'meagre' > 'poor' > 'miserable' > 'weak' > 'frail, feeble'; see e.g. Kar *yarlï* 'bednyj, ubogij, žalkij'. The last semantic change occurred in H. In some H dials we find the meaning 'poor' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 731), which at least shows that the meanings 'poor', 'miserable', 'weak' and 'frail, feeble' can belong to one and the same word.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 146; Budenz 1873: 82; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 126; Lehr 1905a: 270–272; Lehr 1905b: 324; Gombocz 1907a: 163; Gombocz 1912b: 75; Paasonen 1913: 45; Németh 1918: 114; Németh 1921–1925a: 75–76; Bárczi 1956: 7; Palló 1962: 490; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 158; Egorov 1964: 351; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1122–1123; Räsänen 1969: 190; Clauson 1972: 967; Kiyose 1977: 130; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 731; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 126; Ligeti 1986: 21, 266–267; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 143; Erdal 1991: 340; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 493; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 475, 972, 1110–1111.

GYARMAT [ď'årmåt] 'colony' | c950/11th c. *γερμάτου* [ď'ermåtu], 1135 GN *garmot* [ď'årmåt], 1153 GN *gormot* [ď'årmåt], 1248 GN *yarmath* [yårmåt], 1271 GN *garmath* [ď'årmåt], 1296 GN *yormoth* [yårmåt] (Kristó–Makk–Szekfű 1973–1974/1: 35), 1795 *Gyarmat*, *jarmat* [ď'årmåt, yårmåt] | *ď'årmåt* < H GN < H tribal name *Gyarmat* | T *J̌armatï* 'name of a tribe'.

OT (*Kurtu*) *Germatu* <Γερμάτου> (G); **MT** –; **NT** –.

E/H One of the H tribes had the name *J̌armatï*, which was recorded as (*κουρτου*)-*γέρματος*, read (*Kürtü*)-*J̌armatu*, around 950 A.D. by Constantine VII in his DAI (Moravcsik–Jenkins 1967: 174). There has been a long debate on the origin and etymology of this tribal name, but this is irrelevant for our purposes. There does exist a clan name among the Bashkirs in the form *Yurmatï*. This may reflect a VBulg *J̌urmatï*, but even this is uncertain, because the *a* > *o* > *u* change is late in Chuv. The word became a frequent GN in Hungary and later, to distinguish the many *Gyarmat* GNs, it took on several attributives as in *Balassagyarmat*, *Fehérgyarmat* etc. During the H neologist movement, *-gyarmat* was considered as an equivalent of the Lat *colonia*, under the assumption that *Balassagyarmat* meant 'colony of the Balassi clan'. Hence *gyarmat*, an old H tribal name of T origin, became a common noun that denotes 'colony'.

◆ Németh 1930: 253–255; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1123; Moravcsik–Jenkins 1967: 174; Kristó–Makk–Szekfű 1973-1974/1: 35; Ligeti 1977–1979/2: 448–449; Ligeti 1979: 79–80; Ligeti 1986: 21; Kiss 1988/1: 540; Berta 1991: 15; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 493.

GYÁRT [d′ārt] 'to produce, build, fabricate' | 1322 GN *Ziugartholaca* [siū-d′ārt-ō låkå], 1480 PN *Sywegyartho* [šüveg-yārt-ō], 1784 *gyárt* [d′ārt] || **gyarat** [d′årat] 'to scratch, to clean (leather)' | c1461 ? PN *Garatoth* [d′årat-ott], 1506 *gÿaratoÿa* [d′årat-ōyå], 1604 *gyarattac* [d′årat-tåk], 1807 'to comb (wool, hemp)', 1831 'to cut (with hook)' | *d′ārt-* < *d′arat-* < **ǰarat-* ← WOT **ǰarat-* | EOT *yarat-* 'to make, create something' < **yară-* 'to split' {with suff -(*X*)*t*-} > *yar-* 'to split' | For *yar-*, see **gyertya**.

OT *yarat-* 'to make, to create, to organize' (RMBilg, RMKT), *yarat-* 'creér, construire, équiper, préparer, former' (UHamTouHou), *yarat-* 'to create, to fit, to fabricate (lie)' (AK), *yarat-* 'zurichten' (B21 No. 143); **MT** *yarat-* 'yaratmak' (UY), *yaraštur-* 'rendre propre, apte' (UHy), *yarat-*, *yarad-* 'schaffen, herbeischaffen, besorgen' (UCiv), *yaratġan* 'the Creator' (ABF), *yarat-* 'to create' (AGul), *yarat-* 'yaratmak' (AHMA), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ, sotvorjatʹ, sozdavatʹ' (AHŠF), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ' (AIM), *yarat-* 'yoktan var etmek' (AIMI), *yaratmaq* 'creation' (AKor), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ' (AM), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ, sotvorjatʹ, sozdavatʹ' (ANehF), *yarat-* 'to create' (ARbg, also *yarut-* p. 764), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ' (ATef), *yarat-* 'schaffen, erschaffen' (LCCG), *yarattï* 'yaratmak fiilinden mazi' (AAH), *yarat-* 'zerreissen, schaffen' (AHou), *yarat-* 'yaratmak' (AKav), *yarat-* 'créer' (AmTr), *yaratġan* 'Yaradan, Tanrı' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śurat-* 'rožatʹ, peren. zarožatʹ, porožatʹ' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, sozdatʹ, tvoritʹ' (Tat), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ, gotovitʹ (konja dlja čego), podbiratʹ, podgonjatʹ' (Bashk), *ǰarat-* 'odobratʹ, sčitatʹ podhodjaščim, vybiratʹ to, čto nravitʹsja, trenirovatʹ, tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ' (Kirg), *ǰarat-* 'to approve, to use, utilize, to love, like, consider fit, to create, to train a horse for races' (Kaz), *ǰarat-* 'otbiratʹ, vybiratʹ luščee, odobrjatʹ, sčitatʹ podhodjaščim, prigodnym, prigotovljatʹ k skačke (lošadʹ), tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ, rashodovatʹ (napr. denʹgi)' (Kklp), *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ' (Nog), *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ' (CrTat), *yarat-* 'tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ' (Kar), *yarat-* 'podgonjatʹ, dovoditʹ do nužnogo razmera, sozdavatʹ, ispolʹzovatʹ, upotrebljatʹ' (Kum), *yarat-* 'erschaffen' (KumN), *ǰarat-* 'sotvorjatʹ kogo-čto, rel., tvoritʹ čto, sozdavatʹ kogo-čto, ispolʹzovatʹ čto, upotrebitʹ čto s polʹzoj, odobrjatʹ kogo-čto, žalovatʹ, uvažatʹ kogo' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yarat-* 'upotrebljatʹ, primenjatʹ, sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ' (Tkm), *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, zarožatʹ, tvoritʹ, sozidatʹ' (Az), *yarat-* 'to create, to give existence to something' (Tt), *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ, ugoždatʹ' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yarat-* 'erschaffen': *yaratġïlï* 'Schöpfer' (Kh); ***SE*** *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ' (Uzb), *yarat-* 'sozdavatʹ, tvoritʹ' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Clauson (1972: 959) and Erdal (1991: 793) derived the verb *yarat-* fr *yara-* 'to be useful, or suitable', but Erdal remarks that semantically they are not particularly close. It is more likely that *yarat-* belongs with *yar-* 'to split, divide, separate'. The

early way of thinking did not conceive of creation as *ex nihilo*, but rather as separation, as can be seen in the Bible, where creation begins with the separation of darkness and light: *And God said, "Let there be light", and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness. God called the light "day", and the darkness he called "night". And there was evening, and there was morning – the first day* (Gen). However, in this case we would expect a caus **yarït-* fr *yar-*. The only solution to this dilemma is if we suppose that the verb *yar-* had an earlier form **yară-*. This is present in AHou as *yarat-* 'zerreissen', besides *yarat-* 'schaffen' and in Chuv. Here we have *śural-* 'rožďatʹsja, rodiťsja', *śurat-* 'rožať, rodiť', where the base is **śura-*, which may go back only to **yara-*, while *yara-* 'to be suitable' is also present in *śuraś-* 'miriťsja' < **ǰaraš-* < *yaraš-* < *yara-*. Further, Chuv has *yurat-* 'ljubiť, obožať' which is a lw fr Tat *yarat-* 'ljubiť, odobrať'.

This means that the T lgs have two homophonous words *yarat-* 'to create, to make' (< *yar-* < **yară-*) and *yarat-* 'to make suitable, to agree, to love' (< *yara-*). In fact, Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 139) separated these meanings without pointing to the possibly different origins of the two. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1152) compared T *yār-* 'to split' with Mo *yara-* 'to split open, open wide'. Mo *yara-* is a secondary form, the original form is *ira-* (see **ír-**), and thus cannot be connected with T *yar-*.

E/H The early H forms are *gyarat-* and *gyárt-* meaning 'to manufacture'. The form *gyarat-* adopted the narrower sense 'to prepare for manufacturing (e.g. to clean hide before tanning, to prepare wool or hemp before spinning etc.)' and it became obsolete as a term of manufacture. The other, secondary form *gyárt-* (fr such forms as *gyarató* > *gyártó* 'manufacturer'), is now the generic word for 'to produce' in industry as well. The word *gyár* 'factory' is a late back-formation fr the neologist movement in the 19th c. All other H authors have tied the T word to *yara-* 'to be useful, or suitable'. The new etymology of the word was first suggested by Róna-Tas (1994: 107).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 148; Vámbéry 1882a: 602; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 111–113; Munkácsi 1905b: 380; Gombocz 1912b: 75–76; Vámbéry 1914: 162; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1122–1123; Clauson 1972: 959; Palló 1982: 86–88; Ligeti 1986: 21; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 139; Erdal 1991: 793; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 493; Róna-Tas 1994: 107; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1152.

GYÁSZ [dʹās] 'mourning, bereavement' | p1416/c1450 *gazolkodic* [dʹās-olkodik], c1456 *gaʒʒal* [dʹās-sål], 1562 *jász* [yās] | *dʹās* < **ǰās* < **ǰas* ← WOT **ǰas* 'mourning' | EOT *yas* 'damage, loss', MT 'mourning'.

OT *qor yas* 'Schaden' (UTTVI 63), *yās* 'loss, death (Og)' (AK), *yas* 'loss' (AQB), *qor yās* (<yāṣ>) 'Not und Gefahr' (BO 7); **MT** *yas* 'yas, matem' (AHMA), *yas* 'traur' (AHŠF), *yasla-* 'yas tutmak' (AIMI), *yas* 'damage, loss' (AKor), *yas* 'deuil, pleurs, lamentations' (AChag), *yas* 'Trauer, Kummer' (AChagŠS), *yas* '(bugünkü mana-

sında)' (AAH), *yas* 'deuil, déploration de la mort de q.' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** – (**śüs* → Cher *sös* 'Gedächtnisfeier für die Verstorbenen', Räsänen 1969: 191); ***NW*** *yaslatu* 'plač nevesty, sostojavšij v tom, čto nevesta opredelennyj moment pela pesni o svoej nesčastnoj dole i plakala, inogda vmeste s nej peli i podrugi ili že priglašalis′ specialnye plakalščicy' (TatD1), *yas* 'traur' (CrTat), *yas* 'traur' (Kar), *yas* 'pričitanie, plač (po umeršemu), pominki, traur' (Kum); ***SW*** *yās* 'traur, pominki' (Tkm), *yas* 'traur' (Az), *yas* 'mourning (for the dead)' (Tt), *yas* 'traur, traurnyj' (Gag), *yas* 'Trauer, Weinen um einen Verstorbenen' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yes* 'slezy, traur' (Sal); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Radloff (1893–1911/3: 212) and others (see Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 150) the word is of Ar origin (cf. Ar *ya's* 'renunciation, distress' → Pe *ya's* 'despair'). This is improbable for semantic and chronological reasons, but it is possible that the Ar word influenced the history of the T word. The original meaning was 'loss, loss of a person' > 'death' > 'ritual for those who died'. The palatalisation of the reconstructed Chuv form is not impossible, as shown by T *sāč* 'hair' (> *čāč* >) Chuv *śüś*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1518) compare the T word with Mo *(*h*)*us-* 'to disappear, perish', supposing a **sus-* > **us-* "through regular dissimilation" (**sus-* > **hus-* > **us-*). The existing form in Mo is *usad-* 'to be annihilated, to perish, to disappear'. The T word is a noun, the Mo a verb, and no traces of *h-* can be found.

E/H H copied the word with the most recent meaning. The word occurred in OT in the binom *kor yas* and H also borrowed *kor* (see **kár**). The T word probably had a long vowel. The H long vowel may reflect it, but it may also have developed during the history of H as one can see with other monosyllabic words. Vámbéry (1870: 147) claimed the T origin of the H word early on. This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 76), Ligeti (1986: 21, 117) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 493).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 212; Gombocz 1907a: 164; Gombocz 1912b: 76; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1123–1124; Räsänen 1969: 191; Ligeti 1986: 21, 117; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 150; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 493; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1518.

GYÉKÉNY [d′ēkēn′] 'bulrush, *Typha latifolia* / *angustifolia*; matting made of bulrushes' | 1219/1550 PN *Geken* [d′ēkēń], 1252 GN *Gekenusthu* [d′ēkēn-üš tō], p1372/c1448 *gyekenek* [d′ēkēń-ek] | *d′ēkēń* < **ǰeken* ← WOT **ǰekän* | EOT *yekän* 'rush, rush-mat'.

OT *yeken* [read as *yiken*, *yigen*] '(the size of a) rush' (Upfahl 8:7, transl. by Clauson 1972: 913, no translation in Müller), *yeken* (*yikan* read as *yigän*) 'rushes' (AK); **MT** *yegen* 'Binsenmatte' (LCCG), *yigen* 'hasır' (AAH), *yägän* 'jonc, roseau, natte' (ABul), *yegen* 'hasır' (AHou), *yäkän* 'podstilka, cinovka' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čakan* '*bot.* paločnik, rogoz' (**śakan* → Voty *syakan* 'rogoža'); ***NW*** *ǰikän* '*bot.* rogoz' (Tat), *yekän* '*bot.* rogoz' (Bashk), *yigän* 'das grosse harte Steppengras' (SibTatBR), *ǰeken* 'rogoz, sitnik, kuga (bolotnoe rastenie)' (Kirg), *ǰeken* '*bot.* sedge (Carex)', *ǰigen* '*bot.* reed (*Scirpus*)' (Kaz), *ǰeken* 'rogoz, kuga (bolotnoe rastenie)' (Kklp), *yeken* '*kn.*

bot. osoka' (Nog), *ǰegen* 'rogoža, cinovka' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yeken* '*bot.* rogoz uzkolistnyj' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yakan* '*bot.* syt′ skučennaja, sitnik kučkocvetnyj' (Uzb), *yiken* 'rush' (TurkiJ), *yeken* 'rod kamyša' (TurkiL), *yekän* 'čakan (bolotnaja trava, puh kotoroj upotrebljaetsja dlja nabivki podušek, matracev)' (MUyg); ***NE*** *d′ēken* 'kamyš' (Alt), *yäkkän* 'eine Art Binsen, die zur Herstellungen von Matten gebraucht wird, die aus diesen Binsen hergestellten Matten' (AltR, AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰigesün*, *ǰegesün* 'reed, rush, cane' (L).

Os *ǰegen*, *ǰegeynæ* 'trostnikovaja cinovka' (← T).

E/T It is possible that we have to suppose an early double form in PT: **yekkän* and *yekän*. In all lgs where there is a *-k-* this would be a continuation of *-kk-* and where we find *-g-* it would then be a continuation of *-k-*. However, Mo points to a *-g-*, and in this case, we have to suppose the parallel forms **yeken* and **yegen*. The Os form belongs among the latter. Clauson's idea (1972: 913) that the word is a der fr an unattested verb **yig-* 'closely packed' or the like cannot be substantiated. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 469–470) Mo *ǰegen* is a copy of, while Kalm *dekmen* (*sic* in Muniev 1977: 196 and in Pozdneev *Chrestomaty* cited by Krueger (1978–1984/2: 553), the forms in Ramstedt (1935) are fr second hand) is genetically related to the T word. It originally denoted the plant and only a secondary development included mats and curtains made of bulrushes. The first vowel was a close *e*, which is realised in some sources as *i*. In the sources written with Uyg and Ar letters, the word occurs with a *keph*, and was read by some authors with *-g-*. Chuv *čakan* is a lw fr another VBulg dial, and was preserved in the main dials of Chuv, but the expected form **śakan* is present as a lw in Voty and also reflects a *-k-* (present-day Chuv is indifferent in this respect).

E/H The long vowel in the first syllable of the H form is due to H development. The T origin of the H word has been claimed by all H authorities fr Vámbéry (1870: 147) to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 494), including Ligeti (1986: 21, 111–112).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Gombocz 1907a: 164; Gombocz 1912b: 76–77; Németh 1942a: 6; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1125; Räsänen 1969: 195; Clauson 1972: 913; Muniev 1977: 196; Krueger 1978–1984/2: 553; Ligeti 1986: 21, 111–112; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 172–173; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 494; Róna-Tas 1997a: 247; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 469–470.

GYENGE [d′ënge] 'weak, feeble' | 1282/1327 PN *Genge* [? d′enge ~ genge], p1372/c1448 *gewnge* [gönge], p1416/c1450 'young', 1565 *gyůnge* [d′ünge] | *d′ënge* < **ǰenge* ← WOT **ǰeŋi* | EOT *yaŋï* 'new, young', MT *yäŋi* id.

Of debated T origin.

OT *yaŋï* 'new' (RMShin 9, 13, 15, 18, always in *yaŋïqa* 'the first days of the month', see Bazin 1974: 281), *yaŋï* 'nouveau, novice' (UHamTouHou), *yaŋï* 'new' (AK), *yaŋi* (BL 25, 48) *yāŋï* 'neu' (BL 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 34); **MT** *yaŋï* 'yeni' (UY), *yangï* 'récent, neuf' (UHy), *yangïlat-* 'commencer de nouveau, renouveler' (UHyS),

yäŋi ‘new’ (AGul), *yüngül* ‘hafif, yeyni (sic!)’ (AHMA), *yaŋï*, *yäŋi* ‘novyj, svežij’ (AHŠF), *yäŋil-* ‘byt′ slabym’ (AIM), *yeŋi* ‘yeni’ (AIMI), *yangïla-* ‘to renew’, *yengi*, *yingi*, *yangï* ‘new’, *yingil* ‘light (of weight)’ (AKD), *yaŋï* ‘new’ (AKor, with *keph*), *yaŋï*, *yäŋi* ‘novyj, svežij’ (ANehF), *yäŋilt-* ‘to make lighter’, *yüŋül* ‘light’ (ARbg), *yänŋi*, *yänŋ* ‘nouveau, frais’ (AChag), *yinkil* ‘Leicht’ (AChagŠSK), *yeŋil*, *yeŋül*, *yüŋül* ‘leicht’ (LCCG), *yäŋilä-* ‘tecdit etmek’, *yiŋi* ‘yeni’ (AAH), *yeŋi ay* ‘hilal, yeni ay’ (AHou), *yengi* ‘yeni’ (AKav), *yengillik′*, *yenillik′* ‘dédain, humiliation, honte, ignominie’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śĕnĕ*, *śĕn* ‘novyj, molodoj, novyj, svežij, novyj, novejšij, novyj, vnov′ obrazovavšijsja, novina obl., hleb novogo urožaja’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *yaŋa* ‘novyj, svežij, parnoj, dial. nov′, novyj urožaj’ (Tat), *yaŋï* ‘v razn. znač. novyj, v razn. znač. svežij’ (Bashk), *yaŋa* ‘neu’ (SibTatBR), *ǰaŋï* ‘novyj, svežij, nedavno’ (Kirg), *ǰaŋa* ‘new, fresh’ (Kaz), *ǰaŋa* ‘novyj, obnovlennyj’ (Kklp), *yaŋï* ‘novyj, svežij, tol′ko-tol′ko, tol′ko-čto, vpervye’ (Nog), *yaŋï* ‘novyj’ (CrTat), *yaŋġï* ‘novyj’ (Kar), *yaŋġï* ‘novyj’ (KarT, KarC), *engil* ‘legkij, legko’, *yaŋï* ‘novyj, svežij, tol′ko čto, nedavno, sejčas’ (Kum), *ǰaŋï* ‘novyj, svežij, nedavno, vnov′, tol′ko, tol′ko čto, sušč. novoe’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yeni* ‘novyj, svežij’ (Az), *yeni* ‘new, recent, raw, inexperienced, recently’ (Tt), *yeni* ‘novyj’ (Gag), *ẹŋgi* ‘neu, erst vor kurzem, frisch’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *yäŋgi* ‘frisch, neu’ (Kh), *yeŋgi* ‘frisch, neu’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yaŋi* ‘novyj, svežij, molodoj, tol′ko čto, nedavno’ (Uzb), *jɛŋi*, *yengi*, *yeŋi* ‘new, fresh, newly’ (TurkiJ), *yeŋi* ‘novyj, svežij, molodoj, tol′ko čto, nedavno’ (MUyg), *yaŋï*, *yaŋi* ‘novyj’ (Sal), *yaŋâ*, *yaŋa* ‘nouveau’ (SalK); ***NE*** *d′aŋï* ‘novyj’ (Alt), *yā* ‘neu’ (AltLR, AltQKR), *ńaŋï* ‘neu’ (AltTKR), *nā* ‘novyj, svežij, nedavnij, v razn. znač. molodoj’ (Khak), *naġï*, *yā* ‘neu’ (KhakSR), *nā* ‘neu’ (KhakShR), *ńaŋï* ‘neu’ (ChulR), *ča* ‘novyj, svežij, parnoj, nedavno, tol′ko čto’ (Tuv), *ńā* ‘novyj, svežij, parnoj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *saŋa* ‘novyj, svežij, obnovlennyj, novost′’ (Y), *haŋa* ‘neu, frisch’ (Dlg).

Mo *ǰaŋgi* ‘information, news, rumours’ (L).

E/T The variation between front and back-vocalic forms (*yaŋï ~ yäŋi*) is an early feature. It is probable that *yenig* ‘new, fresh’ and *yengil ~ yeŋil ~ yeŋül ~ yüŋül* ‘light’ belong together. According to Erdal (1991: 217), *yeŋil* < **yenig ol. *yaŋï* is a simplex. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1510) claim that Mo *ǰaŋgi* is a T lw which can be accepted. They further suggest that Mo *sine* ‘new’ is genetically related. This is unlikely as the *-ŋ-* is original in T, the vocalism is different and the different first vowels are not accounted for. The proposal of PA initial **z-*, Mo *s-* and T *y-* (all other lgs *s-*) is one of the weakest points in Starostin’s A reconstructions.

E/H Early on, Vámbéry (1870: 147) and Gombocz (1912b: 77–78) connected the H word with the front-vocalic variants of the words mentioned above. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word. There are some phonetic difficulties. The first vowel of the H word is a close *e*. Although the front-vocalic forms are more widespread in Turcia than usual, in all cases it is an open *ä* that can be detected. If the original final of the

copied T word was an *-i* (and this can hardly be doubted), it should have disappeared in H. See e.g. **ács**, **szűcs**, **úr** etc. The semantic part is also not very clear: 'new, young' > 'weak'. These problems are considerable, but there is no other etymology of the H word. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 494–495) the word is of unknown origin.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Gombocz 1912b: 77–78; Paasonen 1913: 47; Bárczi 1956: 7; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1126; Bazin 1974: 281; Zieme 1985: 157; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 124; Erdal 1991: 217; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 494–495; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1510.

GYEP 'lawn, grass-(plot)' see **gyepű**.

GYEPLŐ [ɟ'eplɔ̈] 'rein' | c1395 *keplow* (r: *geplow*) [ɟ'eplɔ̈], c1405 *geplw* [ɟ'eplɔ̈] 'rope, string', 1494–1495 'rein' | *ɟ'eplɔ̈* < **ǰepleɥ̈* < **ǰipliɣ* ← WOT **ǰipliɣ* | EOT *yïp* 'cord, string', MT *yiplik* 'cord'.

OT *yïp* 'fil' (UHamTouHou), *yïp* 'yarn, tether with which to tie down horses, rope' (AK), *yipkä* 'Fädchen' (BF 14); **MT** *yiplig* 'mit Fäden versehen, mit Kordeln versehen' (UCiv), *yip* 'rope, string' (AGul), *yiplük* 'iplik, ince ip' (AHMA), *yipči* 'ipçi' (AIMI), *yiplik* 'thread, cord' (AKD), *yiplük* 'thread' (AKor), *yiplik* 'coton filé' (AChag), *yiplik* 'Faden, Schnur' (AChagŠS), *ip* 'Faden, Garn, Schnur' (LCCG), *ip*, *yip* 'bugünkü manasında' (AAH, *yip* = Kip), *yiplik* 'ip, iplik' (AHou), *yiplik* 'iplik' (AKav); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śip* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, ėlt. niť, volosok, šnur plotnickij (dlja otbivki prjamoj linii), peren. niť, usy, usiki (u rastenij), dial. setka, teneta' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ǰep* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, peren. uzy, niti' (Tat), *yep* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, bečevka, verevka, peren. niť, uzy, nitjanyj' (Bashk), *yep cögörcök*, *yep töŋäk* 'katuška' (Sib-Tat), *ǰip* 'nitka, bečeva, šnur, špagat, verevka' (Kirg), *ǰip* 'rope, cord, twine, string, thread' (Kaz), *ǰip* 'nitka, bečeva, tonkaja verevka, špagat' (Kklp), *ip*, *yip* 'nitka, niť, verevka' (CrTat), *yip* 'niť, verevka, kanat, strupa' (KarH, KarC), *ip* 'niť' (KarT, KarH), *yip* 'niť, nitka' (Kum), *ǰib* 'peren. m. (polosa koži), arkan iz remnja, prjam., peren. niť ž., nitka' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yüp* 'verevka, bečeva, kovrovaja prjaža', *yüplük* 'hlopčatobumažnye nitki, hlopčatobumažnaja prjaža' (Tkm), *ip* 'verevka, bečevka' (Az), *iplik* 'nitki, špagat, kanat' (AzD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 269), *ip* 'rope, cord, string, prov. thread, halter, the "rope", gallows' (Tt), *ip* 'niť, šnur, verevka, bečeva' (Gag), *īp* 'Schnur' (Khor), *īp* 'Schnur, Leine, Strick' (SOg); ***SE*** *ip* 'niť, nitka, nitki, šnur, šnurok, peren. uzy' (Uzb), *yip*, *yib* 'thread' (TurkiJ), *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (TurkiTR), *žip*, *yip* 'nitka' (MUyg), *yip* 'nitka' (Sal), *yep*, *yip* 'verevka, nitka' (YUyg); ***Kh*** *yīp*, *yip*, *yip* 'Schnur, Leine, grober Wollfaden', *yīplük* 'Schnur' (Kh), *yip* 'Schnur' (KhT); ***NE*** *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *čĭp* 'nitki' (Khak), *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (ChulR), *yip* 'thread' (FY); ***Y*** *sip* 'krjučok na ude, primanka' (Y).

Mo *ǰegeg* 'ribbon-like trimming on garments (usually many-colored), galloon, a rope around an object' (L).

E/T If the word was ever back-vocalic, it became front-vocalic very early. The forms with the loss of *y-* are secondary. The form *yiplik* only had the meaning 'cord, rope, tether to tie a horse'. In some lgs, **yip* also denotes a leather strip or rope (see KrchBlk) to fasten and *yiplik* is a den der with the suff *+lXk* (see Erdal 1991: 121–131). Further ders fr the same base are *yipke*, *yipek* 'cord, thread, silk'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 890) correctly compare the word with Mo *ǰegeg* 'ribbon-like trimming', supposing an earlier PMo **ǰigeg*.

E/H To date, the meaning 'rein' has only been found in H. It originally denoted a leather strip. Its first occurrence in the *Wordlist of Beszterce* (c1395) has the Lat equivalent 'lo[rum]', which meant 'leather strip, rein'. For the phonetics of the H word, see **bölcső**, **szeplő** and § 6.2.2. Since Vámbéry (1870: 147), the word has been considered to be of T origin; see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 495).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Gombocz 1907a: 213; Gombocz 1912b: 78; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1127; Clauson 1972: 870; Ligeti 1986: 21, 245; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 269; Erdal 1991: 121–131; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 495; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 890.

GYEPŰ [d′epū] 'borderland, hedge' | 1212 ? GN *Silva Gepus* [d′epū-š], 1225 *Gepu* [d′epū] | *d′epū* < **ǰepeɥ̈* < **ǰepiɣ* ← WOT **ǰäpiɣ* | ? EOT *yapïg* 'edifice', cf. Chuv *śapă* 'hvorost, melkie suč′ja, hvorostina', *śapă karta* 'pleten′' || **gyep** [d′ep] 'lawn, grass-(plot)' | 1272 *In riuulum gepuspotok* [d′epū-š påtåk], 1535 *gyüp* [d′üp] | *d′ep* < **ǰepi* ← WOT **ǰäpi* | EOT *yapï* 'saddle cloth'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *yap-* 'to make, to build' (RTIrk), *yapïg* 'agrégat', skrt. *sandha* 'nom des cinq constituants de l'être qui le "collent" á la terre' (UHamHouTou), *yapï* 'saddle cloth (Čigil dial)', *yapïglïg qapuġ* 'a bolted door' (AK), *yapï* 'saddle blanket' (KhWl); **MT** PN *Yapïg* (UCiv), *yab-*, *yap-* 'pokryvat′, zakryvat′, skryvat′, zatvorjat′, stroit′, sooružat′, peč′ (hleb)' (AHŠF), *yab-*, *yap-* 'pokryvat′, zakryvat′, skryvat′, zatvorjat′, stroit′, sooružat′, peč′ (hleb)' (ANehF); *yapu* 'construction' (AChag), *yapï* 'flancs d'une montagne' (AChag), *yapï* 'Gebäude, Bergrand, Pass' (AChagŠSK), *yap-* 'bir şeyi örtmek, kapatmak, yapmak' (AAH), *yap-* 'örtmek, sarmak' (AKav), *yap-* 'fermer, couvrir, voiler' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *śapă* 'hvorost, valežnik, hvorostina, prut, suč′ja, vetvi, peren. skelet, kosti (o toščem životnom)' (Chuv), *śapă* 'hvorost, melkie suč′ja, hvorostina, tol′ko čto srublennyj tal′nik ili ivnjak, hvorost s sučkami, daže suhoj, možet byt′ i ne suhim, napr. dlja izgorodi, nikogda ne byvaet obluplennym i možet byt′ s listjami', *śapă karta* 'pleten′' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *yabu* 'popona' (Tat), *yabïu* 'popona, pokryvalo, nakidka' (Bashk), *ǰabï* (južn.), *ǰabū* 'pokryvalo, popona, pokryvalo, kotorym pokryt pokojnik, kogda ego nesut k mogile' (Kirg), *ǰabuw* 'felt blanket for a horse or a camel, (fig.) a bad horse' (Kaz), *ǰabuw* 'popona' (Kklp), *yabuv* 'pokryvanie, pokrytie, nakryvanie, nakrytie, zakryvanie, zakrytie, zagon (napr. skota v hlev), zakuporivanie, zakuporka, okučivanie, peren. zakrytie, likvidirovanie, likvi-

dacija, krovel′nyj material (solona, kamyš, čerepica, žest′)' (Nog), *yabuv* 'prikrytie, ukrytie, kryška, pokrov, zavesa, pokryvalo, odežda, paluba' (Kar), *yapu* 'vnešnij vid, naružnost′, odežda, postrojka, stroenie' (KarC), *yapu* 'vnešnij vid čeloveka, vnešnost′, lico' (Kum), *ǰapï* 'vid, vnešnost′, forma, vyraženie lica' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yapï* 'pokryvalo, kryška, snedob′e (prikladyvaemoe k rane)' (Tkm), *yapï* 'building, edifice, build (of the body), structure (of any composite whole)' (Tt), *yapï* 'zdanie, stroenie, postrojka' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yåpiq* 'zakrytyj, zapertyj, mat. zamknutyj, popona, pokryvalo (dlja lošadi)' (Uzb), *yapïġlïġ* 'closed etc.' (TurkiJ), *yepiq* 'zakrytyj, zapertyj, krytyj, s kryšej, savan' (MUyg), *yäp-* 'zakryvat′, nakryvat′, pokryvat′' (UygFerg, Sadvakasov 1970: 198), *yap-* 'priladit′, pokryt′' (MUygHot); ***NE*** *d′abu* 'krovlja' (Alt), *čabïġ* 'krovlja' (RKhak), *čabïġ* 'pokrytie, kryša, temnica, zakrytoe mesto, tjur′ma, kryška' (KhakB), *šïvïg* 'pokryvalo, nakidka, skatert′' (Tuv), *čï′pïġ* 'pokrytie, kryša (doma)' (Tof); ***Y*** *sabï̄* 'pokryvanie, nakryvanie, zakryvanie i t. d. po znač. osnovy, prikrytie, zatyčka, kryša, kryška, pokryša, pokryška, pokrov (zaščita), pokryvalo, odejalo, zadvižka, zakryška, zatvor, dver′, kryša, krovlja, vzjatka (v kartežnoj igre), t. e. karta, pokrytaja staršeju ili kozyrem, vzjatka, plata za sokrytie prestuplenija, za molčanie, za nedovedenie do suda i sledstvija, sryv' (Y), *habū* 'Zudecken, Deckel' (Dlg).

E/T Most of the T words go back to an earlier form *yapïg*. This word is a dev noun fr *yap-* (see **gyapjú**). T *yap-* has an extraordinarily wide range of meanings, including 'to cover', 'to put on', 'to build', 'to construct', 'to put together', hence simply 'to make', and in some lgs it became an auxiliary verb. Clauson (1972: 871) suggested that there is only one verb *yap-* with a wide range of meanings, while, according to Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 126–127), we are dealing with two homophonous words: **yap-* 'to make' and *yap-* 'to cover'. The noun *yapïg* (*yap-*(*X*)*g*) mainly has the sense of 'cover', 'anything which covers'. However, another meaning has developed fr the verb 'to cover', i.e. 'to close (such as a pot with a lid, a door to a house etc.)'. We find 'door' in Y and 'dungeon' in Khak. The meanings are interesting in Nog: 'cover for horses, horse cloth, enclosure (for cattle, cattle shed), stop, hilling, closure', metaphorically also 'closing, liquidation, and materials with which one covers (straw, reeds, tile, tin)'. Erdal (1991: 340) writes that *yapï* 'horse cover, blanket' (AK and KhWl) is derived fr *yap-* to 'cover' not with the suff -(*X*)*g*, but with *-I*, because the final *-g* is not dropped in Khot. This may be the case, in fact (see KhWl *ilig* 'attachment to the harness', *kïrïg* 'selvage (of the saddle)'). In the T material cited above, we find forms that reflect both an OT *yapïg* and a *yapï*, but since the final *-g* was dropped in many T lgs, it is difficult at present to differentiate between forms where **yapï* < *yap-I* and *yapï* < *yap-*(*X*)*g*.

In H we have both *gyep* and *gyepű* and the first may reflect **yapï*, more precisely **ǰäpi* or **ǰäpü* (see below), while the second must reflect *yapïg*, more precisely **ǰäpiɣ* or **ǰäpüɣ*. Therefore, we may suppose that the two forms **yapï* and **yapïg* coexisted

in both EOT and WOT and may have influenced each other. The word seems to be back-vocalic everywhere. It is worth noting that we even find back-vocalic forms in Turki, and it is only MUyg where the expected late umlaut of the first vowel occurred. On the other hand, Chuv *śapă* could originally only have been front-vocalic (i.e. **ǰäpi(g)*) – like the H forms.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1528) compared the T word with Mo *ǰaga-* 'to disjoint, separate the joints', which is semantically improbable. There exists a homophonous word with the meaning 'to joint, to socket, to trim', in Kalm **zā-* in *zād^{a}sḷ-* 'falzen', *zāγḷ-* 'mit Falz versehen sein', in Khal *zā-* id. Neither 'disjoint', nor 'joint' is easy to link to 'cover' or 'build, make', be they one or two homophones.

E/H The two H words now have the following meanings: *gyep* 'lawn, grass-(plot)' and *gyepű* 'hedge, marchland, borderland' and, according to the relevant literature (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1127; 1993–1997/1: 495), the origin of the word is unknown and even the relationship between the two words is unclear. In the H literary lg, *gyepű* is a term only used in historical treatises, where it denotes the medieval borderlands which separated the H territories fr enemies. In the Middle Ages, the border was protected by a wide strip, where all trees and bushes were removed to help the watchmen and look-outs to see who was coming. Beyond this meadow or grassy land strip came a forest with road blocks and closures to hinder invaders. The border was the "fence of the country". This was called *gyepű* in OH.

In Medieval Lat, the empty strip was called *indago* 'ambush, a place for hidden watchmen, spies'. The artificial roadblocks, fences, hedges etc. were called *opus* (already in 1043), and this consisted of closures (*clausura*) and of blocks and hindrances (*obstaculum*). In a source fr 1225, we read: *Ne populi* [...] *compellantur ire ad incidendas indagines, vulgo gepu* (cf. Harmatta 1987–1999/4: 148).

It is interesting that the man-made part of this border defence system, found all over Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, was called *opus* fr *opero-* 'to deal with something, to work on something' while the related verb *operio-* had the meaning 'to cover, to close'. The system thus consisted of two parts: the *indago* and the *opus*.

The adj der of *gyep* 'lawn' was *gyepüs* 'grassy' (see 1227: in riuulum *gepuspotok* nuncupatum (grassy brook)), and later also *gyepes*. Since the adj fr *gyepű* was also *gyepűs* (see 1212: silva *Gepus*), it is very likely that this is one and the same word, which split later into *gyep* and *gyepű*, and that *gyep* later split into two semantic categories.

In the H dials, we find the following meanings for *gyepű*: 'a hedge or fence made of living trees or bushes', 'ditch in which living and thorny bushes grow or artificial weedy entrenchment to enclose vineyards', 'hedge strengthened with a hillock', 'shovelled soil', 'hedge surrounding the village' etc. (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 741). According to the *New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 738–

739), there are two homonyms: *gyep*[1] means ‘grass, meadow, pasture, grass-plot’ and *gyep*[2] denotes ‘fence made of twigs, thorny branches, hedge, border marking strip between villages or territories on which grass grows’.

Fr the historical and dial data it is clear that this is a case of one word and a semantic split. Both words, *gyep* and *gyepű*, had the meaning ‘a strip of land which was modified to separate territories by clearing forest for good visibility and building hedges, fences and obstacles’. Later, *gyep* began to denote ‘clearing, meadow’, but in some dials it also retained its earlier meaning ‘fence, hedge etc.’ *Gyepű* denoted the whole system, the *indago* and the *opus*, the clearing and the artificial system of defence at the border.

The T origin of the two H words was suggested by Munkácsi (1906c: 252) and accepted and further argued by Zolnai (1899: 529–534) and Sebestyén (1899b: 466–467). They mixed H *gyep* and *gyepű* with **gyapjú** ‘wool’, however, because of its secondary form *gyepű* ‘wool’.

The idea that the H word is a copy of a T word **ǰäpüg*, which itself is a front-vocalic variant of *yapïg* (another form of *yapagu*; see **gyapjú**), is improbable (even if **gyapjú** has a secondary form *gyepű* in the dial of the Moldavian Changos). The possible connection of Chuv *śapă* and H *gyepű* proposed by Munkácsi (1906c: 252) was rejected by Gombocz (1907a: 213–214, see also 1912b: 217) for three reasons. (1) Chuv *ś-* may go back to *č-*, thus we may also suppose a T *čäbük*, *čäpük*. (2) Voty *čabï*, which has a meaning near to H, cannot be a lw fr Chuv *śapă*. (3) The Chuv word may be a lw fr Cher. We have to state that none of Gombocz’s objections can be accepted: specifically, (1) Chuv *śapă* could go back to *čäpük* but also to **ǰäpü*(*g*); (2) Voty *čabï* may reflect a VBulg **ǰäpü* or **ǰäpi*; and (3) the word is a Chuv lw in Cher.

Räsänen (1920: 14, 185) correctly considered the Cher word a lw fr Chuv and the H word an old BulgT lw, as did Egorov (1964: 203) and Fedotov (1996/2: 85–86). The main problem is that the origin of the Chuv word was not clear. Fedotov dealt with the Chuv verb *śap-* ‘to strike, to hit etc.’ and also cited *śapă* among the ders. According to him, all words go back to the T verb *čap-* and words like CherM *save* ‘dlinnyj syroj prut, pleten′, izgorod iz vetvej’, CherH *sävï* ‘syroj hvorost’, Voty *čabï* ‘tyn, izgorod iz vetok, živaja izgorod’ (URSl) as well as H *gyepű* are all lws fr OChuv. However, he did not give any explanation as to how *śap-* ‘strike’ can be connected with *śapă* ‘branch of a tree, bushes, fence, fence made of branches, bushes’. Nor did he deal with the phonetic problems.

At present, the origin of Chuv *śap-* ‘to strike, to hit’ has to be put aside. Though we would expect *śup-* (which is in fact present as *śup-* ‘to strike’) in Chuv fr a T *čap-* ‘to strike’, the word is onomatopoeic and expressive. We cannot rule out the possibility that the irregular vocalism of the Chuv word *śap-* is the result of onomatopoeia and

is simply a more emphatic variant and that, after an early split (*śup-* < **čap-* > **čäp-* >> *śap-*), there evolved a double correspondence with a slight semantic difference. But if the H words belong here, there is an unclear connection between the verb 'to strike' with an old T **č-* and the T word, which is *śapă* 'branch of trees, bushes, fence made of branches, twigs etc.' in Chuv and which may go back to **ǰäpü*(*g*) with an initial *ǰ-*.

On the other hand, the H word can hardly be separated fr the Chuv word *śapă*, which has the same basic sense of 'hedge, fence etc.' Further, the Chuv word cannot be separated fr the Cher and Voty words. Both Cher and Voty may point to an OChuv (VBulg) **ǰäpi* or **ǰäpü*. H can reflect **ǰäpi* or **ǰäpü* (⟶ *gyep*) and **ǰäpig* or **ǰäpüg* (⟶ *gyepű*). Thus we have to reconstruct two OChuv or VBulg words which are reflected in H and in Chuv. The first (**ǰapï*) appears as a lw fr Chuv in Cher and Voty. There also existed a second word **ǰäpiɣ* in OChuv which later converged in Chuv with **ǰäpi*. What may the origin of these words be?

If we look at the semantics of the word **yapï*, we find two groups 'covering, anything which covers', and 'anything which closes'. The underlying verb WOT **ǰap-*, **ǰäp-* originally had the basic meaning 'to cover, to close by covering' and the semantics of the ders developed in two directions: (1) 'cover, outside'; and (2) 'closure, stop, anything which was used for closure, for a stop'.

At present, we can reconstruct the following changes: PT **yapï* > WOT **ǰapï* (⟶ Voty *čabï*) > WOT **ǰäpi* (⟶ H *gyep*) > Chuv *śapă* and PT **yapïg* > WOT **ǰapïg* > WOT **ǰäpiɣ* (⟶ H **ǰepiɣ* > *gyepeü̯* > *gyepű*) >> Chuv *śapă* (⟶ CherM *save*, CherH *sävï*).

I have to add two remarks here. The *a* > *ä* umlaut is possible in Chuv, but this example is too early. In H the first vowel is a close *-e-* in both *gyep* and *gyepű*, while we would expect an open one. The first vowel in Chuv points to an open *ä*. Neither of these problems is insurmountable. Nevertheless, there remains room for further work, and so the comparison is, for the time being, uncertain.

◆ Sebestyén 1899b: 466–467; Zolnai 1899: 529–534; Munkácsi 1906c: 252; Gombocz 1907a: 213–214; Gombocz 1912b: 217; Vámbéry 1914: 162; Zolnai 1916: 371; Räsänen 1920: 14, 185; Horger 1924: 68; Mikesy 1955: 312–318; Imre 1956: 213–214; Egorov 1964: 203; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1127; Sadvakasov 1970: 198; Clauson 1972: 871; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 738–739, 741; Harmatta 1987–1999/4: 148; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 126–127; Erdal 1991: 340; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 209; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 495; Benkő E. 1994: 242; Fedotov 1996/2: 85–86; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1528.

GYERMEK [d′ermek], **gyerek** [d′erek] 'child' | early 13th c./c1350 *germuk* [d′ermük], 1341 *Gyermukziget* [d′ermük-siget], p1416/c1450 *gèrmek* [d′ermek], 1660 *gyereket* [d′erek-et] | *d′ermek* < **ǰärmäk* ⟵ WOT **ǰärmäk*, ? *ǰärmük* | cf. Chuv *śarmăk* 'young man'.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *yavrï* ‘cyplenok’ (AIM), *yawrï*, *yawruq* ‘petit des animaux’ (AChag), *yavrï* ‘poussin’ (ABul), *yavrï* ‘poussin’ (ADur), *yavrï* ‘kuş yavrusu’ (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śarmăk*, *śamrăk* ‘molodoj čelovek, junoša, molodoj, molodostʹ’ (Chuv, ChuvA), see also *śura*, *śură*, *śăvăr*, *śüre*, *śürĕ* ‘obščee nazivanie detenyšej nekotoryh životnyh, detenyš, roj’ (Chuv, ChuvA); ***NW*** *yäwrü* <yavru> ‘detenyš (životnyh) (CrTat); ***SW*** *yavru* ‘the young (of an animal or bird), one’s child’ (Tt), *yavru* ‘detenyš’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰermegey* see below.

E/T Ramstedt (1949: 28) compared the Kor word *čǰęlmda-* ‘to be young’ with Chuv *śamrăk* (< **śarmăk* ⟶ H *gyermek*), and Mo *ǰerme-gey* ‘a young person’. He gave “Vladimircov, Bayat dialect” as the source of the Mo item without noting the title of the work of Vladimircov or place of the citation. This item then began its own life in the literature. Recently Khabtagaeva (personal communication) found it in Vladimircov (1912: 100–102). Later Ramstedt compared the same Kor item with Mo *ǰalagun* in Ramstedt–Songmoo (1982: 29).

The Chuv word is present in Cher: CherM *samrïk*, CherH *sämrïk* ‘young’. According to Räsänen (1920: 187), Egorov (1964: 202) and Fedotov (1996/2: 83) the Cher word is a lw fr Chuv. The Chuv word may go back to an earlier form like **ǰärmek*, **ǰärmik* or **ǰämrik* etc. but neither could the word be found in T, nor has a possible etymology been proposed. The Chuv word could belong to Mo **ǰermegey* if such a word existed.

First we have to decide which of the two Chuv forms is the original. If we suppose *śarmăk* to be the primary form, then the base is **śar* and the suff may be *°m* and *°(X)k*, or *°măk*. Chuv has a suff *-mAk* (see Levitskaja 1976: 160–161), which is a late development (cf. Chuv *sulmak* ‘tjažestʹ ⟵ Tat *salmak*) and can be excluded here. The den suff *+(A)măk* is rare, see e.g. *šuramăk* ‘bolotistaja zemlja’ (ChuvA) < WOT **šaramïk* < EOT **sāzamïk* > TatD *sazamïk*, BashkD *saδamïk* (Levitskaja 1976: 161). It is more probable the WOT suff *+(A)mUk* (see Erdal 1991: 100–102) than *+m(X)k*. However, because of its *-k* it is surely also secondary, though an early development (see the *š-* in *šuramăk*). If we depart fr *śamrăk*, the suffs could have been WOT *-(X)r* < PT **-(X)z* and *+(X)k*. In this case we can suppose a base **śam-*. Whatever the morphological structure of Chuv *śamrăk* ~ *śarmăk* may be, neither **śar* nor **śam-* offer an existing and meaningful base. Chuv *śar* ‘armija, vojsko’ (see H **sereg**) (< WOT **čärig*) makes here not much sense. Even less probable are Chuv *śam* I ‘čudovišče’ or *śam* II ‘listvennyj lesʹ’.

Another possibility is to depart fr Chuv *śura*, *śură*, *śăvăr*, *śüre*, *śürĕ* ‘detenyš’ which go back to **yavru*, **yavaru* < **yavrug* ‘young of animals’ (see Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 53), which is a der of *yavrï-* ‘to become weak’ (Clauson 1972: 879; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 220–221; cf. also Chag *yauruk*), itself a den verb fr **yavar*

'weak'. The Chuv forms have no connection with *yara-*, *yarat-* as claimed by Fedotov (1996/2: 140–141). In this case we have to suppose *yavru* > *yavrï* which then gave a front-vocalic form in OChuv **ĭävri* > Chuv *śürĕ* (see CrTat *yävri*). Fr this a metathetical form **ĭärvi* developed; fr **ĭärvi* a dim der **ĭärvi-k* > **śarvăk* > *śarmăk* with an unusual change *v* > *m* under the influence of the words with the suff *-mĂk*. All these steps are possible, but the whole chain has too many hypotheses. Independently of the low probability of this development, comparing it with H *gyermek* presents serious chronological difficulties.

E/H Rásonyi's suggestion (1978: 180–183) that our H word could be connected with a word fr which the Tat name *Yermak*, *Yarmak* etc. was formed does not help us, since there is no common noun *yarmak* with a meaning like 'young', only *yarmak* 'coin'.

Of the two H forms *gyermek* and *gyerek*, the first is the older one. However, the relationship between the two is not clear. According to an earlier opinion posited by Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1128), the H word is of unknown origin and its T etymology is not acceptable. Comparing the H and Chuv words (but not mentioning the Mo), Ligeti (1986: 46) stressed that the link is worth further research. Benkő later changed his position and, according to him (1993–1997/1: 495–496), it may be an early lw fr T, but since it is only present in Chuv this makes the comparison uncertain. To this, we can only add that the etymology of Chuv *śarmăk* is also unclear.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Gombocz 1912b: 191; Vladimircov 1912: 100–104; Paasonen 1914: 277; Vámbéry 1914: 162; Räsänen 1920: 187; Gombocz 1921–1925: 84; Ramstedt 1949: 28; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 220–221; Egorov 1964: 202; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1128; Clauson 1972: 879; Levitskaja 1976: 160–161; Rásonyi 1978: 180–183; Ramstedt–Songmoo 1982: 29; Ligeti 1986: 46; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 53; Erdal 1991: 100–102; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 495–496; Fedotov 1996/2: 83, 140–141.

GYERTYA [d′ert′å] 'candle' | 1372 ? PN *Gurthyascouo* [? d′urt′å-sövȭ], c1395 *gertyaba* [d′ert′ā-bå], p1416/c1450 *gort'a tarto* [d′ort′å tårto] | *d′ert′å* < **ĭarta* ⟵ WOT **ĭarta* | EOT *yartu* 'long strips of wood' < *yār-* 'to split' {with suff *-dU*}.

OT *yar-* 'to split, cleave' (RTIrk), *yara bič-* 'aufschneiden' (UUIII, 45:12), *yar-* 'split', *yartu* 'wood chip, board (on which one writes)', *yartïm* 'separated part (of people)' (AK), *yaratmak* 'Besprengen', *yārïm* 'halb' (B 21:43, BA 7,45, BL 2,5); **MT** *yar-* 'teilen' (UCiv), *yar-* 'to split' (AGul), *yar-* 'yarmak' (AHMA), *yar-* 'rassekat′, raskalyvat′' (AHŠF), *yar-* 'ortadan kesmek' (AIMI), *yarġïl* 'split!' (AKD), *yar-* 'to split' (AKor), *yar-* 'rassekat′, raskalyvat′' (ANehF), *yar-* 'raskalyvat′, rassekat′' (ATef), *yar-* 'fendre' (AChag), *yar-* 'razmolit′' (AChagMA), *yar-* 'to split' (AChagSC), *yar-* 'entscheiden': *yarġu yar-* 'eine gerichtliche oder administrative Entscheidung treffen' (LCC), *yardï* 'azacık yardı' (AAH), *yar-* 'rozlupac′, rozedrec′' (ABul, written as *yart-* for *yartï*), *yar-* 'spalten', *yarat-* 'zerreissen' (AHou), *yar-* 'verwunden, spalten' (AKav), *yar-* 'raskalyvat′, rassekat′' (ATuh), *yar-* 'fendre' (AmTr), *yar-* 'kazmak,

oymak, delmek, ayırmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śur-* 'rvaťˊ, razryvaťˊ, razdiratˊ (razg.), porotˊ, rasparyvaťˊ, kolotˊ, rubitˊ, pilitˊ, raspilivaťˊ, razrezaťˊ, rassekaťˊ, potrošitˊ, vskryvaťˊ, podmyvaťˊ, razmyvaťˊ, promyvaťˊ, propahivaťˊ, okučivaťˊ meždurjadˊja, obdiratˊ, molotˊ (na krupu), zadratˊ, zadryztˊ, rasterzaťˊ, raspuskaťˊ listˊja, cvety, rascvetaťˊ, zvučaťˊ gromko, gremetˊ, oglušaťˊ, peren. terzaťˊ, razryvaťˊ, žečˊ, bitˊ, udarjaťˊ v nos, razitˊ (prost.)', *śurta* 'sveča, svečka' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yar-* 'kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, raskolotˊ (napr. drova), pilitˊ, raspilitˊ (vdolˊ), obdiratˊ, luščitˊ, med. vskryvaťˊ, vskrytˊ (trup), prokladyvaťˊ, proložitˊ, probivaťˊ, probitˊ, peren. sečˊ, bitˊ, pobitˊ, lupitˊ, otlupitˊ' (Tat), *yar-* 'razbivaťˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, pilitˊ, kolotˊ, rezaťˊ, ščelkaťˊ, obdiratˊ, luščitˊ, peren. raspuskaťˊ (listˊja), med. anatomirovaťˊ (trup), prokladyvaťˊ, probivaťˊ' (Bashk), *yarïtma* 'die Leuchte (zum Fische fangen), Fackel' (SibTatTR), *ǰar-* 'kolotˊ, prjam., peren. raskalyvaťˊ, zarezaťˊ, zadratˊ, zadryztˊ', *ǰartïk* 'ščel, treščina' (Kirg), *ǰar-* 'to cleave, to split (tr), dissect, to cut open, to rip up, to blast, to blow up (tr), to cut teeth, teethe (intr), to be well provided for, to be well supplied' (Kaz), *ǰar-* 'kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, rasščepljaťˊ, razrubaťˊ popolam' (Kklp), *yar-* 'raskalyvaťˊ, rasščepljaťˊ, razrubaťˊ popolam, rassekaťˊ, med. anatomirovaťˊ, vzryvaťˊ' (Nog), *yar-* 'kolotˊ, rassekaťˊ' (CrTat), *yar-* 'rubitˊ, kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, rasščepljaťˊ, razbivaťˊ' (Kar), *yar-* 'kolotˊ, rubitˊ, razryvaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ (napr. živom pri operacii), probivaťˊsja skvozˊ čto-l., proryvaťˊ čto-l.' (Kum), *yarï-* 'zerhacken; kettévágni' (KumN), *ǰar-* 'raskalyvaťˊ čto-l., delaťˊ treščinu, kolotˊ, rubitˊ čto-l., prjam. peren. razrezaťˊ, raspilivaťˊ čto-l., operirovaťˊ kogo-to, vskryvaťˊ, anatomirovaťˊ kogo-čto-l., zlitˊ, besitˊ kogo-to' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yār-* 'rezaťˊ, rubivaťˊ(sja), proryvaťˊ(sja), vzryvaťˊ, kusaťˊ(sja) (o sobake), peren. grabitˊ, krastˊ' (Tkm), *yar-* 'rubitˊ, rassekaťˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, proryvaťˊ, med. operirovaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, anatomirovaťˊ (trup)' (Az), *yar-* 'to split, to rend, to cleave, to cut through, mil. to break through' (Tt), *yar-* 'raskalyvaťˊ, kolotˊ, razbivaťˊ, rassekaťˊ' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yār-* 'spalten' (KhT); ***SE*** *yår-* 'kolotˊ, rubitˊ, razryvaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ (trup), probivaťˊsja skvozˊ čto-libo, proryvaťˊ (čto-l.)' (Uzb), *yā-*, *yay-*, *yar-* 'to slit, to split, to divide, to cleave, to break a box, to thrust' (TurkiJ), *yaî-* 'obrezaťˊ, raskolotˊ, ranitˊ, otšlifovaťˊ, čistitˊ', *yar-* 'kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, ranitˊ' (TurkiL), *yar-*, *ya-* 'kolotˊ, rubitˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ (napr. trup), vzryvaťˊ, podryvaťˊ, probivaťˊsja skvozˊ čto-l., proryvaťˊ čto-l.' (MUyg), *yar-* 'rasskalyvaťˊ, rassekaťˊ, razrubaťˊ', *ǰar-* 'razrezaťˊ, rassekaťˊ, zakalyvaťˊ' (Sal); ***NE*** *dˊar-* 'kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, rassekaťˊ, raspilivaťˊ, ščepaťˊ, razdiratˊ' (Alt), *yarta*, *yartma* 'rybolovnyj luč, koza (Alt, Verbickij 1884: 81)', *yartma* 'eine Leuchte, Fischleuchte' (AltQKR, AltR, AltTelR), *dˊartma* 'rybolovnyj luč, svetilˊnik, koza' (AltQK), *yart* 'das Brett' (AltQKR, AltTelR,), *čar-* 'kolotˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, rassekaťˊ, ščepaťˊ čto-l., razdiratˊ kogo-čto-l., delitˊ, raskladyvaťˊ' (Khak), *čar-* 'trennen, scheiden, spalten, auseinanderlegen, unterscheiden, untersuchen, richten, leuchten' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *čardï* 'doska' (Khak), *čar-* 'kolotˊ, razdeljaťˊ, raznimaťˊ, razedinjaťˊ, zaključaťˊ, razlučaťˊ, pahaťˊ, rešaťˊ, razrešaťˊ, vyjasnjaťˊ, rassledovaťˊ', *čartï* 'ščeka, lučina, zanoza' (Tuv), *čar-*

‘razdeljat′ na časti, rasčlenjat′, raskalyvat′, razlučat′, razvodit′’, *čartï* ‘poleno, čurka’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sart*, *sat* ‘listvenničnaja dran′, sarga (tonkaja dranka dlja vjazki i plten′ja korzin, verš), kotoruju ščepljut iz kvadratnyh bruskov, pletenka iz lučin, širokija i dlinnyja doski upotreblaemyja pri lovle rybki mundu’ (Y).

E/T The word *yartu*, *yartï* ‘splinter, torch used at night for fishing etc.’ could have two different etymologies. It may come fr *yaru-* ‘to be or become bright, to shine’, *yarut-* ‘to illuminate etc.’ > **yarutï* > *yartu*, *yartï*. The second and more probable possibility is that it has to be connected with *yar-* ‘to split’. In this case, we have two further possibilities. (1) It is fr **yarït-* ‘to make split’ > **yarïtï* > *yartï*, *yartu*. The suff *-U* may be an earlier variant of the dev *-I*. The fact verb *yarït-* is present in *yartïm* (AK < *yarït-Xm*) and *-(X)t-* is not “an intrusive *-t-*”, as claimed by Clauson (1972: 959). Erdal (1991: 295) cites more data on *yartïm* ‘fraction’, but does not connect the word with a verbal form **yarït-*. (2) It is a der with the suff *-dU* (Erdal 1991: 332–334). This was suggested early on by Erdal for *yartu* ‘a wood chip’ and seems to be the best solution. Wood was split, lighted and used as torch. The basic meaning of the thin wooden chip or board that was also used for writing, as noted by Kashgari, has been preserved in some Sib lgs, as pointed out by Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 145). In the Sib lgs the meaning of the word is ‘torch used during fishing’ and this is the same as the original meaning in H. The meanings of the Y word are very clear. Chuv *śurta* is a regular development of an earlier **ǰarta* and the final *-a*, reflected also in the H word is regular in place of the *-u* of EOT. Whether the semantic development ‘splinter’ > ‘candle’ occurred independently in Chuv and H, or the word was copied with both meanings is uncertain. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1152) tie the T word to Mo *yara-* ‘to split open etc.’, but this Mo word is a late secondary form of *ira-* (see **ír**), further they connect T *yar-* ‘to shine’ to Mo *sara* ‘moon’ (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1512), supposing a PA initial *z-*.

E/H The H word denoted ‘candle’, but also ‘splinter, torch’ and even now denotes a torch for night fishing in some dials (see Filep 1979a: 20; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 746). Until now (see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 496) the T etymon was connected with *yaru-* ‘to be bright etc.’ The non-harmonic vocalism in the H word is old. It has been present since the earliest written data. It may reflect a T non-labial *-a-* or be a result of a dissimilation during the early history of the word in H.

◆ Munkácsi 1884a: 261; Verbickij 1884: 81; Gombocz 1907a: 214; Gombocz 1912b: 78–79; Brockelmann 1954: 96–98; Ligeti 1963b: 393; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1128–1129; Räsänen 1969: 189; Gabain 1971: 223; Clauson 1972: 959; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 201; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 746; Filep 1979a: 20; Filep 1979b: 183; Filep 1979c: 356; Ligeti 1986: 21, 45–46; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 145; Erdal 1991: 295, 332–334; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 496; Róna-Tas 1994: 107; Róna-Tas 1997a: 96; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1152, 1512.

GYERTYÁN [d′ert′ān] ‘hornbeam, *Carpinus betulus*’ | 1225 *gertanfa* [d′ert′ān-få], 1238 *Gurtanfa* [d′urt′ān-få], 1258/1334 *gyertyanfa* [d′ert′ān-få], c1490 *gÿertÿanfa* [d′ert′ān-

få], dial *gyārtāny* [d′ārtān], *gyortyán* [d′ort′ān], *gyurtyán* [d′urt′ān] ‘hornbeam, torch made from reeds [!]’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 746) | *d′ert′ān* < **ǰartān* < **ǰartaɣan* ← WOT **ǰartaɣan* | EOT **ǰartagan* < **ǰarta* ‘candle’ {with suff +*gAn*}.

Of T origin, but with debated morphology.

On the T data, see **gyertya**.

E/H According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1129; 1993–1997/1: 496), who summarised the earlier research, the word is a H der fr the H word **gyertya** ‘candle’. It was formed with the H nominal suff +(*V*)*n*, +*Án* ~ +(*V*)*ny*, +*Ány* as in the words *kemény* ‘hard’, **kicsiny** ‘small’, *sovány* ‘meagre’, *vadon* ‘wilderness’, *vékony* ‘thin’. The basis for the semantic change ‘candle’ > ‘tree’ was either the smooth bark and the candle-like stature of the tree or the possibility that its branches were used for lighting. The H der is not very convincing. The suff +(*V*)*n*, +*Án* ~ +(*V*)*ny*, +*Ány* forms adjs and all examples cited by Benkő are in fact adjs. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the adj *gyertyán* became an independent noun fr the compound *gyertyán fa* ‘hornbeam tree’ (“candle” tree).

There does exist, however, a T suff +*gAn* that forms plant names (Erdal 1991: 85–89). This suff is present in H **bojtorján** (← T *baltïrɣan*), **csalán** (← T *čalïɣan*). See also *gürgen* ‘hornbeam, horn beech (*Carpinus betulus*)’ (Tt), *gürgen* ‘grab (*Carpinus*)’ (Gag), fr Tt *gür* ‘abundant, dense, thick, wood, bush, marshy land’; see also *gürüz* ‘gustoj, častyj (o lese, kustarnike)’ (TtB). According to Erdal (1991: 87), a suff +*An* for forming names of plants or animals is not attested. Hence the plant names *kökän* ‘plum, blue fruit’ (see **kökény**) and *sarïgan* (in *sarïgan ot*) ‘a yellow plant’ have to be analysed as *kök+gAn* and *sarïg+gAn* with the velar clusters being simplified (see also **csalán** above). This may be the case, though we also find a suff +*An* in **gyümölcsény** (← **ǰemišän* < *yemišän* < *yemiš+An*). We have to reconstruct a T **yartagan* (< *yarta* ‘splinter, torch, candle’ see above) with the suff +*gAn* rather than a **yartān* (< *yarta* with suff +*An*). Fr **yartagan* > **ǰartaɣan* comes a regular WOT form.

This gave a regular correspondence **ǰartaɣan* > **ǰartān* > *d′ert′ān* in H. The same would have been the result with **yarta+An*. The length of the second vowel of the H word is due to an inner H development, but may also reflect an original long *ā* of whatever origin. In Chuv the *-g-* of the suff +*gAn* disappeared (cf. *baltïrgan* > *pultăran*), but it was preserved in H and later changed into *-y-* (see **bojtorján**).

In Os the name of the hornbeam is *fatqæd* (fr *fat* ‘arrow’ and *qæd* ‘tree’, see Abaev 1958–1989/1: 425), which shows that this type of tree name is not rare.

Finally it has to be mentioned that the word *gyertyán* has the meaning ‘splint, torch made of reeds’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 746) in some H dials, the same as **gyertya**. On the other hand in a H source fr the 13th c. (Györffy 1963–1998/2: 457) we find a Cistercian monastery called *Kerz*, which is also given in Lat as *Candela*. This

may come fr the word 'candle', but there is a small brook in the vicinity with the same name (*in riuum Kerch* (*Kurchz*)). It is unlikely that a brook would be named after a candle. It is more probable that it got this name fr the hornbeams which may have grown along its banks. This is the most common way of naming small rivers and brooks in H. And this makes it plausible that the H word for 'candle' **gyertya** also had the meaning 'hornbeam'. The H words **gyertya** and *gyertyán* may be similar double copies in the same way as **gyümölcs** and **gyümölcsény**. The only problem is that we have not managed to find the original T word in any of our sources until now.

The tree was present in the Late Holocene period on the northern slopes of Caucasia and along the northern shores of the Black Sea. Isolated pollens have been found west of the Volga. Later, its diffusion was reduced, but isolated samples could be found even in the 19th c. up to the eastern borders of Europe (Nejštadt 1957, maps No. 185, 186). That means that the Turks themselves had to learn the name of the hornbeam when they came to these territories. The H could only have borrowed the word in the south, most probably north of the Black Sea or in the Carpathian Basin.

The Slavs who lived in the Carpathian Basin used the OSl word **grabъ*, **grabrъ* (see Galabov 1976: 169–187; Trubačev 1974–1995/7: 99–100). This name is present in a few GNs in the Carpathian Basin: *Garáb* (Nógrád County), *Grábóc* (Tolna County), *Garbolc* (Szabolcs-Szatmár County), *Nyitragaráb* (on the River Nitra/Nyitra, Slovak Republic), *Garbócbogdány* (near to Košice/Kassa, Slovak Republic, Kiss 1988/1: 497, 530, 502; 1988/2: 260). The fact that the Hungarians did not copy the Sl word, suggests that they were familiar with the tree before the Conquest.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 78; Zichy 1923: 55; Nejštadt 1957: No. 185, 186; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 425; Györffy 1963–1998/2: 457; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1129; Trubačev 1974–1995/7: 99–100; Galabov 1976: 169–187; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 746; Ligeti 1986: 308; Kiss 1988/1: 497, 502, 530, 1988/2: 260; Erdal 1991: 85–89; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 496; Róna-Tas 2004: 424–429.

GYILKOS [d′ilkoš] 'murder, killer' | 1356 ? GN *Gyulkuspatak* [d′ulkuš-påtåk], p1372/c1448 *gÿolkos* [d′olkoš], p1416/c1450 *gilkoffaǵ* [d′ilkoš-šāg] | *d′ilkoš* < **ǰilkuš* ⟵ WOT **ǰulkučï* | EOT ? **yulkuš*.

Of debated T origin.

1 PT **yul*(*X*)*k*- 'to pull, pluck out': **OT** *yulq*- 'scrape, bruise': *tāš anïŋ aḏāqïn yulqdï* 'the stone scraped and bruised his foot', the same for anything that scrapes a thing: *ol andïn näŋ yulqdï* 'he scraped off something from it' – meaning he got some use or profit from it (AK); **MT** *yolq*- (r: *yulq*-) 'wyrywać, wydzierać' (AHŠ), *yulq*- 'vyryvať, vydirať' (AHŠF), *yulq*- 'pflücken, ausrupfen' (LCCG), *yuluq*- <YwLwQ-> natafa 'ausreißen, auszupfen, ausrupfen' (AKav, Berta 1996: 475–476 [typo in Telegdi]), *yulqa*- 'vyščipyvať, vyryvať', (Tkm) *yulquvuš* 'ščipcy, klešči' (ATuh), *yolqa*- (r: -u-) 'yolmak', (Tkm.) *yolqovuš* (r: -u-) 'cımbız' (ATuhA), *iulx*- 'ar-

racher, pincer' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *yolkï-* 'dergat′, vydergivat′, rvat′, vyryvat′, vyrvat′, vyščipyvat′, vyščipat′, oščipyvat′, oščipat′', *yolkučï* 'tot, kto vydergivaet (oščipyvaet, rvet), tot, kto oščipyvaet (napr. gusja), tot, kto terebit, terebil′ščik' (Tat), *yolok-*, *yolk-* 'kitépni, kihúzni; ausrupfen, auszupfen' (TatB), *yolqo-* 'dergat′, vydergivat′, rvat′, vyryvat′, vyščipyvat′, (s-h.) terebit′, (peren.) taščit′ tol′ko sebe, projavljat′ rvačestvo', *yolqqola-* 'vydergivat′, vyryvat′, vyščipyvat′, (peren.) vymogat′ *čto*, dobivat′sja *čego*', *yolqqos* 'l′noterebil′naja mašina, (peren.) rvač' (Bashk), *yulġu-* 'rvat′ (volosy)' (SibTatBD), *yulŭk-*, *yulk-* 'ausreissen, abpflücken' (SibTatBR), *ǰulku-*, *ǰulk-* 'dernut′, rvanut′, vyrvat′', *ǰulktur-*, *ǰulkun-*, *ǰulkunt-* etc. (Kirg), *ǰŭlïq-*, *ǰŭlq-* 'to pull, tug', *ǰŭlqïs-* 'to start fighting each other' (Kaz), *ǰŭlq-* 'vydergivat′, dergat′ (siloj)', *ǰŭlqïlas-* 'vstupat′ v shvatku (bor′bu)', *ǰŭlqïn-* 'vyryvat′sja, rvat′sja (vpered)', *ǰŭlqïs-* 'vstupat′ v shvatku drug s drugom' (KazB), *ǰulqï-* 'dernut′, rvanut′' (Kklp), *yulk-* 'rvat′, dergat′, vydergivat′, vyryvat′, ščipat′, oščipyvat′, (peren.) rugat′, ponosit′ *kogo-l.*' (Nog), *yulq-* 'ausreissen, pflücken' (CrTatR), *yulk-* 'ščipat′, oščipyvat′, vyščipyvat′' (KarH), *yulq-* 'vyryvat′ (volosy)' (KarC), *yulx-* 'ščipat′, vyščipyvat′, vyryvat′', *yulxu-* 'oščipyvat′, vyščipyvat′' (KarT), *yulq-* 'oščipyvat′, vyščipyvat′, vydergivat′, rvat′, vyryvat′, carapat′', *yulquvču* 'škurnik, rvač' (Kum), *džulq-* 'rvat′, vyryvat′ čto, ščipat′ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yulqi-* '(peren.) vyryvat′, vyhvatyvat′ (čto-l. u kogo-l.), (peren., neodobr.) využivat′, vymanivat′, vyžimat′, vydirat′', *yulqila-* '(peren., neodobr.) využivat′, vymanivat′, vyžimat′, vydirat′' (Uzb), *yulgu-* 'mausern, die Haare wechseln, die Haut abwerfen (von der Schlange)' (TurkiTR), *žulqu-* 'vyryvat′, vyhvatyvat′, urvat′' (MUyg); ***NE*** *čulgu-* 'sdirat′ kožu s životnogo, nažimaja kulakom' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰulġa-* 'to pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, to weed, to cling to' (L), *ǰulġul-* 'to flay, skin, pull out hair or wool' (L).

2 PT **ywlX-* 'to pull, to tear, to exterminate, to scrape, to cut, to skin': **OT** *yuloq ärmäzün* 'let [the Türk people] not be extirpated' (RMOng 3), *yul-* 'to pluck out, cut off' (RTIrk 8), *yul-* 'to redeem (prisoner, pledge), to scald (bird, hide), to copy (book)', *itim tūtup qoḏï čaldï / anïg tūsin qïra yuldï / bašïn alïp qoḏï saldï / boġuz ilip tükäl boġdï* "describing a dog: 'he [lit. my dog] caught (the wolf) and brought it down; he plucked out his hair; he [took its head and] cast it behind him, then bit its throat and strangled it', *är quš yuldï* 'the man plunged the bird into boiling water so that it could be plucked', *är bulunuġ yuldï* 'the man redeemed the captive', *sač yulundï* 'the hair was plucked out', *qul yulundï* 'the slave was freed when he paid his own value to his owner', *ol bulunug yulturdï* 'he had someone ransom the captive', *ol taqāġūnï yulturdï* 'he had the chicken (or other) plucked', *iḏu bērip bošuttum / tawār yūlug tašuttum / ärän äsin äšüttüm / yükin barča özi čigdi* "describing a captive: 'I let him go free; (he ransomed himself for something, and) I had the ransom conveyed to its place; I ordered the men's corpses to be con-

cealed (satr) (underground); their chief tied his load with his own hand, (not finding anyone to help him)', *qoyġašïp yatsa anïg yűzīŋä / alsïqar őgin anïg sőzīŋä / miŋ kiši yuluġï bōlup őzīŋä / bērgälär özin anïg kőzīŋä* 'one who lies with him and sees his face loses his mind over his (song and his charming) speech; a thousand souls are ransomed for his beauty; [they will give their souls for his eyes]', *yuluġluġ kiši* 'a man who is ransomed' (AK); **MT** *yul-* 'çekmek, kurtarmak' (UY), *yol-* (r: *yul-*) 'wyrywać, zrywać' (AHŠ), *yul-* 'vyrvatʹ' (AHŠF), *yul-* 'vyrvatʹ' (AIM), *yolġuč* (r: *yulġuč*) 'cınbız (tüy yolma aleti)' (AIMI), *yoluq* 'torn' (r: *yuluq*) (AKD), *yuluġ* 'ransom' (AKor), *yul-* 'vyrvatʹ', ? *yülü-* 'lišatʹ' (*payġāmbar aydï: bir mu'min taqï bir mu'minqa xasad qïlïb yigränmäk ošbu 'illät mu'min dīnini yülügän turur* 'prorok skazal: kogda odin verujuščij pozaviduet drugomu verujuščemu, togda nenavistʹ i ėta bolezn' lišat verujuščego ego very') (ANehF), *yulu-* 'vydiratʹ, vyščipyvatʹ': *bašïn yuludï* 'vyščipal volosy (bukv. golovu)', *yulut-* 'zastavitʹ, datʹ vydratʹ, vyščipatʹ' (ATef), *yul-* 'çekmek, kurtarmak' (AYC), *yul-* 'arracher' (AChag), *yoldur-* (r: *yuldur-*) 'kitépet, kiszaggat [to let tear, to pluck out]' (AChagBL), *yuluq* 'one whose hair has been torn out', *yul-* 'to pluck out hair or feathers' (AChagSC), *yul-*, *yol-* 'rupfen, zupfen, ausreissen, abreissen (z.B. Federn, Haare, Blätter, usw.)' (AChagZ), *yul-* 'ausreissen, fortnehmen, loskaufen, lösen, befreien' (LCCG, LCCI), *yulovčï* 'Erlöser', *yuluġna* 'Lösegeld', *yuluv* 'Lösegeld', *yulun-* 'erlöst werden', *yulunġanlar* 'die Erlösten' (LCCG), *yulı-* 'tıraş et-' (AAH), *yūl-* natafa 'ausreißen, auszupfen, ausrupfen', *yūlqā-* 'ausreißen, auszupfen, ausrupfen' (ATuhA), *i̯ul-* 'raser' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śăl-* 'dergatʹ, vydergivatʹ, vyryvatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ, stiskivatʹ, krepko hvatatʹ, vcepljatʹsja, (razg.) bitʹ, lupitʹ, kolotitʹ', *śuxaran śălsa il-* 'shvatitʹ kogo-l. za šivorot', *śălăn-* 'vydergivatʹsja, vyryvatʹsja, vyščipyvatʹsja' (Chuv), *śăl-* (*śŏl-*) 'dergatʹ, terebitʹ, ščipatʹ, polotʹ, zahvatyvatʹ, bitʹ, dutʹ' (ChuvA), *śăl-* 'kitépni, kihúzni (pl. füvet, lent); ausrupfen, auszupfen (z.B. Gras, Flachs)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yolï-* 'britʹ' [a contaminated form] (Tat), *yolo-* 'oblezatʹ, vypadatʹ (o šersti, volosah), (peren.) gnitʹ zaživo (o ranah)' (Bashk), *yol-*, *yöl-* 'yolku; vyryvatʹ', *yöl-* 'jirne ülännän tazartu; očiščatʹ zemlju ot travy; yolu; spasatʹ' (SibTat), *ǰul-* 'vyryvatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ, obščipyvatʹ', *bašïn ǰulup al-* 'snjatʹ golovu', *ǰulū* 'vydergivanie, vyščipyvanie' (Kirg), *ǰŭl-* 'to pull (ears etc.), pull out (teeth etc.), to pluck, to pick (fruit, flowers etc.), to weed' (Kaz), *ǰŭl-* 'rvatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ', *ǰŭlmala-* 'vydergivatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ' (KazB), *ǰul-* 'rvatʹ, vyryvatʹ, sryvatʹ, vydergivatʹ, ščipatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ, oščipyvatʹ' (Kklp), *ǰul-* 'vydergivatʹ, sryvatʹ, vyryvatʹ, oščipyvatʹ', *džul-* 'vydergivatʹ, sryvatʹ, vyryvatʹ' (KklpB), ? *yulïk* 'rant (obuvi)' (Nog), *yulu-* 'vyryvatʹ, otnimatʹ' (KarH, KarC, KarT), *yulun-* 'vyryvatʹ *sebe čto-libo*' (KarH); ***SW*** *yol-* 'vydergivatʹ, vyščipyvatʹ, vyryvatʹ, rvatʹ, otryvatʹ, obryvatʹ, preryvatʹ, razryvatʹ, prekraščatʹ, (peren.) bratʹ *čto-l.* obmannym putem, uryvatʹ', *köküni yol-* 'vyryvatʹ s kornem, (peren.) likvidirovatʹ, uničtožatʹ', *yoluk* 'vydernutyj, vyščipannyj, vyrvannyj, otorvannyj, oborvannyj, mesto razryva, obryva', *yolum-yolum*

'razorvannyj na kuski', *yolguč* 'ščipcy (dlja udalenija volos)' (Tkm), *yol-* 'vydergivaťˊ, vyrvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ', *yolug* 'oščipannyj, obščipannyj' (Az), *yol-* 'to pluck, to pluck out by the root, to tear out, to strip bare, to despoil, to rob, (slang) to extract money out of someone at gambling', *yoluk* 'plucked, hairless' (Tt), *yol-* 'vyryvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, (argo) obiraťˊ, obobraťˊ dočista, obkradyvaťˊ', *yoluk* 'oščipannyj, lišennyj perˊev (volos)' (TtB), *yol-* 'rvaťˊ, vyryvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, poloťˊ' (Gag), *yol-*: *yün yol-* 'scheren' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yul-* 'vyščipyvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ, rvaťˊ, carapaťˊ, (peren.) vyryvaťˊ, vyhvatyvaťˊ (čto-l. u kogo-l.), (peren., neodobr.) využivaťˊ, vymanivaťˊ, vyžimaťˊ, vydiraťˊ', *yuluq* 'vyrvannyj, vydernutyj, oščipannyj, vyščipannyj', *yulġič* 'rvač, škurnik' (Uzb), *yul-*, *yɯl-* 'to pull up, to pull out' (TurkiJ), *yul-* 'to uproot, to pull out by the roots' (TurkiSh), *yul-* 'oščipyvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ' (TurkiL), *yul-* 'ausreissen, fortnehmen' (TurkiTR), *žul-* 'dergaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ, vyryvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, obščipyvaťˊ' (MUyg); ***NE*** *dˊul-* 'vyryvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ (šerstˊ, volosy, travu)', *dˊuluš* 'vydergivanie' (Alt), *yul-* 'ausreissen, fortnehmen' (AltR), *čul-* 'rvaťˊ, vyryvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, vydergivaťˊ (napr. šerstˊ, volosy, travu)', *čulïs* 'vydergivanie' (Khak), *čul-* 'rvaťˊ, (peren.) ugnetaťˊ, pritesnjaťˊ, poraboščaťˊ' (Tuv), *čul-* 'rvaťˊ, vyryvaťˊ, vyščipyvaťˊ, terebiťˊ (šerstˊ)', *čūl-* 'sryvaťˊsja, padaťˊ, oprokidyvaťˊsja, obrušivaťˊsja' (Tof); ***Y*** *suluy-* 'obdiraťˊ, snimaťˊ (koru s dereva), obluplivaťˊ *čto*, vystrogaťˊ (derevco)', *sül-* 'obdiraťˊ, otdiraťˊ, sdiraťˊ, snimaťˊ (kožu, škuru), razdiraťˊ, belovaťˊ (zverja), lišaťˊ (životnoe) koži (škury)', *sülüy-* = *sül-* (Y), *hül-* 'die Haut abziehen' (Dlg).

Mo *ǰulbu* 'to shed skin, to lose hair, to run away, escape' (L), *ǰulbuy* 'to be(come) thin or weak, to lose hair, for the hair to lie down (as when wet), to be short-wooled or sleek-wooled' (L).

E/T The possible T etymon for the H word *gyilkos* could be a der **ǰulkučï* (< **ǰul-Xk-gUčI*) with the meaning 'exterminator, murderer'. This reconstructed etymon may go back to a derived verbal base **yul*(*X*)*k-* 'to scrape off, to pluck out'. On the combined formant *-gUčI*, see Erdal (1991: 374). The verb **yul*(*X*)*k-*, which also has the form **yulk*(*X*)- in some sources, seems to be a secondary der. The der of this verb could be much better explained within the PT morphological framework. In his OT word formation, Erdal (1991: 645–649) listed the ders with -(*X*)*k-* in the OT corpus and marked them all (23 verbs) as being intr. Erdal's excellent effort, of course, is not devoid of mistakes. One of the more serious problems with his work is that he does not pay particular attention to the more problematic cases and leaves them aside as non-existent. The verbal forms **yulX-* and **yul*(*X*)*k-* cannot be regarded as unrelated. Erdal discusses the OT verb *yulk-*, but does not give any explanation for the interrelation between *yulX-* and *yul*(*X*)*k-*. One can assume two possibilities: (1) one can also find tr ders among those with dev verbal suffs with -(*X*)*k-*; (2) the verb **yul*(*X*)*k-* is the result of a PT der. In the view of Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1019–1020), however, PT **yol-* [!] 'to tear out, pick out, pluck', PMo **ǰul-* 'to pick,

pluck, to lose hair, be plucked' can be compared with both a reconstructed PTu item and a piece of OJpn data, and all of these forms go back to a PA stem **ńŏlo* (~ *-u-*). According to them, the T ders with the suff *-(X)k-* are lws fr Mo. The interrelation between the verbal bases mentioned and their ders is indeed complicated. They are thus listed under two headings: under heading **1** one can find the data for **yul(X)k-* and under heading **2** the items for the verb **yulX-*, which served as the base for **yul(X)k-*.

1 According to Clauson (1972: 924), the T verb **yul(X)k-* can be regarded as the emphatic form of the verb *yul-*, which is almost synonymous with *yulk-*. It may, however, be more correct if one presumes *yulk-* as a der fr PT **yulX-*, which was formed with the suff *-(X)k-*. ATuh has the instrument noun with the suff *-gUč*: *yūlquwūč* 'milqaṭ; Zange, Kneifzange, Pinzette'. This word may show that the secondary base **yulk(X)-*, which is known fr some contemporary T varieties (see e.g. Tat, Bashk, Kirg, KarT), could already have existed in MT.

The Tat verb *yolkï-* consists of two syllables, as can be shown by its caus form *yolkït-*, Tat *yolkučï* 'tot, kto vydergivaet (oščipyvaet, rvet), tot, kto oščipyvaet (napr. gusja), tot, kto terebit, terebiľ ščik' has the compound suff *-gUčI*. The bisyllabic structure of the Bashk verb seems very plausible; cf. the Tat and Kirg verbal forms. The meanings of the data in the KarC dial *yulkun-* 'rvaťť (volosy), strič ťsja' and *yulqmaq* 'strižka' can be explained by a confusion with representives of the PT verb **yülX-* 'to shave, to cut (hair)', which is mentioned under heading **2**. One can find the dial form *yunk-* 'ščipaťť, vyščipyvaťť' in Kar for similar reasons; this form perhaps evolved due to the influence of the verb KarT, KarH, KarC *yon-* 'strogaťť, tesaťť, obtesyvaťť, pridavaťť formu, rezaťť po derevu, kosiťť travu'. The KarH form *yulqïla-* '(peren., neodobr.) využivaťť, vymanivaťť, vyžimaťť, vydiraťť' is a secondary form. Doerfer (1985: 127) did not mention the T origin of Mo *ǰulga-* 'ausreißen', which was copied by some Tu dials (*ǰulgā-*).

2 The PT verbal base **yulX-* 'to pull, to tear, to exterminate, to scrape, to cut, to skin' and its representatives and ders require careful investigation because there could also be a homophonous verbal base **yul(X)-* in PT meaning 'to rescue, redeem' and these two etymologically unrelated, old verbal forms could have been confused during the history of the T lgs. The data show, however, that on some occasions in the muddling of these homophonous bases there could also be a third verbal base which, on the PT level, could be reconstructed as **yülX-* 'to shave, to cut (hair)' (on this latter form, see also PT **yül-* 'to shave, to tear off, scrape off' in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1522–1523).

On the OT and MT verbal forms, see *yul-* 'to pull out, pluck out' in Clauson (1972: 918); cf. also Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 215–216, under the entry *yol-* (!)). Clauson rightly pointed out that the OT verb *yul-* 'to pull out, to pluck out'

had to be separated fr the bisyllabic verbal forms *yulï-* 'to pillage' (Clauson 1972: 919). The OT verb *yul-* shows early semantic changes. However, despite Clauson's view, Berta did not think that the sense 'to take back, to redeem' goes back to the primary meaning 'to pull out, to pluck out' and, as shown above, he assumed that this denotation relates to the homophonous PT verb **yulX-* 'to take back, recover, to redeem' (on the T data, see Tenišev 2001: 346).

As regards the T etymology of the H word *gyilkos*, however, there is no need to solve this problem. If we suppose the possibility of two PT homophonous bases, the mix-up between them may already have occurred in OT. The basic meaning of the T etymon for the H word could be 'to pull, to tear' > 'to exterminate'. On the T data, see also Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 226) and Räsänen (1969: 210). On the historical data for the der with *-(O)k*, see Clauson (1972: 925). This dev nominal already occurs in RMOng. In the earlier edition of the source, Clauson (1957b: 184) misread this word as *yōluk*, but gave a correct reading later. The word is attested in MT *yuluk* 'torn' (AKD, misread with *-o-* in the first syllable by Golden), and see also some contemporary T data for this der; see e.g. Tt, Tkm, Uzb. The MT verb *yulka-* 'natafa; ausreißen, auszupfen, ausrupfen' (ATuh) may be a der with the compound suff *-(O)k+A-*. The pass-refl form of the verbal base has been documented since OT; see Clauson (1972: 931) and Erdal (1991: 631).

The MT and NT data for the verbal base are mono- and bisyllabic. This fact and the alternations in the phonetic shape of the verb (see e.g. the front-vocalic Y form and the forms with an open vowel in the Og branch), which could have occurred in relatively early times, cannot be separated fr the possible confusion between the verb **ywlX-*, **ywl-* under discussion here and the T verb **yülX-* 'to shave'. This possible muddle was mentioned earlier by Berta (1996: 475–476). Stachowski (1993a: 132) offered another solution for the problematic front-vocalic form in Y. He very carefully reconstructs PT **yül-* and adds: "Ursprünglich war der Vokal vielleicht velar […] und wurde erst unter dem Einfluß des **j-* palatal." In Dlg we find *hül-* 'die Haut abziehen'. The front-vocalic SibTat data very clearly show, however, that representatives of the historical bases **yulX-*, **yulX-* and **yülX-* have been mixed up. Still, the SibTat verb *yöl-* has the meanings 'spasat′' and also 'brit′sja'. Bashk has the bisyllabic verb form *yolo-* (cf. the caus form *yolot-*). It is very interesting, however, that the Bashk basic verb *yolo-* is intr. The Bashk–Rus dict correctly placed the meanings 'izbavljat′, spasat′, (peren.) izymat′' under an independent entry.

E/H According to Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/2: 1198), H *gyilok* 'murderous weapon, murder', which has the obsolete forms *dilk*, *dilok*, *gyolk*, *gyalk*, can be compared with Grm *Dolch*. Szarvas (1877: 504) was of the same opinion. Király (1897: 222) pointed out that the H word *gyilok* 'murderous weapon, murder' is a back-formation fr *gyilkos* 'murderer' that first appeared in 1807. This was accepted by Szily (1902–

1908/1: 113). Simonyi (1909: 296) wrote about the older phonetic shape of *gyilkos* 'murderer', which can, according to him, go back to **dolkos* > **dïlkos* ~ **dilkos*. Later, he (1914: 386) reiterated the opinion on the origin fr Grm *Dolch*. Gombocz (1920: 8) wrote that the question whether one can assume the *o* > *i* or *i* > *o* change in H *gyilkos*, *gyolkos*, *gyalkos* is very problematic, hence the Grm etymology of *gyilkos* seems to be uncertain. Bárczi (1941: 103) rejected the unconvincing Grm etymology (cf. *Dolch* 'dagger') of the H word. Tamás (1966: 379) considered this H word to be of unknown origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1130; 1993–1997/1: 497), H *gyilkos* has no acceptable etymology. It can, however, be considered as a possible copy fr T. In its first occurrences – in the 14th c. – one can find labial vowels in the first syllable, thus the word may go back directly to a T form **ǰulkučï* (< **ǰul-Xk-gUčI*). Among the early H data there is the hydronym *Gyulkuspatak* fr 1356, the second element of which is the H word *patak* 'rivulet' (a Sl lw). Fr the time after 1372, we have the noun *gyolkos* 'murderer', in which the vowels in the first and second syllables regularly go back to an older *-u-* (cf. Bárczi 1958b: 41–43), thus they are the results of the OH tendency of closed vowels changing to their opened counterparts. Both early items are documented with labial vowels and the first item with an illabial vowel in the first syllable is known fr the 15th c. (cf. Benkő 1993–1997/1: 497). Bárczi (1958b: 105) explained the OH phonetic change *o* – *o* > *ë* ~ *i* – *o* as vowel dissimilation. Ligeti (1986) did not mention the H word among the T lws in H.

The T copied form for H *gyilkos* could be **ǰulkučï* (< **ǰul-Xk-gUčI*) with the meaning 'exterminator, murderer'. On the T *+čï* ~ H *+s* [š] correspondence, see e.g. **orvos**, **táltos**. On further details see Berta (2003: 102–116).

According to Róna-Tas, the phonological and morphological side of the new etymology is acceptable, while the semantic change 'the one who plucks out' > 'extirpator' > 'murder, killer' is possible, but not beyond any doubt.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/2: 1198; Szarvas 1877: 504; Király 1897: 222; Szily 1902–1908/1: 113; Simonyi 1909: 296; Simonyi 1914: 386; Gombocz 1920: 8; Tolnai 1929: 211; Ramstedt 1935: 115–116; Bárczi 1941: 103; Clauson 1957b: 184; Bárczi 1958b: 41–43, 105; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 226; Egorov 1964: 206; Tamás 1966: 379; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1130; Räsänen 1969: 210; Clauson 1972: 918–919, 924–925, 931; Doerfer 1985: 127; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 215–216; Erdal 1991: 374, 631, 645–649; Stachowski 1993a: 132; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 497; Berta 1996: 475–476; Fedotov 1996/2: 92; Berta 2001b: 47–61; Tenišev 2001: 346; Berta 2003: 102–116; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1019–1020, 1522-1523.

GYIÓ, **gyivó** *dial* 'nut; walnut, *Ƒuglans*' see **dió**.

GYOM [d′om] 'weed' | c1456 *gomlaloÿ* [d′om-lālōi], 1664 *gyamot* [d′åm-ot] | *d′om* < **ǰom* ← WOT **ǰom* | EOT **yoŋ*, **yöŋ* 'weed, weedy grass, turf'.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *śum* 'sornjak, sornoe rastenie' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yõn* 'dern' (SibTatB), *yüŋ* 'dern' (SibTatB, SibTatJal), *cïm* 'dern' (SibTatT); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –;

NE *d′öŋ* ‘dern’ (Alt), *yoŋ* ‘der Rasen, das Rasenstück’ (AltQKR, AltTelR), *ńoŋ* ‘der Rasen’ (AltTKR), *d′oŋ* ‘plast, dern’ (AltQK), *d′oŋ* ‘plast zemli’ (AltTK); ***Y*** –.

E/T There is only one perfect correspondence to the H word in T and this is Chuv *śum* << **ǰom* (< **yoŋ*) ‘weed, weedy vegetation’. The other words have the meaning ‘turf, (grassy) layer of the earth’, or according to Radloff, ‘der Rasen, das Rasenstück’ (see Radloff 1893–1911/3: 414), ‘die Pflugfurche, der beim Pflügen aufgeworfene Rasen’ (see Radloff 1893–1911/3: 447). There can be no doubt that the Sib words and the Chuv word belong together. SibTat *cïm* fr Tobolsk, which may be a lw fr an earlier MChuv, VBulg *čum*, is interesting. The *-m* in place of PT *-ŋ* is regular (see Ašmarin 1898: 90; Räsänen 1920: 41–42; for more details, see Róna-Tas 1970: 955–956). The chronology of the *ŋ* > *m* change is different in different words. Some words reflect the chain *ŋ* > *n* > *m* while in others we find an early *ŋ* > *m* change. In the first case, the Cher dials preserved the *-n* phase: *siŋäk* ‘mosquito’ > Chuv **šïna* (⟶ Cher *šăna*) > Chuv *šăma* (see **szúnyog**). In some Chuv dials, we find the *-n-* like here in the form *šăna*. In other cases the *ŋ* > *m* change is early and this is also reflected in the Cher lws; see *köŋül* ‘heart’ > Chuv **kumïl* (⟶ Cher *kumïl*, *kïmïl*). Also, see Mo *kömüldürge* ‘breast strap of the harness’. H *gyom* (⟶ **ǰom* > Chuv *śum*) represents this early change. Mo *ǰim* ‘turf, sward, sod cut out in the shape of bricks, to make walls’ (L), *ǰim* ‘dern vyrezannyj; morceau de gazon découpé’ (LMoKow), *ǰim* ‘gazraas uxadž avsan zülgen xörs’ (KhalCevel), *ǰim* ‘gyeptégla, [same as L]’ (KhalKara) with which our word is compared by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1005), is interesting because of the semantical, but problematic, because its phonological part.

E/H The earliest portion of agricultural terminology is of T origin (see § 7.2) and *gyom* also belongs here.

The word was first connected with the T word by Munkácsi (1884a: 261), which was accepted by all H authorities, though, according to Ligeti (1986: 21, 35), the final *-m* does not have an impeccable explanation in Chuv. Other T etymologies of the H word are not acceptable (cf. **yam* ‘piece of dust’ in Doerfer 1973: 202).

◆ Munkácsi 1884a: 261; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 414, 447; Ašmarin 1898: 90; Gombocz 1907a: 214; Gombocz 1912b: 80; Räsänen 1920: 41–42, 196; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1132; Róna-Tas 1970: 955–956; Doerfer 1973: 202–203; Ligeti 1986: 21, 35; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 497–498; Róna-Tas 1997a: 98; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1005.

GYOMOR [d′omor] ‘stomach’ | 1252 ? GN *Balhagumur* [bålhå-d′umur], 1358 ? PN *gyumrus* [d′umr-uš], c1405 *gwmor* [d′umor] | *d′omor* < *d′umur* < **ǰumur* ⟵ WOT **ǰumur* | EOT *yumur* ‘the bowels, stomach’ < *yum-* ‘to be round’ {with suff *-mUr*}.

OT *yumburu* ‘en boule, comprimant en boule’ (UHamTouHou), *yumur* ‘caecum (animal)’ (AK), *yumgak* ‘Pille’ (cf. *yumgakla-* ‘zu Pille formen’) (B 47:4); **MT** *yum-* ‘yummak’ (UY), *yumruq* ‘kulak’ (AHŠF), *yum-* ‘zakryvat′’ (ANehF), *yumru* ‘arrondi, pelotonné’ (AChag), *yumru* ‘Rund, kugelig’ (AChagŠS), *yumur* ‘hayvan

yuvarlandığı yer' (AAH), *yumruqla-* 'yumruklamak' (AHou), *yumrukla-* 'yumruklamak' (AKav), *yumur* 'syčug' (ATuh); **NT *Chuv*** *śămxa* 'klubok, motok, mjač' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yomgak* 'klubok', *yomrï* 'kruglyj, šaroobraznyj, itog, rezjume (cf. Mo *tobči*)', *yomarlam*, *yomarlak* 'komok, klubok' (Tat), *yomor*, *yomoro* 'gömbölyű; rund' (TatB), *yomro* 'kruglyj', *yomgak* 'klubok', *yomarlak*, *yomarlam* 'komok, klubok' (Bashk), *yomar* 'klubok' (SibTat), *ǰumur* 'syčug (odin iz otdelov želudka žvačnyh životnyh)' (Kirg), *ǰumïr* 'second stomach of cattle (reticulum), round, smooth, well-fed, satisfied (of cattle)', *ǰumïršaq* 'second stomach of cattle (reticulum)' (Kaz), *ǰumuršaq* 'vtoroj želudok žvačnyh' (KazR), *ǰumïr* 'kruglyj, želudok (u žvačnyh životnyh)' (Kklp), *yumruk* 'kulak' (CrTat), *yumur* 'rund' (CrTatR), *yumuruk*, *yumurux* 'kulak' (Kar), *yumuruk* 'kulak' (Kum); ***SW*** *yumrï* 'okruglaja vypuklosť (šiška, bugorok i.t.p.)' (Tkm), *yumru* 'kruglyj, šarovidnyj, šaroobraznyj, bot. kluben′' (Az), *yumru* 'round, globular, round thing, tumor, boli, bot. tubercle' (Tt), *yumruk*, *yumuruk* 'kulak' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ǰumur* 'stomach (of humans and animals) (UzbAfg, Ligeti 1937: 222), *žumur* 'želvak, narost′' (MUyg), *yumuř* 'something round' (MUygTY); ***NE*** *čumur* 'syčug (časť želudka žvačnyh životnyh)' (Tuv), *ńumur* 'anat. syčug (časť želudka)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T It is uncertain whether we have two independent verbal bases here, *yum-*[1] 'to shut, to clench (the fist)', *yum-*[2] 'to be(come) round', as Clauson (1972: 934) supposes, or perhaps even a third, **yum-*[3] 'to assemble'. The common basic ideas may be 'to press, to clench, to form something globular (e.g. a ball) with the hands (tr)' and 'to become round, to be pressed round, to be pressed together, round, to be convoked, convened, assembled (intr)', resp. This suggests a verbal base with no or a zero formative to distinguish tr and intr meanings. According to Erdal (1991: 322), *yum-*[2] carries the sense 'to gather, to come together, assemble'. The numerous and different ders show at least a mix of the two ideas. Earlier, it was supposed that *yumur* has a suff **-r* (as early as Munkácsi 1909: 348). Erdal is right when he supposes (1991: 390) that there is a suff *-mUr* in the case of *yumur* and what we have is a **yum-mur* > *yumur* simplification (see also Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 33–34, 249–250 with a less clear explanation on the word family). The fact that the very special meaning 'bowels or caecum of an animal' is present in many branches of the T lgs (not only in Kip ones, as claimed by Ligeti), shows that this is an early development in the nomadic terminology of the T people and that it originally denoted 'the globular part of the body'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 962) compare this word with Mo *im*, *nim* 'testicles', which, as they themselves remark, problematic. Tof *ń-* is secondary and late.

E/H The word has been tied to the T word by Ligeti (1937: 221–227). The H word has the meaning 'stomach, bowels' for humans as well as animals. The change 'name of an animal body part' → 'name of a human body part' is frequent in all lgs and in our material; see **boka**, **kar**, **köldök** and **térd**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Budenz 1873: 118; Munkácsi 1909: 347–348; Kannisto 1925: 142; Ligeti 1937: 221–227; Bailey 1944: 294; Brockelmann 1954: 133/79; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1132; Clauson 1972: 934, 937; Clauson 1973: 41; Halasi Kun 1975: 156, 160–161; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 36–42; Ligeti 1986: 21, 313–314; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 33–34, 249–250; Erdal 1991: 322, 390; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 498; Róna-Tas 1997a: 11, 98; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 962.

GYÓNIK [d′ōnik] ‘to confess (sins)’ | p1372/c1448 *meg gyouonak* [meg d′ovon-āk], *gÿwuontatoya* [d′uvon-tåtōyå], p1416/1466 *gonto* [d′ōn-ta], dial *gyohon-* [d′ohon], *gyovon-* [d′ovon], *gyuhon-* [d′uhon], *gyuvon-* [d′uvon-] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 755) | *d′ōn-*, *d′ovon-* < **d′un-*, **d′uvun-* < **ǰūn-*, **ǰuvun-* ← WOT **ǰūn-*, **ǰuvun-* ‘to make oneself clean’ < ‘to wash oneself’ | EOT *yun-*, **yūn-*, **yuvun-* ‘to wash oneself’.

OT *yun-* ‘sich waschen’ (M 21r21), *yun-*: *arïġ yunup artïnïp* ‘sich rein waschen und säubern’ (UU II 42:31–32), *yun-* ‘to perform ritual ablutions’ Og and Kip *ǰun-* (AK), *yun-* ‘sich waschen’: *yungul burnač* ‘Waschkanne’ (BC 8); **MT** *yu-* ‘yıkamak’ (UY), *yun-* ‘yıkanmak’ (AHMA), *yun-* ‘myt′sja’ (AHŠF), *yun-* ‘myt′sja’ (AIM), *yunmïš* ‘washed’ (AKD), *yun-* ‘to wash oneself’ (AKor), *yu-* ‘myt′’ (AM), *yun-* ‘myt′sja’, *yunuġ* ‘myt′e, omovenie’ (ANehF), *yu-* ‘to wash’ (ARbg), *yuw-* ‘myt′’ (ATef), *yun-* ‘sculpter, tailler, raboter’ (AChag), *yu-* ‘waschen, reinigen’ (AChagŠS), *yu-*, *yuv-*, ‘waschen, abwaschen’ (LCCG), *yudï* ‘yumak fiilinden mazi, yıkadı’ (AAH), *yun-* ‘yıkanmak’ (AAHI), *yun-* ‘yıkanmak’ (AHou), *yun-* ‘yıkanmak’ (AKav), *yun-* ‘yıkanmak’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śăvăn-* ‘strad. otmyvat′sja, otčiščat′sja, vozvr. myt′sja, kapat′sja, peren. imet′ v izobilii, kupat′sja v čem-l.’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *yuïn-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja, umyt′sja’ (Tat), *yïwïn-* ‘umyvat′sja, myt′sja, kupat′sja’ (Bashk), *ǰūn-* ‘umyvat′sja’ (Kirg), *ǰuwïn-* ‘to wash oneself’ (Kaz), *ǰuwïn-* ‘umyvat′sja, myt′sja’ (Kklp), *yuvïn-* ‘umyvat′sja, kupat′sja, myt′sja’ (Nog), *yuvun-* ‘myt′sja’ (CrTat), *yuvun-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja, kupat′sja, uspokaivat′sja, utešat′sja’ (Kar), *ǰuvun-* ‘umyvat′sja’ (Kum), *ǰuwun-* ‘vozvr. kupat′sja, myt′sja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yuvun-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja’ (Tkm), *yuyun-* ‘myt′sja, obmyt′sja, kupat′sja’ (Az), *yun-* ‘to wash oneself’ (Tt), *yun-* ‘yıkamak’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** *yṷ̄-*, *yṷ̄^{u}-* ‘waschen’ (Kh), *yū-* ‘waschen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yuvin-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja’ (Uzb), *žuyun-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *d′ūn-*, *d′un-* ‘myt′, kupat′, stirat′’ (Alt), *čūn-* ‘umyvat′sja, myt′sja’ (Khak), *yun-* ‘to wash’ (FY), *čun-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja’ (Tuv), *čur-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sūyun-* ‘myt′sja, umyvat′sja, myt′ dlja sebja’ (Y), *hūy-* ‘abwaschen, spülen’ (Dlg).

E/T The T word *yun-* is a refl der of *yū-* ‘to wash’. The T word *yū-* ‘to wash’ seems to have had a long vowel, but it is possible that its earlier form was either **yuv-* (see Tkm) or **yug-* (see Tuv) and the length of the basic vowel was secondary. Among the refl forms we find both *yūn-* > *yun-* and *yuvun-* (also *yuyun-* (Az)); see above. As regards the H word, it is possible to depart fr a **ǰūn-* or a **ǰuvun-*; both would have resulted in a H *gyón-*. The early items and the dial data hint at the likelihood that both forms were present. The attempt of Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1031)

to connect the T word with Mo *yegü-* 'to transfer by pouring, transfuse, change from one container to another, to change' cf. *yegüdkel* 'change, instability etc.' is both because of semantical and phonetical reasons unacceptable.

E/H Németh (1942b: 289) tied the H word to the refl form of the T verb *yoŋa-* 'to make false accusations', **yoŋan-* 'to accuse, blame oneself'; this was accepted by others (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1132). Mándoky (1984: 351–356) suggested a new etymology fr T **yuvun-* 'to wash oneself' with the semantic change 'to wash oneself' > 'to cleanse oneself' > 'to purge oneself of crimes, sins, faults' > 'to confess sins in the sense of the Catholic Church'. This was also accepted by Palló (though published earlier, 1982: 89). Ligeti (1986: 271) did not take part in the debate. Mándoky collected examples fr T sources where **yū-* was used in the metaphorical sense of the purification of sins. Though he has no example of the use with the refl form **yūn-* or **yuwun-* in the sense of 'to purify him/herself from sins', his etymology may be the right one. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 498) accepted Mándoky's argumentation and rejected Németh's suggestion.

The word entered the H *-ik-* conjugation. The H word appears as a religious term in the earliest sources as of the 14th c.

◆ Németh 1942b: 289; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1132; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 755; Palló 1982: 89–90; Mándoky 1984: 351–356; Ligeti 1986: 271, 320; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 498; Róna-Tas 1994: 107; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1031.

GYOPÁR [d'opār] 'cudweed, *Gnaphalium*; Edelweiss' | 1222 ? GN *Gyapar* [d'åpār], 1346 GN *Gyparthetew* [d'upār-teteü], c1395 *gyopar* [d'opār] | *d'opār* < **ǰupar* < **ǰïpar* ← WOT **ǰïpar* | EOT *yïpar* 'fragrance, musk'.

OT *yïpar* 'musk, scent' (RBKS 11), *yïpar* 'musc, parfume' (UHamTouHou), *yïpar yïdlïgïm* 'mein Moschusduftender' (UM 354r14–15), *yïd yïpar* 'Moschus' (UTTI 146), *yïd yïpar xu-a čečeg* 'wohlriehende Blumen' (UUI 30:10), *yïd* 'fragrance', *yïpār* 'musk' (AK); **MT** *yïpar* 'misk' (AHMA), *yïpar* 'muskus' (AHŠF), *yïpar* 'muskus' (AIM), *yïpar* 'mis(k)' (AIMI), *yïpar* 'musk' (AKD), *yïpar* 'muskus' (ANehF), *yïbar* 'vessie de musc' (AChag), *yipar* 'Moschusbeutel' (AChagŠS), *ïpar* 'Moschus' (LCCG), *ipar* 'misk' (AAH), *ïbar*, *ïpar* 'musc' (ABul 55, 56, 63), *yïpar* 'misk' (AHou); **NT *Chuv*** *yăpar* 'vyhuhol'' (Chuv), *yïpar* 'vyhuhol'' (ChuvA ← Tat); ***NW*** *ǰofar* 'vyhuhol'' (Tat), *yofar* 'muskus' (Bashk), *yïpar* 'schön, vortrefflich, der Moschus' (SibTatTR), *ǰofar üläп* 'dymjanka lekarstvennaja, *Fumaria officinalis*' (TatD1), *ǰïpar* 'blagovonie, blagouhanie, blagovonnyj, blagouhajuščij' (Kirg), *ǰupar* 'musk' (Kaz), *ǰupar* 'blagovonie, blagouhanie' (Kklp); ***SW*** *ïpar* '*arch.* musk' (Tt), *yïpar* 'güzel koku', *ipar* 'misk, anber, dikenli bir otun sarımtırak bir çiçeğidir ki dağların kar düşmiyen yerlerinde yetişir ve kuruduğu zaman uzun müddet kokusunu kaybetmez' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ipår* 'muskus' (Uzb), *ǰïpar* 'kind of flower' (UzbAfg, Ligeti 1969a: 144), *ipar* 'muskus' (TurkiJ), *yïpar* 'schön, vortrefflich' (TurkiTR), *yid* 'smell' (MUygTY), *yu'ar*,

yuxař ‘muskus’ (Sal), *šuvar* ‘muskus’, *šïvar* ‘nazvanija kago-to pahnušego vešestva (kit. *šanče*)’ (YUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *sïbar*, *sïmar* ‘von′, smrad, skoplenie vonjučih gazov, zapah’ (Y).

Mo *ǰiġar* > *ǰaġar* ‘musk, moschus’ (L), MMo *ǰār* id. (AKD).

E/T The T word, which also occurs in the binom *yïd yïpar*, originally meant ‘smell, scent, odour’, hence ‘musk, musk-bearing animal etc.’ and also ‘desman (*Desmana moschata*, Rus *vyhuhol′*)’ in the Volga lgs. In a few T lgs, it became the name of fragrant flowers (Tat, Uzb, TtD). Though it is certain that *yïd* and *yïpar* belong together, it is unclear in what manner (? *yïd* > **yïdpar* > ? *yïpar* or *yï-d* and ? *yï-par*). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1537) the T and Mo word are genetically related and go back to a PA form **žip‘o*. This gives no answer to the morphological problems and is phonetically unclear.

E/H At present, the H word has the meaning ‘cudweed, *Gnaphalium sp.*’, which has no smell. In a detailed paper, Ligeti (1969a: 136–144) has shown, however, that the H word earlier denoted various flowers with a strong scent, and only took on its present meaning in a botanical treatise by Diószegi and Fazekas (on Diószegi–Fazekas (1807), see Ligeti (1969a: 143)). Fr the scholarly literature, the identification spread to the spoken lg. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 498).

◆ Diószegi–Fazekas 1807; Munkácsi 1916–1917: 234–237; Eren 1943b: 359; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1132–1133; Ligeti 1969a: 136–144; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 139–148; Ligeti 1986: 21; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 498; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1537.

GYÖNGY [d′önd′] ‘pearl’ | 1164 GN *gungus* [d′ünd′-üš], p1372/c1448 *gyewngnek* [d′önd′-nek] | *d′önd′* < **ǰünǰ* < **ǰünǰü* < **ǰinǰü* ← WOT **ǰinǰü* | EOT *yinčü* ← Ch.

OT *yinčü*: *Yinčü Ögüz* ‘the Pearl River (Jaxartes)’ (RMKT S:3, E:39, RMBilg N:3), *yenčü* <YYNCW> ‘perle’ (UHamTouHou), *yinčü* ‘pearl’ (U, Clauson 1972: 945), *yinčü* (Oġuz, Qifčaq *ǰinčü*) ‘pearl’ (AK), *yinčü* (written as *yińčü*) ‘Perle’ (BI 17); **MT** *ünčü* (? *yinčü*) ‘Perle’ (UOg), *yinčü* ‘pearl’ (ABF), *inči* ‘pearl’ (AGul), *yinčü* ‘inci’ (AHMA), *yinǰü* ‘žemčužina’ (AHŠF), *inǰü*, *yinǰü*, *yünǰi*, *yünǰü* ‘žemčug’ (AHŠ 456), *yinǰü* ‘inci’ (AIMI), *yinčü* ‘pearl’ (AKD 195A10), *yinčü* ‘pearls’ (AKD 205C11), *inǰü* ‘žemčug’ (AM), *yinǰü* ‘žemčužina’ (ANehF), *yinǰü* ‘žemčug’ (ATef), *inǰü* ‘perle, bien fonds, esclave, esclave faisant partie du domaine particulier du prince, mercenaire, insigne en forme de perle’ (AChag), *inčü* ‘Perle’ (LCCG), *inčü* ‘inci, yinçü’ (AAH), *yänžü* ‘perle, perles’ (ABul), *inǰi* ‘inci, incü’ (AKav); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ĕnčĕ* ‘žemčug, perlamutr’ (Chuv ← Tat); ***NW*** *enǰe* ‘žemčug, razg. ožerel′e’ (Tat), *ïnyï* ‘prjam., peren. žemčug’ (Bashk), *hinǰi* ‘žemčug’ (Kklp), *ïnǰï* ‘žemčug, perl’ (Nog), *in′ǰi* ‘žemčužina, žemčug’ (KarT), *indzi* ‘žemčužina, žemčug’ (KarH), *inǰi* ‘žemčužina, žemčug’ (KarC), *inži* ‘žemčug’ (Kum), *inǰi* ‘biser, žemčug’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *hünǰi* ‘biser’ (Tkm), *inǰi* ‘žemčug, žemčužina, žemčužnyj’ (Az), *inǰi* ‘pearl’ (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *inǰü* ‘žemčug, perl’ (Uzb),

yünǰü, *ünǰä*, *ünčä*, *inǰü* ‘žemčug’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *čiŋči* ‘žemčug’ (AltL), *ninǰĭ* ‘žemčug, biser’ (Khak), *nenži* ‘biser’ (KhakQchR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰinǰüü* ‘beads’ (L).

E/T As Ligeti (1946: 1–17) pointed out, the T (and Mo) words are of Ch origin. The word for ‘bead’ is 珠 *zhu* in Ch and 眞珠 *zhen zhu* is the word for ‘(genuine) pearl’ (Ch *zhen* ‘real, true’). In MCh, both words had a *č-* (*tš-*) initial, which raised some phonetic doubts about the Ch etymology of the T word. Ligeti (1986: 234) demonstrated that the Ch name for the Yaxartes was *Zhen zhu ho* ‘Pearl River’ and this same river was called *Yinčü ögüz* in the Köl tegin and Bilge kagan inscriptions. The word occurred in several T names: *Yinčü Tung irkin*, a T ambassador in 627 in the Ch court; *Yinčü bilge kagan*, a T ruler (628–644); and *Yinčü yabgu kagan*, a ruler of the Western Turks (655–656). In all cases, the first element of the name was transcribed (or identified) by the Ch as *zhen zhu*. Since this is a case of a typical wandering word, we may expect some phonetic discrepancies. Even the semantic change ‘genuine pearl’ > ‘any type of bead’ is normal. We can exclude the possibility of a T origin of the Ch word, even if we cannot rule out that after it spread in Central Asia it was re-borrowed by Ch living in the West of China. According to H. Franke (1975: 154), there was a man in the early 12th c. named Yin-zhu-go (also Yin-zhu-ko) (d. 1140), who was a member of the Ju imperial clan, and the Ch source explains the meaning of his name as ‘pearl’. The Ju word for ‘pearl’ was *niču*, later also *ninǰuhe* (see the Khak item which may be independent of the Ju–Man one), and *ničuhe* in Man (Kane 1989: 1067), in all cases translated as Ch *zhen zhu*. All data show that this is not a matter of a regular representation of a PT word, but the transcription of the stages of a wandering cultural term.

Fr a Turcological point of view, it is very interesting to see that there was an area in OT times in which only the initial *y-* and an other area where only the initial *ǰ-* was possible, as correctly described by Kashgari. A foreign word with an initial *ǰ-* had been substituted by *y-* in the *y*-dials. Further, in cases where the *y-* initial was clearly secondary, the initial cluster *yi-* may have changed into *i-*. A secondary *h-* crops up sporadically; see Kklp, Tkm.

The word is an early lw in Rus, first noted in 1161 in the form *žьnčugъ* and later *žemčug* (see Dobrodomov 1966: 57–64; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 46), which also shows an initial *ǰ-* in WOT. The final *-g* may be a Rus device to include the word in the system of finals in ORus.

E/H The word was connected with the T word by Vámbéry (1870: 147) and this was accepted by Gombocz (1907a: 214; 1912b: 80). The origin of the word was elucidated by Ligeti (1946: 1–17) and accepted by all H authorities. The H word, recorded since the 12th c., lost the final *-ü*, which is a regular H development.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 147; Heyd 1885–1886/2: 648–651; Gombocz 1907a: 214; Gombocz 1912b: 80; Bárczi 1941: 104; Ligeti 1946: 1–17; Shafer 1963: 242–245; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 46; Dobrodomov 1966: 57–64; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1134–1135; Clauson 1972: 944–945; Franke 1975: 154; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 48–64; Drüll 1980: 67; Ligeti 1986: 21, 234–235, 302; Kane 1989: 1067; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 499.

GYÖTÖR [d′ötör] 'to torture, to make suffer' | p1372/c1448 *gewtriuala* [d′ötr-i vålå], *gyewtewrnewd* [d′ötör-nöd] | *d′ötör-* < **jütür-* < **jitür-* ← WOT **ǰitür-* < **ǰirt*(*t*)*ür-* | EOT **yïrttur-* 'to cause to tear, to make somebody tear, cut into pieces' < *yïrt-* 'to tear, to pull into pieces' {with suff *-tUr-*} < *yïr-* 'to dig through, to cut through' {with suff -(*X*)*t-*}.

OT *yïrt-* 'reissen' (M 21:16), *yïrt-* 'to tear (garment)', *yïrtïl-* 'to be torn', *yïrtïš-* 'to help somebody tear', *yïrtïn-* 'to pretend to tear (his garment)' (AK); **MT** *yïrt-* 'razryvat′, carapat′' (AHŠF), *yïrt-* 'razorvat′' (AIM), *yïrt-* 'razryvat′, carapat′' (ANehF), *yïrtïl-* 'rvat′sja, dyrjavit′sja' (ATef), *yïrt-* bugünkü manasında (AAH), *yïrt-*, *yert-*, *yïrtïr-* 'déchirer' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *śĕt-* 'iznašivat′, rvat′, prodivat′, razryvat′, ryt′, podnimat′ celinu, nov′, s.-h. luščit′', *śĕtter-* 'ponud. ot *śĕt-*' (Chuv), *śïrt-* 'kusat′, kusat′, kusat′sja, zakusyvat′, perekusit′ razg., prilipat′, krepko prikleivat′sja, pročno pristavat′, shvatyvat′', *śïrttar-* 'ponud. ot *śïrt-*' (Chuv, ChuvA); ***NW*** *yer-* 'proryvat′, prorvat′ (napr. plotinu), ryt′, proryvat′, prokopat′, rastalkivat′, rastolkat′ (gruppu ljudej), razevat′, razinut′ (rot)', *yert-* 'rvat′, izorvat′, razorvat′, porvat′, drat′, razodrat′', *yerttïr-* 'ponud. ot *yert-*' (Tat), *yïr-* 'prorit′, prokapyvat′, proryvat′, probyvat′sja, prokladyvat′ dorogu, iz″edat′, iztačivat′ (ostavljaja borozdy, dyrki)', *yïrt-* 'rvat′, porvat′, razorvat′', *yïrttïr-* 'ponud. ot *yïrtï-*' (Bashk), *ǰïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, terzat′' (Kirg), *ǰïrt-* 'to tear, tear to pieces, to pull out' (Kaz), *ǰïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′' (Kklp), *yïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, razdyrat′' (Nog), *yïrt-* 'razryvat′, rvat′, razdirat′, trepat′ (knigu)' (CrTat), *yïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, razdirat′' (Kar), *yïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, razdirat′' (Kum), *ǰïrt-* 'rvat′ čto, tž. peren., dergat′, ščipat′, vyščipyvat′ čto, iznosit′ čto, peren. izvodit′, gryzt′ kogo' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, rascarapat′, pocarapat′' (Tkm), *yïrt-* 'iznosit′, trepat′, rvat′, razryvat′, razdirat′' (Az), *yırt-* 'to tear, to rend, to split, to burst, to tear to pieces, to break in (a horse), to assault, violate (a person)', *yırttır-* 'the causative of *yırt-*' (Tt), *yïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, otryvat′' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yirt-* 'spalten' (KhT); ***SE*** *yirt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, razdirat′' (Uzb), *yirt-*, *žirt-*, *žit-* 'rvat′, razryvat′, razdirat′' (TurkiJ), *yirt-* 'to rip, to tear' (MUygE); ***NE*** *d′ïrt-* 'rvat′, razdirat′, razryvat′' (Alt), *čïrt-* 'rvat′, razryvat′ čto-l., bit′, seč′ kogo-l. (pletkoj, prutom)' (Khak); ***Y*** ? *sirit-* 'vstrečeno tol′ko v forme gerundium na ä: *sättä uon sirinän siritä sińan oŋorbut tünnüktə̄x* 's oknami, probitymi v semidesjati mestah' (Y).

E/T The basic verb *yïr-* has the meaning 'to cut through'. It can hardly be separated fr EOT *yer-* 'to split (tr)' and fr the OT verb *yar-* 'to split, to cleave'. *ba-* and **bo-* have the same type of vocalic symbolism (see **báj**, **bog**, **boglya**, **bojt**) and this is familiar fr other lgs as well. More open vocalic forms denote a deeper, stronger

action, while more closed vocalic forms denote a lighter, more gentle, weaker form of the same action. The verb *yar-* denotes, e.g., the action 'to split a rock, wood'; *yïr-* has the meaning 'to dig through, to cut a dam, to open (one's mouth)', and *yer-* means 'to split, to open gently', but also 'to divorce, to split up (of couples) etc.' See Kashgari's *Dīvān* at the item *yer-*: "The first (*yar-*) is a forceful splitting, this one (*yer-*) is a gentle splitting, and see the following proverb: *tapug tāš yerār tāš bāšïg yarār* 'service splits a stone, but a stone splits the head', this is coined about a servant who does his master a kindness or who helps him against his enemies". The verb *yer-* mostly occurs in later T lgs with the vowel *-i-*. Further, not all verbs are known to be formed with the caus suff *-(X)t-*. We find *yïrt-* 'to tear', which is dealt with both by Clauson (1972: 958) and Erdal (1991: 295, 687) as a simplex. The final *-rt-* cluster is possible in OT; see *adart-* 'to harm', *belgürt-* 'to make manifest', *agïrt-* 'to get (oneself) enclosed or let oneself get enclosed', *kïrt-mïš* 'shaved of', *ört-* 'to raise' (also *örit-*), all examples fr Erdal (1991: 760–796). The caus suff *-tUr-* was added to the verb *yïrt-*, this suff having taken on a fact function in many of the T lgs, and thus we have *yïrttur-* 'to cause somebody to tear, to let somebody tear, to make somebody split or tear', hence 'to cut somebody into pieces' (see Tt *yïrttïr-* above). Erdal has a long list of caus verbs with *-(X)t-*, which adopted the suff *-tUr-* (Erdal 1991: 827–830), such as *bitit-dür-* 'to have inscribed', *okït-dur-* 'to have somebody called', *ögirt-tür-*, *ögirtür-* 'to give joy', *yarat-tur-* 'to have something constructed' etc., and thus *yïrttur-*. The verb *yïrt-* had a front-vocalic variant, which may have converged with the developments of the verb *yer-*. Interestingly enough, Chuv has two verbs: *śĕt-* 'to tear, to wear out, plough up, to dig' (**śirt-* < **ǰirt-* < **yirt-* < *yïrt-*) and *śïrt-* 'to bite, catch with the teeth'. The second looks like a later lw fr another T lg. The front-vocalic form is also present in Tat *yert-* < **yirt-*. Front-vocalic forms in Turki and MUyg may be independent developments. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1538) compare the T word with Mo *ǰisü-* 'to cut lengthwise, cut into trips, slice' evidently reconstructing an earlier form **ǰirsü-*, based on Khal *ǰirge-* < **ǰirgi-* 'to cut into slices'. Morphologically unclear.

E/H The H word could be a copy of a T verb **ǰirttür-* < *yirttür-* with the loss of *-r-* fr the cluster *-rt-*, which may have occurred both in T (see Chuv *śĕt-*) or even in early H, where we have *gyötör-* and *gyötri* 'he makes him suffer', in which an *-r-* would be elided in any case (**györtri* > *gyötri*). The semantic side is also plausible: 'to cause somebody to tear, to cut somebody into pieces', both physically and later psychologically, was the semantic base fr which the meaning 'to torture, to make somebody suffer, maltreat somebody etc.' developed.

Earlier on, the word was connected with the following verb: *yittür-*, *yitür-* 'to lose, to cause to go astray' fr *yit-* 'to stray, to get lost'. However, as mentioned by Ligeti (1986: 204) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1136; 1993–1997/1: 500), the semantic side

is problematic. The proposed semantic change ‘to lose’ > ‘to cause to go astray’ > ‘to annihilate’ > ‘to kill, exterminate by torture’ > ‘to torture’ is improbable.

Nor is it likely that the H word must be tied to OT *yütür-* ‘to load, to have something loaded’ (later also *yüdtür-*, see Erdal 1991: 816). The overloading of an animal or a person may be the cause of suffering. Nevertheless, in this case we should have some hint either of the notion ‘to overload’ on the T side, or of ‘to load’ on the H side.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 603; Vámbéry 1914: 163–164; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1136; Clauson 1972: 958; Palló 1982: 91–92; Ligeti 1986: 204; Erdal 1991: 295, 687, 760–796, 816, 827–830; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 500; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1538.

GYŐZ [d′ȫz] ‘to conquer (somebody, something), triumph (over somebody, something), gain victory’, **meggyőz** ‘to convince (somebody)’ | p1372/c1448 *meg gyewztekuala* [meg d′ȫz-tēk vålå], *gÿezettnÿ* [d′ēz-ettni] ‘to persuade somebody’ | *d′ȫz-* < *d′ēz-* < **jeɣüz-* ← WOT **jäɣüz-* < **jäŋüz-* or *d′ȫz-* < *d′ēz-* < **jeɣez-* ← WOT **jeɣeδ-* | EOT **yäŋüz-* < *yäŋ-* ‘to conquer’ {with suff *-Xz-*} or *yegäd-* ‘to get better, to succeed, to make better, to improve’ < *yeg* ‘better’ {with suff +(*A*)*d-*}.

Of debated T origin.

1 *yäŋ-*: **OT** *yäŋ-* ‘to overcome’ (AK), *yeŋištürüp* (BL 30 ?); **MT** *yäŋ-* ‘to conquer, subdue’ (AGul), *yeŋ-* ‘yenmek, galip gelmek’ (AHMA), *yeŋ-* ‘to overcome, conquer, to be victorious’ (AKor), *yäŋil-*: *yängildi anlardïn soŋra oġullar qïzlar* ‘za nimi sledovali posledujuščie rody’ (ATef), *yeŋ-* ‘besiegen’ (LCCG); *yäŋilädi* ‘tecdit etti’, *yeŋin* ‘racıh, galip, kavi’ (AAH the latter misread as *yegin*), *i̯engil-*, *i̯ėnil-*, *enil-* ‘être vaincu’ (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *śĕn-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ, bratʹ verh, preodolevatʹ, prevozmogatʹ, spravljatʹsja s čem-l., krytʹ, pobivatʹ (v kartah)’, *śĕnter-* ‘pobeždatʹ, oderživatʹ pobedu, odolevatʹ’ (Chuv); *śĕn-* ‘besiegen, überwältigen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ǰiŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, pobeditʹ kogo-čto-libo, pereborotʹ, poborotʹ, odolevatʹ, odoletʹ, osilivatʹ, osilitʹ, peremogatʹ, perelomitʹ kogo-čto-l.’ (Tat), *yiŋ-* ‘besiegen’ (TatB), *yeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, osilivatʹ, odolevatʹ, prevozmogatʹ, perebaryvatʹ, pereobladatʹ’ (Bashk), *yeŋ-* ‘pobeditʹ’ (SibTat), *yiŋ-* ‘besiegen’ (SibTatBR), *ǰeŋ-* ‘pobeditʹ’ (Kirg), *ǰeŋ-* ‘to overcome, prevail, beat, defeat, win a victory’ (Kaz), *ǰeŋ-* ‘prjam. i peren. pobeždatʹ, pokorjatʹ, osilivatʹ, bratʹ verh nad kem-čem-l.’ (Kklp), *yeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ, osilivatʹ, poborotʹ’ (Nog), *yeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ’ (CrTat), *yėn´-* ‘pobeždatʹ’ (KarT), *yėn-* ‘pobeditʹ, odoletʹ, osilitʹ, vyigratʹ’ (KarT, KarH), *yėŋg-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ’ (KarC), *yeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ, osilivatʹ, unimatʹ’ (Kum), *ǰeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ kogo, bratʹ verh nad kem, peresilivatʹ kogo, slešivatʹsja, sklonjatʹsja, hmeletʹ, pʹjanetʹ’ (KrchBlk), *ǰeŋ-* ‘im Streite siegen, einen Prozess gewinnen’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *yeŋ-* ‘v razn. znač. pobeždatʹ, oderživatʹ pobedu’ (Tkm), *yenil-* ‘to be defeated, conquered’ (Az), *yen-* ‘to overcome, to conquer, to be victorious, to win (at a game)’ (Tt), *yen-* ‘pobeždatʹ’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *yäŋg-* ‘siegen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *yeŋ-* ‘pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ, osilivatʹ, poborotʹ, vozražatʹ, utverždatʹ obrat-

noe' (Uzb), *yäŋ-* 'besiegen, überwinden' (TurkiTR), *yäŋ-* 'pobeždatʹ, osilivatʹ, odolevatʹ, prevozmogatʹ, preodolevatʹ, peresilivatʹ' (MUyg); ***NE*** *dʹeŋ-* 'pobeždatʹ, odolevatʹ' (Alt), *yäŋ-* 'besiegen, überwinden' (AltR, AltTelR), *dʹen-* 'pobeždatʹ'(AltQK), *ńäŋ-* 'besiegen' (AltTKR), *čiŋ-* 'pobeždatʹ kogo-čto-l.' (Khak), *näŋ-*, *näg-* 'besiegen' (KhakShR), *yäŋ-* 'besiegen, überwinden' (ChulR); ***Y*** –.

2 *yeg*: **OT** *külmadım [?elig] törüg yegedi kazġanïm* 'I did not make… I strove to improve the [realm] and the (traditional) law' (RMBilg, transl mine, A. Róna-Tas), *[kül]i čor yeti yašïŋa yeg är[…]* 'Küli Čor, when he was over seven years old' (RMKöl), *yeg* 'better' (RMKT), *yeg* 'better' (RMTon), *yäg* 'horošee' (RY 24), *yiig* 'besser' (UHeilk II), *yig* 'gut', *utdung yigädting* 'Sieg davongetragen' (UU II), *utmïš yigädmiš* 'übertriffter' (UU III), see Erdal (1991: 490–491) with further examples as: *yigädmiš* 'siegreich', *yigädmäk utmaq bolzun* 'Sieg davonzutragen möge beschieden' (UM I), *yig* 'gut, trefflich' (UM II), *yigäd-* 'siegen' (UM III), *asra atïng yigädting* 'deinen niedrigen Namen hast du verbessert', *yigäd-*, *yägäd-* 'erhöhen, besser werden' (UTT I), *yigäd-* 'besiegen' (UTT IV), *yigäd-* 'übertreffen, besiegen' (UTT X), *yig* 'vorzüglich' (UPañcFrag), *yig* 'gut' (UigSün), *yigedmiş* 'en üstün' (UTekinKuan), *yegäd-* 'besiegen' (BT III), *yigäd-* 'siegen' (UManTürkTex), *yigäd-* 'überlegen sein, besiegen' (UUigTot), *yegäd-* 's'améliorer, devenir ou rendre meilleur ou supérieur' (UHamTouHou), *yēg* 'better' "It is only used in comparisons." (AK), *yiged-* 'increase' (AQB), *yeg* 'besser' (BB 5-6 and Index); **MT** *yig* 'iyi, daha iyi' (UY), *yeg*, *yig* 'lepszy, lepiej', *yigräk* 'lepiej' (AHŠ), *yegräk* 'better, best', *yeg* 'lučšij, prevoshodnyj' (ANehF), *yegräk* 'better', (ARbg), *yig* 'horošij, lučšij' (ATef), *yeg* 'gut, vorzüglich' (AChagZ), *yik* 'iyi' (AAH), *yeğrek* 'evla, daha âlâ, daha eyi' (AAHI), *yeg* 'horošij' (AmD), *yeğ*, *yiğ*, *yiy* 'daha iyi, üstün, efdal', *yeğrek*, *yeğirek*, *yiğirek*, *yiğrek* 'daha iyi, müreccah, efdal, elyak, üstün' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *yeg* 'lučšij, lučše' (Tkm), *yey*, *yek*, *yekin* 'horošij, horošo, lučšij' (AzD), *yäy* 'schön!, das ist besser!' (AzR), *yeğ*, *yeğrek* (arch) 'better, profitable' (Tt), *yeğ* 'daha iyi, daha güzel, müreccah', *yeğrek* 'güzel, hayırlı' (TtD), *yäg* 'gut, besser' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T–E/H The H word has been linked to two different T words. One is the verb **yäŋ-*, the other the nominal base *yeg*. The first is possible only if we suppose that the base was PT **yäŋ-* > EOT **yäŋ-* ~ WOT **ǰäŋ-* and the latter had a WOT variant **yäg-*. This took on a suff *-Xz-*. An *-ŋ-* > *-g-* phonetic change is possible, and we have H words which reflect this T change (see e.g. **dió**).

If we depart fr the verbal base *yäŋ-* and this had a variant *yäg-*, then it could have a der with *-(X)z-*. The dev caus suff *-(X)z-* is not a very frequent one (see Erdal 1991: 757–759). It can be found in the *-(X)z-* or *-(X)s-* form in some T lgs (see Räsänen 1957: 154–155; Sevortjan 1962: 517–518). Very interestingly, it occurs, among other verbs, with *ut-* 'to win' (also *üt-*, e.g. in Tt), as in *utuz-* 'to allow others to beat oneself, to lose'. We know that *ut-* formed a hend with *yäŋ-* (for all examples, see Erdal 1991:

490). If we suppose a PT **yägüz-* > **ǰägüz-* change, this could have resulted in a form *győz-* in H (< **ǰeû̯z-* < **ǰeɣüz-*).

The weakness of the hypothesis that departs fr *yäŋ-* is that *-ŋ* in the word was either retained or became *-n* (see Chuv), but is not *-g* anywhere. H would be the only source for the *ŋ* > *g* change in this word. Further, the suff *-(X)z-* is rare and we would expect an *-(X)r-* in Chuv, which is not present. There is a suff *+Vr-* in Chuv, but it is den: *puś* 'head' > *puśar-* 'to begin' (see Levitskaja 1976: 177–178).

Németh (1974: 273–275) wanted to overcome these difficulties and thus supposed a H suff *-z-* which was added to a verb of T origin *yäŋ-* > **yäg-* > **ǰäɣ-* → **ǰäû̯-*. He is unclear about the *-ŋ* > *-ɣ* change and left open the question that this may also have occurred in H. He wrote: "Wir haben also ein alttürkisches **yeŋ-* [*e* = *ɛ*] 'besiegen', daraus ein bulgarisch-türkisches **d′ž(′)eŋ-* [*e* = *ɛ*], ein altungarisches **d′eğ-*, **d′ew-*, **d′eü̯-* und aus dem letzteren haben wir mit dem Verbalsuffix *-z* das Zeitwort *győz*." (Németh 1974: 275). A FUgr *-ŋ* provided a *-v* or *-ø* in H; this change, however, is very early. The OUgr lgs already have a *-w* in place of *-ŋ* in most cases, but sometimes an *-ŋ* is retained, which may point to the fact that the OUgr change is parallel to, but independent of H. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 476) compared T *yeŋ-* with Mo *deyil(e)-* 'to conquer'. This would be possible only after T *ŋ* > *g* if *deyil-* < **degil-*.

The other possibility is to depart fr the nominal base *yeg*. We find the hend *ut-yegäd-* 'to overcome' (see above). The basic meaning of *yegäd-* is 'to be better than, to surpass someone, to succeed, improve' and this makes it likely that the word is a den verb with the den suff *+(A)d-* fr *yeg* 'better'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 478–479) compared T *yeg* with Mo **ǰaga*. Quoted is *ǰagabala* 'for certain' (L), but this and all other quotations go back to *ǰa* 'all right' (L), under emphasis *ǰā*, see *ǰa buy* 'most probably' (L).

In one place in Xuanzang (V6a7, see Erdal 1991: 490), there is an expression [*u*]*tdï yeŋädi*, which according to Erdal, must be a cross with *yeŋ-*, if not simply a matter of mistaking *yeŋädi* for *yegädi*. Palló (1982: 93–94) suggested that the T original for H *győz-* is this *yegäd-* based on the assumption that the suffixal *-d-* was either interdental fricative *-δ-* or already in its *-z-* phase, as in the originals for the words **búza** (*bugday*) and **túzok** (*togdak*). This is not very probable fr the chronological point of view, because in the case of **búza** and **túzok** the cluster *-gd-* first changed to *-ɣd-* and then *-ɣ-* influenced the *-d-* and became *-ɣδ-*, until *ɣ* finally disappeared. This means that the spontaneous *-d-* > *-δ-* > *-z-* change developed somewhat later. Palló supposed **ǰegäδ-* (according to her **ǰigeδ-*) > **ǰēz-* and, with a H labialisation, **ǰō̜z-*. In fact, the earliest item on the word may be read as **ǰēz-*; see p1372/c1448 *gÿeʒettnÿ*. On the H labialisation, see **gyűlik** and § 5.8.5, 5.8.7.

According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 500) the word is of unknown origin and the OT etymologies are "kaum wahrscheinlich".

Until we have more data to support one or the other possible etymology, we have to set the word aside among the other problematic and doubtful cases.

◆ Budenz 1867a: 410; Vámbéry 1870: 148; Budenz 1873: 118; Balassa 1894: 278; Szilasi 1894: 198; Németh 1928: 149; Moór 1949: 20; Juhász 1954: 159–160; Räsänen 1957: 154–155; Sevortjan 1962: 517–518; Róna-Tas 1967: 174; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1136; Németh 1974: 273–275; Levitskaja 1976: 177–178; Palló 1982: 93–94; Erdal 1991: 490–491, 757–759; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 500; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 476, 478–479.

GYÚL [dʹūl] ‘to catch fire, be kindled, to be ignited’ | c1470 *gÿwlad* [dʹūl-åd], 1508 *ġulanac* [dʹūl-ānåk] | *dʹūl-* < **ǰul-* ⟵ WOT **ǰul-* | EOT **yul-* || **gyújt** [dʹūyt] ‘to light, kindle (a fire)’ | p1372/c1448 *meg gÿoÿta* [meg dʹoyt-ā] | *dʹūyt-* < *dʹūl-* {with suff *-t-*} | cf. EOT **yultrï-* ‘to gleam’, *yultuz* ‘star’ < ? **yul-*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *yultuz* ‘étoile’ (UHamTouHou), *yaqtur-*: *ol anïg̈ äwiŋä ōt yaqturdï* ‘he ordered his house to be burned and he lit the fire’, *yal-* ‘(the fire) blazes up’, *yaltur-* ‘(the wind made the fire) blaze’, *yulduz* ‘star’ (AK), *yaltrï-* ‘flammen’ (BA 15); **MT** *yultuz* ‘ein Name, Stern’ (UOg), *yultuz* ‘étoile’ (UHy), *yulduz* ‘star’ (ABF), *yaqïš* ‘burning’, *yulduz* ‘star’ (AGul), *yal-* ‘alevlenmek, yanmak’ (AHMA), *yaqïl-* ‘zažigatʹsja, zagoratʹsja, vosplamenjatʹsja, vspyhivatʹ’, *yulduz* ‘zvezda’ (AHŠF), *yan-* ‘zažečʹ’ (AIM), *yan-* ‘ateş tutuşturmak’, *yulduz* ‘yıldız’ (AIMI), <yldz> ‘star’, *yulduzǰi* ‘astronomer’ (AKD), *yan-* ‘to burn brightly, become shining/glistening’, *yulduz* ‘star’ (AKor), *yaqïl-* ‘zažigatʹsja, zagoratʹsja, vosplamenjatʹsja, vspyhivatʹ’ (ANehF), *yulduz* ‘star’ (ARbg), *yïldïra-* ‘sverkatʹ’, *yulduz* ’zvezda’ (ATef), *yulduz* ‘étoile’, *yan-* ‘brûler’ (AChag), *yalïn*, *yalaw* ‘plamja ognja’ (AChagBL), *yulduz* ‘star’, *yaldïraq* ‘the name of the star Canopus’ (AChagSC), *yalïn* ‘Flamme’, *yulduz* ‘Stern’, *yïltra-* ‘blitzen’ (LCC), *yaldïragan* ‘otlu’ (AAHI), *yalduz* ‘étoile’, *yan-* ‘palić się’ (ABul), *yalduz* ‘Stern’, *yandur-* ‘anzünden’, ? *yaġïmala-* ‘plündern’ (AHou), *yultuz* ‘Stern’ (AKav), *yan-* ‘goretʹ’ (ATuh), *yan-* ‘brûler, flamber’, *yïltra-* ‘briller’ (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *śun-* ‘goretʹ’, *śut-* ‘zažečʹ, zasvetitʹ’, *śuta* ’svet’, *śurta* ‘sveča’, *śăltăr* ‘zvezda, planeta, nebesnoe telo, svetilo, zvezda, zvezdočka, peren. zvezda, svetilo znamenitostʹ’, *śulăm* ‘plamja, ogonʹ, peren. plamja, ogonʹ, žar’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *yagïl-* ‘topitʹsja, zataplivatʹsja, otaplivatʹsja, peren. zažigatʹsja, zažečʹsja, vosplamenjatʹsja, vosplamenitʹsja, vooduševljatʹsja, vooduševitʹsja’ (Tat), *yaġ-* ‘rastaplivatʹ, topitʹ’ (Bashk), *ǰak-* ‘žečʹ, zažigatʹ’ (Kirg), *ǰaġïl-* ‘to be lit, to be heated (of a stove, oven etc.)’ (Kaz), *ǰaġïl-* ‘zažigatʹsja, bytʹ zažžennym, topitʹsja’ (Kklp), *yagïl-* ‘zažigatʹsja, bytʹ zažennym (ob élektričestve), topitʹsja, bytʹ zatoplennym (o peči)’ (Nog), *yaq-* ‘žečʹ, zažigatʹ’ (CrTat), *yaq-* ‘žečʹ, zažigatʹ, sžigatʹ’ (KarC), *yaq-* ‘zažigatʹ, topitʹ, teretʹ, vtiratʹ, natiratʹ, namazyvatʹ, peren. zažigatʹ, vosplamenjatʹ, vooduševljatʹ’ (Kum), ? *ǰaġïl-* ‘mazatʹsja, pačkatʹsja čem., peren. lastitʹsja, privjazyvatʹsja, primazyvatʹsja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yakïl-* ‘bytʹ sožžennym, sžigatʹsja, bytʹ vključennym, vključatʹsja (o svete)’ (Tkm), *yax-* ‘žečʹ’ (TkmD, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 82), *yak-* ‘to burn, to scorch, to singe, to

light, to set on fire, to destroy by fire, to blight (vegetation), to inflame with love, to apply (henna or a poultice), (slang) to dupe, to hurt deeply, to destroy, to compose (a folk song)' (Tt), *yakïl-* 'byť zaženným, byť obožennym, topiťsja (o peči), peren. obžigaťsja' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yāq-* 'anzünden (Feuer, Kerze)' (Kh); ***SE*** *yåq-* 'zažigať, topiť, peren. zažigať, vosplamenjať, vooduševljať' (Uzb), *yaq-* 'to light, to set fire to, to set on fire' (TurkiJ), *yaq-* 'žeč, zažigať, podžigať, sžigať, topiť, protaplivať (peč), peč, vypekať (hleb)' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *sal-* 'podžarivať, pripekať' (Y).

E/T An early and unattested base **ya-* gives us verbs like *yal-* 'to blaze, burn, shine', *yak-* 'to ignite, to burn (something acc)', *yan-* 'to burn, to blaze up' (see Clauson 1972: 918, 897, 942; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 81–82, 112-113). The words *yalïn* 'flame' and *yaltrï-* 'to shine, to gleam' belong here. Surely due to the expressive semantic field, we also find *yaltrï-*, *yïltrï-*, *yultrï-* and *yïltra-* as well as *yïltïra-*, *yaltura-* etc. (also with *-ld-*; see Clauson 1972: 923; Erdal 1991: 481). Kashgari wrote: "With fath (i.e. *yaldrï-*) the word refers to light, with damm (i.e. *yuldrï-*) it refers to the shimmering of jewels". In the MS, damm is changed to kesr (i.e. *yïldïr-*). The words *yulduz* 'star', *yïldïr*, *yïldïrïm* 'thunderbolt, lightning' belong here.

E/H Following Vámbéry's lead (1914: 164) and citing CrTat *yak-* 'to burn, ignite (tr)', Bárczi (1941: 105) cautiously mentioned the possibility of a T origin of the H word. He saw the difficulty of the comparison in the lack of an *-(X)l-* der in T. Theoretically, we could depart fr T *yagïl-* 'to be ignited, to be burnt' (< *yakïl-*). The phonetic side of this comparison, however, is problematic. The lenition of the intervocalic *-k-* is a late feature with different backgrounds in Kip and Og. One would not expect a H *-u-* in place of T *-agï-*. Palló (1982: 95–96) connected the H word with words denoting 'to shine, to glitter, glow', which have a very erratic vocalism, surely due to their expressive semantic field: *yaltrï-*, *yïltri-*, *yultrï-* etc. According to Palló, we can reconstruct a form **yul-* fr *yultrï-* and this would be the basic form which became WOT **ǰul-* and was then copied by H. The following words could be cited for a hypothetical base: **yul-*: OT *yula* 'torch' (cf. Mo *ǰula*), and OT *yulduz* 'star'. The latter is present in Chuv as *śăltăr*, Viryal *śŏltŏr* (<< **yuldur*). According to Erdal (1991: 323, 481), *yulduz* 'star' is a basic form, perhaps a simplex, and it became a verb with the den suff *+I-* (< *yuldri-* < *yultuz+I-*). This leaves open the question of the origin of *yultuz*. According to Clauson (1972: 922–923), *yultuz* is a simplex. It is, however, not impossible that this is a case of a double dev suff **-dUz* (< *-dU+(X)z*) or *-dUr-(X)z*). T **-dUz* is very rare. We find it in *bunduz* / *munduz* 'senile, feeble-minded' fr the verb *bun-* / *mun-* 'to be mentally deranged or disturbed' (cf. Mo *muŋkag* 'stupid, ignorant', *muŋda-* 'to become insufficient' etc., see **mónár köd**). The suff *-dU* is more frequent (see Erdal 1991: 332–334), on which see *yartu* 'a torch, a wood chip' (*yar-dU*, cf. **gyertya**). However a verb **yul-* 'to burn (intr), to be ignited' in place of, or related to, *yal-* is not present or is as yet unattested in the T lgs. H would be the only

source in which the WOT base **ǰul-* (< **yul-*) is reflected. This would, of course, be possible. But until we find the basic verb in T, we have to leave the question open. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word, and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 500–501) considered Palló's suggestion improbable for phonetic reasons.

H *gyúl-* and *gyújt-* belong together: *-t-* is a H suff of transitivity and the cluster *-lt* changes into *-jt*; see **bojtorján**, **gyűjt**, **gyűlik**.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 164; Bárczi 1941: 105; Sebestyén 1953: 116; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 260–261; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1137; Palló 1971b: 375–383; Clauson 1972: 897, 918, 922–923, 942; Palló 1982: 95–96; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 81–82, 112–113; Erdal 1991: 323, 332–334, 481; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 500–501; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 469.

GYÚR [ď ūr] 'to knead, pug' | 1213/1550 ? GN *Gourou* [ď ūr-ō], 1429 PN *vasgyuro* [våš-ď ūrō], a1495 *ǵuríac* [ď ūr-yāk] || ? **gyűr** [ď ȗr] 'to crumple' | 1586 *giűrőd* [ď ȗr-öd] | *ď ūr-* < **ǰuɣur-* ← WOT **ǰuɣur-* | EOT *yogur-* 'to knead'.

OT *yoġur-* 'to knead' (RMTon, RMBilg), *yoġur-* 'pétrir, rendre olus consistant, marcher en pétrissant (de la boue etc.), piétiner, frayer (un chemin)' (UHam-TouHou), *yoġur-* 'to knead' (AK), *yoġun* 'dick, grob, bedrückt' (BA 33, BC 7 ?); **MT** *yoġur-* 'zamesit'' (AHŠF), *yuġur-*: *yuġurmïš* 'mesiť (testo)' (AIM), *yuġurulmïš* 'dough' (AKD), *yoġrïl-* 'byť razmešivaemym' (AM), *yoġur-* 'zamesit'' (ANehF), *yuġur-*: *hamir un yoġur-* 'to make dough' (ARbg), *yoġur-* 'pétrir' (AChag), *yoġur-* 'Kneten, mischen, hart machen' (AChagŠS), *yoġurdu* 'hamuru yoğurdu' (AAH), *yoġur-* 'hamur yoğurmak' (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šăr-* 'mesiť, zamešivať, mesiť grjazť, bresti po grjazi', *yur-* (← Tat) 'mesiť, zamešivať, zabaltyvať [korm skotu], zapravljať, peren. nespešno rasskazyvať, medlenno vesti povestvovanie' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ǰūr-* 'mesiť, zamešivať' (Kirg); ***SW*** *yugur-* 'mesit'' (Tkm), *yoġur-* 'mesiť (testo)' (Az), *yoġur-*, *yuġur-* 'to knead' (Tt), *yōr-*, *yuŋur-* 'yoğurmak' (TtD), *yūr-* 'mesiť (testo)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yọġur-*: *hụn yọġur-* 'Mehl kneten' (Kh); ***SE*** *yuġur-*, *yuġu-* 'to knead' (TurkiJ), *yuġuī-* 'mesiť (testo), davit'' (TurkiL), *yuġur-* 'kneten' (TurkiTR), *žuġar-* 'mesiť, mjať peremešivaja', *yuġur-*, *žuġur-*, *žuġar-* 'veleť, poručať, prosiť mesiť, zamešivať' (MUyg), *ɤùġur-*, *ɤ̀ùġur-* 'pétrir' (SalK), *yoġur-*, *yuġur-* 'boltať, mešať (napr. glinu s vodoj)' (YUyg); ***NE*** *yuġur-* 'kneten' (AltLR, AltTKR), *yūra-* 'kneten' (AltTelR), *čūr-* 'kneten' (KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ǰiġura-* 'to knead, mix' (L).

E/T The early form of the T verb was *yogur-*, but it may have changed to *yugur-* in many dials. The reduced vowel in Chuv is due to a secondary shortening. The T word is a simplex. Mo *ǰigura-* points to an AT *yïgură-*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 889) suggest that the T and Mo words are genetically related.

E/H The H word is a regular development of the early **ǰuɣur-*. It has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 148) and was also accepted by Ligeti (1986: 20) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 501–502).

H *gyűr-* ‘to crumple’ has no reliable etymology. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1140; 1993–1997/1: 502), it may be a front-vocalic variant of *gyúr-*. These types of doublets exist in H. The front-vocalic item expresses less intensity than the other, as in *csattan-* ‘to clap, to clack’, *csetten-* ‘to click, to snap’, but most of the examples are of onomatopoeic origin. It is more likely that H *gyűr-* goes back to a WOT **ǰigur-* > **ǰigür-*. This would only be supported, however, by Mo **ǰigura-*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 148; Gombocz 1912b: 80–82; Bárczi 1956: 7; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1138, 1140; Palló 1982: 97–98; Ligeti 1986: 20, 195; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 501–502; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 889.

GYŰLIK [d′ūlik] ‘to assemble, gather’ | 1355 GN *Ghuluez* [d′ūl-vēs], p1372/c1448 *gyewluen* [d′ūl-vēn] | *d′ūl-* < **d′īl-* < **ǰiɣil-* ⟵ WOT **ǰigil-* || **gyűjt** [d′üyt] ‘to collect, gather something’ | p1372/c1448 *gewyte* [d′üyt-e], p1416/c1450 *gẏytọt* [d′üyt-ött] | *d′űyt-* < *d′űl-* {with suff *-t-*} ⟵ WOT **ǰiɣil-* | EOT *yïgïl-* ‘to be heaped up, collected, to assemble’ < *yïg-* ‘to collect, assemble’ {with suff *-(X)l-*}.

OT *yïġ-* ‘to gather together, bring together’ (RMBilg, RMTon), *yïġ-* ‘sammeln’ (M 360:31), *yïgïn-* ‘sich versammeln’ (UTTIII 162), *yïġïl-* ‘anhaufen (Habe)’ (UUIII 12), *yïġ-* ‘to detain, to pile up, accumulate’, *yïgïl-* ‘to refrain from work’ (AK), *yig-* ‘sammeln’, *yigil-* (written as *yihil-*, *ygil-*) ‘sich versammeln’ (BD 16, BC 12, BG 3); **MT** *yïġ-* ‘yığmak, toplamak’ (UY), *yïġla-* ‘pleurer, sangloter’ (UHy), *yïġïlïš-* ‘s’allier, se liguer’ (UHyS), *yïġ-* ‘sammeln’ (UCiv), *yïġïl-* ‘to accumulate, flock together, gather round’ (AGul), *yïġïl-* ‘birikmek, toplamak’ (AHMA), *yïġïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, uderživat′sja’ (AHŠF), *yïġïl-* ‘to be restrained, be forbidden, to abstain, to give over, desist from’ (AKor), *yïġïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, uderživat′sja’ (ANehF), *yïġïl-* ‘sobirat′sja’ (ATef), *yïġ-* ‘reunir’ (AChag), *yï-* ‘sammeln, versammeln, anhäufen’, *yïl-*, *yĭl-* ‘sich versammeln’ (LCC), *yïġïn* ‘güme’ (AAH), *yïġïštïr-* ‘toplamak’ (AKav), *yïg-*, *yïy(ï)-* ‘sobirat′’, *yïġïl-*, *yïyïl-* ‘byt′ sobrannym’, *yïġ-* ‘assembler, réunir, entasser, recueillir’ (AmTr), *yïġanaq* ‘toplantı, küme’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *ǰïyïl-* ‘nabirat′sja, nabrat′sja, sobirat′sja, sobrat′sja, skopljat′sja, skopit′sja, sgrudit′sja, stolpit′sja, shodit′sja, otlagat′sja, otložit′sja’ (Tat), *yïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, skaplivat′sja, skladyvat′sja, ustraivat′ skladčinu’ (Bashk), *ǰïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, sgrudit′sja, nagromozdit′sja, nakopit′sja’ (Kirg), *ǰïyïl-* ‘to gather together, assemble (intr), to prepare for (intr)’ (Kaz), *ǰïyïl-* ‘sobrat′sja, nakopit′sja, skopit′sja’ (Kklp), *yïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, skaplivat′sja, nabirat′sja’ (Nog), *ǰïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja’ (CrTat), *ǰïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, shodit′sja’ (KarC), *žïyïl-* ‘byt′ sobrannym, sozvannym, sobirat′sja, sozyvat′sja, byt′ ubrannym, ubirat′sja, byt′ nakoplennym, nakaplivat′sja, byt′ mobilizovannym, mobilizovyvat′sja, byt′ zaverbovannym, verbovat′sja, byt′ sosredotočennym, skoncentrirovannym, sosredotočivat′sja, koncentrirovat′sja, peren. sobirat′sja s mysljami, sosredotočivat′sja’ (Kum), *ǰïyïl-* ‘sobirat′sja, byt′ sobrannym, komplektovat′sja, byt′ komplektovannym, montyrovat′sja, byt′ smontyrovannym, dobirat′sja (do kakogo-l. mesta), prihodit′ (kuda-l.), ubirat′sja,

byt′ ubrannym, pomeščat′sja (gde-l.), byt′ pomeščennym (kuda-l.), zagotavlyvat′sja, byt′ zagotovlennym, poligr. nabirat′sja, byt′ nabrannym' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yïgïl-* 'byt′ sobrannym, ubrannym, sobirat′sja, ubirat′sja, stat′ žereboj (o kobyle)' (Tkm), *yïġïl-* 'sobirat′sja, skopljat′sja, skladyvat′sja, sokrašat′sja, sadit′sja (o materii)' (Az), *yïġïl-* 'pass. of *yïġ-* to collect in a heap, to pile up, to accumulate, to hoard, to mass, to concentrate (troops), arch. to prevent, to stop' (Tt), *yïvïl-* 'byt′ složennym (svalennym), skladyvat′sja, svalivat′sja' (Gag); ***Kh*** *hïγïštur-*, *yïγïštur-* 'sammeln' (Kh), *hiγ-*, *yiγ-* 'versammeln' (KhT); ***SE*** *yiġil-* 'strad. i vozvr. ot *yiġ-*, sobirat′, ubirat′, skladivat′, podbirat′, kopit′, nakaplivat′' (Uzb), *yïγïl-* 'to gather' (TurkiJ), *žiġil-* 'kopit′sja, nakaplivat′sja, sosredotočivat′sja, skaplivat′sja, nakaplivat′sja, peren. sokraščat′sja, sžimat′sja' (MUyg), *yïġïl-* 'sobirat′sja' (Sal), *yig-*, *yik-*, *yïg-* 'sobirat′, skladyvat′, kopit′ (sprjatat′)' (YUyg); ***NE*** *d′ūl-* 'sobirat′sja, soedinjat′sja v odno celoe' (Alt), *čīl-* 'sobirat′sja, nagromoždat′sja, nakopljat′sja' (Khak), *čīl-* 'sobirat′sja, prihodit′, nakaplivat′sja, skaplivat′sja' (Tuv), *čīl-* 'sobirat′sja, prihodit′ (napr. na sobranie), nakaplivat′sja, skaplivat′sja' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *joġu-* 'to put in, stick in, insert, to install' (L), see *zōx-* (< **joġu-*) 'sammeln, mit sich bringen (als Geschenk), sich einen Vorrat anlegen' (Kalm).

E/T The T word is the pass form of *yïg-* 'to collect, assemble' with the suff *-(X)l-* (see Erdal 1991: 687; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 271–272, the latter without the pass). Neither the base nor any der of the word can be found in Chuv. Räsänen (1969: 200) connected Chuv *śăva* 'kladbišče' with *yïg-*, but the Chuv word goes back to a form WOT **jogak* < **yogak* < **yog-ak* (see OT in Gr transcription: *δόγια*, OT *yog* 'funeral feast').

It is remarkable that the word is not front-vocalic anywhere with the exception of MUyg and YUyg, though the *yï* > *yi* change is normal (see e.g. *yïl*, *yil* 'year') and more frequent in words with a second *-ï-* (see e.g. *yïlkï*, *yilki* 'livestock'). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 992) compare the T word with Mo *nöge-* 'to economise, save for the future, to put aside', which is phonetically impossible.

E/H The H word either presupposes a front-vocalic variant in WOT, **yigil-* > **jigil-*, or H copied a back-vocalic form and there was a **jīl-* > **jūl-* > **jűl-* > *d′űl-* change fr an early and unattested H form **jīl-* through inner H fronting and labialisation. The labialisation occurred in OH in words of FUgr origin as well as in words of T origin (see **gyöngy**, **gyümölcs** and Bárczi 1958b: 47–48). The word entered the H *-ik-* conjugation. The caus form *gyűjt-* is a H der fr *gyűl-t-* > *gyűjt-* with a regular *-lt-* > *-jt-* change; see **bojtorján**, **gyúl**, **gyújt**. The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 148).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 148; Gombocz 1912b: 81; Bárczi 1958b: 47–48; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 183; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1139; Räsänen 1969: 200; Clauson 1972: 901–902; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 185;

Palló 1982: 99–100; Ligeti 1986: 21, 67, 195; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 271–272; Erdal 1991: 687; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 501; Róna-Tas 1994: 107; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 992.

GYŰLÖL [d′ülöl] ‘to hate’ | p1372/c1448 *gylewlÿ* [d′ülöl-i] | *d′ülöl-* < **d′üle-* {with suff *-(V)l-*} < **d′eu̯le-* < **ǰeγile-* ⟵ WOT **ǰägilä-* | EOT *yagïla-* ‘to be hostile’ < *yagï* ‘enemy, hostile’ {with suff *+lA-*} or T *yellä-* ‘to blow (of wind), to be angry’ < *yel* ‘wind’ {with suff *+lA-*}.

Of debated T origin.

1 *yagï* ‘enemy’ > *yagïla-* ‘to be hostile’ > **yägilä-* / *ǰägilä-*: **OT** *yaġï*, *yaġī* ‘enemy’ (RMTon, RMKT), *yaġïla- älä-* ‘(parn.) voevatʹ’, ‘(parn.) mučitʹ’ (RY 45), *yaġï* ‘enemy’ (RTIrk), *yaġï* ‘ennemi’ (UHamTouHou), *yaġïla-* ‘to be hostile’ (UTTIX 74, Clauson 1972: 903), *yaġïla-* ‘to be hostile to somebody’ (AK); **MT** *yaġï* ‘düşman’ (UY), *yāġï* ‘inimical’ (AGul), *yaġïlaš-* ‘düşmanlık edişmek’ (AHMA), *yaġï* ‘nedrug, vrag, musulʹmane, ne podčinivšiesja halifatu’ (AHŠF), *yaġïla-* ‘vraždovatʹ’ (AIM), *yaġïla-* ‘düşmanlık etmek’ (AIMI), *yaġï* ‘enemy’ (AKD), *yaġï* ‘enemy’ (AKor), *yaġï* ‘nedrug, vrag, musulʹmane, ne podčinivšiesja halifatu’ (ANehF), *yaġïlaš-* ‘to become enemies’ (ARbg), *yaġï* ‘Feind, Fremder, Arm’ (AChagŠS), *yaġï* ‘Feind’ (LCCG), *yaġï* ‘asî, düşman’ (AAH), *yaġï* ‘düşman’ (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śăv*: *śăv čăvaš*, *śu*: *śu čăvăš* ‘tak nazyvali čuvaš, kotorye žili napolovinu po-hristianski, napolovino po-musulmanski [v Izbahtine (Kaval) ih bylo neskolʹko dvorov’ and *śu-čăvašsem* ‘hronili umerših otdelʹno, detej ne krestili, volosy nosili dlinnye’, *śu śarmăs* ‘mari’, (ChuvA); ***NW*** *yau* ‘vrag, nedrug, protivnik, neprijatelʹ’ (Tat), *yau* ‘napadenie, boj, bitva, vojny, vojsko, vrag, protivnik’, *yaula-* ‘zavoevivatʹ’ (Bashk), *ǰō* ‘vrag, nahodjaščijsja vo vražde s kem-l.’ (Kirg), *ǰaw* ‘enemy, foe, (agr.) pest, vermin’ (Kaz), *yav* ‘vrag, protivnik, neprijatelʹ, nedrug’ (Nog), *yav*, *ǰav* (dial) ‘ust. vrag, neprijatelʹ’ (CrTat), *yavcï* ‘soldat’ (KarH), *yav* ‘vojna’ (Kum), *ǰaw* ‘vrag, neprijatelʹ m., nedrug’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yaġï* ‘vrag, nedrug, neprijatelʹ, protivnik’ (Tkm), *yaġï* ‘vrag, neprijatelʹ, nedrug’ (Az), *yaġï* ‘prov. enemy, alien, strange, stranger’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *yå̄γï*, *yaγï* ‘Feind (nur für Staatsfeinde, nicht für persönliche, also hostis, nicht inimicus, veraltetes Wort)’ (Kh), *yāγi* ‘Feind’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yåv* ‘vrag, nedrug’ (Uzb), *yæγï*, *yïγï* ‘enemy, rebellious’ (TurkiJ), *yeġi* ‘vražda’ (MUyg, Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 56), *yaġï* ‘vražda, ssora, vojna’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *dʹag* ‘vojna’, *dʹagla-* ‘vesti vojnu’, *dʹaglï-* ‘zavoevatʹ’, *dʹïg* ‘vrag, neprijatelʹ, vojna’ (AltQK), *yïg* ‘vojna’ (AltL), *dʹū* ‘vojna, vrag’ (AltTK), *čā* ‘vojna’ (Khak), *sag* ‘vojna’ (KhakSag), *čā* ‘vojna’ (Tuv), *čā* ‘vojna’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *dayin* ‘war, battle, hostility, enmity’, *dayisun* ‘enemy, foe, adversary, menace’, *dayila-* ‘to wage war, to conquer’, *dayita-* ‘to fight, wage war, attack’ (L).

2 *yel* or *yellä-*, see the data under **szél**.

E/T It is an open question whether we have two words here, **yag* and *yagï*, or, more probably, whether the PT form of this word was *yagï*, the final *-ï* was reduced

and then disappeared, and a doublet emerged with some semantic differentiation, as in *yag* 'war' and *yagï* 'enemy'. Another possibility would be that *yag* 'war' was the primary word and the form *yagï* developed with a den *+*I* (not productive in OT). Mo *dayi-n* 'war', *dayi-sun* 'enemy' (< **dagi-*) etc. point to a **dagï* > *yagï* > *yag* change within OT.

According to Palló (1982: 102) and Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 55), there also existed a verb **yagï-* 'vraždovat′'. According to them the caus form can be found in **yagït-* 'to start hostilities' (RMKöl W5, E6, Tekin 1968: 395). But these are erroneous readings, the correct reading is *yagid-[d]ukda* instead of *yagït-[t]ukda* (see Berta 2004c: 12, 15). In a line fr *Dīvān* of Kashgari, *ol kiši ol tutčï yagïtgān* 'he is a person who always shows hostility after peace', we find <t>, but Clauson (1972: 899) correctly remarked that this is due to dissimilation. Erdal (1991: 792) does not cite it among his lexical material, only *yagït-* 'to let it rain', and correctly cites *yagï+d-* 'to be or become hostile' (Erdal 1991: 489).

Further, according to Palló (1982: 101–102), the verb **yagï-* has a pass form **yagïl-*. The H word *gyűlöl-* had early shapes like *gyűl-* in such forms as c1395 *geleufeg* [d′ūl-ōšēg]. A form *gyűl-* is improbable fr **yagïl-*, therefore Palló supposed a secondary form *yïgïl-*, based on the Lebed and Kumandi data fr Radloff (1893–1911/3: 468); cf. *yïg* 'der Krieg, das Heer, der Feind'. The fronting and labialisation would have occurred in H. To avoid homonymity with **gyűlik** 'to assemble', the word took on a H freq suff -(*V*)*l-*. However, this etymology is unacceptable. Even if we suppose a primary H form **gyűl-*, it would not be a pass verb (as the other **gyűlik** is).

The second *-l* of the H word may be a H den suff as in *szó* 'word' > *szól-* 'to call', *ököl* 'fist' > *öklel-* 'to butt' etc. (D. Bartha 1958: 55). However, it is unlikely that T **yag* was borrowed as **yäg* (**jäg* >> **jū*). Thus H *gyűlöl-* can be connected only with the den form **jagïla-* > **jägilä-* under the assumption that such a fronted den verb existed in WOT. This may have been copied into H and changed there to **jeɣele-* > **jēle-*. The dropping of the guttural *-g-* and the closed /e/ may be H developments. This **jēle-* took on the H dev suff -(*V*)*l-* which is very rare, but did exist, e.g. in *hat-* > *hatol-*.

The noun **gyűl* has also been compared with Chuv *śil*(*ĕ*) 'anger, wrath'. The Chuv word was linked by Räsänen (1969: 213) and, following his lead, by Fedotov (1996/2: 117) to a T verb **yūl-*. This would be present in Alt as *yül-* 'verrückt, wahnsinnig sein' (AltR, cf. *d′ülü-* 'shodit′ s uma' (AltTK)), *d′ūl-* 'verrückt, wahnsinnig sein' (AltTelR), and *sūl-* 'pohotet′, byt′ v pohoti (o žerebce, ob olen′em byke)' (Y), hence H *gyűl-öl-* (see also Räsänen 1931–1934: 161–162). However, Chuv *śil*(*ĕ*) cannot be tied to a verb *yül-* or *yūl-* 'to go mad, to feel lust' for phonetic and morphological reasons. The Sib words, as pointed out by Ramstedt (1935: 485), are of Mo

origin (cf. Kalm *zűl-* 'im Schlafe reden, irre reden, fiebern, phantasieren, Blödsinn reden' to Mo *jegü-den* 'dream').

The origin of the Chuv word *śil*(*ĕ*) was linked by Levitskaja to a verb *yel-* (Levitskaja 1974: 81–82), which also has the meaning 'to go mad, become rabid' (cf. TatD *jil-* 'serdito kričat' na kogo-nibud, inogda zamahivajas'', *yilkin-* 'besit'sja'). Later (in Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 175–176), she connected *yel-* with the noun *yel* 'wind' and partly changed her opinion. According to her, Chuv *śil*(*ĕ*) 'gnev; anger' comes fr a secondary semantic change in *yel* 'wind', which is also present in Tkm, where it means *yel* 'veter, *peren.* zloba, gnev, razdraženie'. Early on, Clauson remarked (1972: 916) that *yel* also carries the sense of 'demonical possession'. Kashgari distinguished *yēl* 'breeze' and *yēl* 'demon (jinn)', in the second word of the sentence *är yelpindi* 'the man was seized with a diabolic stroke'. This has to be tied to *yelpi-* 'to fan, to make wind' (on *yelpi-* etc. see Erdal 1991: 216–217). A stroke (medical event) is *szélütés* (*ütés* 'strike') in H, which derived fr the word for 'wind' (**szél** ← **śēl* < *yēl*), which itself meant 'stroke'. H also has *szélhűdés* 'stroke', where *-hűdés* is a complex den suff (see *bűnhődés*). The idea that *yel-* 'to become obsessed (by a demon, anger etc.)' and *yel* 'the one obsessed' are somehow connected is possible, but not morphologically clear. It is more probable that *yēl* 'wind' was one of the constituents of human life, i.e. *breath.* In certain early H translations of the Bible, the (Holy) Spirit (*spiritus*) was translated as *szellet*, a den der fr *szél* 'wind'. In Kashgari's *Dīvān* we read *anïg yeli küčlüg* 'his wind is strong', meaning that 'he has strength'. The idea that life as motion is connected with the 'wind of the body' is present in many treatises in the Middle Ages. This 'wind of the body' then took on a negative connotation through 'too much wind, stroke', 'demonic powers', then 'anger'. Ders like *yelpi-* and *yelpig* 'ghost, demonic stroke' clearly show these semantic changes. See AK *ärkä yelpig tägdi* 'the man was seized by a demonic stroke' (Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/2: 171) have *yelpik*, but Erdal (1991: 217) correctly has *yelpig*).

E/H To sum up, H *gyűlöl-* may be either the result of a complicated chain of changes fr *yagï+la-* and the H suff *-(X)l-*, or we have to suppose that T *yēl* 'wind' underwent a semantic change fr 'wind' to 'demonic power', 'obsession', 'anger', 'animosity' – a meaning contained in Chuv *śil*(*ĕ*) and Tkm *yel* 'gnev; anger' – and finally to 'hate, hatred'. The WOT form **ǰel* was copied by H, where it was labialised to **ǰül* (for which see **gyűlik** and **gyümölcs**). The verb *gyűlöl-* was formed fr the noun **ǰül* > **d'ül* with the H den suff *+(V)l-*. One of the weaknesses of this new interpretation is that we have not managed to detect a H noun **gyül* or **gyűl* with the meaning 'anger, hate' or 'wind' until now.

It is more probable that H copied a T verb *yellä-* 'to blow (of wind), to be angry' (< *yēl*) (for all data, see Sevortjan–Levitsjkaja 1989: 175), WOT **ǰellä-* (> Chuv **śille-* 'to be angry', see *śillen-* 'serdit'sja') ⟶ H **ǰelle-* > **ǰülle-* and hence with a H freq dev

-(*V*)*l*- (see D. Bartha 1958: 21), and by simplification of the long *-ll-*, **ǰűlel-* > *d′ülel-* > *gyűlöl-*. In fact, we find the OH verb *gyűl-* in dev ders in some OH sources, e.g. *gywlkewzesnek* [d′ül-közēšnek], *gyelhewtsegetewl* [d′el-hötšēgētōl], both data cited by D. Bartha (1958: 21) fr the *J̌ókai Codex* (c1450). This would also solve the origin of the length of the first vowel in the H word. The preceeding vowel became long through the disappearance of the first *-l-*.

If this can be substantiated by later research, it would be of great importance since the T word *yel* 'wind' is also present in H as **szél** and we would then have the same word fr two different sources; the den verb fr a *ǰ*-dial and the noun fr an *ś*-dial. Ligeti (1986) does not deal with the word. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 502), who did not accept the earlier T etymologies, among them that of Palló (1982: 101–102), the word is of unknown origin.

◆ Radloff 1893–1911/3: 468; Vámbéry 1914: 164; Räsänen 1931–1934: 161–162; Kallós 1933: 45–47; Ramstedt 1935: 485; D. Bartha 1958: 21, 55; Malov 1959: 95; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1139–1140; Tekin 1968: 395; Räsänen 1969: 213; Clauson 1972: 899, 903, 916; Levitskaja 1974: 81–82; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 171; Palló 1982: 101–102; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 55–56, 175–176; Erdal 1991: 216–217, 489, 792, 899; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502; Fedotov 1996/2: 117; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 457, 1508; Berta 2004c: 12, 15.

GYÜMÖLCS [d′ümölč] 'fruit' | c1195 *gimilſtwl* [d′imilš-tūl], *gimilſben* [d′imilš-ben], 1221 GN *Beseneugumulc* [bešeńeü-d′ümülč], p1372/c1448 *gyewmewlczebelewl* [d′ömölč-ēbelōl] | *d′ümölč* < *d′ömölč* < *d′emilč* < **ǰemilč* ← WOT **ǰemilč* | EOT *yemiš* 'fruit' < *ye-* 'to eat' {with certain suff or suffs}.

OT *ye-* 'to eat' (RMTon), *yemiš* 'eaten': *bir karï öküzüg bilin biče kumursġa yemiš* 'an old ox was eaten by ants, gnawing around his belly', *yemiš* '(kept on) eating, was eaten by' (RTIrk), *yemiš* 'fruit' (HamTouHou), *yemiš* 'fruit' (AK), *yemiš* 'obst' (BK 4); **MT** *yimiš* 'yemiş' (UY), *yemiš* 'fruit' (AGul), *yemiš* 'meyva, yemiş' (AHMA), *yemiš* 'frukt, plod' (AHŠF), *yemiš*, *yimiš* 'fruit(s)' (AKD), *yemiš* 'frukt, plod' (ANehF), *yem* 'food' (ARbg), *yemiš* 'frukty' (ATef), *yimiš* 'fruit' (AChag), *yemiš* 'Frucht, Obst' (LCCG), *yämiš* 'yemiş' (AAH), *yemiš* 'meyve' (AHou), *yemiš* 'meyve' (AKav), *yemiš* 'fruit' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śiměś* 'eda, kušan′e, bljudo, produkty, prodovol′stvie, s″estnoe, plod i plody, ovošč i ovošči' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ǰimeš* 'plod, frukt' (Tat), *yemeš* 'plod, frukt, peren. plod, produkt' (Bashk), *ǰemiš* 'plod, frukty, jagody, pišča, korm' (Kirg), *ǰemis* 'fruit, fruits, results' (Kaz), *ǰemiš* 'frukty, plody, peren. plody, rezul′tat raboty, dejatel′nosti' (Kklp), *yemiš* 'frukty, plod' (CrTat), *yėmiš* 'frukt, plod' (KarT), *yėmis* 'frukt, plod' (KarH), *yemiš* 'frukty, plody' (Kum), *ǰemiš* 'jagody, frukty' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *iymiš* 'plod, frukt' (Tkm), *yemiš* 'dynja, frukty' (Az), *yemiş* 'fruit, fruits, prov. figs' (Tt), *yemiš* 'jagoda, jagody, izjum, sgovor (čast′ svadebnogo obrjada s objazatel′nym ugoščeniem izjumom)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yēmiš* 'Rosine' (KhT); ***SE*** *yemiš* 'eda, pišča, sned′, frukty, plody, peren. uprjamyj, neposlušnyj' (Uzb), *yemiš*, *yeimiš* 'fruits and

sweets, fruit' (TurkiJ), *yäm* 'furaž', *yimiš* 'jagoda, frukty' (MUyg), *yemiš* 'frukty' (MUygAks, Dolan), *yem* 'nourriture' (SalK); ***NE*** *ďimiš* 'jeda, pišča' (AltQK), *ďem* 'pišča, eda dobyča' (AltTK), *nimǐs* 'zerno, jadro (oreha)' (Khak), *yemis* 'fruit' (FY), *čemiš* 'pišča, eda, jadro, zerno, primanka' (Tuv), *čīškin* 'pišča, eda, korm, primanka pri lovuške' (Tof); ***Y*** *sie-* 'est'' (Y), *siä-*, *hiä-* 'essen' (Dlg).

Mo *ǰimis* 'fruit, berries, dates' (L).

E/T The word is beyond any doubt a der of *ye-* 'to eat', see **szőlő**, but the der is unusual. It may be a lexicalised form of the verbal noun *ye-miš* 'the one who ate' > 'that which was eaten' in a past participle form or it may be a formation fr *yem* 'food, fodder etc.' with a non-productive den suff +(*X*)*š* (see Hamilton 1971: 136; Ligeti 1978: 269–270). Chuv contains *śi-* 'to eat', *śime* 'jeda, pišča, furaž' and *śiměś* 'eda' and 'ovoščï', which supports the second solution. As a semantic parallel, see Sogd <''δ'wkh> *ādūk* 'grain, crop' < **ādū-ka* < **ād-* 'to eat' (Rastorgueva–Édel'man 2000–2003/1: 77–78). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 871), T *yemiš* < **yemilč* is genetically related to Mo *namaga* 'leaf', which is both phonetically and semantically improbable.

E/H The copied form could be either **ǰemiš*, **ǰemič* or **ǰemilč*. According to the earlier literature (Ligeti 1986: 17, 20, 84; Györffy 1992: 251, 259, 276; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502), the *-l-* in the H word is a secondary development. It is not a preserved "Altaic" *l*, as claimed by Ramstedt (1922–1923: 33), and after him by many others, on which see Ligeti (1978: 271). The argument is that it occurs in T lws before T **-č* (**ács**, **bölcs**) and before T **-š* (**bocsát**, **bölcső**, **búcsú**) and this is compensated for through vowel length (*Vl* ~ *V̄*). However, the question remained open what H did if it found a T cluster *lč* in the copied form. The answer can only be that H copied *lč* in this case, which then may have been displaced by vowel length (*ďümölč* > *ďümőč*). Chuv *śimeś* goes back to a WOT **ǰemilč*. See § 6.2.8.

The earliest pertinent sources indicate that *l* is very old in this word. In the oldest H text, the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* (c1195), we find [ďimilš] four times and [ďimilč] two times. The botanical term **gyümölcsény**, which is derived fr the word, forms part of a GN as early as in 1086 in the form *gemilsen* [ďemilšen], and in the same year as *gemilchen* [ďemilčeń], and in 1090–93/1227 as *gemelchen* (Györffy 1992: 251, 259, 276). Bárczi (1958b: 117) supposed an original T *š* which was so different fr the H *š* that it had to be rendered with an *-lš* combination. More likely, H experienced a *Vlč* ~ *Vlš* ~ *V̄č* ~ *V̄š* alternation. The T origin of the H word was not debated, but the reconstruction of the WOT form and its morphological structure have been treated variously in the H literature. Ligeti returned to the problem several times (see the bibliography below).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 148; Munkácsi 1884b: 109; Gombocz 1907a: 215; Gombocz 1912b: 81–82; Gombocz 1914a: 27; Räsänen 1920: 31, 48; Ramstedt 1922–1923: 33, 35; Ligeti 1935a: 236; Németh 1935–1939: 524;

Németh 1942a: 6; Bárczi 1956: 7; Bárczi 1958b: 117; Ligeti 1958: 450; Ligeti 1960: 302; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 194–195; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1140; Hamilton 1971: 136; Clauson 1972: 980; Ligeti 1977–1979/2: 418–424; Ligeti 1978: 268–271; Ligeti 1980: 239-242; Ligeti 1986: 17, 20, 84; Györffy 1992: 251, 259, 276; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502; Róna-Tas 1997a: 46; Rastorgueva–Édel′man 2000-2003/1: 77–78; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 871.

GYÜMÖLCSÉNY [d′ümölčēń] 'hawthorn, a plant similar to the whitethorn, or elder etc.' | 1086 *gemilsen buqur* [d′emilčēń bukur], 1086 *gymelchenbokor* [d′imelčen bokor] (Györffy 1992: 251, 259), 1204 GN *gemulscinus* [d′emülčīn-üš], 1255 *ghumulchyn* [d′ümülčēń], 1386 *Gywmewlchen* [d′ümölčēń] | *d′ümölčēń* < *d′emilčen* < **ǰemilčen* ← WOT **ǰemilčen* | EOT *yemšän* 'name of a fruit which grows wild in the Qifčaq country' < *yemiš* {with suff *+*An*}.

OT *yemšen* <YIMŠA'N> 'name of a fruit which grows wild in the Qifčāq country' (AK); **MT** *yemišän* 'nèfle' (AChag), *yimišän* 'yavšan, bir nevi xafif ot ve giyah dir; Eine leichte Grassart' (AChagŠSK, r: 'wormwood (*Artemisia*), a kind of light (poor) weed and grass'), *yemišen* 'a red-coloured fruit like wild cherry called *gumāč* (?) in Pe (r: *kūhiǰ* 'the Oxyacanth-fruit, a bramble', Ligeti 1978: 273) and *za'rūr* in Ar ('medlar, *Mespilus germanica*')' (AChagSC); **NT *Chuv*** (*śiměś tĕvvi* 'zavjaz′') (Chuv, ChuvA); ***NW*** *ǰimšän* 'zavjaz′, matočnik' (Tat), *yemšän* 'zavjaz′' (Bashk), *yemišan* '*Crataegus oxyacantha*' ("Tatarisch im Kaukasus", Köppen 1888–1889/1: 373); ***SW*** *yemšen* 'bojaryšnik turkestanskij (*Crataegus turkestanicus*)' (TkmD, Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 15), *yemšan* 'iymiši gïzïl reŋkli ösümlik; rastenie. Alyč [a plant with red fruit which belongs among the kinds of plant called *alïč* by the Türkmen]' (cf. TkmD, Ligeti 1978: 273, see Tkm *alïč* 'bojaryšnik ložnosomniteľnyj'), *yemišan* 'bojaryšnik' (Az), *yemišan* 'hawthorn' (AzM), *yemišen* 'siyah veya kırmızı tatlıca ufak meyveleri olan dikenli ve yabanı bir agaç' (TtD, Ligeti 1978: 273, 'kırmızı, ufak yemişleri olan, dikenli yabanlı bir ağaç'), *yemišon* '*Crataegus melanocarpa*' ("Türkisch", Köppen 1888–1889/1: 364, quotes Buhse); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word has the meaning 'hawthorn' in most of our sources. In Tat and Bashk it denotes the edible core or capsule of fruit which may have been the original meaning of the word. The change 'edible core' > 'the fruit with an edible core' > 'hawthorn' is probable. It is a den noun fr *yemiš* 'food, edible thing, fruit' (see **gyümölcs**) with the T suff +*An*. It is not clear whether this is a case of the coll suff +*An* (Erdal 1991: 91–92) or a variant of the suff +*gAn* that forms plant names (Erdal 1991: 85–89).

The word is absent fr Chuv, and 'core, capsule (of fruit)' is *śiměś tĕvvi* 'zavjaz′', which looks rather like a botanical term than a word in the spoken lg. It is interesting that *yemišän* is present in the *Dīvān* of Kashgari, in Chag and in the SW lgs, fr which the H word could not have been borrowed for phonetic reasons. We have to suppose a form **ǰemilčän*. In Chuv, hawthorn has two other names: *katărkas* 'bo-

jaryšnik' (see *katïrgan* 'bojaryšnik' (Tat)), and *pir śïrli* 'bojaryšnik' (*pir kĕpśi* 'djagil'', *pir yïvăśśi* 'topol'). It is very clear that the Chuv names are secondary developments. The hawthorn has another name in the NW and Sib lgs:

MT *dolana* 'espèce de prune sauvage apelée aussi *alučä* (see Tkm)' (AChag); NT *NW dülänä* 'bojaryšnik' (Tat), *dulana* 'bojaryšnik' (TatD), *dunala* 'bojaryšnik' (Bashk, also *enäläk* 'thorny'), *tulana* 'bojaryšnik' (SibTat), *dolono* 'bojaryšnik' (Kirg, according to Judahin is of Ir), *dolana* 'hawthorn (*Crataegus*)' (Kaz), ? *tulan* 'moh' (Nog); *SW* ? *domalan* 'trjüfeľ pustinnüj [truffle]' (Tkm); *SE dŭlana* 'bojaryšnik' (Uzb), *doluna* 'bojaryšnik' (MUyg); *NE tolononïŋ agaži* 'bojaryšnik' (RAlt), *tolono* 'Wiessdorn' (AltR, AltTelR), *tolono* 'bojarka, ternovik' (AltQK), *tolan*, *tolana* 'ein Strauch mit Stacheln, bojarka' (KhakShR), *dolagana*, *dolāna* 'bojaryšnik' (Tuv), *dolagana* 'bojaryšnik' (Tof); *Y dologono*, *doloxono*, *dolokuna*, *dolukuna* 'bojaryšnik, ternie', *dölükünä*, *dölüsüön* 'ščipovnik' (Y), *dölöhɔ̄n*, *dölöhüön*, *dölühüön*, *dölükünä* 'Heckenrose' (DlgS).

All these are the same words as Mo *dologana*, *dolunu* (read *dolono*) 'hawthorn'; see also Pe *dūlāna* 'a fruit like a red apple' (Steingass 1981: 546), Yagnobi *dolóna*, Taj *dolana* (Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 315–316).

Other names of the hawthorn in Köppen (1888–1889/1: 373) are: Crimean *badaut agač*, *načar agač*, *yapušhan*; Tat *to agač*, *obeskan*, *yubeskan*, Caucasus *karaïllya*, Kirg *basarša*, *tolonna*, *dologa* (the latter two belong with *dolono*), Kum *yabišha*. On the latter, see *yapušgak* 'a spinous plant, with burrs like hazelnuts, which stick to the tails of horses etc.' (AK), *yapušgan* 'bird-lime' (AChagSC).

This means that we have a Southwestern T (*yemišän*) – WOT (**ǰemišän*) isogloss besides a Northwestern–SibT isogloss (*dolono*) which is of Mo origin (*dologona* > *dolōno*).

E/H The H word was connected with T *yemišän* by Ligeti (1978: 257–274, esp. 271–274; 1980: 239–243). This etymolgy was not included in Benkő (1967–1984/1), but later accepted by him (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502). The word denoted 'elm, *Ulmus*' in some early H documents and 'hawthorn' very early on, as well as both 'tree' (*arbor* in the 13th c.) and 'forest' (*silua* c1200) in early sources. It was also 'bush (*dumus*)' later. In the 15th c., the word disappeared fr H, and the hawthorn was named *galagonya* (first data 1327/1410 and 1369), which is of Sl origin. The Sl word first denoted the fruit of the hawthorn, and later the whole plant. On the history and phonetics of the H word *gyümölcsény*, see **gyümölcs**.

◆ Köppen 1888–1889/1: 364, 373; Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 15; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 315–316; Ligeti 1978: 257–274; Ligeti 1980: 239–243; Steingass 1981: 546; Ligeti 1986: 228; Erdal 1991: 85–89, 91–92; Györffy 1992: 251, 259; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502.

GYŰR 'to crumple' see **gyúr**.

GYŰRŰ[1] [ďűrű] ‘a kind of tree similar to the maple or cornel, *Acer tataricum*, *Cornus sanguinea*’, a constituent in the following plant names: *vörösgyűrű*, *vörösgyűrűsom*, *gyürice*, *gyürkefa*, *gyürkicefa*, *veresgyűrű*, *veresgyűrűsom* (see Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 207) | 1192/1374/1425 ? GN *Gyreu* [ďīreü], 1193 ? GN *gireu* [ďīreü], 1268 *Gyrowbukur* [ďīrű bukur], 1338 *gyurewkerek* [ďűreü kerek], 1499 *Gywreffa* [ďűrē få] ‘a kind of shrub, shrubby tree’ | *ďűrű* < **ďereu̯* < **ǰereγ* ← WOT **ǰereγ* | EOT **yerik* ‘alder, *Alnus*’ (? < **yezik*) (? > *yekär* > *yigär* (> *igär*) > H *éger*, dial *jéger*).

OT –; **MT** *zirk* ‘épine-vinette’ (AChag), **NT** ***Chuv*** *śirěk* ‘olʹha’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *zirek* ‘olʹha’ (Tat), *yerek* ‘zlt. zirek; olʹha’ (TatD), *ǰirǐk* ‘die Erle’ (TatKR), *yerek* ‘olʹha’ (Bashk), *yörök agac* ‘olʹha’ (SibTat), *ǰerk* ‘olʹha’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *zirk* ‘barbaris (*Berberis*) = barbaris prodolgovatyj’, *zirk darahti* ‘olʹha’ (Uzb), *zirik* ‘tmin, barbaris’ (MUyg), *zir*(*k*) ‘barbaris’ (MUygB), *ziriq*, *qara ziriq* ‘barberry (*Berberis heteropoda*)’ (MUygE), *syrk* (read *zirk*) ‘*Berberis vulgaris*’ (Sart, Turkestan, Köppen 1888–1889/1: 12), ? *yüzek* ‘Chinese *he* (a kernel, a walnut)’ (YUygCh); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *sisik* ‘olʹha (*Alnus*), vid ivy, koru kotoroj upotrebljajut dlja okrašivanija derevjannoj posudy o kož v krasnyj i buryj cvet, krasnoe derevo, talʹnik s krasnoj koroj’ (Y), *sisiktāk* ‘Erlen-’ (Dlg).

E/T The data show two originally different plant names: (1) *yerik* ‘alder, *Alnus*’ and (2) *zirk* ‘berberis, piperidge, *Berberis sp.*, *Mahonia sp.*’ The two names were mixed in some lgs (and otherwise, but unacceptably, by Tenišev (2001: 130–131)). The manner of the change is very clear in Uzb, where *zirik* is ‘berberis, cummin’ but the ‘alder’ is called the ‘berberis tree’ (*zirk darahti*). The word *zirk* is of Pe origin (Róna-Tas 1970: 416–417; *zirk* sv. *zarak* ‘gold-leaf’ (cf. *zar* ‘gold’), *zirik* ‘barberry and its tree’).

More problematic is the place of the Y word *sisik* which may go back to an earlier **yezik*. If this is acceptable, then we have a PT **yezik* preceding an OChuv **ǰerik* (see Chuv *śirěk*, TatD *ǰirǐk*, KrchBlk *ǰerk*) and the OT *-z-* form was preserved only by Y. Y has a verb *sisiy-* ‘krasno okrašivatʹ’ which may be connected with the red colour of the plant. Pekarskij remarked that the bark of the tree is used for colouring or painting. If this verb is not a back-formation fr the plant name, then the underlying verb would be **yäzi-*, a den verb fr *yäz* ‘brass’ (Erdal 1991: 479), a word ultimately of IE origin (cf. Mo *ǰer*: *ǰer ǰebseg* or *ǰebe* ‘weapons, arms, armament’). The verb would denote ‘to make a colour like brass, copper’ (see **sarï-* > *sarïg* ‘yellow’ fr *sār* ‘mud’ < *sāz*, Erdal 1991: 483 and **sár**[2], **sárga**). The alder tree has a red bark and it is also called *vörösgyűrű* etc. ‘red (*vörös*) *gyűrű*’ in H. The noun *yäzik* is derived fr the verb *yäzi-* with the suff *-*(*O*)*k*.

It is also possible that the Y form that goes back to an early **yezik* has to be linked to T *yez* ‘a kind of plant, santonin (a kind of *Artemisia*)’. See AK: ‘It is a plant that is thinner and more fragile than a reed, and it is used by the nomads to

make curtains and screens' (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/3: 221). The word also occurs in Pe: *yaz* 'a thorny plant set around tents as a fence, the plant *s̲umām*' (Steingass 1981: 1530, see the latter on p. 347 'a kind of plant used for the covering of houses'). Kara has compared the T word *yez* with Mo *deresün* 'feather grass, broom grass (*Lasiagrostis splendens*)' (Kara 1976: 41–43). In this case, we are dealing with the den suff +*Ik* (Erdal 1991: 40–44). It is not very probable that the YUyg word *yüzik* 'kernel, walnut' in the YUygCh dict belongs here.

E/H Whatever the origin of the OT word *yerik*, H *gyűrű*[1] is a copy of an WOT **ǰeriγ*. The initial *ǰ-* and the final *-g* < *-k* together point to a WOT origin.

There does exist another H tree name *éger* 'alder', which has no etymology (see Benkő 1967–1984/1: 711–712; 1993–1997/1: 296). The word has a dial form *jéger* [yēger]. If this is the primary form, i.e. *yeger*, this may be a copy of a T **yegär* < **yekär* < **yerik*. The form **yegär* can only be a Kip form because of the lenition of the intervocalic *-k-* and the retention of the initial *y-*. The metathetic form would not be unparalleled. In Mo, we find *nigürsü* 'sandal rouge' (Kovalevskij 1844–1849/2: 670, surely originally only a species of red tree), and this *may* go back to a former **nirügsü*; see *nigürsü* 'a species of tree, Chinese *su mu*' (cf. Lessing 1960: 583). Mo **nirüg-sü* then could be compared with T *yirük*. The comparison is weakened, however, by the many hypothetical forms and the fact that until now we have not found tree names of Kip origin in H. This is also the opinion of Benkő (1993–1997/1: 502).

◆ Kovalevskij 1844–1849/2: 670; Köppen 1888–1889/1: 12; Gombocz 1901b: 243–246; Gombocz 1912b: 83; Lessing 1960: 583; Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 207; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 711–712, 1140–1141; Reuter 1969: 99–111; Róna-Tas 1970: 416–417; Kara 1976: 41–43; Steingass 1981: 347, 1530; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/3: 221; Ligeti 1986: 21, 78–79; Erdal 1991: 40–44, 479, 483; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 296, 502; Tenišev 2001: 130–131.

GYŰRŰ² [d′ürü̱] 'ring' | 1232/1281 GN *Gyrus kut* [d′ürü̱-š kūt], 1358–1359 ? PN *Gurev* [d′ürü̱], p1372/c1448 *gyewrewſewmre* [d′ürü̱-šömre], c1395 *gyrow* [d′ürö̱] | *d′ürü̱* < **d′üreu̯* < **ǰürüγ* ← WOT **ǰürüγ* | EOT *yüzük* 'finger ring' < *yüz* 'joint'.

OT *yüzük* 'seal ring' (AK); **MT** *yüzük* 'ring' (AGul), *yüzük* 'yüzük' (AHMA), *yüzük* 'persten′, kol′co' (AHŠF), *yüzük* 'persten′' (AIM), *yüzük* 'parmağa geçirilen halka' (AIMI), *yüz qāš* 'ring with a bezel' (see Tt below), *yüzük* 'ring' (AKD), *yüzük* 'persten′, kol′co' (ANehF), *yüzük* 'kol′co, persten′' (ATef), *yüzük* 'Ring' (LCCG), *yüzük* 'yüzük' (AHou), *yüzük* 'yüzük' (AKav); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śĕrĕ*, *śĕr* 'kol′co, kolečko, persten′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yözek* 'kol′co, persten′' (Tat), *yöδök* 'persten′' (Bashk), *ǰüzük*, *ǰüzdük* 'kol′co (ukrašenie), persten′' (Kirg), *ǰüzik* 'ring (for the finger)' (Kaz), *ǰüzik* 'persten′, kol′co' (Kklp), *yüzik* 'kol′co, persten′, kolečko (igra molodeži)' (Nog), *yüzük* 'kol′co, persten′' (CrTat), *üz′uk* 'persten′, kol′co' (KarT), *ėzik* 'kol′co, persten′', *izik* 'kol′co, persten′, obruč' (KarH), *yüzük* 'kol′co, persten′' (KarC), *yüzük* 'kol′co, persten′' (Kum), *ǰüzük* 'kol′co, persten′ m.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yüzük* 'kol′co, persten′' (Tkm), *üzük* 'kol′co, persten′, perstnevidyj' (Az), *yüzük* 'ring', *yüzük kaşı* 'collet of a ring'

(Tt), *üzük* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ŭzuk* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (Uzb), *üzük* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (TurkiJ), *üzük* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *d′üstük* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (Alt), *čüstük* ‘kol′co, persten′’ (Khak), *čüstüg* ‘sustavnoj, imejuščij sustavy’ (Tuv), *čüstük* ‘kol′co, kolečko (ukrašenie)’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Ligeti (1958: 448; 1962a: 329), the word belongs with *yüz* ‘joint, articulation’, present in the expression *yüz yüzägü* in the *Rājāvavādaka sūtra* (see also AKD above) and in certain Sib lgs as *yüs* ‘das Gelenk’ (TuvSR), *t′üs* ‘sustav’ (Karagass, Pekarskij 1917–1930/2: 2414), *čüs* ‘sustav’ (Tuv), *čüs* ‘sustav’ (Tof) and *süsā-* ‘razbirat′ na sustav’ (Y). According to Ligeti, both *yüzük* ‘finger ring’ and *yüstük* < *yüzlük* (see the Sib data) can be grouped with *yüz* ‘joint’ with different suffs, the first with the dim suff *+k* the second with the suff *+lXk*. The etymology (misunderstood by Clauson 1972: 987 s.v. *yüzägü*) has been accepted by Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 261–262). The connection of EOT *yüzük* with Mo *dörüge* ‘stirrup’ is impossible and another word is PT **izäŋgä* ‘stirrup’ > Chuv *yărana* (otherwise, but unacceptable, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 485–486).

E/H The T etymology first suggested by Vámbéry (1870: 148) was later accepted by all H authorities. There does exist a debate on the H word **szérű** ‘threshing yard’, because this yard was similar to a ring and the word **szérű** also had such meanings as ‘something in the shape of a ring’. According to earlier opinions, H **szérű** is a copy of a Chuv **śerüg* << **yizük*. See the details under **szérű**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 148; Gombocz 1912b: 82–83, 123; Paasonen 1913: 48; Pekarskij 1917–1930/2: 2414; Bárczi 1956: 7; Ligeti 1958: 447–449; Ligeti 1962a: 329; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 147; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1141; Clauson 1972: 986–987; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 77–79; Ligeti 1986: 21, 78; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 261–262; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 502–503; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 485–486.

GYŰSZŰ [d′ȕsȕ] ‘thimble’ | 1528 *gewzw* [d′ȕsȕ], 1533 *Gyewzew* [d′ȕsȕ] | *d′ű̈sű̈* < **ǰüɣsüɣ* ← WOT **ǰüɣsüɣ* | EOT *yüksük* ‘thimble’ < *yüg* ‘seam, stitching’ {with suff *+sOk*} < **yü-* {with suff *-(X)g*}.

OT *yüksük* <YUK.SAK> ‘something like an archer’s finger-guard, made from brass or hide, which a tailor attaches to his fingertips to protect them from being pricked by the needle’ (AK); **MT** *ölšek* (read ? *üsek*) ‘thimble’ (AKD), *yüksük* ‘dé à coudre’ (AChag), *yüksük* ‘Fingerhut’ (AChagŠSK), *yüksük* ‘dikiş dikerken parmağa geçirilen nesne’ (AAH), *yiksük* ‘yüksük’ (AHou), *üksük*, *yüksük* ‘naperstok’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *yürse* ‘naperstok (iz koži ili plotnoj tkani)’ (Tkm), *üvsük* ‘naperstok’ (TkmD), *üskük* ‘naperstok’ (Az), *yüksük* ‘thimble’ (Tt), *yüssük*, *yüsküf*, *yüġsük*, *iskif*, *iskiv* ‘yüksük’ (TtD), *üsük* ‘naperstok’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *čüskük*, *čüstük* ‘naperstok’ (Tuv), *süksük* ‘naperstok’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sű̄tük* ‘naperstok’ (Y), *hű̄tük* ‘Fingerhut’ (Dlg).

E/T The word is a den der fr *yüg*, *yig* ‘seam, stitching’, itself a dev noun fr **yü-*, **yi-* ‘to sew’ (see **szűcs**). All data for *yüg*, *yig* have been collected by Levitskaja (see

Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 197–198, s.v. *yiv*). The suff +*sOk* is covered by Erdal (1991: 157–158) without *yüksük*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1521–1522) compared the T word with Mo *sübe* 'eye of a needle, small hole' (L).

E/H The T origin of the word was first suggested by Vámbéry (1870: 149), the T etymology of the word was cleared by Ligeti (1959: 453–456) and accepted by all H authorities.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 149; Gombocz 1912b: 83; Ligeti 1959: 453–456; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1141; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 83–86; Ligeti 1986: 21, 118; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 197–198; Erdal 1991: 157–158; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 503; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1521–1522.

H

HAJÓ [håyō] ‘boat, ship’ | 1181 GN ? *Haio* [håyō], 1211 GN *Hoyouholmu* [håyō hålmu], 1338 GN dial *Hayoswth* [håyō-š ūt], 1381 GN *Hayowrewzygethe* [håyō-rēv sigete], c1395 *haŷo* [håyō], c1405 *heo* [heyō], 1528 *heyabwl* [heyå-bōl], 1863 *Hijó* [hiyō] | *håyō* < *hayiɣ* ← WOT **χayïɣ* | EOT **kayïg* < *kaygïk* ‘small boat’.

OT *qayġuq* > *qayġïq* ‘small boat’ (AK, *waw* changed to *kasra*); **MT** *qanġaq* ‘bol′šoe sudno’ (read *qayġaq* AIM; see Blagova 1997: 212), *qaŋaq* ‘büyük gemi’ (AIMI), *qayuq* ‘a small boat’ (AKD), *qayïq*, *qayuq* ‘recourbé, petite barque’ (AChag), *qayuq*, *qayïq* ‘sajka, hajó [small boat]’ (AChagAbV), *qayïq* ‘lodka’ (AChagMA), *qayuq* (AChagS), *qayuq* ‘a small boat’, “Rumi”: *qayïq* (AChagSC); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qayïq* ‘lodka, čeln, jalik, šljupka’ (Tat), *kayïk* ‘das Ruder’ (TatKR), *qayïq* ‘malenkaja doblenaja lodka, kajuk’ (Bashk), *käyük* ‘kajuk, bol′šaja lodka, sdelennaja iz dosok’ (SibTat ← Rus), *kayïk* ‘lodka’ (Kirg), *qayïq* ‘boat’ (Kaz), ‘lodka, sudno, lodočnyj’ (KazB), *qayïq* ‘lodka, šljupka’ (Kklp), *kayïk* ‘lodka, čeln, jalik’ (Nog), *qayïq* ‘lodka’ (CrTat), *kayïk* ‘lodka, bot, čeln’ (KarT, KarH), *qaiq*, *xaiq*, *xayïq* ‘lodka, barža’ (KarC), *qayïq* ‘lodka, čelnok’ (Kum), *qayïq* ‘lodka, šljupka’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gayïk* ‘lodka, čeln, jalik’ (Tkm), *ġayïġ* ‘lodka’ (Az), *kayık* ‘boat, rowboat, caique’ (Tt), *kayğuk* ‘kayık’ (TtD), *kayïk* ‘lodka, lodačnyj’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *gāyïġ* ‘Boot’ (Kh ← Pe); ***SE*** *qayiq* ‘lodka’ (Uzb, Blagova 1997: 212), *qeyiq* ‘lodka, šljupka, čelu’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *kayïk* ‘das Ruder’ (AltR, AltTKR); ***Y*** *hayïk* ‘kaik, kajuk, bol′šoe sudo s odnym kilem, bol′šaja rečnaja lodka’ (Y), *hoyūk* ‘bol′šaja lodka’ (YD).

Mo *qayaġ* ‘(v prostorečie) sudno, korabl′’ (Kow), *qayaġur* ‘oar’ (L).

E/T The word has been connected by Radloff (1893–1911/2: 4) with the verb *kay-* ‘to glide, to swim’. Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 212) raised doubts because the verb has a long vowel in Tkm (*gāy-* ‘parit′, letat′, plyt′, skolzit′’) and should also retain it in the dev noun. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 408–410), the form *kayguk* is a dev noun fr *kay-* ‘gleiten’ with the suff *-gUk*, hence *kayguk* > *kayuk*. But according to Erdal, there is no such suff as **-gUk*, only *-gAk* (Erdal 1991: 391–396). Perhaps we could suppose a dev suff *-(X)g* and a den suff *+gOk*: **kayï-g-gok* > **kayïgok* > **kaygok* > **kayok* > *kayuk*. The vocalisation of the second vowel in AK is uncertain, because a former *waw* has been changed to *kasra*. If *kangak* is a miswriting in AIM, which is very probable and has also been noted by Levitskaja, then the form *kaygak* would be the only expected dev noun in the sources (Blagova 1997: 212). Mo data (Kalm *xay^{a}g* ‘Schiff, Boot’ etc.) are T lws. All these point to the fact that this is a case of a cultural *Wanderwort* which entered almost all lgs in Eurasia (see Sinor 1961: 169–173 and Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 408–410). The front-vocalic form in SibTat is a re-borrowing fr Rus. It is of interest that we find the word *kayak* ‘ski, sledge’ in Tt,

which is a dev noun fr *kay-* 'to glide, to slide, to slip'. Even the word *kayïk* 'boat etc.' has the meaning 'sledge' in the Tt dials. This makes it likely that the wandering word may have a T etymology, or that it has at least been fitted into the der system of T.

E/H Early on, Vámbéry (1870: 122, 149) suggested the T origin of the H word, but it was not dealt with by Gombocz (1912b), not even as a possibility or a suggestion to be refuted. The H word was long considered to be of U origin, and derived fr U **kojwa* 'birch' with the supposition of a semantic change: 'birch' > 'basket made of birch' > 'vessel' > 'boat'. In this case, the final *-ó* of the H word would go back to an U suff **-mɜ* or **-k(ɜ)*. This very complicated der has been called into doubt by Sinor (1961: 169–173) and Ligeti (1986: 28) with good reason. Even Lakó and Rédei (Lakó 1967–1978/2: 247–248) regarded the U etymology as problematic and mentioned the T word as a possible origin. The initial *h-* in H *hajó* was knotty, since T *k-* is represented by *k-* in most cases in H. Theoretically, two possibilities exist. U **ķ* became *h-* in H very early, and we have to suppose that the word entered H before this H change. Bárczi (1965: 50) supposed that there existed an Ugr–T contact before the separation of OUgr (Vog, Osty) and H, and T words which have a H *h-* corresponding to T *k-* (*hattyú*, *hód* etc.) entered the Ugr lgs in this period. This has been refuted by Róna-Tas (1988a: 750), who pointed out that there are a few cases where H *h-* reflects a *k* > *χ* change in T, which occurred in the Khaz, VBulg and OChuv lgs certainly no later than the 9th–10th c.s. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 514), H *hajó* may be of either U or T origin. Benkő saw the difficulty of the T etymology given that there are only a few OT data for the word. Since it is a cultural *Wanderwort*, this does not present any problems. The final *-ó* regularly corresponds with T *-Vg* < *-Vk*; see **béklyó**, **bíró**, **gyarló**, **szeplő** and § 6.2.2.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 122, 149; Radloff 1893–1911/2: 4; Ligeti 1935a: 222; Räsänen 1939: 103; Ligeti 1960: 300; Sinor 1961: 169–173; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 408–410; Bárczi 1965: 50; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 247–248; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 26–27; Räsänen 1969: 233; Ligeti 1979: 271–272; Ligeti 1986: 28; Róna-Tas 1988a: 750; Erdal 1991: 391–396; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 514; Blagova 1997: 212; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 526.

HARANG [hårång] 'bell' | 1211 GN dial *Harrangud* [hårång-ud], 1265/ GN *Horong* [hårång], 1274/ GN dial *Harangud* [hårång-ud], c1395 *haranga* [hårång-å] | *hårång* < **hangar* ← WOT **χoŋar* < **koŋar* | EOT *koŋragu* 'a kind of bell'.

OT *qoŋgraġu* 'a kind of bell' (UMaitr 31v13), *qoŋraġu* 'bells' (AK); **MT** *qongraġu* 'zvonok, kolokol'čik (kotoryj vešajut na šeju životnogo)' (AHŠF), *qarangu* (AKD read as *qaraygu*? Should be read *qorangu*, but the *damma* is omitted, the translation of the Mo is "I have put the bell on the foot of the falcon"), *qoŋuraq* 'clochette' (AChag), *qonqrau* 'kolokol'čik' (AChagMA), *qanqar* 'büyük ǰanǰïraq, čenk; zengule' (AChagŠS), *qanqar* 'Glocke, Harfe, Klingel' (AChagŠSK), *qoŋrov* 'Schelle', *qoŋran-* 'murmeln, flüstern' (LCCG), *qumravu*, *činraġu*, *čïnradï* 'çan' (AAH); **NT**

Chuv *xănkărav*, *xankărma* ‘bubenec, bubenčik’ (Chuv), *xănkărav*, *xankărma* ‘kolokol′čik jamščikij’ (Fedotov 1996/2: 329), *xankăra*, *xankărma* ‘bubenčik’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *qïŋïrau* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik’ (Tat), *qïŋġïrau* ‘kolokol′čik’ (TatD1), *kïŋrau* ‘csengettyű [small bell]’ (TatB), *qïŋġïrau* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (Bashk), *quŋïrau* ‘botalo’ (BashkD), *quŋrau* ‘kolokol′čik’ (SibTat), *qoŋrau* ‘das Glöckchen, die Schelle’ (SibTatBR), *koŋurō* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (Kirg), *qoŋïrau* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvon, zvonok’ (KazB), *qoŋrau* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (Kklp), *koŋïrav* ‘kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (Nog), *kongurov*, *kunġurov*, *kunkurov* ‘kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (KarT), *kongurav*, *kongurov*, *konġurov* ‘kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (KarH), *qonġuruv* ‘kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (KarC), *qongurav* ‘zvonok, bubenec, kolokol′čik’ (Kum), *koŋŋurau* ‘csengő, harangocska; small bell (of the light sort on an animal or of the heavier sort that acts as a signalling device)’ (KumN), *qoŋurau* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gïmrov* ‘kolokol′čik, bubenčik’ (Az), *kongurdak*, *kanguldak*, *kongrak*, *konguraк*, *konkuldak*, *koor*, *gograv* ‘hayvanların boyunlarına takılan küçük çan, çıngırak’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kŭnġiråq* ‘zvonok, kolokol′čik, bubenčik, kolokol’ (Uzb), *qoŋraq* ‘bell’ (TurkiJ), *qungraghu* ‘a bell’, *qungraq* ‘a little bell attached to an animal’ (TurkiSh), *qoŋġuraq*, (dial) *qoŋġuruq* ‘kolokol, kolokol′čik, zvonok’ (MUyg), *koŋor*, *koŋra*, *koŋura*, *koŋïr*, *qoŋïr* ‘kolokol′čik, bubenčik’ (Sal), *qoŋer*, *qaŋər*, *ġaŋər* ‘clochette au cou des animaux’ (SalK), *qoŋgrax*, *qoŋïrax* ‘kolokol′čik’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *koŋïra* ‘železnoe kol′co s podveskami, čast′ ukrašenij ritual′noj odeždi šamana, kotoraja jakoby služilav bronej, ohranjavšej ego ot zlyh duhov’ (Alt), *qoŋo* ‘die Glocke, Schelle’, *qoŋrū* ‘die Glöckchen, Schellen an der Schamanentrommel’ (AltR), *koŋara*, *koŋdra* ‘kolokol’, *koŋarak* ‘kolokol′čik’ (AltQK), *xoġdro* ‘kolokol′čik (dlja skota), obl. botalo’, *xoŋro* ‘botalo’ (Khak), *xoŋro*, *xoŋrā* ‘kolokol′čik, bubenec’ (KhakB), *qoŋrāǰaq* ‘ein Glöckchen’ (KhakSR), *qoŋrā*, *qoŋaraq* ‘die Glocke’ (KhakShR), *qoŋgulūr* ‘kolokol′čik, bubenčik’ (Tuv), *qoŋġïra-* ‘zvenet′, brjakat′, zvjakat′ (napr. botalo)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kïŋïrā-* ‘brenčat′ (o metalličeskih veščicah)’ (Y).

Mo *qoŋqu* ‘bell, hand bell’, *qoŋgina-* ‘to ring, sound resonantly’, *qoŋġir-qaŋġir* ‘onomat. expressive of the sound of many little bells’, *qoŋgiras-* ‘to ring’ (L), *kuāngarta* (Todaeva 1986: 178), *xōŋguor* ‘clochette’ (Mngr).

E/T The T word is of onomatopoeic origin. Its primary base is *koŋ* (see Mo *koŋku*), fr which a verb *koŋra-* was formed with the suff *+rA-* (Erdal 1991: 470). Cf. Kashgari’s *koŋra-* in the expression *oglān ūni koŋrādï* ‘the boy’s voice deepened’ (AK), i.e. on reaching puberty. See also *koŋran-* in LCCG and the parallel Mo form *koŋgiras-*. There also existed a form *koŋur*, *koŋar* (see e.g. Sal), with a rare suff *+Xr* / *+Ar*. This took on a dim suff *+Ak*: *koŋarak* > *koŋrak*. In case of more small bells (e.g. on the shaman’s drum), it adopted the suff *+(A)gU* (Erdal 1991: 93–97), hence *koŋar* > *koŋ(a)ragu*. Minor irregularities are due to the onomatopoeic character of the word.

For more details, see Blagova (2000: 60–61). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 721) treat these and other words as genetically related.

E/H The H word was linked earlier on to the T word *kazan*, Chuv *xuran* (< **karan*) 'cauldron' by Gombocz (1912b: 83). The semantic reason for this was that the word *harang* in present-day H denotes a large church bell, which is similar to a cauldron. Ligeti (1968: 75–78) has shown that the H word originally meant a small bell, mainly used for animals, which only later came to be used for 'church bell'. He pointed out (1986: 27–28) the fact that the T word refers to the small type of bell used in animal husbandry, as was originally the case in H. The copied form may have been a WOT form **χoŋar* < **koŋar* fr which H *harang* evolved with a metathesis. This metathesis may have occurred in T (see AKD) or in H. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 528) observed that the metathetic form is not (yet) documented in T. Ašmarin noted the onomatopoeic word *χărănk* in the Chuv dial of Puškart (Ašmarin 1928–1950/16: 361), besides the form *χănkăr* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/16: 339); cf. *χănkărav* 'kolokol'ščik jamščikij'. These seem to be late formations, but similar forms may have existed much earlier and in other T lgs; see now AKD above.

◆ Gombocz 1907a: 217; Gombocz 1912b: 83; Ašmarin 1928–1950/16: 339, 361; Ligeti 1935a: 245–249; Bárczi 1952: 352, 354; Rásonyi 1961: 250–251; Sinor 1961: 171; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 387–389; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 54–55; Ligeti 1968: 75–78; Palló 1970b: 46–52; Clauson 1972: 682; Ligeti 1986: 27–28; Todaeva 1986: 178; Erdal 1991: 93–97, 470; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 528; Fedotov 1996/2: 329; Blagova 2000: 60–61; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 721.

HERJÓ [heryō] *arch* 'hawk' | 1366 GN ? *Heryou* [heryou], c1440 *herios* [heryō-š], 1519 *heryoth* [heryō-t], 1669 dial *hirjókáznak* [hiryō-kāznåk], 1833 dial *Hérióka* [hēryō-kå] | *heryō* < **xirɣuy* ← WOT **χïrɣuy* < **kïrguy* | EOT *kïrguy* 'sparrow hawk'.

OT *qarġuy*, *qïrġuy* 'sparrow hawk', *čipäk qarġuy* 'sparrow hawk' (AK); **MT** *qïrġu* 'rod hiščnoj pticy, (tur. slovo značit <kopčik, perepeljatnik>, ar. perevod: <mïšelov, sarïč>)' (AIM), *qïrġu* 'atmaca (kuş)' (AIMI), [*qarčïġay* 'hawk'], *quġur* '? sparrow hawk' (ARbg), *q(ï)ragu* <QR'ĠW> 'épervier, oiseau de proie' (AChag), *qïrġu* 'a sparrow hawk' (AChagSC), *qaraġu* 'bir nevi šikyar kušu dur' (AChagŠS), *qaraġu* 'Sperber, Z. eine Art Jagdvogel' (AChagŠSK), *qorġuy* 'Nachtigall' (LCC, the meaning (paser < passer) is evidently wrong; see Drimba 2000: 232), *quruġï* 'bir nevi toğan kuşu' (AAH), *qïġruv* 'oiseau de nuit, chathuant, huette', *qïrġï* 'oasieau de proie, épervier' (ABul), *qïrġïy*, *qurġaš* 'jastreb' (ATuh); **NT *Chuv*** *xĕrxi* 'kobčik, nebol'šoj sokol' (Chuv), *xĕrxü* 'hiščnoj pticy' (ChuvA), *xĕrxi* 'valamely ragadozó madár, ölyv, fogdos egereket, mikor helyen lebegve vijjog, az esőt jelent, azt mondják akkor, hogy »xĕrxi šïv ïyɒat'« <vizet kér> [some bird of prey, hawk, it catches mice, when it hovers in place and screeches, it means rain, one then says "xĕrxi šïv ïyɒat'" <it is asking for water>]', (*kăykăr* 'sokol' ← Tat) (ChuvP); ***NW*** *kïygïr* 'urmanda yäši häm yaŋgïr aldïnnan kïčkïra torgan kečerăk koš, jaŋgïr telăncese rusčasï; čeglok' (TatE), *qïrġïy*

'*Falco nisus*' (TatR), *qïrġïy*, *qïyġïr* 'jastreb' (TatD1), *qïrġï* 'karvaly; sparrow hawk' (TatB), *qïyġïr* 'čeglok (ptica)' (Bashk), *qïrġïy* 'jastreb-perepeljatnik' (Kirg), *qïrġi* 'kobčik, perepeljatnik, jastreb-perepeljatnik' (KazB), *qïrġïy* 'jastreb-perepeljatnik' (Kklp), *kïrgïy* (dial.) 'žuravl' (Nog), *qïrïy* 'jastreb' (CrTat), *kïrġïy* 'sokol, jastreb' (KarT), *kïrġïy* 'sokol, jastreb' (KarH), *qïrġïy* 'jastreb' (KarC), *kïrġïy* 'sólyom; falcon' (KumN), *qïrġïy* 'poėt. strojnyj točenyj', (KrchBlk), *qïrġaw* (ust.) 'golos' (Blk); ***SW*** *gïrgï* 'perepeljatnik, jastreb-perepeljatnik, kobčik' (Tkm), *ġïrġï* 'jastreb' (Az), *kırgı* 'falcon, sparrow hawk' (Tt), *kïrgï* 'şahın kuşu, atmaca' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qirġiy* 'perepeljatnik, jastreb-perepeljatnik' (Uzb), *qurġuy*, *qïrġuy* 'sparrow hawk' (TurkiJ), *qirġâi* 'a small species of hawk' (TurkiSh), *qirġiy* 'jastreb-perepeljatnik' (MUyg); ***NE*** *qïrġïy* 'eine kleine Habichtsart (die sich gut zur Jagd eignet)' (AltTelR), *xïrġayax* 'jastrebok' (Khak), *qïrġayaq* '*Falco apivorus*' (KhakSR); ***Y*** *kïrbïy* 'dračun, seryj sokol, sokol-čeglok, *Falco subbuteo*' (Y).

Mo *kirġuy* 'small hawk, small predatory bird' (L).

E/T The word belongs to a group of bird names which may be classified as quasi-onomatopoeic and includes: *kïrgavul* 'pheasant', *karga* 'raven', *korday* 'pelican, swan', *karlïgač* 'swallow', *karčïgay* 'hawk', all back-vocalic and containing *kVr* and, most of them, *g* sounds, see *kïrgaw* (ust.) 'golos' (Blk). The T word *kïrguy* also has forms like *kïrgïy*, *kïygur*, *karguy* and *korguy*, *kurguy*, ? *ukar* 'grue' (UHyS). The final segment *-Vy* in the SW T lgs changed to *-i*: *kirgi*, *girgï*, *xerxi*. The large variety of forms is due to the quasi-onomatopoeic character of the word, and some show otherwise irregular changes. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 680) cited the Mo form as lw fr T, but Tu *kīran* as genetically related.

E/H The H word first appeared as a GN in c1440, and in 1519 on a list of predatory birds. In the Albert Szenczi Molnár dict (1621), it is given as 'pernix', which has been interpreted in the literature as a miswriting for Lat *perdix* 'partridge', and hence cited as 'Rebhuhn'. This misled Gombocz (1906: 477), who considered the semantic side as problematic. After important papers of Simon (1956) and Berrár (1956), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 97; 1993–1997/1: 550) finally corrected the semantic side, and suggested that *pernix* was the name of a small, fast predatory bird (the basic meaning of the Lat word *pernix* is 'fast'), hence it never denoted partridge. In the Kassai dict (1833–1838/2: 407), the dim form *herjóka* is translated as 'hawk'. However, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 550) classified the word as being of unknown origin. The initial *h-* of the H word reflects a T *χ-* (see **hajó**), and the T cluster *-rg-* is regularly represented as *-ry-* (orth <rj>) in H (see **bojtorján**, **borjú**, **tátorján**). See also **karvaly**.

◆ Szenczi Molnár 1621; Kassai 1833–1838/2: 407; Munkácsi 1901b: 352–353; Gombocz 1906: 475–477; Gombocz 1907a: 218; Gombocz 1912b: 217; Berrár 1956: 206; Simon 1956: 195–199; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 97; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 550; Drimba 2000: 232; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 680.

HOMOK [homok] 'sand' | 1055 *humca* [humk-å], *humuc* [humuk], *kumuc* [kumuk], †1194/[c1230] *homoc* [homok], 1385 GN *Humoktelek* [humok-telek], 1395 GN *Hamokzalas* [håmok-sālāš] | *homok* < **humuki* < **humoki* ⟵ WOT **χumakï* < **kumakï* | EOT *kum* 'sand'.

OT *qum* 'sand' (RKT), *qum* 'Sand' (UTTI), *qum* 'Sandkörnern'(UII, UIII), *qum* 'sable' (UHamTouHou), *qum* 'sand' (AK), *qum* 'sand' (AQB); **MT** *qum* 'kum' (UYAB), *qum* 'sable' (UHy), *qum*, *qūm* 'Sand, Sandwüste' (UCiv), *qum* 'sand, grain of sand' (AGul), *qum* 'kum, kır, yaban' (AHMA), *qum* 'pesok' (AHŠF), *qum* 'pesok' (AIM), *qum* 'ufak, sert taneler şeklinde olan taş döküntüsü' (AIMI), *qum* 'sand' (AKD), *qum* 'pesok' (ANehF), *qum*: *qumlïġ qol* 'sandy dunes' (ARbg), *qum* 'pesok' (ATef), *qum* 'sable mouvant, bosse du chameau' (AChag), *qum* 'pesok' (AChagMA), *qum* 'sand': *rīg-i narm* 'soft sand' (AChagSC), *qum* 'reml, rig […]' (AChagŠS), *qum* 'Sand' (LCCI), *qum* 'kum üzerinde falcılık etmek, kum' (AAH), *qum* 'Dalga – dalganın diğer tâbiri (talaz)dır. Çölde kumun yığılmasına (dalgalanmak) ve kum yığınına (talaz) demişler. Hattâ çöle, düz ovaya (deniz) demişler' (AAHI), *qum* 'sable' (ABul), *qum* 'sable' (ADur), *qum* 'Sand' (AHou), *qum* 'Sand' (AKav), *qum* 'sand' (AMGh), *qum* 'pesok' (ATuh), *xum* 'sable' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qom* 'pesok' (Tat), *qom* 'pesok, (geol.) rossyp (mineralov)' (Bashk), *qomaq* 'glinjanyj čajnik' (BashkD), *qomak* 'tverdyj, pesčanyj (o dne ozera, reki)', *qumaq* 'pesčanoe dno, gde rybu lovjat nevodom' (SibTat), *qubaq* 'der Schmutz' (SibTatTR), *kum* 'pesok, nakip (napr. na stenkah samovara)', *kumak* (redko) 'pesok' (Kirg), *qŭm* 'sand', *qŭmaq* 'a sandy area' (Kaz), *qŭm* 'pesok', *qŭmaq* 'pesačnyj, pesčanoe mesto' (KazB), *qum* 'pesok' (Kklp), *kum* 'pesok' (Nog), *qum* 'pesok' (CrTat), *kum* 'pesok' (KarT), *kum* 'pesok' (KarH), *qum* 'pesok' (KarC), *xum*, *kaïr xum* 'homok [sand]' (KumN), *qum* 'pesok' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gum* 'zemlja, počva, pesok', *gumak* 'pesčanyj, pesčanaja počva' (Tkm), *gum* 'pesok, pesoček' (Az), *kum* 'sand, gravel, pesok, komni, kamenystie kletki (v mjakomi gruši, ajvy)' (Tt), *kum* 'pesok, komni' (Gag), *ġum* 'Sand' (Khor), *qum* 'Sand' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qum* 'pesok', *qumåq* 'pesčanaja počva' (Uzb), *qum* 'sand, dune' (TurkiJ), *qum* 'sand' (TurkiSh), *qum* 'pesok' (TurkiLN), *qum* 'der Sand' (TurkiTR), *qum* 'pesok, peski' (MUyg), *qumlaq* 'sand' (MUygTY), *qum* 'pesok' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kumak* 'pesok' (Alt), *qum* 'der Sand' (AltR), *qubaq*, *qum* 'der Sand' (AltLR), *qubaq* 'der Sand' (AltTKR), *qum* 'pesok' (AltTel), *xum* 'pesok' (Khak), *qum* 'der Sand' (KhakQbR), *qum* 'der Sand' (KhakQchR), *qum* 'der Sand' (KhakSR), *qum*, *qumaq* 'der Sand' (KhakShR), *kum* 'pesok' (Tuv), *hum* 'pesok' (Tof); ***Y*** *kumax* 'pesok' (Y).

Mo *qumaġ* 'fine sand', *qumaki* 'grit, fine sand, dust' (L), *xum* 'Sand, Staub', *xum^{u}ᵹ* 'Staubkörnchen, Sandkörnchen' (Kalm).

E/T According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 508–509), Mo *kumag*, *kumaki* is easy to understand fr T *kumak*. This was also accepted by Erdal (1991: 40). However the final *-i* in Mo cannot be deduced fr the T form. The T bisyllabic forms have three

meanings: (1) ‘sand’, (2) ‘sandy, sandy place, dune’, (3) ‘the (sandy) bottom of a body of water’. It is, however, difficult to suppose a dim suff *+Ak* here (Erdal 1991: 40); more likely, this is a case of a PT suff **+AkI* < *+Ak+kI*. For *+kI*, see *ilki* < *ilk-ki* ‘first’, *kodïkï* ‘situated below’ < *kodï* ‘downwards’. Cf. also Mo *+ki* in *degereki* ‘upper’ < *degere* ‘on, above’, *edügeki* ‘present’ < *edüge* ‘now’ (Poppe 1964: 50), which had the function of indicating the location of the thing denoted by the base. Thus we have (Mo *kumaki* ⟵) **kumakï* < *kumak-kï* ‘place were the sand is, sandy place’. The final *-ï* disappeared in OT but was preserved by Mo. See e.g. Kaz *kum* ‘sand’, *kumak* ‘a sandy area’.

E/H The earlier literature on the H word and its etymology did not take into account the bisyllabic T forms. According to Ligeti (1986: 153–154), all T bisyllabic forms are of Mo origin. This seems to be unlikely. Sinor (1961: 171) and Ligeti (1986: 80–81, 153–154) mention the problem of the H initial *h-* reflecting a T *χ-* and this being in contradiction with the final stop *-k*. The stop character of the unvoiced guttural may have been preserved before *-i* longer than in other positions. Thus both Mo and H would reflect an early T form **kumakï* > **χumakï* once more a case where both Mo and H preserved an earlier form than OT.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 152; Gombocz 1912b: 84; Ligeti 1935a: 212–226; Sinor 1961: 171; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 508–509; Poppe 1964: 50; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 139; Ligeti 1986: 80–81, 153–154; Erdal 1991: 40; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 572; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 705.

HUROK [hurok] ‘noose, loop, snare’ | 1526 *vrokyaban* [urok-yābån], 1640 *hurkjában* [hurk-yābån], 1645–1647 *hurokval* [hurok-vål], dial *uråk* [uråk], *uruk* [uruk], *hurok* [hurok] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1033) | *hurok* < *urok* ⟵ WOT **urok* | EOT *urok* ‘rope’ < **hurok* < **hur-*.

OT *ur-* ‘to hit, to strike’ (RMTon), *uruq* ‘verevka, kanat’ (USuv 7,19, Nadeljaev 1969: 616), *uruq* ‘rope’ (AK), *urq* ‘rope’ (AK, Og), *ur-* ‘schlagen’ (BL 16, 19, 33a); **MT** *ur-* ‘to strike, to beat, to hit, to bark’ (AGul), *ur-* ‘vurmak, dövmek, koymak, takmak’ (AHMA), *ur-* ‘bit′, udarjat′’ (AHŠF), *ur-* ‘bit′, udarjat′’ (AIM), *ur-* ‘vurmak’ (AIMI), *uruq* ‘rope’, *uqruq* ‘lasso’ (AKD), *ur-* ‘bit′’ (AM), *ur-* ‘bit′, udarjat′’ (ANehF), *urug̈* ‘a beating’ (ARbg), *uruq* ‘verevka’ (ATef), *örük* ‘cordes, entraves mises aux pieds des chevaux, séjour, campement d’une armée, prune, abricot, enflé’ (AChag), *ur-*: *urar* ‘ver; to hit’ (AChagAbV), *uruq*, *ürük* ‘Fussfessel’ (AChagBL), *örük* ‘die Fussfesseln der Pferde’ (AChagR), *ur-* ‘schlagen’ (LCC), *uqruq* ‘kaçan beygirin yakalandığı ip’ (AAH), *oqruq* ‘Kement ki, eski cengâverler kale burcuna tutturur tepesine çıkarlardı’ (AAHI), *vur-* ‘bić, uderzyć’ (ABul), *vur-* ‘battre’ (ADur), *ur-* ‘schlagen’ (AKav), *ur-* ‘vurmak’ (AKavT), *ur-* ‘to hit, to strike, to touch, to look like’ (AMGh), *uvur-* ‘bit′, izbivat′’, *ur-* ‘bit′, udarjat′’ (ATuh), *ur-* ‘battre, frapper, taper’ (AmTr), *ur-* ‘bit′, udarit′’ (AmD), *ur-* ‘to strike, hit, to shoot, fire, to shell’ (AmCh), *urul-* ‘être frappê’ (AmE), *ur-* ‘vurmak, çarpmak, vurmak, baskın yapmak, gasp ve yağma et-

mek, belli bir sesi yüksek olarak çıkarmak, haykırmak, giydirmek, giyinmek, takmak, vazetmek, koymak, sokmak, batırmak, delmek, yaralamak, nişan alarak atmak, ifade etmek, beyan etmek, bildirmek, sürmek, tesir etmek', [?] *uġurqan* 'urgan' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ukruk* 'ukrjuk' (Chuv); ***NW*** *korïk* 'šest, žerd, ukrjuk' (Tat), *qoroq* 'arkannyj šest dlja poimki lošadej neprijatelja, prutik, hlyst' (TatD2), *qoroq* 'lasso' (Bashk), *ōkrïk* 'legkij šest s arkanom ili petljej dlja lovli konej' (SibTat), *uqruq* 'eine Stange mit einer Schlinge zum einfangen der Pferde' (SibTatBR), *kuruk*, *ukuruk* 'ukrjuk, ukrjučina (žerd′ s arkanom, petlej na konce dlja poimki pasuščihsja lošadej)', *örõ* 'konskie puty dlja svjazivanija perednuju nogu s zadnej (pravujatju s pravoj, ili levuju s levoj)' (Kirg), *qurïq* 'kuruk (device for capturing unbroken horses)' (Kaz), *qŭrïq* 'kuruk (petlja na legkom šeste dlja poimki nepriručennyh ili pasuščihsja lošadej)' (KazB), *kurïk* 'prisposoblenie dlja lovli lošadej (sostojaščee iz šesta s petlej na konce)', *urkan* 'privod, privodnoj remen′' (Kklp), *kurïk* 'šest′, žerd′, prisposcblenie dlja lovli v tabune lošadej, sostojaščee iz šesta s petlej na konce' (Nog), *quruq* 'žerd′, šest′, verevka (dlja suški bel′ja), arkan' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *uquruq* 'palka deržaščaja osla na opredelennom rasstojanii ot mel′nicy ili ot šesta nahodjaščegosja v centre urmana' (AzD), *urgan* 'stout rope, rope' (Tt), *uquruq*, *urgan* 'arkan, kanat' (Gag); ***Kh*** *hur-* 'spalten, zerschlagen, zerreißen', *vur-* 'schlagen' (Kh); ***SE*** *qŭruq* 'arkan' (Uzb), *uruxan*, *orxan*, *uruxān*, *urxan* 'verevka, kanat' (Sal), *urïq* 'arkan (dlja lovli konej)', *okuruk* 'verevka s šestom dlja poimki lošadej (lasso)', *küsürük* 'dve verevki, svazivajuščie nogi u lošadej (odna – pravye, drugaja – levye nogi) dlja priučenija ih k inohodi' (< ? *kos* + *örük* YUyg); ***NE*** *örõ* 'die Fussfesseln, mit denen die beiden Vorderfüsse mit einem Hinterfusse zusammenbindet' (AltTelR), *urux* 'lasso, arkan' (Khak), *urux*, *ïrax* 'lasso' (KhakB), *uruh agaš* 'lasso' (FY), *uruk* 'šest′ (s petlej, arkanom dlja poimki lošadi)' (Tuv), *huruq* 'ukrjuk (dlinnyj šest s petlej arkana dlja lovli lošadej, olenej)' (Tof); ***Y*** *oguruk* 'arkan' (Y).

Mo 1 *(*h*)*uraqa*, *(*h*)*uruqa*, *(*h*)*uriqa*, cf. Mo *huraqala-*: *qol da'aritu qodoli se'ültü oroq-sinqula-yin kilgasu*(*n*)*-bar hurqalaǰu bariǰu asaraba* 'he made a snare with the hair from the tail of his white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail, caught the hawk and reared it' (SH par. 25, l. 2029, see de Rachewiltz 1971: 35; 2004: 5), *uruqa* 'Chag. »tuzaq«; silok' (MA 367), *uraqa*(*n*) 'net, snare for catching birds' (L), *uraxa* 'lacet avec lequel on prend des oiseaux, lacet pour entraver un pied à un cheval qui vient boire (on l'emploie pour les chevaux qui ne se laissent pas prendre autrement)' (Ord), *urxi*(*n*) 'net, snare for catching birds' (Khal), *urxă* 'Falle (aus Haarstricken), Schlinge (für Vögel)' (Kalm), *ur'xa* 'silok, petlja, lovuška' (Bur); **2** **uġurġa*, cf. Mo *u'urqa*: *niken čaqa'an moritu gü'ün u'urqa bariǰu … tere čaqa'an moritu gü'ün u'urqa-bar-iyan dokiǰu bayiba…* 'one man on a white horse and holding a pole lasso, …the man on the white horse stood up, aiming at him with his pole lasso' (SH par. 91, see de Rachewiltz 1971: 144; 2005: 28, 388), *urġa* 'verevka' (AChagMA, see Poppe

1938–1939/1: 449), *uġurġa*, *urġa*(*n*) 'a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses' (L), *ūrġa* 'perche a noeud coulant pour prendre les chevaux' (Ord), *ūrga* 'long wooden pole with a loop on the end, used to catch horses, lasso pole' (Khal), *ūrgă* 'lange Stange mit Riemenschlinge zum einfangen der Pferde, lasso' (Kalm), *urga* '»urga«, šest s petlej (dlja lovli lošadej ili skota)' (Bur).

E/T T contains the following words: (1) *uruk*, (2) *ürük*, (3) *kuruk*, (4) *okuruk*, (5) *ukuruk*, and (6) *kur*. Further, we can also reconstruct **hurok*. T *uruk* 'rope' may be a simplex base, but we cannot rule out that it is a dev noun fr *ur-* 'to beat, to strike' with the dev suff *-(O)k* (Erdal 1991: 224–261) and must accordingly be reconstructed as **urok*. The rope is twisted, but in such a way that after each twist a small wooden stick is placed where it was twisted and this stick is then beaten with a hammer. The making of the rope thus is called *Tau schlagen* in Grm and *kötelet verni* in H. In both cases, we find the verb 'to hit, to beat': *schlagen* and *verni*, resp. In MMo, the word had the form **huruka*. Forms like *huraka*, *urika* are secondary developments. Kh has two words which belong to OT **ur-*: *hur-* 'spalten, zerschlagen, zerreissen' and *vur-* 'schlagen'. According to Doerfer (Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 135–136), the second is a lw fr Az and the semantic split in the first word occurred under the influence of the second. If PT had **hur-*, this would be an argument in favour of, though not final evidence for, *uruk* (*urok*) being a der fr *ur-* 'to beat, hit' (see also Doerfer 1971a: 334). This would mean, further, that the word family had an initial laryngeal *h-*. The initial *h-* disappeared in most OT dials, but in some sources we find the *h-* still preserved. The OT *h-* is reflected in Ch, Tib and Sl sources. For WOT, the Sl evidence is the most important. An oft-cited and differently interpreted word is Rus *horugov´* 'flag, standard', OSl *xorǫgy*. Melioranskij (1902: 295, cited by Ligeti (1949: 46) and Menges (1979: 158)) was perhaps the first to suggest that the word is of MMo origin and reflects a Mo form **horongo*, or **horonga* of the literary Mo *oruŋgu* 'banner, flag, standard' (L). In 1949, Ligeti called attention to the fact that Mo *oruŋgu* has no initial *h-* in some Sino–Mo dicts, though some other Mo words do in the same sources. Thus he excluded the Mo origin of the word. Ligeti was then the first to suggest that the word is of T origin and is frequent in the Uyg sources. He also suggested that the T word is a dev der fr *or-* 'placer, mettre' (Ligeti 1949: 52). According to Clauson (1972: 236), OT *uruŋu* 'flag, standard' is a der fr *urun-* 'to place, to put', itself a refl verb fr *ur-* 'to hit, to put'. Menges (1951 and 1979, in the latter enlarged, new Rus edition 157–166) covered the Sl word in detail (without knowledge of Ligeti's paper). According to Menges, the Sl word is of Avar origin and the Avars spoke a Mo lg. Menges argued that though the word *oroŋga* does not show an initial *h-* in the Mo sources, it did indeed have such an initial, because it is a Mo der fr the Mo verb **or-*, which he found in the Mo word *orči-* 'to turn round, revolve'. This verb, however, started with *h-*, as in the form fr SH *horči-*. The stem *or-* is also present in

Mo *oriya-* 'to tie round etc'. According to Menges, though *oruŋu* is present in some OT sources, the T word cannot be of Mo origin since the *p-* left no traces in the T lgs. Consequently, the Sl word cannot be of T origin, only of Mo der (Menges 1979: 161). Menges' opinion was heavily criticised by Doerfer (1974: 592–593). In the second, Rus edition, of his book, Menges refined his position somewhat, but it basically remained the same. Róna-Tas (1991: 110) has shown that in the Tib transcription of the T name *Uroŋa*, the Tibetans transcribed it as *Huroŋa*. This establishes that the T word also had an initial *h-*. Similar *h-* initials are attested in Tib sources for such OT words as *hadak* 'foot', *hala* 'parti-coloured, mottled', *hirkin* 'irkin, a title' (on this feature, see Ligeti (1971: 188–189); Róna-Tas (1991: 109)). The Tib transcription also reveals the vocalism. These transcriptions refute Menges' argument that OT had no initial *h-*. Moreover, it provides the origin of the Sl word, which is a copy of WOT **horoŋo* < **huroŋo* > *huroŋa*. Returning to the etymology of T **huroŋo* or *huroŋa*, it may be, as supposed by Clauson (1972: 236), a noun formed with the suff *-gA* (Erdal 1991: 376–382) fr the verb *urun-* 'to be put up, set up', itself a refl der fr *ur-* 'to put, to strike' < **hur-*. This is basically the same etymology given by Ligeti as *or-* 'placer, mettre'. The reading of the verb was uncertain earlier (see the remarks on the reading with *or-* by Clauson 1972: 194). The reading with *u-* is now strengthened by two cases of *ur-* in Brahmi texts edited by Maue: *urmak* 'auftreten' (Maue 1996: 89, No. 21–81: 6) and *ur*(*sar*) 'schlagen' (Maue 1996: 61, No. 4: 5). On the basis of the above, we can reconstruct a form **hur-* 'to strike, to hit' for WOT and fr this a dev noun **hurok* 'rope'. This may have had a PT form **hurokă*, which is reflected in Mo **huroka* (> *huraka*, *huruka*, *hurika*; see above and Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 87)). The early OT **hurok* is present in EOT *uruk*, and in some modern lgs, such as YUyg *urïk*, Khak *urux* and Tuv *urux*. In OT, it had the meaning 'rope', while it denotes 'a rope usually on a pole for catching a horse' in the modern lgs. The Mo denotes 'rope for catching animals, snare of hair, net, snare for catching birds'.

Besides *urok*, we find **kuruk* in some other sources. The modern forms are present in the NW, i.e. Kip lgs: Tat, Bashk, Kirg, Kaz, Kklp, Nog, KrchBlk, and also in Uzb and Tof. What may the relation between *uruk* and *kuruk* be? In a recent paper, H. Aydemir (1999) reviewed the earlier opinions. He accepts Doerfer's view (1963–1975/2: 87): "*quruq*, wohl aus *oquruq* verkürzt". Aydemir also agrees with Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 585), who is undecided as to whether *kuruk* comes fr *okuruk* or *ukuruk*, but he disagrees with him on the origin of *okuruk*. As regards *okuruk*, Aydemir accepts Menges' suggestion (1955: 764) that *okuruk* is a compound fr *ok* 'arrow, pole' and *uruk* 'rope'. This may be the case, but if forms like *huruk* and *kuruk* existed, the form *okuruk* may have developed fr either of the two as well (*ok* + *huruk* > *okuruk*, or *ok* + *kuruk* > *okkuruk* > *okuruk*). On the other hand, as we shall see later, it is unlikely that *kuruk* is an abbreviated form of *okuruk*. In his paper on H *hurok*,

Aydemir mentions two other possibilities for the origin of *kuruk* (1999: 432). Citing Halasi Kun (1950: 59, 61), he finds it possible that the *k-* is prothetic. More precisely, Halasi-Kun supposed that, in such cases as *aya* 'rock', *kaya* 'rock', the original word was *aya*, it later developed into an echo word *aya-kaya*, and in a third phase the second element, i.e. *kaya*, also came to be used separately. However, we find no T echo words with *k-*, only *m-* and *n-*. Aydemir also mentions the word *kur* 'belt, girdle' as another possibility with the meaning 'das Band, die Falle, die Schlinge (um Tiere zu fangen)' in Chag (cited by Vámbéry 1867: 316). This *kur* and *uruk* could have been contaminated, resulting in the creation of *kuruk*. T *kur* originally denoted 'belt, girdle'. The sense of 'rank, high rank' comes fr the same word since the girdle was a sign of rank. See archaeological findings where the deceased is buried with his girdle. It is possible that the girdle was originally a rope, but at the time of the T kaganate it was made of leather. In Chag, we find *kur* denoting 'piége' (Chag), the same as that given by Vámbéry (see also *kūr* 'ceinture' (UHyS)). But it is highly unlikely that these two words, *kur* and *uruk*, were contaminated, especially since Chag has *örük* 'cordes, entraves mises aux pieds des chevaux' (AChag), which is a dev noun fr *ör-* 'to plait' with the suff *-(O)k*, i.e. we have to read *örök*. It is also unlikely, for semantic and morphophonological reasons that *kuruk* is a dim form of *kur*. The dim suff is *+(A)k* or *+(I)k* but not *+(X)k* or *+(O)k* (Erdal 1991: 40). Menges and Aydemir may be right that *okuruk* is a compound, but we cannot decide which form was the second component: *ok* + *kuruk* / **hurok* / *uruk*. Rus dial (Don, Orenbrug, Sib) *ukrjuk* 'petlja na legkom šeste dlja poimki pasuščihsja lošadej' (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 157) does not reflect a T *ukruk*, *ukurga* or Mo *ukurga*, as Fasmer supposed, but a T **ükrük* < **ok* + *örük*. This is because of the *-ju-* in the second syllable of the Rus word, which reflects a front-vocalic T word. This means that besides *okuruk* we also have to suppose **ökürük*, which also reinforces Menges and Aydemir's argument in favour of the origin of the word fr 'pole' + 'rope'. Nevertheless, the Kip form *kuruk* cannot come fr *okuruk*. In the very rare cases where the labial disappeared in YUyg (*kus* 'korova, vol, byk') it had to pass a closing first (*okuz* > **ukus* > *kus*). All other cases cited by Aydemir do not belong here. Tat dial *kus* 'otava' fr Rus *ukos* or Mo data fr Mngr cannot be used here. Khal colloquial *güey*, Kalm *gō* and the like, which come fr *ügüy*, also spring fr causes different fr our case and occur in different lgs. We have to return to Pelliot's idea (1944: 73–101) that both forms with and without initial *k-* go back to an early form with *h-*, that is *kuruk* < **hurok* > *uruk*. See also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1189, 1491–1492) with other, hardly acceptable, suggestions.

E/H According to Gombocz (1912b: 84), H copied a form *uruk*, while the relatively late initial *h-* resulted fr the analogical influence of H *húr* 'string', of unknown origin, which originally meant 'intestines', then 'string in musical instruments, made from

intestines', and hence 'string'. The only bone of contention was whether, because of the final *-k*, it should be a word of the middle layer, as supposed by Németh (1921: 25), or whether this preserved final *-k* might reflect some dial differences in the WOT lgs, as supposed by Ligeti (1961: 35–36, see also 1986: 27, 80–81). Benkő (1993–1997/1: 590) and Aydemir (1999: 427–428) pointed to the fact that H equivalents of the T word, such as *urk*, *urok*, are documented earlier than *hurok*. According to Poppe (1960a: 143–144), H *h-* reflects a **p-* > *h-* (similarily Räsänen 1969: 516). This has been refuted by Ligeti (1961: 35–36) and recently by Aydemir (1999: 426). Ligeti has shown that in some H words, including *hurok*, the *h-* is likely to be secondary in H. The later documentation of the H *h-* forms also weakens the position advocated by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 88) and Róna-Tas (1993: 297), that we have to depart fr the form *kuruk* and that the initial *h-* reflects the *χ-* stage, as in **hajó**, **harang**, **herjó**, **homok**. Though the relatively late appearance of the H forms with *h-* would not be enough in itself to refute Doerfer and Róna-Tas's position cited above, because this may have been due to the chance of the recording, the H dial distribution also shows that the ancient dials in Moldva and Transylvania preserved the form with the initial *u-*. Nevertheless, we cannot totally exclude the possibility that H copied the same word twice. The forms *urok* (← *urok*) and *hurok* (← *χuruk* < *kuruk*) may have existed side by side, their distribution became dial, and finally the form with *h-* got the upper hand. The final *-k* may be the same as in **homok**. Gombocz's notion, repeated since 1912 by others, that the *h-* is caused by the analogical influence of *húr* is weak. The original meaning of *húr* 'intestines', preserved in many H dials, makes this suggestion unlikely. The sense of 'string, cord', first recorded in the 15th c., is a part of the learned, literary lg.

◆ Vámbéry 1867: 316; Melioranskij 1902: 295; Gombocz 1912b: 84; Németh 1921: 25; Poppe 1938–1939/1: 449; Pelliot 1944: 73–101; Ligeti 1949: 46, 52; Halasi Kun 1950: 59, 61; Menges 1951; Menges 1955: 764; Poppe 1960a: 143–144; Ligeti 1961: 35–36; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 87–88; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 157; Nadelaev 1969: 616; Räsänen 1969: 516; Doerfer 1971a: 334; Doerfer 1971b: 440–441; Ligeti 1971: 188–189; Rachewiltz 1971: 122, 144; Clauson 1972: 194, 236; Doerfer 1974: 592–593; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 585; Menges 1979: 157–166; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1033; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 135–136; Ligeti 1986: 27, 80–81; Erdal 1991: 40, 224–261, 376–382; Róna-Tas 1991: 109–110; Róna-Tas 1993: 297; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 590; Maue 1996: 61, 89; Aydemir 1999: 425–433; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1189, 1491–1492; de Rachewiltz 2004: 5, 28, 388.

I, Í

IDŐ [idō̄] ‘time, weather’ | p1372/c1448 *ewdewt* [üdō̄-t], *ydew* [idū̄ (or) idō̄], p1416/c1450 *idèiglèn* [ide-iglen], p1416/1466 *v̇dọbèn* [üdō̄-ben] | *idō̄* < *üdō̄* < **üdeu̯* < **üdeɣ* ← WOT **üdäɣ* | EOT **ödäk* ‘(a point in or a period of) time’ < *öd, üd* id. {with suff *+Ak*}.

OT *öd* ‘time, age’ (RMKT N10), *öd*, ? *edü*, ? *üdü* ‘moment, heure, temps’ <’WYD, DW> (UHamTouHou), *öd* ‘time, season’, *ödleg* ‘time, season’, *öyle* ‘noon, Oghuz dialect, the Kipchak make the *yā’* into a *zāy* and say *özle*’ (AK), *öd ödleg* ‘[God created] time (hend)’ (AQB), *ütte* <(ky)u ttyä> ‘in der Zeit’ (BE 42), *ütin* <üti> ‘in der Zeit’ (BE 43), *üt* <uyu t> in an astronomical sense (BL 1), *üdün* ‘in einem (Kṣaṇa) Moment’ (B29 B7), *üd kolo* ‘Zeitpunkt’ (BNo 27:24), *üdlärtäki orunlartakï* ‘in allen Zeiten und an allen Orten’ (BNo 26r:5), *üdte* (BNo 39:b); **MT** *öd* ‘zaman, vakit’ (UYAB), *öd* ‘temps’ (UHy), *öd* ‘temps’ (UHyS), *öylek* ‘noon’ (AKD, corrupted fr *öylen* ?), *öd* ‘time, term’ (AKor), *öḏläg* ‘midday’, *öḏläg* and *öläп* and *öyläп* and *özläg*: *öḏläg*, *öläп*, *öyläп*, *özläg namazï* ‘noon prayer’, *öläg* ‘noonday’ (ARbg), *öz* ‘vremja, moment’ (ATef), *öḏ* ‘zaman, vakit’ (AYC), *öylä* ‘l’heure de midi’ (AChag), *üḏlek namaz čaq* ‘vremja poldennogo namaza; ödür dülin namazin čaġ’, *üylek ïsïġï* ‘poludennyj zloj; ödür düliyin qala’un’ (AChagMA), *öt* ‘die Zeit, der Zeitpunkt’ (AChagR), *öyle* ‘Zuhr vakti, ve (evet) gibi tasdik edatı’ (AAHI), *öyläп* ‘Mittag’ (AHou), *üd* ‘Zeit’ (Vámbéry 1901: 213), *ödek* ‘zaman’ (AOTt); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vĕrle* ‘jug, sever’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *öylä* ‘polden′, sredina dnja, (rel.) poludennaja molitva u musul′man’ (Tat), *öylä* ‘polden′’ (Bashk), *öylä* ‘večernie sumerki’ (BashkD2), *üyle* ‘polden′, poludennoe vremja, vremja obeda’ (Nog), *üyle* ‘polden′’ (KarC); ***SW*** *öyle* ‘poslepoludennoe vremja’ (Tkm), *öylä* ‘polden′, poludennyj’ (Az), *öyle*, *öğle*, *öğlen* ‘noon, midday’ (Tt), *öd* ‘zaman’ (TtD), *övle* ‘öğlen, öğleyin’ (TtD, Gülensoy 1986: 371); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *öt* ‘die Zeit, Zeitpunkt’ (TurkiTR); ***NE*** *öy* ‘vremja, pora, srok’ (Alt), *öy* ‘vremja, moment, srok’ (AltQK), *öy* ‘vremja’ (AltTK), *öy* ‘die Zeit, Zeitpunkt’ (AltTelR), *üdä* ‘Rast (auf der Reise am Tage)’ (AltR ← Mo *üdö* id.), *öy* ‘moment, vremja, sezon’, *üye* ‘vremja, period, epoha, vek, moment’ (Tuv ← Mo); ***Y*** *üye* ‘prodolžitel′nost′ (vremja), žizni, žizn′, vek čeloveka, tečenie vremeni, vremja, večnost′, pokolenie, rod’ (Y ← Mo).

Mo *üde* ‘noon’, ? *edür*, *üdür* ‘day, date, in the day time’, *edür dumda* ‘midday, noon’, [*üye* ‘time, epoch, period, age, generation’, cf. *üye* ‘joint, articulation, juncture, link, stratum, layer, syllable’] (L), MMo *üdür*, pl. *üdüt* ‘noon, day’.

E/T The word seems to have existed in OT with two different vowels as *öd* and *üd*. Kashgari noted a long vowel, but we do not have enough data to corroborate this. The versification of the AQB did not indicate this length. Clauson (1972: 35) doubted the vocalisation of the Brahmi, supposing a shift in the Brahmi orth. This can now be

refuted with the material published by Maue (1996) and cited above. The NW data point to an **ü*, while all other items suggest an **ö*. Clauson mentions that the *-d-* written by Kashgari is an error for *-ḏ-*. In the *Dīvān*, it occurs four times as <d> and seven times as <ḏ>. A review of a copy fr the 13th c. leads one to conclude that the writing of the word became uncertain. In the late Uyg of Yugnaki (UYB), we find Uyg <d>, but <s> in the other MS, which is to be read as *z*, while we find <ḏ> in the Ar transciption. ARabg has <d>, <ḏ> and <z> in the same word and this points to the same uncertainty. On the other hand, Kashgari observes that the word is *öy* in the dial of the Og and *öz* in that of the Kip. This shows that the *d* > *ḏ* > *z* > *y* change is relatively late in this word. The supposed T form copied by H had to be either **ödeɣ* or **üdeɣ*. The copied form may have been a secondary form fr an OT dim **ödäk* or **üdäk* with the suff +*Ak* (Erdal 1991: 40–44). AOTt *ödäk* 'zaman' is strange and may be an archaism; one would expect **öyäk*.

In Chuv, we find *vĕrle* 'south, north', *vĕrle yen* 'south, north, north-west', which was only pointed out in Ašmarin (1928–1950/5: 369). One of the definitions given by Ašmarin is: *kăntărlă yen* 'jug; south' and *kăntărlă* is 'noon' (to OT *küntüz* 'noon'), i.e. *kăntărlă yen* 'the direction of noon, midday, hence south'. This makes it highly probable that Chuv *vĕrle* goes back to an earlier **ödlä* or **üdlä*. The direction of noon is south, and this is also reflected in H, where **dél** has both meanings 'noon' and 'south'. The Chuv word was later mixed with *vir* 'upper'. See *viryal* 'the people of the upper regions, the name of the dialect spoken by the people living in the upper region', where *yal* is T *el* 'people, empire etc.' Chuv *vir* is T *ör* 'height, high etc.', i.e. the 'upper part, region'. In the Chuvash Republic, the 'upper region' is the northern one. The meanings 'north, north-west' are secondary under the influence of *vir*; see also *vĕri-yal* = *viryal* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/5: 366). Chuv *vĕrem* 'vremja' is a Rus lw. Though the basic word **öd* / **üd* is present in the Chuv der **üdle* > *vĕrle*, we do not find the expected **ödäg* or **üdäg*, which should be **vĕre* or **vĕrĕ*. We find a structurally similar case in Chuv: *vat*, *vată* 'old, old man' < **ötäg* on which see Mo *ötegü* 'old man, senior', *ötel-* 'to age, grow old' (cf. Chuv *vatăl-* 'staret′'), *ötege* 'bear' (tabuistic), perhaps to T *ötä-* 'to complete, accomplish, fulfil' (AKor). In this case T **ötäg* is reflected only by Chuv and by Mo.

The T word *öd* or *üd* denoted 'a point in time', hence e.g. 'noon' and 'a period of time', hence, e.g. 'season' etc. Mo *üde* reflects only the sense of 'noon'. Whether Mo *edür*, *üdür* 'day, date, in the daytime' belongs here is uncertain (perhaps it belongs with the demonstrative stem **e-*, cf. *ede* 'these', *edüy* 'as much as' etc. in the sense of 'this day'), but see SH: *ǰirko'an üdüt güličeǰü* 'having waited for six days' (SH 133).

There had to have been a hitherto unattested T verb **ödlä-*, fr which *ödläg* 'time, midday, noon' was derived; see the hend *öd ödläg* in AQB. With the temporal adv suff +*lA*, we find *ödlä* > *öylä*, Chuv *vĕrle*, similarly to *tünlä* 'in the night' fr *tün* 'night

etc.' (see Erdal 1991: 404–406). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1042) consider the T and M words to be in genetic relation, and a T–Mo isogloss.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 153) who first considered the word a copy fr T, and this was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 85). This was seriously questioned by Balázs (1965: 404–412). Ligeti (1966c: 385–394) refuted Balázs's arguments. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 188) saw one of the two possible origins in the T etymology, the other being Balázs's idea of linking the word with the base **e* of the AH demonstrative pronoun (*e-z*, *e-rre* etc.). Benkő later changed his opinion (1993–1997/1: 600) and did not accept Balázs's suggestion, while regarding the T etymology as possible but not certain. Balázs's main argument that 'time' *has* to have an FUgr origin for semantic reasons ("it is a very old concept") was refuted by Ligeti by showing that words that denote 'time' are in many cases of Pe and Ar origin in the T lgs. There were three arguments which made the etymology fr T at least uncertain: (1) H *i-* may go back to an *ü-*, but could not be a continuation of an *ö-*; (2) this is the only word where *-d-* would have been preserved in intervocalic position in a T lw; and (3) the final can only reflect a T final *-Vg*; now **ödäk* is attested in AOTt and **ödäg* is WOT. Ligeti argued that since OH did not have *ö-*, the initial may have been substituted by *ü-*. We do not need this argument now, because the T form may have had an initial *ü-*. It is true that there is no other word with preserved intervocalic T *-d-* in H, but this in itself is not an argument. T *-d-* is present in **kender**, **ködmön**, and the H *-z-* in **búza** (< **bugday*) and **túzok** (< **togdak*) is due to the fact that the spirantisation of *-g-* before *d* caused the early spirantisation of *-d-*. Moreover, we have seen above that the *-d-* in *öd* / *üd* was preserved very late in sources which otherwise already note *-d̲-* or *-y-* and Kashgari remarked on the dial differences in the preservation of the *-d-* in this word early on. Therefore, we may suppose that the *-d-* was preserved in WOT at the time that H borrowed the word. Thus the only real argument which makes the etymology not quite sure is that the form **ödäg* or **üdäg* is hitherto unattested. It may be a WOT reflex of the form **ödäk* / *üdäk*, a der in *+Ak*, but this form, though present in AOTt, was not preserved by Chuv. The suff *+Ak* played a greater role in Chuv than in other T lgs. Ligeti pointed to such forms as Chuv *uyăχ* 'moon' < **āyak* ~ T *āy*, Chuv *tălăχ* < **tulak* ~ T *tul* 'orphan' etc. In those instances where the final unvoiced guttural stop became voiced (or lenis), it disappeared in any case. Chuv *vat*, *vată* 'old, old man' < WOT **ötäχ* is a good model for this; cf. Mo *ötegü*, *ötege*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 153; Vámbéry 1901: 213; Gombocz 1912b: 85; Ašmarin 1928–1950/5: 366, 369; Balázs 1965: 404–412; Ligeti 1966c: 385–394; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 188; Clauson 1972: 35; Gülensoy 1986: 371; Ligeti 1986: 28–29; Erdal 1991: 40–44, 404–406; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 600; Maue 1996: 260; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1042.

IGE [ige] 'word, biblical word, verb' | late 13th c./1310–1320 *ígen*^{c} [igē-nek], *jgÿknek* [igē-knek] | *ige* < **üge* ← **ügä* || **igéz** [igēz] 'to enchant, to charm, lay a spell on'

| c1456 *megh ighezthe*, [meg-igēz-te], 1596 *Egezeni* [egēz-ni] | *igēz-* < *ige* {with suff *+Āz-*} | EOT, MT, T desunt, but see Mo *üge* 'word, utterance, phrase'.

Of debated T origin.

No T data.

Mo *üge* 'word, utterance, language, speech', *ügüle-*, *ögüle-* 'to speak, say' (L). Mo → Y *üge* 'zagadočnoe inoskazanie, pritča, basnja, primer, poslovica, prislov´e, pogovorka, kritika, nasmeška, ironia, šutka' (Y).

E/T The Mo word has no parallels in T, and is not even present as a lw except in Y. In Mo, it denoted the word of a socially important person (on Mo *üge manu*, T *sözümiz* 'our word (of a ruler)'; see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 292–296)). T words like *ögü-* 'to praise', or *ögä* 'a title' have nothing to do with the Mo word. The title *ögä* has the same suff *-gA* as *bilgä*, *moyga*, *tümgä* etc. fr *ö-* 'to think etc.' (see Erdal 1991: 376–377). There is no connection between Mo *üge* and T *okï-* 'to call aloud, to sing' as Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak suggest (2003: 1045).

E/H The H word was used for the word of God in the earliest translations of the Bible fr the 15th c. on. In present-day H, it denotes 'verb', but see the den verb *igéz-* above. The H word, following earlier attempts, was connected by Gombocz (1912b: 86) with an "Uygur" word *üge* 'Wort', but Ligeti (1935a: 231–233) has clearly shown that this is a misunderstanding. Even Vámbéry noted that it is a Mo word in the place in question in the AQB. Munkácsi (1901a: 197) and others tried to tie the H word to such T words as *ögü-* 'to praise' or *ögrän-* 'to learn', but none of these etymologies can be accepted. Ligeti (1986: 50, 201) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 601) supposed that the word was once present in T but disappeared, and that only H preserved it. Futaky (1971: 178–179) doubted this and supposed that it is a direct lw fr a Mo lg (he thinks fr Avar). In his recent book on the Avar–H links (Futaky 2001), he did not deal with the H word among those which he supposes to be of Mo origin. On the new and unacceptable "Avar" Mo etymologies in H by Futaky, see Kara (2002: 491–496) and Róna-Tas (2003: 219–225). There are a few other words in H which are not (yet) documented in the T sources but are present in H like **kebel** and **ölyv** and there are Mo words transmitted through T (in most cases Cum) to H like **bóda** *arch* 'buckler with a handle, handle for various arms', **daku** *dial* 'a type of coat', **nyögér** *arch*, *hist* 'name of people allied to the Cumans' etc. The connection of *ige* with *ígér-* 'to promise' and the possible link of *ígér-* to *igéz-* needs further research; see Rédei (1986–1991/2: 847, s.v. *eŋkɜ-rɜ*).

◆ Munkácsi 1901a: 197; Gombocz 1912b: 86; Ligeti 1935a: 231–233; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 292–296; Futaky 1971: 178–179; Ligeti 1986: 50, 201; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 847; Erdal 1991: 376–377; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 601; Futaky 2001; Kara 2002: 491–496; Róna-Tas 2003: 219–225; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1045; Schönig 2005: 140.

IGEN [igen] ‘yes; affirmative particle, very’ | 1266/ ? GN *Yguen* [igen], 1298/ GN *Egenzaraz* [egen-sāråz], p1372/ *ÿgen-hÿuſeges* [igen-hūšēgeš] | *igen* < *egen* ⟵ WOT **egän* < **eŋän* or WOT **ärkän* | EOT *iŋän* ‘very, most’ or *ärkän* ‘a particle, meaning ‘at the time of such-and-such’.

Of debated T origin.

1 *iŋän* ‘very’, cf. *eŋ* ‘adjectival prefix forming a quasi-superlative’: **OT** *äŋ*: *äŋ ilk* ‘first of all’ (RMKT), *äŋ* ‘adverbe du superlative, le plus’ (U), *eŋ* ‘en, daha’, *eŋ*: *bularda eŋ altïn* ‘the lowest of these’ (AQB), *ëŋ* ‘Versterkungspartikel’ (BA 48, BL 33); **MT** *eŋän* ‘very, most, very much’ (AGul), *iŋen* ‘bardzo’ (AHŠ), *iŋen* ‘očen′, sil′no, ves′ma, mnogo, objazatel′no’ (AHŠF), *iŋen* ‘očen′, sil′no, ves′ma, mnogo, objazatel′no’ (ANehF), *iŋen* ‘sehr’ (LCC), *iken* [= *igen*] *yahši* ‘pek güzel, en güzel’ (AAHI), *iŋen* ‘very’ (AMGh), *igen*, *igende*, *ig′en*, *ig′in* ‘çok, gayet, pek, ziyade, daha ziyade’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *avan* ‘horošij’ (Chuv ⟵ Ar *aman*); ***NW*** *iŋ* ‘samyj, ves′ma, v vyssšej stepeni’, ? *inde* ‘už, uže’ (Tat), *iŋ* ‘samyj, vesma, naj-’ (Bashk), *eŋ* ‘očen′, samyj’, ? *ïndï*: *ïndï kara* ‘(o čeloveke) očen′ černyj, černuščij’ (Kirg), *äŋ*: *äŋ äweli* ‘first of all’ (Kaz), *eŋ* ‘očen′, samyj, naj-, sovsem’ (Kklp), *eŋ* ‘očen′, samyj, naj-’ (Nog), *eŋ* ‘samyj, naibolee’ (CrTat), *eŋ*, *eŋk*, *eŋke*, *enk*, *enke* ‘naj-, ves′ma, samyj’ (Kar); ***SW*** *iŋ* ‘služit dlja obrazovanija prevoshodnoj stepeni prilagatel′nyh’: *iŋ govï* ‘najlučšij’, *iŋŋān* ‘očen′, vesma’ (Tkm), *än* ‘častica dlja obrazovanija prevoshodnoj stepeni, očen′, ves′ma, samyj, naj-’ (Az), *en* ‘before adjective: most’ (Tt), *en* ‘samyj, naj-’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *eŋ* ‘samyj, služit dlja obrazovanija prevoshodnoj stepeni prilagatel′nyh’ (Uzb), *en*: *en* [< *eniŋ*] *æxïrï* ‘finally’ (TurkiJ), *äŋ* ‘naj, očen′’ (MUygBN), *äŋ* ‘most, extremely’ (MUygE), *iŋ* ‘očen′, vesma’ (YUygM), *yiŋ* ‘častica: očen′, ves′ma’ (YUygT); ***NE*** *eŋ* ‘očen′, ves′ma’ (AltQK, AltL), *iŋ* ‘očen′, ves′ma, samyj, naj-’ (Khak), *eŋ* ‘samyj, naj-, pervo-’ (Tuv), *eŋ* ‘samyj, naj-’ (Tof); ***Y*** *ini* ‘verojatno, verno, dolžno byt′’ (Y), *ini* ‘častica modal′naja […]’, *eŋin* ‘različnyj, raznyj’, *eŋin* ‘častica, vyražaet obobščenie prisoedinjaemyh k predmetu ili dejstviju drugih podobnyh predmetov ili dejstvij: „i pročie”’ (YS), *ini* ‘verstärkende Fragepartikel’ (< Intensivierungs-partikel *ini* (= jak. *ini*) + Fragesuff. *-j* (= Yak *-j*), *äŋin-äŋin*, *ägin-ägin* ‘verschieden(artig), unterschiedlich’ (Dlg).

2 *ärkän* > *ägän*, *äkän*: **OT** *erken*: *kärgäk erken* ‘quand besoin était’ (UHamTouHou 24:3), *anča sözleyü turur erken* ‘während sie so sprachen’ (UUIV 692:233), *ärkän* ‘a particle, meaning ‘at the time of such-and-such’’, *ol maŋa yarmāq bērür ärkān qatrundï* ‘he was giving me a dirhem (or other) but then he stopped short and held back’, *är barīr ärkān qadïttï* ‘[the man] turned back and remained after he had started to go’, *ol bitig oqïr ärkān sekritti* ‘he skipped a line in reading a book (or the Koran)’ (AK); **MT** *erken*, *irken* ‘iken’ (UYAB), *erken*: *ǰan adam mäniŋkä ürklänmäs ärkän adam heč närsä ärmädi* ‘poka duša ne pristala k telu Adama, Adam ničem ne byl (byl čem-libo)’, *ärkin*, *ärki* ‘verojatno, požaluj’ (ATef), *erken*, *erkān*,

ekän: *bolmadï erken* ‘a mint nem vala [as it was not] = Ottoman »olmadi gibi«’, *iken* [transliterated as *igen*] ‘valami lévén [something being]’ = Ott *iken* (AChagAb), *erkin* ‘takov estʹ, inogda služit vosprositelʹnoj časticej’ (AChagB), *eken, ekin, erke, erkin* ‘is, supplementary word in compound expressions’, *erken*: *tilbe erken dür* ‘is mad’, *eken*: *fulān eken* ‘being so-and-so’, *ekin*: *bolmadï erkin* ‘was it not’ (AChagSC), *irkin* ‘Fragezeichen nach Zeitwörtern’ (AChagŠSK), [reading?] *eken* (< *egen*) ‘wohl’: *qayda egen* ‘wo mak he zin’ = ‘wo ist er wohl’ (LCCG), ? *erki*, ? *irki* ‘erkenki, evvelki’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *ikken* ‘častica. okazyvaetsja, »es kilte ikken« <ty, okazyvaetsja, doma>, to, čto…, o tom, čto…, »văl ïră śyn ikkän ne purte pĕlĕśśĕ« <to, čto on dobryj čelovek, vse znajut>’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *ikän* ‘prič. v sočetanii s imenami obrazuet imennoe skazuemoe, napr.: »ul avïru ikän« <okazyvaetsja, on bolen>, v sočetanii s vremennymi formami glagola pokazyvaet, čto dejstvie po osnovnomu glagolu nepremenno soveršitsja i govorjaščemu ob ėtom izvestno čerez drugoe lico, napr.: »minem abïyom kilgän ikän« <okazyvaetsja, moj staršij brat prišel (priehal)>, »ul da bara ikän« <okazyvaetsja, i on pojdet (poedet)>, v sočetanii s uslovnoj formoj glagola pokazyvaet, čto esli dejstvie po osnovnomu glagolu soversitsja, to ėto javitsja pričinoj drugogo otvetnogo dejstvija, napr.: »bezgä kiläse bulsaŋ ikän…« <esli ty vzdumaešʹ k nam prijti to...>, »ber bar ikän, ber juk ikän, käjä komanda ikän« <bylo ili ne bylo, a kozel bil komandyrom… (odna iz form začina tatarskih skazok)>’ (Tat), *ikä* = *ikän* ‘okazyvaetsja’ (TatD), *ikän* ‘vvodn. sl. okazyvaetsja, »bar ikän« <okazyvaetsja, estʹ>, »dörөθ ikän« <okazyvaetsja, eto pravda>, »qaytqan iken« <okazyvaetsja, on vernulsja>, »bïna nisek ikän ul!« <von, okazyvaetsja, kak!>, »ulay ikän!« <von kak, okazyvaetsja, eto tak, okazyvaetsja>, esli tak…, to…, raz tak…, to…, »hin riza ikän, min qaršï kilmäyem« <esli ty soglasen, to ja ne vozražaju>, v sostave složnoj f. proš. vr. gl. »-an/-gän ikän, ti« <vyražaet predpoloženie o davnoprošedših sobytijah (harakterno dlja narodnyh skazok)>, »ügäy äsähe bik haran bulġan ikän, ti« <mačeha, govorjat, byla očenʹ skupojy>, »qart menän qarsïq yäšägän ikän, ti« <govorjat, žili-byli starik so staruhoj>’ (Bashk), *igän* = *ikän* ‘okazyvaetsja’ (SibTat), *eken* ‘prič. proš. vr. ot »e-«, vyražaet bytie kem, čem, kakim, izmenjaetsja po licam, číslam i padežam, »kim ekenin ačïq ayta alasïŋ bï?« <smožešʹ li ty prjamo skazatʹ, kto on takoj?>, »bul tuvraluv aq ekenimdi özü da toluq bilet« <to, čto v ėtom ja ne vinoven, on i sam horošo znaet>, »özüŋdü künövlüv ekenmin dep, bildiŋ bi?« <priznal li ty sebja vinovatym?>, »anïn kim ekenin emi bildik« <teperʹ my uznali, kto on takoj>, »itke temirdin barqï emne eken?« <(pogov.) kakuju cennostʹ dlja sobaki predstavljaet železo?>, »qanday ekenin Quday bilet« <Bog znaet kak, Bog znaet kakoj>, »kurt ekeni bilinbeyt, kum ekeni bilinbeyt« <folʹk. ne znaeš – červi ėto ili pesok ėto (takaja massa)>, »belestüv Talas, Čoŋ-Čatqal bel ekenim – daġï čïn« <folʹk. i to pravda, čto Talasu i Čong-Čatkalu s ih hrebtami ja – opora>, »šaarda ekende« <v bytnostʹ ego v gorode>, (upotrebljaetsja, kogda dlja konstatirovanija fakta trebuetsja predvaritelʹ-

noe dejstvie) okazyvaetsja, »uvru ušul eken« <vor, okazyvaetsja, vot ėtot>, »küčü küč eken!« <vot ėto sila!>, »men özüm menen birge eč nerse albaġan ekenmin« <okazalos′, ja s soboj ničego ne zahvatil>, »ovzuŋa kelgendi süylöy beret ekensiŋ« <ty, okazyvaetsja, boltaeš′ vse, čto tol′ko tebe na um vzbredet>, (s uslovnoj formoj) horošo by, horošo bylo by, »aytsaŋar eken« <horošo bylo by, esli by vy skazali>, »tamašanï koyo tursaŋar eken?« <a čto, esli by vy ostavili šutki? (lučše bylo by)>, »daġï bir neče mektep ačïlsa eken« <horošo, esli by otkrylos′ eščo neskol′ko škol>, (s formoj na -t) esli, a už esli..., »ölöt eken, ušunda ölöt« <už esli emu umirat′, tak pust′ umret zdes′>, »sözgö könöt eken, anïsïn aytqïn, könböyt eken – anïsïn aytqïn« <esli on pojdet na ugovory, ty ob ėtom skaži, i esli ne pojdet na ugovory, ty (i) ob ėtom skaži>, »Ošqo barat ekenmin, bašqalar menen qošo baram« <a už esli mne ehat′ v Oš, tak ja poedu vmeste s drugimi>, »kelet ekensiŋ, kitebiŋdi ala kel« <a už esli ty prideš′, to zahvati s soboj svoju knigu>, (s glagolom »bol-« v forme proš. vr. 3/l. vyražaet nedoumenie), »kim ǰazdï boldu eken?« <kto že ėto mog napisat′?>, »emne dep žazdy boldu eken?« <čto že ėto takoe on napisal?>, »(soġuštan mudra) körgön köpüröv qayda boldu eken?« <gde by mog byt′ (gde že!) tot most, kotoryj (ja) videl (do vojny)?!>, (v 1 l. »ekenmin« pribavljaetsja iz učtivosti), »bilbeyt ekenmin« <(v otvete staršemu vmesto bilbeym) prostite, ja ne znaju>' (Kirg), »eken« 'past p. of the verb »e-« <to be>' (Kaz), »eken« '(pričastie prošedšego vremeni ot »e-«), okazyvaetsja, jakoby, budto-by, »sen onïŋ kim ekenin ašïq ayta aladï ekenseŋ ġoy« <okazyvaetsja, ty možeš′ prjamo skazat′, kto on takoj>, »öziŋdi günalï eken dep bildiŋ be?« <ty, okazyvaetsja, priznal sebja vinovnym?>, »ol qalada eken ġoy« <okazyvaetsja, on v gorode>, »avzïŋa kelgendi söyley beredi ekenseŋ« <ty, okazyvaetsja, boltaeš′, čto tol′ko tebe na um vzbredet>, »men özim menen birge ḥeš närse almaġan ekenmen« <okazalos′, čto ja s soboj ničego ne zahvatil>, (v sočetanii s uslovnoj formoj glagola vyražaet poželanie:) »taġï bir neše mektep ašïlsa eken« <horošo, esli by otkrylos′ eščo neskol′ko škol>, »aytsaŋlar eken« <horošo, esli by vy skazali>, (v sostave složnoj formy prošedšego vremeni na »-ġan/-gen« <eken> vyražaet davnoprošedšee vremja glagola:) »burïŋġï ötken zamanda bir ġarry menen kempir bolġan eken« <v starye vremena žily-byli starik so staruhoj>' (Kklp), *eken* 'okazyvaetsja, »ol munda eken« <okazyvaetsja, on zdes′>, »munï sen esitken yok ekensiŋ« <okazyvaetsja, ty ėtogo ne slyšal>, raz... to, esli... to, »baraman degen ekensiŋ, bar« <raz ty skazal, čto pojdeš′, to idi>, »körmegen ekensiŋ, söyleme« <esli ty ne videl, to ne govori>' (Nog), *eken* '(vvodn. sl.) okazyvaetsja, »ol üyde eken« <on, okazyvaetsja, doma>, interesno, želatel′no znat′, »ol savmu eken?« <interesno, živ li on?>, horošo by, »yaŋur yavsa (edi) eken« <horošo by pošel dožd′>' (Kum), *eken* '(karač. častica vopr., vyražaet somnenie, udivlenie, nedoverie, ožidanie) li, neuželi, že, »kellikmidi eken?« <pridet li?>, »kimdi eken ol?« <kto že on?>, »ne aytïrïqdï eken?« <čto že on skažet?>, »bu nedi eken?« <čto že ėto takoe?>, »qalay bolur eken?« <kak že budet?>, »bu kertimidi eken?« <neuželi ėto pravda?>,

»tüzmüdü eken?« <naskol′ko verno?>' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *eken* 'okazyvaetsja, »ol öyde eken« <on, okazyvaetsja, doma>' (Tkm), *yäqin* 'without fail, certainly, »o yäqin sänä baš čäkäjäk, yäqin« <he/she will visit you without fail>, for certain, for sure, »bir šeyi yäqin bilmäk« <to know something for certain / for sure, to know sg. beyond all doubt>, »yäqin etmäk« <to make sure / certain (of), to be convinced (of)>, »yäqin olmaq« <to be evident / obvious>' [AzE ? ← Ar, cf. Tt *ikan* 'a being or growing perfectly sure of, a learning or believing without doubt, certainty, assurance'] (AzE), *iken* 'while, during, while being, when, though, although': *hal böyle iken* 'while this is true, although it is true', *yegin* 'prov. much' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ekan* 'pričastie ot »emok«' (Uzb), *ik′än*, *išk′än*, *ikan* 'being, is' (TurkiJ), *ikin* (MUyg); ***NE*** *irgi* 'častica vežlivosti ili ritoričnosti pri voprose' (< *erki*), *irgin* (not *ergin*) 'častica smjagčenija' (< *erkin*), *iyin* 'častica smjagčenija, v perevode peredaetsja intonaciej, porjadkom slov i.t.p.' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T–E/H T *iŋän* 'very' can hardly be separated fr OT *äŋ* 'very'. Johanson (2004: 93–104) was the first to deal with a possible connection between T *iŋän* and H *igen*. He pointed to the following: "The form of this particle in the Codex Cumanicus (Kipchak Turkic, early 14th century) is *iŋen* 'valde, herrlich' (Grønbech 1936: 147; 1942: 107)" (Johanson 2004: 94). Here "herrlich" is a misprint for "überaus". The sentence in question is: *körki iŋän-tur haybatlï* 'seine Schönheit ist überaus (<valde>) herrlich'. Then Johanson follows: "It is tempting to connect this word with Turkmen *iŋŋēn* 'very', but the latter may be derived from the superlative particle *iŋ* 'most', which has the form *eŋ* in other Turkic languages; compare *eŋ* vs. *iŋen* in the Codex Cumanicus (Grønbech 1942: 48, 107)" (Johanson 2004: 94). Johanson correctly pointed to the fact that the word written with ایکن / اکن (see AOtT/3: 2014–2019) in OOtt should be read as *e/äŋe/än*, and cited Tezcan (1978: 420), who made the same remark with regard to the *Marzubān-nāme* as edited by Z. Korkmaz. It should be added here that the Ott data were already correctly read by Clauson (1972: 42) as *iŋän*. Finally, Johanson is right when he refutes Rásonyi, who, on the strength of the alleged reading *ägän* of the Ott sources supposes another word here "…un dérivé, adverbe de circonstance du radical »ig, yeg« <bon>" (Rásonyi 1972: 414). Johanson's conclusion is: "If the original form is »iŋen«, Rásonyi's etymology presupposes a *ŋ* > *g* shift in Hungarian" (Johanson 2004: 95). Here we have to separate Rásonyi's etymology and the T word *iŋän*. According to Rásonyi, as we have seen above, Ott *egän*, *igän* is a der fr *ig*, *yeg*, and thus has nothing to do with *iŋän*, consequently, according to him, there was never an *-ŋ-* in the word. We have to put aside the Rásonyi's etymology, which was based on a wrong reading of Ott orth, and go back to T *iŋän*. As can be seen both fr the data in the *Gulistan* and in Tkm, *äŋ* and *äŋän*, *iŋ* and *iŋen*, resp, cannot be separated. Whether this is a case of a very early and petrified instr, or the old pl used as an intensifier, e.g. in *özän* 'the very heart or centre (of something)'

fr *öz* 'the inner part, the self etc.', and *öz* 'valley', *özän* 'brook, river' (see Chuv *var*, *vară* 'centre, middle', *var* 'ravine, gully') is, at present, uncertain. The T origin of H *igen* was refused by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 601–602).

In his paper (2004: 93–104) on the origin of H *igen*, Johanson proposes T **ägän* < *ärkän* as the etymological source of the H word. He deals with *ä*(*r*)*kän* as an indirective copula particle and the type *ärkän* as a rhetorical modal particle. On the latter, he remarks: "The particle in question is certainly a form of *er*(*k*)*en*. On the other hand, its rhetorical meaning is due to contamination with that of the old Turkic particle *e*(*r*)*ki*(*n*). The latter is an epistemic marker, though not of the evidential kind, as several grammarians have mistaken it for" (Johanson 2004: 99). Later, he adds: "It is far from easy to distinguish systematically between the evidential copula particle *erken* and the rhetorical particle *erken*. But we must conclude that if Turkic *erken* is the source of Hungarian *igen*, the model must have been a particle with indirective – inferential perceptive – and/or rhetorical meanings" (Johanson 2004: 100). Finally he concluded: "If *er*(*k*)*en* – with all these various implications – was the model for Hungarian *igen* 'yes', we may observe the result of a selective copying that matches a certain Finno-Ugric pattern" (2004: 101).

Whatever the origin of the H word *igen* was, to which we will return below, first we have to analyse the morphological structure of *ärkän*. Gabain (1950: 181–182) claimed that here we originally had **är-ür-kän*, which was shortened to *ärkän*. That is, *kAn* is attached to a nominal predicative form as in *ertä+kän* 'vorher, beizeiten'. This *kAn* is treated by Erdal (1991: 61) as consisting of the post-vocalic variant of (*O*)*k* together with *+An*, which has a temporal ablative content. The latter also figures in the gerundive suff -(*X*)*p+An*. According to Erdal (1991: 383), "*ärkän*, the conjunction for temporal clauses, should also be an original *-gAn* nominal". Erdal suggested that this *-gAn* later served as a participle (1991: 387), and thus it can be considered as a *participium coniunctum* fr *är-* 'to be', similar to Eng *being* as in: 'You *being* in India…' Reviewing Erdal's book, Johanson (1994: 176–177) pointed out that *ärkän* is not a regular *-gAn* participle; it might rather be an arch dev form fr *är-*, petrified before the participle assumed the shape *-gAn* in EOT. Johanson (2004: 96) writes: "The converbial use is of course not the one we would expect from *-gEn* participles. Erdal's idea that *erken* was used like a *participium coniunctum*, e.g. as in English *you being* (1991: 383), seems less convincing".

In his *Grammar of Old Turkic* (2004: 288, n. 479), Erdal refers to the debate between him and Johanson about the origin of *ärkän*, and suggests a possible new etymology. According to him, it *may* come fr **ärür kän* with a particle discussed in section 3.341 [Emphatic particles, 342–346]; as regards the temporal suff *-mAzkAn* dealt with in section 4.633 [Temporal clauses, 471–483, especially 478], it is formed with this same particle. In another place, he remarks that *ärkän* is a petrified par-

ticiple which occurs in the inscriptions as *ärkil* and as *ärkän* in all other OT sources (2004: 476–478).

The discussion has been complicated by the fact that Grønbech (1942: 90) cited a form *egän* fr the sentence *kayda egän* 'wo ist er wohl?' ('wo mak he zin [= wo mag er sein]') in the CC and listed it under the verb *er-*. According to Gabain (1959: 68), the word *ägän* "ist dagegen die Dubitativpartikel, die aus atü. *ärki* verderbt ist; es handelt sich da nicht um eine Form auf *-gen* von *e-*". According to Drimba, "…*egän* est la forme de la 3^{e} pers. du passé indeterminé de *e*(*r*)-, ayant ici un sens hypothétique ou suppositif" (Drimba 2000: 289) and the expression *kayda ekän* (~ *egän*) should not be translated as "wo ist er wohl?", but as 'où a-t-il bien été?', 'où faut-il croire qu'il a été'. Even more important is Drimba's remark that the MS has an original *-k-* which has been corrected to *-g-*; that is, it was originally *ekän* and only later corrected (or miscorrected) to *egän*.

Clearly, *ärkän* cannot be the *-gAn* participium. This is present in Chuv as *-An*, e.g. in *yuχanšĭv vĕšen kayăk* 'water-bird (*lit*: river flying bird)'. This form became obsolete and is now replaced by -(*A*)*kAn*: *vulakan* 'the writing (man)'. The suff -(*A*)*kAn* is of Tat origin. An original *-g-* disappeared after consonants in Chuv. In the other T lgs the *-g* in *-gAn* is either preserved or has disappeared, but it is not *-k-* anywhere except where secondarily assimilated, e.g. Uzb *yåtkän*: *yåzäyåtkän kïz* 'das Mädchen, das gerade bei schreiben ist' (Wurm 1959: 507). The *-g-* is preserved after the sonorants *-r-* or *-l-* in those T lgs where the *-g-* did not disappear; see the very frequent *körgän*, *bergän*, *bargan* etc.

Fr the material collected by E. Ragagnin among the Tuvans living in Mongolia (Dukha dial), Johanson (2004: 98) cites the form *ergen*. This occurs in the Tenišev dict (1968: 210) as *irgin*. The Dukha form is very likely the participle of *er-*, used here as the narrative marker in *Duxa ulustar göčüp gelgen ergen* 'the Dukha people have reportedly migrated [to this place]'; see also *čurttap čorān čüveŋ irgin* 'žil-byl' (Tenišev 1968: 210). The T form *erken* is, as correctly mentioned by Johanson, *iyin* in Tuv as in *bis dūn-ne čedip kelgen bis iyin* 'my-to priehali eščë včera' (Tenišev 1968: 204) or fr the Dukha dial collected by Ragagnin: *gelgen iyen* '(S)he has [obviously, indeed] arrived'. The Tuv form *iyin* goes back to **ikkin*, see *iyi* 'two' < *ikki*. There is, however, a third form in Tuv *irgi* 'častica vežlivosti ili ritoričnosti pri voprose': *meŋē čagā bar irgi be?* 'est'-li mne pismo?'. This corresponds to OT *ärki*, on which, see Clauson (1972: 223) and Kashgari: *ol kälir mü ärki* 'do you suppose he is coming or not?'. Johanson may be right that *ärkän* and *ärki* influenced each other and a form *ärkin* arose. Later, *ärkän* and *ärkin* converged and became homophonous with *äkän*. Nevertheless, we remain with the unsolved question of the morphological origin of *ärkän*.

The three possibilities **är-ür-kän*, *ärür kän* or *är-ök-än* – the first suggested by Gabain, the second and third by Erdal – resp, may be left open. No matter which of the solutions is correct, *kAn* had a temporal function. Fr this temporal function evolved the indirective one. Here Johanson's analysis (2004: 93–104) is clear and acceptable. The original meaning is 'while being', which changes according to perception. His Chuv examples are clear: *kilně ikken* 'has evidently arrived' vs. *kilně iměš* 'has reportedly arrived'. In neither of the two cases was the speaker present, but in the first case the speaker has indirect evidence of the event (e.g. the light is on in his room), while in the second they just have a report that he arrived. However, in both cases there is uncertainty in the statement. After verbal clauses in a temporal form we have in Tat: *minem abïyom kilgän ikän* 'okazyvaetsja, moj staršij brat prišël (priehal)', 'reportedly my elder brother arrived' (some say that my elder brother arrived, but I am not quite sure yet). If we analyse the functions of **ärkän* in all ModT lgs, we have the same impression. According to Johanson (2004: 96–97), indirectives are not dubitatives and do not signal 'supposition' or 'probability', but rather some kind of distance is always involved. The motivation may be caution, modesty or a need for summarising.

On the other hand, according to Johanson (2004: 98–100), the rhetorical particle *ärkän* (< *ärki*), which belongs among the intensifiers, can be both positive as an amplifier and negative as a moderator. According to Johanson, this evolved fr *erki* or under its influence to *ärki*(*n*). The form *ärkin* changed to *ärkän*, and later it became *ägän* ~ *igän* in some T lgs and as such was the origin of H *igen*.

To sum up Johanson's opinion, he separated three forms: (1) the participle *ärgän*; (2) the indirective *ärkän*; (3) and the rhetorical, emphatic and exclamatory *ärkin* > *ärkän*. The second and third are both appropriate for affirmative answers uttered with reduced self-confidence. This may have been, according to Johanson, the model for H *igen* but the word was selectively copied to match a certain FUgr pattern.

There are, however, serious phonological and syntactic difficulties involved in this argumentation. The *k* > *g* change is late in the Kip lgs, it is not present in the word in question in any of the present NW T lgs, and the sole case of *egän* in the CC is dubious. Nor could the *k* > *g* change have occurred in H. The earliest H data show that H *egen* > *igen* had an intensifying function; see *egen zaraz* (1298/) [ModH *igen száraz* 'very dry'] (on the original intensifying function of H *igen*, see also Benkő 1993–1997/1: 601–602). In the colloquial lg, it later appeared in the affirmative answer: *igen száraz ez*? 'is this very dry?' – *igen* 'very'. Similar structures are frequent in ModH: *nagyon száraz ez*? 'Is this very dry?' – *nagyon* 'very' (*nagyon* 'very' is a modal-essive adv form of *nagy* 'great' used with an intensifying function), *sokan jöttek?* 'did many (people) come?' – *sokan* 'many' (with the same suff +(*V*)*n*). Later, the affirmative particle *igen* also adopted the meaning 'yes', but until now it has retained its earlier

meaning ‘very’ (e.g. *igen okos* ‘very clever’), and is used in affirmative answers at the same time (*elment?* ‘has (he) gone?’ – *igen, elment* ‘yes, (he) has gone’).

All in all, the first etymology is a great deal more likely: WOT **eŋän* > **egän* ⟶ LAH **egen* > OH *egen* > H *igen.*

◆ Grønbech 1936: 147; Grønbech 1942: 48, 90, 107; Gabain 1950: 181–182; Gabain 1959: 68; Wurm 1959: 507; Tenišev 1968: 204, 210; Clauson 1972: 42, 223; Rásonyi 1972: 413–414; Tezcan 1978: 420; Erdal 1991: 61, 383, 387; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 601–602; Johanson 1994: 176–177; Drimba 2000: 289; Erdal 2004: 288, 342–346, 471–483; Johanson 2004: 93–104.

IGÉZ ‘to enchant, to charm, lay a spell on’ see **ige**.

IJESZT [iyest] ‘to frighten’, **ijed** [iyed] ‘to be frightened, to take fright’ | 1362 ? PN *Yeztheu* [iest-eü], p1416/c1450 *meg-yèzte* [meg-iezt-ē], p1372/c1488 *megÿeduen* [meg-ied-vēn], c1439 *iyede* [iyed-e], 1527 *meghyyeztew* [meg-iyest-ō] | *iyed-*, *iyest-* < *iye-* {with suff *-Ad-* / *-Ast-*} < **äyi-* ⟵ WOT **äyi-* | EOT *ayïn-*, *äyin-* ‘to fear’ < **ayï-*, *äyi-* (cf. Mo *ayu-* / *ayi-* ‘to fear’) > EOT *ayman-*, *äymän-* ‘to be shy’.

Of debated T origin.

1 *ayin-*, *äyin-* also in the hend *kork- ayïn-* ‘to fear’, *ayïnč*, *äyinč* ‘fear’: **OT** *ayïn-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’ (RTIrk), *ayïn-*, *äyin-* ‘erschrecken, erschreckt, bestürzt sein, sich schämen, demütig sein’, *ayïnč*, *äyinč*: *qorqïnč ayïnč* ‘Furcht, Befürchtung, Angst, Schrecken’, in late Uygur *qorqïnčïg äyinčig* etc. (UWb, see also Erdal 1991: 283), *uyatsar eymenser* (USuv 141,4–5, Clauson 1972: 273); **MT** –, **NT** –. However, *ayawsïz* ‘besstyžij, naglyj, ciničnyj’ (TatD1), *ayïndïr-* ‘stydit′’ (AzD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 562), *aymaz* ‘edepsiz, utanmaz’ (TtD).

2 *ayman-*, *äymän-* ‘to be timid, shy (of something or someone)’: **OT** *qorxsar aymansar* [= *äymänser*] ‘dich fürchtest und zurückschreckst’ (UUIII 31:13–14), *äymän-* ‘be ashamed’ (AK, AQB), *äymän-* ‘sich schämen’ (BA 10), *äymänč* ‘Scham’ (BA 48, see further data in Erdal 1991: 249, 598); **MT** *äymän-*, *äymin-* ‘bojat′sja, opasat′sja, stesnjat′sja, stydit′sja’ (AHŠF), *äymän-* ‘to be shy’ (ARbg), *inmen-* (sic!) ‘to be cautious and shy’ (AChagSC), *emen-*, *imen-* ‘sich schämen’ (LCC), *vïyal-* ‘avoir honte, rougir’ (ADur), *oyat-* ‘pričinit′ styd’: *uyatlï* ‘pristyžennyj, posramlennyj’ (AmD), *eymen-* ‘çekinmek, endişe etmek, ihtiraz etmek, korkmak, tevahhüş etmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *imen-* ‘stesnat′sja, vozderživat′sja, opasat′sja, bojat′sja’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *imän-* ‘sil′no pugat′sja (ispugat′sja), vzdragivat′ (vzdrognut′) ot sil′nogo ispuga’ (Tat), *imän-* ‘vzdragivat′ ot otvraščenija, ispytyvat′ otvraščenie’ (Bashk), *imän-* ‘stesnat′sja, bojat′sja’ (SibTatB), *iymen-* ‘stesnat′sja, stydit′sja’ (Kirg), *iymen-* ‘stesnat′sja, stydit′sja’, *iybin-* ‘stydit′sja, stesnat′sja, obraščat′ vnimanie’ (Kklp), *iymen-* ‘ne rešat′sja (čto-l. delat′), somnevat′sja v čem-l.’ (Nog), *imen-* ‘smuščat′sja, stydit′sja’ (KarH), *iymen-* ‘stesnat′sja, čuvsstvovat′ nelovkost′’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *eymen-* ‘bojat′sja, opasat′sja, pugat′sja’, *eymenč* ‘strašnyj’ (Tkm), *eymän-* ‘pugat′sja’ (AzD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1:

249), *eymen-* ‘to feel shy, to be timid, arch. to be terrified (of)’ (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ïymän-* ‘stesnatʹsja, styditʹsja, čuvstvovatʹ sebja nelovko’ (Uzb), *ubat-*, *uvat-*, *uyat-* ‘to be, to feel ashamed, to shame’ (TurkiJ), *äymän-* ‘styditʹsja, stesnjatʹsja’ (MUyg), *eyven-* ‘ne dvigatʹsja, staratʹsja ne šumetʹ prisutstvii starših’ (TurkiL, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 249–250), *uyāl-*, *üyal-*, *üyäl-* ‘styditʹsja, smuščatʹsja’ (Sal); ***NE*** *iymen-* ‘opasatʹsja, somnevatʹsja, osteregatʹsja’ (AltQK), *uyat* ‘styd’, *uyat-* ‘styditʹsja, sovestitʹsja’ (Khak), *ïyat-* ‘styditʹsja, smuščatʹsja, stesnjatʹsja’, *ïyančig* ‘stydnyj, postydnyj’ [< *uyad-*] (Tuv), *ńat-* ‘styditʹsja, stesnjatʹsja’ [< *uyat-*] (Tof); ***Y*** *sāt* ‘styd’, *sāt-* ‘styditʹsja’ [< *uyat-*] (Y), *hāt-* ‘sich schämen, sich genieren’ (DlgS).

Mo *ayu-*, *ayi-* ‘to fear, to be(come) frightened or afraid’, *ayul* ‘fear’, *ayumsiġ* ‘terror, horror, fear’, *ayimas-* ‘to be angry, to blame, rebuke, to worry, feel anxiety’, *ayidasun* ‘fear, fright, horror’ (L).

E/T OT has both *ayïn-* / *äyin-* and *ayman-* / *äymän-*. Erdal wrote: “There is no reason to think that *äymän-* and *ayïn-* ‘to fear’ […] were originally related, although there is some superficial similarity especially in the written shapes, and although both can be used together with *kork-*” (Erdal 1991: 599). Both can also be used with *uyat-*. Erdal’s position is founded on the fact that, first, there is no base fr which both can be derived and, second, there is no such dev suff as **-mA-n-*. However, the base is present in Mo as *ayu-* and *ayi-* ‘to fear’. On these grounds, Erdal also supposed a PT base **ayX-* on p. 591 of the same work. The issue remains that there is no OT suff *-mA-* that forms verbs (*-mA* forms nouns). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 250) cites his work on the verbal ders (Sevortjan 1962: 352–354), where he points to four verbs which have the suff *-mA-* and/or *-mAn-*. He also cites TtD *eymeli* ‘utangaç [bashful, shy]’, which is clearly *ey-me-li*, where *-me* is a dev suff that produces nouns. In any case, *ayman-* / *äymän-* is a verb with *-(X)n-*, as Erdal also contends (1991: 599), for which we have to suppose a base **ayma-* / **äymä-*. In TtD *eymeli*, we have the original base *äy-* preserved. In OT, we had the following verbs: *kork-* ‘to fear’, *uyat-* ‘to be shamed by, to be ashamed of’ and the twin words *ayïn-*, *äyin-* and *ayman-*, *äymän-*. They occurred in hend and influenced each other. The verb *ayin-*, *äyin-* disappeared fr the later T lgs and gave way to *äymän-*, which changed to *eymän-*, later to *iymän-*, and in the end to *imän-*. Its semantics changed fr ‘to fear something’ to ‘to be shy’ in the same way that Eng *timid*, which originally indicated fear and timorousness, developed the meaning ‘shy’ (see Lat *timeo*, *timidus*; see also H *fél-* ‘to be afraid’, *félénk* ‘timid, shy’). In ders and in dial forms, the original sense of ‘to fear, to be afraid’ can easily be detected; see Chuv *imen-* ‘stesnatʹsja, vozderživatʹsja, opasatʹsja, bojatʹsja’.

We can reconstruct a WOT verbal base **ayï-* / **äyi-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’ on the basis of the T and Mo data. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 496–497), PT was **eymen-* and genetically related to PMo **ayu-*.

E/H The H verbs *ijed-* ‘to be afraid’ and *ijeszt-* ‘to frighten’ have the common verbal base **ije-* [iye], which does not exist independently in the lg. The H endings *-Ad-* and *-Aszt-* are old suffs which are attached in many cases to the same base, as in *árad-* ‘to flood (intr)’ ~ *áraszt-* ‘to flood (tr), to inundate’, *virrad-* ‘to dawn’ ~ *virraszt-* ‘to keep awake’, *éled-* ‘to revive (intr)’ ~ *éleszt-* ‘to revive (tr), to restore to life’. The *-Ad-* forms of the pairs denote an intr, sometimes inchoative action; those with *-Aszt-* are tr, sometimes caus. On these suffs, see D. Bartha (1958: 22, 46) and Zaicz (2006: 5).

Palló (1982: 104) connected the H verbs with a non-existing *ay*(-) ~ *äy*(-) nomen-verbum citing the Kirg word *ay* ‘die Furcht’ fr Räsänen (1969: 10). This word is not present in Judahin’s dict, but occurs in col. 3 of the Radloff dict (1893–1911/1: 3, KirgR *ay* ‘die Furcht’ in the expression *yaŋïstïktïŋ ayï* ‘die Furcht vor dem Alleinsein’), where Radloff gives the Mo verb *ayi-* as the source or corresponding form. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 196; 1993–1997/1: 604), the base **ije-* is of unknown origin and the OT origin suggested by Palló is “kaum wahrscheinlich”. The T origin of the H word is uncertain, because the back-vocalic form seems to be the original. The front-vocalic forms are due to assimilation: *ayi-* > *äyi-*. The closed *e-* is also relatively late and results fr a second assimilation: *äyi-* > *eyi-* (> *iyi-*). Further, the H form can only be linked to the reconstructed T verbal base if it already contained a closed *e-*. Chuv *imen-* may point to an original closed initial *e-*, but it may also be a lw fr Tat. Therefore, the T origin of the word remains, for the time being, uncertain.

◆ Radloff 1893–1911/1: 3; D. Bartha 1958: 22, 46; Sevortjan 1962: 352–354; Egorov 1964: 69; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 196; Räsänen 1969: 10; Clauson 1972: 273; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 249–250, 562; Palló 1982: 104; Erdal 1991: 249, 283, 591, 598–599; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 604; Fedotov 1996/1: 167; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 496-497; Zaicz 2006: 5.

IKER [iker] ‘twin’ | 1095 *ikirbucur* [ikir-bukur] ‘gemina frutice (quod uulgariter vocatur)’, 1214 GN *Ykvrtou* [ikür tou], c1405 *jkeres* [iker-eš] | *iker* < *ikir* ⟵ WOT **ikir* < **ekir* | EOT *ekiz* ‘twin’ < *eki* ‘two’.

OT *ikizime* <IKZM’> ‘?’ (RY 29:4, see Vasilev 1983b: 25), *iki* <’YKY> ‘deux, double’ (UHamTouHou), *ekkiz oġlān* ‘twins’ (AK), *iki* ‘zwei’ (BL 1, 2, 24, 47; BO 7), *ikirčgü* ‘Zweifel’ (BA: 13); **MT** *iki*: *ikinči* ‘ander’ (UOg), *iki* ‘iki’ (UYAB), *iki* ‘deux’ (UHy), *iki* ‘deux’ (UHyS), *iki* ‘zwei’, *ikägü*, *ikigü*, *äkägü* ‘beide’ (UCiv), *iki* (ABF), *äkizäk* ‘twins’ (AGul), *iki* ‘dva’ (AHŠF), *äkki*, *iki* ‘dva’ (AIM), *iki* ‘two’ (AKD), *iki* ‘two’: *ikägü* ‘two, both’ (AKor), *iki* ‘dva’ (AM), *iki*, *ikki* ‘dva’ (ANehF), *ikägü*: *ikägü bol-* ‘to get together, to team up’, *ikki*: *ikki böl-* ‘to divide in two’ (ARbg), [?] *ikägün*, *ikigün* ‘vdvoem’, *iki* ‘dva’ (ATef), *ikiz* ‘jumeaux, haut, élevè’ (AChag), *ikävlä* ‘dvoe, vdvoem’ (AChagB), *eki* [? *iki*] ‘dva, [bliznecy, cf. p. 195]’, *ekizek* ‘dvojni’ (AChagMA), *ikiz* ‘twin’ (AChagSC), *ikiz* ‘tevem’ (AChagŠS), *ekiz* ‘Waise, Zwillinge’, *iki*: *iki abusun* ‘iki hemšire, iki kïzkardaš; Schwesternpaar etc.’ (AChagŠSK), *ikiz*

'Zwillinge' (AChagZ), *egiz* 'Zwilling', *eki*, *ekki* 'zwei' (LCC), *iki* '(bugünkü manasında)' (AAH), *ik*(*k*)*i käz* 'deux fois' (ABul), *yäkki* '2 (sic!)' (ADur), *yäkiz* 'Zwilling' (AHou), *eki* 'two, both' (AMGh), *eki* 'deux', *egiz* 'jumeau' (AmTr), *eki* 'dva' (AmD), *eki* 'two' (AmCh), *eki* 'deux' (AmE), *ikiz* 'bir çift, iki tane' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *yĕkĕr* 'razdvoennyj, dvojnoj, sdvoennyj, para, parnyj, smežnyj, dvojnjaški', *yĕkĕreš* 'bliznecy, dvojnja, nerazlučnyj' (Chuv); ***NW*** *igez* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Tat), *ǰekräč* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (TatD1), *igeδ* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (Bashk), *egiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Kirg), *yegĭz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (KazB), *yegiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Kklp), *egiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Nog), *eki* 'dva' (CrTat), *egizäk* 'bliznec' (KarT), *egizek* 'bliznec' (KarH), *egiz* 'bliznec' (KarC), *egiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Kum), *egiz*, *egizle* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ekiz* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (Tkm), *äkiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Az), *ikiz* 'twins' (Tt), *ikiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Gag); ***Kh*** *äkki* 'zwei' (Kh); ***SE*** *egiz* 'bliznecy' (Uzb), *egiz* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (MUyg), *išqi* 'deux' (SalK), *iške* 'dva' (YUyg); ***NE*** *egis*, *igis* 'bliznecy, dvojnja, para' (Alt), *ĭkĭs* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Khak), *ikkis* 'die Zwillinge' (KhakSR), *igis* 'die Zwillinge' (KhakShR), *iyis* 'dvojnja' (Tuv), *i˝his* 'dvojnaja (read: dvojnja), dvojnjaški' (Tof); ***Y*** *igirä*, *igiri*, *igiriä* 'bliznecy, dvojniki' (Y ← Mo).

Mo *ikere*, *ikire* 'twins', *ġurban ikire* 'triplets' (L).

E/T T *ikkiz*, *ikiz* is a der with the suff *+z* fr *ikki*, *iki* 'two'. It has to be stressed that *+z* is not a suff of duality, as was claimed by A. von Gabain (1941: 64), but an old suff used, for instance, with words for parts of the body, though not otherwise productive in OT (see Clauson 1972: XLVIII). This is the reason why this suff was not dealt with by Erdal (1991). The word for 'twins' became independent fr the word for 'two' and did not follow the history of the base in some lgs (see Berta 2001c: 175–178). Mo has preserved the third vowel in *ikire*. In Chuv, the prothetic *y-* (in fact the diphthongisation of the long vowel (see Erdal 1993: 152)) came about early. This is attested before long non-labials around 922 by Ibn Fadlan (see the form *yeltever* for *ēlteber*), and maybe it developed later before short non-labials. In any case, H copied a form without the initial *y-*. Fr Chuv, a form **yikireč* (> *yĕkĕrĕš*) entered some Tat dials and was adapted as *ǰekräč* (see Agyagási 1996: 19–21). The form *yĕkreś* cited by Agyagási fr Paasonen (1908: 24) does not exist, but is a misreading of *yĕkräš* (written there as *jəkrɛš*). The Chuv suff *+č* may be the same as that used in terms of endearment in OT (Erdal 1991: 44). The Chuv word was also copied by Cher (*yïgïr*). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1153) brought together the two words under a PA **p'i̯ök'e*. But *ekir*, *ikir* is typically a der fr *eki*, *ekki* which does exist only in T and has there the meaning 'two', Mo has *koyar* 'two'. There is no data for Mo *h-*, it does not have *h-* in Kh. The OT form *ikirčgü* 'doubt, indecision' present in some SW lgs shows a phase of the change *ikiz* > *ikir* before the suff *+gU*.

E/H The H word appears as early as 1095 in the form *ikirbucur* 'twin bush' (Lat 'gemina frutice'). It has been connected with the Chuv word since Vámbéry (1870:

154) and this has been accepted by all scholars (see Ligeti 1986: 311–312; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 604).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 154; Paasonen 1908: 24; Gabain 1941: 64; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 196–197; Clauson 1972: XLVIII; Vasilev 1983b: 25; Ligeti 1986: 311–312; Erdal 1991: 44; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 604; Erdal 1993: 152; Agyagási 1996: 19–21; Berta 2001c: 175–178; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1153.

ILDOM [ildom] *arch* 'proper behaviour' | p1416 *ildomotlanoc* [ildom-otlånok], 1843 *ildom* [ildom] | *ildom* < **ildam* ⟵ WOT **ïldam* || **ildomos** [ildomoš] 'tactful, well-mannered' | p1416/c1450 *ildomos* [ildomoš] 'clever' | *ildomos* < *ildom* {with suff +(*V*)*s*} | EOT (**y*)*ïldam* < (**y*)*ïl-* {with suffs *-I* and +*dAm*}.

OT –; **MT** *ïldam* 'rapide, prompt, mouvement rapide, voltigement des feux follets' (AChag), *ildam* 'bystryj', *ilqa-* 'bystro ehat′' (AChagB); **NT** ***Chuv*** *yălttam* 'rezvyj, provornyj, bistryj, bojkij, šustryj', *śĕlen* 'zmeja', *yĕltĕr* 'lyži, kon′ki' (Chuv); ***NW*** *yïldam* 'bystryj, skoryj, provornyj' (Tat), *yïldam* 'bystryj, provornyj, rastoropnyj' (Bashk), *ïltam* 'skoro' (SibTatB), *ïldam* 'bystro' (Kirg), *ǰïldam* 'bystro, skoro' (KazB), *ǰïbdan*, *ǰïldam* 'schnell, bald' (KazR), *ǰïldam* 'bystro, skoro, provorno' (Kklp); ***SW*** *yïldam* 'rezvyj, bystrohodnyj' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ildam* 'bystryj, skoryj, provornyj' (Uzb), *yildam*, *yïldam* 'fast, quick, speedy, quickly' (TurkiJ), *ildam* 'quickly', *yildam* 'quickly, fast' (TurkiSh), *ildam*, *žildam* 'bystryj, skoryj' (MUyg), *aldam* 'bistro, skoro' (YUyg); ***NE*** *ïltam* 'bystryj, skoryj' (Alt), *ultam* 'schnell, flink' (AltR), *ultam* 'schnell, flink' (AltLR), *ïltam* 'schnell' (AltTelR), *ïltam* 'schnell' (KhakShR); ***Y*** *sīdam* 'pospešnyj, skoryj, nenagružennyj' (Y).

Mo *ildam* 'friendly, kind, obliging, sympathetic, courteous', *ǰildam* 'skilful skater' (L), MMo *ildam* 'strong, sturdy' (= T *tïgrak*, AKD 291).

E/T The word has been connected (last time by Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 278–279) with OT **yïl-* 'to glide, slide, creep, crawl', which is hitherto unattested in OT, but is present in some Kip and Sib lgs (Tat, Alt, Khak, Y) and in Chag as *yil-*(*mäk*) 's'hâter, marcher rapidement, trotter' (AChag). Here belongs Chuv *yĕltĕr* 'ski' fr Tat *yïldïrga* (Fedotov 1996/1: 195). It looks as if OT *yïlan* 'snake' may also be grouped with this *yïl-*, but the existing dev suff is *-Xn* and thus we would expect **yïlïn*. The word *yïlan* 'snake' could only be a dev der if the verb had the form **yïla-*. Clauson (1972: XLVIII) collected a series of animal names ending in *-lān*, to which some more were added by Erdal (1991: 92), according to whom the form *°lan* is opaque and therefore the sequence is not discussed in his work. It is of course possible that the suff is *-lAn*, and *yïlan* 'snake' is a secondary form fr an earlier **yïllan*. In Mo, we find *ǰiliyi-*, *ǰilu-* 'to flee, run away', which means we have no sign of a final *-a*. According to Ligeti (1935a: 219), Mo *ǰilabalǰa-* 'to move or turn (of eyes), to twinkle, sparkle, shine', and Kovalevskij (1844–1849/3: 2345) 'se mouvoir, tourner, étinceler, scintiller, briller, luire; bystro dvigat′sja, ševelit′sja, veretet′sja, sverkat′' pertains here. Mo *-bAlǰA* (~ *-gAlǰA*) is a durative dev suff, and thus we can reconstruct a Mo verb

ǰila-*. There existed a suff *+dAm* in OT (Erdal 1991: 68–70). This is, however, den as in *ärdäm* (see **érdem), *täŋridäm*, *kündäm* etc. The suff may have two constituents, a den *+tA-* ~ *+dA-* (Erdal 1991: 455–458), and a dev *-(X)m* (Erdal 1991: 290–300, 457), but some problems have not yet been resolved (see Erdal 1991: 70). A solution may be to suppose a hitherto unattested dev noun **yïlï* containing the dev suff *-I* (Erdal 1991: 340). This gave rise to **yïlï-dam*, and with the syncopation of the second vowel, to *yïldam* as well. In the *Dīvān* of Kashgari, we find the expression *ili kapug* 'a door (or bolt) that opens without a key', which may perhaps fit here. The T word *ïldam*, *yïldam* '(he) who glides well, who glides fast, who performs easily etc.' may have become a cultural word, and hence it may not belong to the original lexical stock in some T lgs. The Chuv word is a Tat lw, as shown by the semantics. The word appears in Man as *ildamu* 'clever, smart, quick-witted' and developed a secondary verb *ilda-* 'to be quick-witted'. The word is, however, absent fr the other Tu lgs and is clearly a lw fr Mo. It is not treated by Rozycki (1994). Mo *ǰildam* 'open (of place or space), level, plain' does not pertain here, while Mo *ǰildam* 'skillful skater' i.e. 'who glides well' pertains to the T word family. Otherwise but incorrectly Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1548).

E/H The H word was tied to the T word by Munkácsi (1901a: 192) and Gombocz (1912b: 87). The basic word *ildom* is not attested in the early H sources and the item fr 1843 (*ildom*) is a neologist back-formation. However, the two suffixed forms p1416 *ildomos* 'tactful' and *ildomotlan* 'tactless' show that the word existed as an independent base. Therefore, the morphological difficulties mentioned by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 606), which stem fr the fact that the word only occurs with H suffs, can easily be refuted. The original meaning of the H word was 'quick, clever, having a good hand at something, skilful'. The present semantic field of the word developed under the influence of the H word *illedelmes* 'well-mannered', on which see **illik**.

◆ Kovalevskij 1844–1849/3: 2345; Munkácsi 1901a: 192; Gombocz 1912b: 87; Ligeti 1935a: 217–219; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 199; Clauson 1972: xlviii; Ligeti 1986: 266; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 278–279; Erdal 1991: 68–70, 92, 290–300, 340, 455–458; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 606; Fedotov 1996/1: 194–195; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1548.

ILLIK [illik] 'to suit something, to be proper, to fit into' | p1372/c1448 *illyk* [illik], c1456 *ilet vona* [ill-ett vōnå] | *illik-* < **il-* {with suff *-ik-*} ← WOT **il-* | EOT *il-*, *īl-* 'to hang on, attach to'.

OT *ilin-* 'to be caught' (RTIrk), *ilin-* 'hängen-, steckenbleiben, haften an' (UTT-TIII 188:50), *il-* 'to catch on, to stick to' (AK), *ilin-* 'sich anhängen' (BD 8), *ilig* 'angehängt' (BA 40), *yil-* 'hängen' (BF 5); **MT** *yilin-* 'transgresser, violer, envahir, attaquer' (UHyS), *il-* 'festhalten, wegnehmen' (UCiv), *il-* 'zadeť, zacepiť' (AHŠF), ? *ilin-* 'to be gathered' (AKor), *il-* 'vešať' (AM), *il-*: *közge il-* 'to fasten one's eyes (on)', *ilin-*: *aġġa ilin-* 'to be caught in a net', *sözdä ilindi* 'was at a loss for words'

(ARbg), *il-* 'svjazyvat'', *ilmägäni-* 'ne obrašat' vnimanija' (AChagB), *ïl-* 'to take, to seize, to pay attention to' (AChagSC), *il-* 'bend etmek' (AChagŠS), *iliš-* 'Verbunden sein (sic!)' (AChagŠSK), *er-*, *il-* 'herabhängen, sich herabbeugen' (LCC), *ildi* 'ilmäk fiilinden mazi, astı' (AAH), *il-* 'dokunmak, geçmek, ilişmek, takılmak, tutulmak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *ilen-* 'povadit'sja, privykat', privjazyvat'sja', *ilenček* 'privjazčivyj, bistro privykajuščij k komy-čemu-l.', *yălă* 'petlja, uzel, uško' (Chuv); ***NW*** *el-* 'vešat', povesit', podvešivat', razvesit', zaprivat', shvatyvat'' (Tat), *el-* 'vešat', zastegivat', zaprivat' (na krjučok)' (Bashk), *il-* 'zacepit', podcepit', podvesit' (zacepiv za čto-l.)' (Kirg), *ïl-* 'viset', povesit'' (KazB), *ïl-* 'aufhängen' (KazR), *il-* 'zacepljat', vesat'' (Kklp), *il-* 'vešat', razvešivat'' (Nog), *il-* 'povesit', privesit'' (KarH), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (KarTR), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (KarLR), *il-* 'nacepljat', pricepljat', zacepljat', vešat'' (Kum), *ilin-* 'cepljat'sja, zacepljat'sja, iridirat'sja, priobščat'sja' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *īl-* 'cepljat'sja, zacepljat'sja, popadat'sja' (Tkm), *iliš-* 'cepljat'sja, zacepljat'sja, pricepljat'sja, zadevat', putat'sja' (Az), *il-* 'slavo zavjazyvat', zavjazyvat' uzky (pri tanke kovrov), (pri) kasat'sja, trogat'' (Tt), *iliš-* 'pricepljat'sja, zacepljat'sja, zadevat', kasat'sja, pristavat'' (Gag), *el-* 'anhängen' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *il-* 'nacepljat', zacepljat', povesit', lovit', nadevat'' (Uzb), *il-* 'to hang up' (TurkiJ), *il-* 'vešat', navešivat', podvešivat'' (MUyg); ***NE*** *il-* 'zacepit', podcepit', povesit'' (Alt), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (AltR, AltLR), *il-* 'vešat'' (AltQK), *ilin-* 'zacepit'sja, byt' povešennym' (AltTK), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (AltTelR), *il-* 'zacepljat', pricepljat' čto-l., vešat' čto-l.' (Khak), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *il-* 'anhängen, aufhängen' (ChulR), *il-* 'to hang' (FY), *il-* 'nacepljat', podcepljat', nametyvat', šit'' (Tuv); ***Y*** *īl-* 'vešat', navešivat', nakladyvat'' (Y), *ilin-* 'für sich nehmen, mitnehmen', *ilt-* 'tragen, bringen, nehmen, führen' (Dlg).

E/T The T word had a long vowel, and its original meaning was 'to hang on, to stick to, to catch on'. In some lgs, it has an intr meaning, in others a tr one. In some lgs (Tuv), it also denotes 'to sew'. Chuv *yălă* is going back to WOT **ilig*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 604–605) compared the T word with Mo *elgü-*, *ölgü-*, *elgi-*, *ölgi-* without clearing the history of the vocalism of the Mo words.

E/H The word has been assumed to be of T origin by Pais (1926–1932a: 460; 1939a: 256–259), Németh (1921–1925a: 74), Ligeti (1935b: 285–287; 1986: 320) and Palló (1982: 105–106). The long consonant may be, but is not necessarily, due to the long T vowel. The original meaning of the H word was 'to pertain to something'. This can be seen fr such H ders as *illet-* 'to belong to something, to relate to, to touch (with something, e.g. with one's hand) etc.' Such words as *illeszt-* 'to fit in, to insert' and its ders are neologist formations fr the late 18th c. However, the earliest occurrence of the word a1372/1448 reflects an abstract meaning 'to be proper (of behaviour), to fit (somebody's personality or behaviour)': *illyk* [illik] *mynekewnk peldaÿat kevettnewnk* 'it is proper for us to follow his example'. The change fr the concrete sense to the ab-

stract one occurred in H. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 606) accepted the T etymology, but pointed to the fact that this semantic shift is not documented in H. Compare H **ölt** 'to stitch, to put on (a dress), to take shape'.

◆ Németh 1921–1925a: 74; Pais 1926–1932a: 460; Ligeti 1935b: 285–287; Pais 1939a: 256–259; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 200–201; Palló 1982: 105–106; Ligeti 1986: 320; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 606; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 604–605.

IMÁD [imád] 'to adore, worship' | late 12th c./c1195 *wimagguc* [vimād-yok] 'to ask for, to pray for', p1372/c1448 *ymadnÿ* [imād-ni], p1416/c1450 'to worship', 1770/1914 'to adore' | *imād-* < **vimad-* < **vim-* {with suff *-Ād-*} ⟵ WOT **vïm-* < *um-* | EOT *um-* 'to ask for, covet'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *umuġ* 'aspiration, espoir' (UHamTouHou), *um-* 'to covet, wish', *umdu* 'coveting, begging', *umun-* 'to put hope in': *män täŋridin umundum* 'I put my hope in God', *umdučï* 'beggar' (AK), *umuġ* 'Hoffnung' (BE 46), *umul-* 'Hoffnung erwecken' (BD 25?), *umun-* 'hoffen' (BA 28, D 7); **MT** *um-* 'ummak, ümid etmek' (UYAB), *umuġsuz* 'hoffnungslos' (UCiv), *uman-* 'nadejaťsja, doverjať, polagaťsja' (AHŠF), *um-* 'ümit etmek' (AIMI), *um-* 'to hope' (AKor), *uman-* 'nadejaťsja, doverjať, polagaťsja' (ANehF), *umanč* 'hope', *umsun-* 'to expect' (ARbg), *uman-* 'ždať, nadejaťsja' (ATef), *um-* 'attendre, espérer' (AChag), *umundï andïn ol nemeni* 'nadejalsja u nego na tu veščʺ' (AChagMA), *um-* 'to expect, to hope' (AChagSC), *um-* 'ümid etmek' (AChagŠS), *umun-* 'Gierig sein, hoffen' (AChagŠSK), *umunč* 'Hoffnung' (LCC), *umdï* 'ummaq fiilinden mazi' (AAH), *umsan-* 's'attendre, espérer' (AmTr), *umun*(*č*) 'nadežda' (AmD), *um-* 'beklemek, temenni etmek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ămsan-*, *ămsăn-* 'zariťsja, zavidovat', *ĕmĕt* 'nadežda' (Chuv ⟵ Pe *umīd*); ***NW*** *ïmsïn-* 'soblaznjaťsja, preľščaťsja čem-l., iskušaťsja, zavydovať, pozavydovať, obmanyvaťsja, obmanuťsja' (Tat), *ïmhïn-* 'soblaznjaťsja, preľščaťsja' (Bashk), *umun-*: *umunup-umsunup* 'vozlagaja nadeždi', *umsun-* 'nadejaťsja, vozlagaťnadeždi, ruzočarovaťsja' (Kirg), *ŭmsïndïr-* 'to give hope' (Kaz), *ŭmsïn-* 'domanuťsja v nadežda' (KazB), *um-* 'hoffen, erwarten' (CrTatR), *umsun-* 'nadejaťsja, upovať, ožidať, ždaťʹ' (KarT), *umsun-* 'nadejaťsja, upovať, ožidať, ždaťʹ' (KarH), *um-* 'nadejaťsja, želať, polagaťʹ', *umsun-* 'nadejaťsja, upovať, ožidať, ždaťʹ' (KarC), *um-* 'nadejaťsja' (Kum, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 595); ***SW*** *um-* 'ožidať, rassčityvať, nadejaťsja, upovaťʹ' (Az), *um-* 'to hope, to hope for' (Tt), *um-* 'nadejaťsja, upovať, rassčityvaťʹ' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *umsun-*: *u. umsundi* 'u nee nabuhli grudi (tak govorjať o kormjašej materi, kogda u nee nabuhaet gruď, jakoby v svjazi s tem, čto ona ne imeet vozmožnosti sʺestʹ to, čto ej hočetsja)' (Uzb, see TatD1 *ïmsïn* id.); ***NE*** *umza-* 'stremiťsja, želaťʹ', *umzan-* 'želaťʹ' (AltL), *umza-* 'napravljaťʹ', *umzan-* 'imeť napravlenie, deržaťputʹ, napravljaťsja' (Alt), *umzun-* 'imeť želanie, namerenie' (KhakB), *ïmzan-* 'obmanyvaťsja, razočarovyvaťsja (v nadežde na polučenie podarka)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *ïmsï̄* 'žadnyj, alčnyj',

ïmsïr- ‘strastno želatʹ, vospylatʹ strastju’ (Y), *ïmsī̈* ‘gierig’, *ïmsïr-* ‘begehren, grosse Lust haben’ (Dlg).

E/T The basic verb *um-* had the meaning ‘to ask for, covet’, and Clauson may be right (1972: 155) that the semantics of the verb changed in the direction of ‘to hope’ under the influence of Pe *umīd* ‘hope’, which is present in many T lgs, including Chuv. Its ders are numerous; cf. *umdu* ‘desire’, *umun-* ‘to desire, request, to pray for something’, *umunč* ‘desire, request, pray, expectation, hope’, *umug*, *umu* ‘request’, *umsu-* ‘to strive for, to want to go somewhere’ and *umsa-* ‘to tempt, to deceive somebody in his hope etc. (< ‘to cause false hope’)’. The word *umun-* was used instead of *um-* as early as in OT (Erdal 1991: 624). The semantic change ‘to ask for’ > ‘to request’ > ‘to pray for’ can be detected in all sources. The verb governs an object in either the acc or dat case. The connection with Mo *ama*(*n*) ‘mouth’ and *amsa-* ‘to taste’ (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 296–297) is for semantic and phonologic reasons not acceptable.

E/H The earliest occurrence of the H word is in the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* (c1195): *wimagguc uromc iften kegilemt ez lelic ert* ‘we ask the mercy of our Lord God for this soul’. Here the H word clearly has the meaning ‘to ask for’. The semantic change ‘to ask for’ > ‘to ask from God’ > ‘to pray to God’ > ‘to adore (God)’ occurred in H. The H verb originally governed the acc ‘to ask the mercy of God’, hence ‘to adore God’. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 203), the word is of uncertain origin. Its connection with an isolated Zyr word is problematic, according to Lakó (1967–1978/2: 318). The H word was first tied to the T word by Palló (1982: 107–108). In her view the H initial *v-* is of secondary H origin. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 608), the T etymology (suggested by Palló) is “kaum wahrscheinlich”. The initial H *v-* is old and the *vi-* > *i-* is a H development. The ModH *ima* ‘religion, prayer’, first noted in 1787, is an artificial back-formation created by the neologist Dávid Barczafalvi Szabó (see Benkő 1967–1984/2: 203). In Chuv, we do find a series of words where a prothetic *v-* is present in place of an initial T *u-*: *vărăm* ‘long’ < WOT **vïrum* < *uzun*, *värläχ* ‘family’ < WOT **vïrlïk* < *urluk*, *vărśă* ‘war’ < WOT **vïrulč* < *uruš*. But there is no trace of *um-* > **vïm-*. As we know the prothetic *v-* occurs in the VBulg inscriptions (e.g. *več* ‘three’ < *üč*, *vel-* ‘to die’ < *öl-*, VBulg *votur* ‘thirty’ < WOT **otur* < *otuz*), but surely existed earlier. A der of the verb is present in Chuv in the form *ămsăn-*, *ămsan-* ‘to hanker (after), to envy’, which is a copy of Tat *ïmsïn-*, itself going back to *umsun-* or *umsan-*. On the delabialisation, see TatD1 *ïmsïn* ‘opuhol, naryv, šiška na grudi, kotorye, jakoby, pojavljajutʹsja pri bolʹsom želanii poestʹ čto-l.’ The Tat word is the same as Uzb *umsun-*; see above. According to Fedotov (1996/1: 83), the Chuv word is directly derived fr **umsan-*, but this is not acceptable. The H word may be of T origin, if we suppose a form **vïm-* or **vïma-*, which disappeared fr Chuv. In this case, *-Ád-* is a H freq suff. The prothetic *v-* is present in some H words of T origin;

see **váj**, **vék** and § 6.2.7. The link between the H word and OInd *mand-*, OIr *mand-* and *vi-* (Harmatta 1997: 74) is unclear. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word.

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/2: 203; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 318; Clauson 1972: 155; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 595; Palló 1982: 107–108; Erdal 1991: 624; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 608; Fedotov 1996/1: 83; Harmatta 1997: 74; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 296-297.

ING [ing] 'shirt' | p1372/c1448 *engalya* [eng-ålyå], c1405 *imeg* [imeg], a1495 *ingọt* [ing-öt], 1533 *ewmeg* [ümeg], dial *imëg*, *imög*, *ümeg*, *ümög* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1082–1083) | *ing* < **ümeg* < **ümmeg* ⟵ WOT **öŋmäk* < **öŋ* {with suff +*mAk*} | EOT *öŋ* 'front'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *öŋ*: *öŋdün* 'East', *öŋre* 'in the front in the East' (RMTon), *öŋ* 'avant, devant' (UHamTouHou), *öŋ* 'the front' (AK), *öŋ* 'vorn, früher' in *öŋrä* 'vorher' (BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BL, BN pass.); **MT** *öŋ* 'ön, baş' (UYAB), *öngdün* 'Est' (UHy), *önggärä-* 'passer par' (UHyS), *öngdün*, *öngtün* 'vorn, früher, Osten' (UCiv), *öŋ* 'ön, önce' (AHMA), *öŋ* 'pered, perednaja čast′' (AHŠF), *öŋ* 'front part' (AKD), *öŋ* 'in front, ahead' (AKor), *öŋ* 'pered, perednaja čast′' (ANehF), *öŋ* 'front' (ARbg), *öŋ* 'pered, pred, prežnij, prežde' (ATef), *öng* 'le devant, devant' (AChag), *öŋ* 'öŋ' (AChagŠS), *öŋ* 'das was vorn ist, der Raum vor oder vorn' (AChagZ), *ön*, *öŋ* 'die Vorderseite, der Raum vor etwas' (LCC), *öndü* 'büyüdü' (AAH), *öŋ* 'was vorn ist' (AHou), *öŋ* 'önce, mukkadem, evvel' (AOTt); **NT** ***Chuv*** *um* 'pered, perednjaja čast′ čego-l., grud′, nagrudnaja čast′ odeždy' (Chuv), *um* 'grud′, grud′ rubahi, pered, mesto na kotorom žnet žnec, nazvanie častej, na kotorye deljat zagon dlja udobstva zasevanija, poslelog' (Chuv), *umma* 'na grud′ (ChuvA), *mal* 'perednjaja storona (Chuv); ***NW*** *uŋ* 'pravyj, pravaja storona, licevaja storona, lico, verh' (Tat) *uŋ* 'pravyj, licevaja storona' (Bashk), *ōŋ* 'storona' (SibTat), *öŋ* 'lico, cvet lica, licevaja storona (materii)' (Kirg), *öŋ* 'front part, aspect, appearence, facial colour, hue, tint, right side (of material), reality', *öŋir* 'the hem of a dress, a woman's bodice (breastplate with embroidery or ornaments sewn on)', *ömildirik* 'breastplate fastened to the saddle and saddle-girth' (cf. *kömüldürük* etc. in **kömöndörög**), *oŋ* 'façade, right side (of material), right (location)', *oŋtüstik* 'south' [*tüs* 'noon'], *oŋbatïs* 'southwest' (Kaz), *öŋ* 'lico, cvet, okraska', *öŋir* 'nagrudnaja čast′ odeždy' (Kklp), *oŋ* 'pravyj (o storone), licevoj' (Nog), *oŋ* 'pravyj, licevoj, perednyj', *og* 'pered' (CrTat), *öŋ* 'pered, načalo', *ög* (poslelog) 'pered', *ön* 'pered, perednjaja čast′, načalo', (KarCr), *öŋ* 'obratnaja storona, iznamka' (KrchBlkK), 'vnešnyj vid' (KrchBlkB); ***SW*** *öŋ* 'pered, perednjaja čast′, perednyj, ranše, načalo', *oŋ* 'blagopolučnyj, udačnyj' (Tkm), *ön* 'pered, perednyj', *önlük* 'perednik, nagrudnik, fartuk' (Az), *ön* 'front, breast, chest, the future' (Tt), *ön* 'pered, perednyj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *uŋ* 'pravyj, licevaja storona, lico, verh, udobnyj' (Uzb), *öŋ* 'verh, lico, licevaja storona, cvet, cvet lica', *öŋ-* 'vycvetat′' (MUyg), *öŋ* 'pered, perednaja storona, licevaja storona' (MUygKashg), *öŋ* 'surface' (MUygTY); ***NE*** *öŋ* 'perednjaja čast′, lico,

cvet' (AltL), *oŋ* 'pravyj, licevoj', *öŋ* 'cvet' (Khak), *oŋ* 'pravyj', *oŋ-* 'vycvetat'', *öŋ* 'cvet, licevaja storona' (Tuv), *öŋ* 'mezdrovaja čast' vydelannoj škury, licevaja čast' materii' (Tof); ***Y*** *öŋ* 'cvet, kraska, naružnost'' (Y), *öŋ* 'Innenseite, linke Seite', *öŋnōk* 'farbig' (Dlg).

Mo *öŋge* 'color, exterior, appearance, lust, sexual passion', *öŋgere-* 'to pass (over, by or up), to pass away, die' (L).

E/T The T word *öŋ* seems to be a simplex. Its original meaning was 'front, what is in front, on the front side' later, it took on several secondary senses, like 'in the presence of, or before the face of a high official etc.' In addition, it denoted 'the front part of things, e.g. of the head, i.e. the face'. It further meant the colour of the face, hence the colour itself. Though, according to Clauson (1972: 167–168) the two words signify 'front' and 'colour' are homophones, this situation is due to a secondary development. The same semantic structure can be observed with H *szín*, which denotes 'face (only of God or a high official)', 'colour' and 'the upper layer of a material', perhaps not independently fr the T semantics. Already Clauson (1972: 166) remarked that T *öŋ* is often confused with *oŋ*, originally 'right'. The OT orientation faced East as opposed to the Mo (and Ch) orientation, which faced South. In the OT texts, *öŋ* also had the meaning 'East', and in this case *oŋ* became the word for 'South'. After this had changed and the main direction was towards Mekka, the system became confused. The word **oŋ* adopted the sense, in some lgs, of 'the front side, the face'. The semantic field of *öŋ* also included temporal aspects; see e.g. *ölümdin öŋe* 'before his death' (Clauson 1972: 167). For our purposes, it is not necessary to follow the changes of function in the word in all T lgs. More important is the phonology and the semantics of the Chuv form *um*. The final *-m* is a regular continuation of PT **-ŋ*. In Chuv, the word also carries the sense 'the front part of clothes, garment – nagrudnaja čast' odeždy', *um* 'grud' rubahi' (Chuv → Cher *oŋ* 'grud''), *umma* 'na grud' (ChuvA), *mal* 'perednjaja storona' (Chuv), 'pered, vostok' (Chuv; < **öŋ+al*, cf. also *malta* 'vperedi'). The Chuv data point to a relatively early change both in phonetics and in semantics.

E/H The earliest H items involve a form *ümeg* fr which present-day H *ing* is a later development. In the H dials, we find *ümeg* and the like even today. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 281–286) suggested the etymology with caution. He said that the H word is a copy of a T word **iŋmäk*, where the first part reflects a T *äŋ* 'collarbone, shoulder' (< OT 'cheekbone') and the second part is the suff *+mAk* (see now Erdal 1991: 110) for things worn on the body. This is hardly acceptable, but he was at least on the right track with the second part of the word. The initial vowel of the T word is an open *ä-*; see Tkm *ãŋ* 'nižnjaja čeljust'', Chuv *an* < **äŋ* in *anpuśśi* 'plečo', Tat *iŋbaš* id. An open *ä-* would not change into *ü-* in H. It is more probable that we have to depart fr WOT **öŋmäg*, a WOT form of **öŋmäk* 'the cloth worn on the front part

(*öŋ*) of the body'. The suff *+mAk* forms den nouns such as *kögüspäk* 'eine Jacke' (KhakShR < **kögüzmäk*). The T *ö-* has regularly been substituted by *ü-*, while the *-ŋm-* changed to *-mm-* and was later simplified in H: WOT **öŋmäk* > **ömmäg* ⟶ H **ümmeg*, *ümeg* > *ümgə-* > *üng* > *ing*. The voicing of the final is possible, though rare (see **szúnyog**, **tőzeg**). The fact that it signifies 'a part of the garment' in Chuv, may show the first step of the semantic change. However, until we find the form **öŋmäk* denoting 'a type of clothing' in T, the etymology remains only likely but not certain. The word has been connected with Ir words (see MPe *yāmag*) by Joki (1973: 264) and Harmatta (1997: 81). Benkő (1993–1997/1: 614) cites the Ir etymology as the only one but was not convinced by it.

◆ Rásonyi 1941–1943: 281–286; Clauson 1972: 166–168; Joki 1973: 264; Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1082–1083; Erdal 1991: 110; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 614; Harmatta 1997: 81; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 505, 617.

ÍR [īr] 'to write' | p1372/c1448 *meg ÿrtak-uala* [meg-īr-tāk vålå], 1575 *meg írta* [meg-īr-tå] | *īr-* < *ir-* ⟵ WOT **ïr-* || **irdal** [irdål] 'to cut, to slit in (e.g. fish)' | c1600 *irdald meg* [irdål-d mëg] | *irdal-* < *ír-* {with suff *-dAl-*} | EOT *ïr-* 'to make a notch, or breach, in (something)', *ïrk* 'dice, sticks etc. for casting lots, divination, magical figure, hexagram, an omen, taking an omen, divination', *ïrïm* 'belief in omens', *yïrt-* 'to tear something, to pull to pieces'.

OT *ïrk* 'omen' (RTIrk), *ir-* <'I̲YR> 'to make a breach (in a wall)': *ol tām irdi* 'he made a breach in the wall (or other)' (AK, Dankoff–Kelly read *ēr-*), *irök* <'IRUK> 'breach or crack in the wall, or other' (AK, AQB, cf. Erdal 1991: 233), *yir-* 'to split the wood (or other), [the same] for anything moist that is split lengthwise but not cut with a sharp instrument… The first [i.e. *yar-*] is a forceful splitting, this one is a gentle splitting: *tapuġ tāš yirär, tāš bašiġ yarār* 'service splits a stone, but a stone splits the head' (AK, Dankoff–Kelly read *yer-*), *yïrt-* 'to tear (a garment)' (AK), *irü* 'Vorzeichen' (BO 5); **MT** *yïrt-* 'to rend, tear to pieces' (AGul), *yïrt-* 'razryvatʹ, carapatʹ' (AHŠF), *yïrt-* 'razorvatʹ' (AIM), *yïrt-* 'Kâğıt ve bez gibi nesneleri çekip paralamak (sic!), yarmak.' (AIMI), *yïrt* 'tear!' (AKD), *yïrt-* 'razorvatʹ, razodratʹ' (AM), *yïrt-* 'razryvatʹ, carapatʹ' (ANehF), *yïrtül-* 'rvatʹsja, dyrjavitʹsja' (ATef), *ïrq tuttï andïn* 'polučil ot nego durnoe znamenie', *yïrttï* 'razorval' (AChagMA), *yïrt-* 'zerreissen' (LCC), *ïrmaq* '*arq* = *aruq*' (AAH), *yïrt-* 'drzeć rozryvać', *ïrmaq* 'rivière, fleuve' (ABul), *yïrmaq* 'Fluss' (AHou), *ïraq*, *ïrmaq*, *yïrmaq* 'reka', *yïrïn-* 'bytʹ prodyrjavlennym, provrannym', *yïrït-* 'delatʹ dyru, rasčepljatʹ, razryvatʹ, rassekat, rvatʹ na kuski' (ATuh); **NT *Chuv*** *ïr-*, *ïra-* 'vydabljatʹ, dolbitʹ pazy (v dereve)', *ïra* 'paz (v doske, stolbe, bruse)' (Chuv); ***NW*** *ïrmau* 'vyem, vyemka, paz, falʹc (na brevne, doske, bruse i.t.p.), špunt (da doske), zakroj (na rebrah ili krajah dosok)', *ïrïm* 'zaklinanie, zaklinanija, koldovstvo', *ïrïm-yerim* 'nerovnyj, izrezannyj (o relʹefe)', *ïrïskal* 'sčastʹe' (Tat), *ïrï-* 'delatʹ pazy, utoritʹ', *ïrïu* 'paz', *ïrïm* 'primeta, sredstvo (lečebnoe)', *ïrïm*, *ïrmau* 'paz, falʹc, utor', *iriś* 'sčastʹe',

ïrïškal ‘bogatstvo’ (Bashk), *ïr-* ‘rubiť sruby v paz’, *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe, blagososotojanie’, *ïrïm* ‘predskazanie, gadanie, sueverie, dobryj ili hudoj znak’, *ar-* ‘delať pazu na stolbah (dlja zabora)’ (SibTat), *ïr-* ‘in Fugen arbeiten’ (SibTatBR), *ïrk* ‘blagodenstvie, žizn´ v soglasii, mirnoe sosuščestvovanie’, *ïrïm* ‘vera v primeti, v predznamenovanie, dlja počina, zaklinanie’ (Kirg), *ïrïs* ‘fate, lot, happiness, good frtune’, *ïrïm* ‘belief in omens, superstiton’ (Kaz), *ïrïm* ‘sueverie, vera v primety, v predznamenovanija, v zaklinanija’, *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe, dolja’ (Kklp), *ïrga-* ‘rezať, razrezat’tupym nožom’, *ïrk* ‘nastroenie, želanie,volja’, *ïrïz* ‘česť, sovesť’, *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe, dolja’, *ïrïm* ‘sueverie, vera v primety, v predznemenovanija’ (Nog), *ïrïz* ‘česť, sovest‘, skromnosť’, *ïrïm* ‘koldovstvo, zaklinanie’ (CrTat), *ïrïz* ‘dostoinstvo, česť’, sovesť, nravstvennosť, skromnosť, vozderžanie’ (KarC), *irïs* ‘udače, sčasťe’ (Kum), *ïrïz* ‘sovesť, česť, *ïrïs* ‘[plohaja] primeta, predrassudok, sueverie’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ïrïm* ‘predznamenovanie, primeta’, [*yïrt-* ‘rvať, razryvať, rascaraplať, pocarapať’] (Tkm), *irmäk* ‘melkie otrubi’ (Az), [*yïrt-* ‘iznosiť, trepať, rvať, razryvať, razdyrať’], *ïrk* ‘das Glück’ (TtR, Zenker), ? *ır-* prov. = *ayır-* ‘to part, to separate, sever, to divide’ (Tt), [*yïr-* ‘to tear, rend, split, burst’] (TtD), *ir-* ‘razryvať, razrezať, razmyvať (berega)’ [*yïrt-* ‘rvať, razryvať, otryvať’], *irik* ‘razorvannyj, rupt’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *irim* ‘vera v primety, sueverie’ (Uzb), *irim* ‘proverie, sueverie, vera v primety, primeta, predznamenovanie’ (MUyg), *ïrk* ‘sčasťe, buduščee, horošee predskazanie’, *ïrk kara-* ‘gadať’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe, blagososotojanie, uspeh’ (AltQK), *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe’ (AltL), *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe’ (AltTK), *ïr-* ‘in Fugen arbeiten’ (AltTelR), *ïrïl-* ‘razryvať sja, razdyrať sja (o materii), rastreskivať sja (o zemlje), *ïrïs* ‘sčasťe, uspex’, *ïrïx* ‘anat. promežnosť’ (Khak), *ïrïm* ‘predskazanie, proročestvo, sčasťe’ (KhakB), *ïrï-* (dial) ‘potrošit’ (napr. rybu)’, *ïrïm* ‘plohoe fizičeskoe sostojanie, plohoe samočustvie’ (Tuv), *ïr-* ‘kolot’, raskalyvať’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sïr-* ‘proryvať, razryvať, *sirit-* only in the gerund form *siritä* (examples in Pekarskij 1917–1930/1: 2247), *siritin-*, *sirittV-* ‘razorvať sja’, *ïr-* ‘raskalyvať, vilovatoe, raz″edinjať, razryvať’, *ïrït-* ‘razbirať po častami, razedinať, raznimať, otdelať’ (Y), *hïrïk* ‘Schlucht, Erdspalte’ (Dlg).

E/T In the Karakhanid lg, we find a verb *ir-* with a front-vocalic *i-*, meaning ‘to make a breach, a crack, a slot’. The front-vocalic verb is the base for a dev noun *irök* in the sense of ‘a breach or crack’ and this is present in both the *Dīvān* of Kashgari and the *Qutadgu Bilig*; it also occurs in a few Uyg texts (see Erdal 1991: 233). Fr the T data, one has the impression that either this word was formerly back-vocalic or it had a back-vocalic pair.

The verb *ir-* can hardly be separated fr *yir-* ‘to split (gently)’ (see above) (read as *yer-* by Dankoff–Kelly, as they also read *er-* instead of *ir-*, and *erük* instead of *irök*). The verb *yir-* is, further, most probably the base for *yïrt-* ‘to tear’, which preserved its back vocalism. The result, i.e. a cleft, a mountain gorge, may be behind the noun that denotes ‘channel, river’, as in *ïrak*, *ïrmak*, *yïrmak* ‘river’, *yïrïn-* ‘to become split’,

yïrït- ‘to make a hole, to cleave, split, tear etc.’ (ATuh), which suppose a verb *ïr- ~ yïr-* (see Y). Looking to the modern lgs, the back-vocalic form *ïr-* is present in VT, where Chuv is a lw fr Tat, and it occurs in some Sib lgs. Some clear ders appear elsewhere such as in Nog (*ïrga-* ‘rezat′, razrezat′ tupym nožom’). The verb *yïr-* can be found in most lgs with *y-* or its developments, but Y contains it both with *s-* (< **y-*) and without the initial consonant, simply *ïr-*. If *ir-* had an OT form with a back vowel, this word may be tied to the word *ïrk* ‘omen, sign’.

We have the following possibilities:

1. Morphologically, *ïrk* may be *ïr-*(*O*)*k*. But Erdal (1991: 224) pointed to the fact that the vowel (*O*) is only syncopated after rounded vowels in monosyllabic verbs ending in *-r*, (such as *kör-k*, *ör-k*, *tur-k*) and that *irök* ‘a crack, a slot’ is one of the only cases in favour of this hypothesis, the other being *arok* ‘exhaustion’. A possible solution here may be that *ïrk* is an earlier der, when (*O*) was syncopated, and later this syncopation was restricted to monosyllabic verbs with rounded vowels and final *-r*. In other words, *irök* is a later der than *ïrk*. The words *ärk* ‘authority, power, free will, independence’ and *bark* ‘movable property’ would belong to this earlier layer. *ärk* has to be a der of *är-* ‘to be etc.’ and *bark* has to be connected either to *bar-* ‘to go’ (see Erdal 1991: 292–293 on *barïm*), or to *bar* < **bar-* ‘to exist’, on which see **barom**.

2. We may postulate that *-rk* is a development of *-r-*(*X*)*g* > *-rg* > *-rk*. However, there are morphophonological difficulties, because there is no syncopation of (*X*) in this case, as we can see in the binom *ärig-barïg* ‘the manner of being’ (see the data in Erdal 1991: 186–187). We can depart fr an **ïr-ïg* only if we have other data to corroborate this. Of course, *ärk*, *bark* and *tärk* may also be part of this group, and thus, they would promote the der of *ïrk* fr **ïrïg*. Do we have a key to aid us in solving this dilemma?

3. As regards OT *-rk-*, Mo sometimes has *-k*, and sometimes *-g*, a difference which points to the original T velar stop. In the case of *irk* ‘ram’, we have Mo *irge*; in the case of T *börk* ‘a cap’, we find Mo *bürge* ‘shack, hut’, but also *bürkü* ‘summer hat’ (later lw). Meanwhile, for *ärk* ‘power’, Mo only has *erke*, that is Mo preserved the *-g-* in the case of **irgĕ* and **börgĕ*, and T lost its voicedness, while Mo preserved T *-k* in *bürkü* and *erke*. We may suppose that Mo *iro-a* ‘foreboding, bad omen, premonition’ (see also *iroči*, *iroači*, *irogači* ‘fortune teller’) has to be linked to T *ïrk*. According to Doerfer (1965: 55–60), the Mo orth *-ua* denotes a short final *-o*, as in *činua* ‘wolf’. In the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, we find *ira* in *mū ira bariba tünese* = Chag *yaman ïrk tuttï andïn* ‘polučil ot nego durnoe znamenie’ (Poppe 1938–1939: 242). This clearly points to a West MMo *-a*, to which East Mo *-o* corresponds. In fact, all Mo data (with the exception of Dahur *irō*) show a short *-o* in this word or its development (cf. Ord *yoro*, Khal *yor*, Bur *yoro*, Kalm *yor*^{o}). The final short *-o* in Mo is very rare.

According to Poppe (1955: 71), it goes back to **βa*. Mo *iruga* would give **irō*, as *ǰiruga* is *džorō*, hence we have to suppose, following Poppe's lead, either an **irβa* or an **iroga*, fr which an *iro* developed through **irō*. The easiest way would be **iroga* > **iroγa* > *irva* > *irua* > *iro*. In fact, the last forms are attested. In this case, an early Mo **iroga* has to be equated with T *ïrk*. The T form would be **ïrogă*, fr which **ïrog* > **ïrŏg* > **ïrg* > *ïrk*. This means that Mo would support the solution under No. 2. See also Y *ïra* and *ïrā* 'predčustvie, predrekanie, zagadivanie' (← Mo **ira*, **irā* < **iroga*). Mo **iroga* has been copied by some T lgs. Besides Y *ïra*, *ïrā*, we find Kirg *ǰoro*, *ǰorō* 'predznamenovanie, priznak, primeta', Nog *yoru* 'preugadyvanie, predskazanie, tolkovanie snov'.

4. Finally, it must be mentioned that *irü* and/or *ïru* 'omen, sign' can be found in OT. Clauson (1972: 197) supposed that this form is the origin of Mo *iru-a*. It is very difficult to separate *ïrk* fr *ïru* / *irü*; see the line: *ïrak-takï kiši asan yanmaz, nägüg yorap irü ïrklasar büdmäz* 'Der in der Ferne befindlicher Mensch wird nicht gesund zurückkommen. Mit was für einem (geheimen) Wunsch man auch das Orakel befragen mag wird er nicht erfüllt.' (UTTVII 38:28:6). Here *irü irklasar* is 'if one seeks by divination for an omen to explain something' (Clauson 1972: 197). But the T form *ïru* cannot be the original form of Mo *irua*. Is T *irü*, *iru* a lw fr Mo?

Fr the verb *ïr-*, we find ders with *-(X)m*, which help to reconstruct the semantics of the base. For Bashk, the forms *ïrïm*, *ïrmau* (< *ïrmag*) 'paz, fal′c, utor', that is 'notch', have been recorded, while, for Tat, only *ïrmau* 'vyem, vyemka, paz, fal′c (na brevne, doske, bruse i.t.p.) have been set down. In the same lgs, the same word *ïrïm* also carries the sense of 'zaklinanie, koldovstvo, primeta, sredstva (lečebnoe)'. The word *ïrïm* has this or similar meanings ('sueverie, predznamenovanie, vera v primety etc.') in Kirg, Kaz, Kklp, CrTat, Tkm, Uzb, MUyg and Khak, that is 'belief in omens, superstition'. Tuv *ïrïm* 'plohoe fizičeskoe sostojanie, plohoe samočustvie' is especially interesting; it may have been associated with the shamans and their fortune telling during their trance. The words *ïrïm*, *ïrïmla-*, *ïrïmči* in Alt, Tel and Kirg were connected early on by Thomsen (1922a: 229) with *ïrk* 'omen'. Here Thomsen had reason to dismiss the idea of tying *ïrk* to *yïr*, *ïr* 'a song'.

Another der with the dev suff *-(X)z* (Erdal 1991: 323–327) of *ïr-* is *ïrïz*, *ïrïs* 'sčast′e, luck, fortune'. This word or its further ders are also common; cf. Tat, Bashk, Kaz, Nog, KarC, KrchBlk, AltQK, AltL and Khak.

Thus we have a word family that denotes 'belief in omens, superstition, fortune, luck' and this has to be linked to *ïrk* 'divination, fortune telling, omen'.

Morphologically, the words *ïrk*, *ïrïm* and *ïrïz* can be connected only if they have a verb *ïr-* as a common stem.

Fortune telling is done fr 'signs', and an omen is nothing more than a sign fr which you can tell the future. Thus my claim is that *ïr-* 'to make a notch' also had the

meaning ‘to make a sign’ and hence ‘to make an omen’, ‘to tell somebody’s fortune (from signs)’.

On the book containing *irk*s, i.e. the famous *Irk Bitig*, see V. Thomsen (1922a); Orkun (1936–1941/2: 71–93); Malov (1951: 80–91); Clauson (1961); Erdal (1978) and Tekin (1993). This has recently also been dealt with by Erdal (1997). A good survey on the earlier literature is Erdal (1997); see now Róna-Tas (2004a).

In a paper published in 1956 on tally stick and divination-dice in the iconography of Lha-mo (Róna-Tas 1956: 171), I called attention to the parallels between the Tib dice used in divination and the T *Irk Bitig*. The dice with dots can be found in the iconography of Lha-mo, the goddess of divination. The famous *mo* divination, that is the divination with the dotted dice, the *Lha-mo mo* has been described in many sources and is present in the iconography of Lha-mo. I came to the conclusion in my paper that the *mo* divination was first a pre-Buddhist practice (Róna-Tas 1956: 173), and I claimed that “Lha-mo, the fortune teller / medicine woman / enchantress, is undoubtedly a pre-Buddhist deity” (1956: 176–177). It is also beyond doubt that the *Irk Bitig* comes fr a layer of folk religion independent fr and earlier than the massive intrusion of the great religions in the area, Manicheism and Buddhism. This is true even if we have a clear hint in the colophon that it was written or copied by and for people with close contacts with the Manicheans.

On the T terminology for writing, we can refer to a paper by Bodrogligeti (1965). There existed two basic verbs for ‘writing’, *biti-* ‘to write’ and *ur-* ‘to hit, to strike, to cut (an inscription in stone)’. The verb *yaz-* was a dial word in the Og lgs in the time of Kashgari. There we read *ol bitig yazdï* ‘he wrote the book’. One has the impression that with the meaning ‘to write’, originally *biti-* spread with Buddhism, and *yaz-* with Islam.

The term for making incisions or notches and carving into wood was *ïr-* in OT, in contrast to *ur-*, which meant ‘to hit, to cut into stone, hence make stone inscriptions’. The dots were also carved, as were the runiform letters, or hexagrams. The signs carved and used for divination were called *ïrk*. The carving of signs and script into wood slowly disappeared with the introduction of the great religions and the writing systems brought to, and adapted by, the Turks. The terminology became blurred. But some terms preserved the reminiscence of the old practice. What was written was fate, luck, one’s fortune or the means of divination. A parallel case is the word *pětü* ‘amulet’ (Chuv), *beteü* ‘amulet, obereg, talisman’ (Bashk), a semantic change fr *bitig* ‘writing’ (see **betű**).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1144–1145) connected T *ïrk* with Mo (*h*)*irüge-* ‘to bless’ without mentioning *irua*.

On a possible borrowing of OT *ïr-* into Osty, see Sz. Kispál (1951: 49–64), according to whom the H word is of Ugr origin and the T word entered the Ugr proto-lg.

This is impossible for phonological and chronological reasons. The Osty word is an independent borrowing fr a T lg.

E/H The H word *ír-* 'to write' has been connected with T *yaz-* until now. Gombocz (1912b: 87–88, 178) supposed a Chuv **ïr-*, as an irregular Chuv equivalent of T *yaz-*. But Chuv has *śïr-* 'to write', which has a regular correspondence to T *yaz-*. Some scholars tried to explain the loss of the consonantal initial in *yaz-* as a H development (Sinor 1977: 332; Doerfer 1975–1976: 28), but Ligeti (1986: 24) refuted their suggestions with reason. According to Ligeti (1986: 25), the *y-* disappeared before back-vocalic *ï* earlier than *y-* became *ǰ-* in OChuv, and H borrowed this dial form. But this would involve great chronological difficulties and has no parallel in the H material. The H word was first tied to T *ïr-* by Róna-Tas (1992a) with a discussion of earlier opinions. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 621) correctly remarked that the etymology associated with T *yaz-* has serious phonological difficulties. The semantic history of the H word is also of importance. In the H der *irdal-* 'to slit in, to mark out, to make cuts into (mostly into the skin of the fish before roasting)', even the notion of making a notch or cutting in, is preserved; see also Tuv *ïrï-* 'potrošiť (napr. ribu)'. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 231), the verb *irdal-* is a der fr *irt-* 'to extirpate', and less likely fr *ír-* 'to write'. In Benkő (1993–1997/1: 622), he added that the *d* > *t* change occurred on the analogy of *vagdal-*, *furdal-*, and the semantics "…beim Abholzen eines Waldes die Bäume (mit Einschnitten) vorgezeichnet werden". This is unlikely. The verb **irdal** in the H dials carries the sense of 'to cut in meat, fat, fish before roasting, to clear one line of seed from maize', the der *irdas* has the meaning 'grooved, furrowed'. The suff *-dAl-* is a H freq suff, as in *vág-* 'to cut' > *vagdal-* 'to cut frequently'. In this case, H preserved a very old meaning of T *ïr-*. This was due to the fact that the Hungarians used a runiform script carved in wood. This script was part of the East European Runiform script (on which, see Göbl–Róna-Tas (1995) and Róna-Tas (1999: 437–444)).

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 87–88, 179–180; Pekarskij 1917–1930/1: 2247; Thomsen 1922a: 229; Orkun 1936–1941/2: 71–93; Poppe 1938–1939: 242; Sz. Kispál 1951: 49–64; Malov 1951: 80–91; Poppe 1955: 71; Róna-Tas 1956: 163–179; Clauson 1961: 218–225; Ligeti 1961: 30; Bodrogligeti 1965: 93–117; Doerfer 1965: 55–60; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 231; Clauson 1972: 197; Doerfer 1975–1976: 28; Sinor 1977: 332; Erdal 1978: 87–119; Ligeti 1986: 24–25; Erdal 1991: 186–187, 224, 233, 292–293, 323–327; Róna-Tas 1992a: 9–14; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 621–622; Tekin 1993; Göbl–Róna-Tas 1995; Erdal 1997: 63–100; Róna-Tas 1999: 437–444; Károly 2001: 71–85; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1013, 1144–1145; Róna-Tas 2004a: 53–61.

ÍRÓ [īrō] 'buttermilk' | c1395 *ýro* [īrō] | *īrō* < *irō* < **iraγ* ← WOT **ïraγ* < **ayraγ* < **ayïr-* | EOT *ayran* 'buttermilk'.

OT *ayran* 'petit-lait, lait fermenté, lait caillé' (UHamTouHou), *ayran* 'buttermilk' (AK); **MT** *ayran* 'buttermilk' (AGul), *ayran* '"snjatoe moloko", kisloe moloko', *ayran yaγï* 'smetana' (AIM), *ayran* 'sütün yağı ayrıldıktan sonra kalan mayi ve ekşi kısmı' (AIMI), *ayran* 'buttermilk, sour milk' (AKD), *ayran* 'petit-lait, pièce de bois qui sé-

pare les chevaux dans les écuries' (AChag), *ayran* 'Pferdestand' (LCC), *ayran* 'ayıran, tefrik eden, Kpch.: yoğurttan yapılan içki', *ayraq* 'ayiran, tefrik eden' (AAH), *ayran* 'lait caillé, acidulé' (ABul), *ayran* 'lait caillé, acidulé' (ADur), *ayran* 'gegohrener Kuhmilch' (AHou), *ayran* 'ajran' (ATuh); **NT *Chuv*** *uyran*, *uryan*, *oryan*, *oren* 'pahtanie' (Chuv, ChuvA), *uślană uyran* 'pahta' (Chuv → CherM *öran*, CherH *oren* 'pahtanie'); ***NW*** *äyrän* 'ayran (napitok iz kislogo moloka, razbavlennogo holodoj vodoj), syvorotka [whey]' (Tat), *ayran*, *äyrän* 'kvašenoe moloko, katyk', *äryän* 'ajran, napitok iz kvašenogo moloka' (TatD1), *ayran* 'ajran, (napitok iz razbavlennogo vodoj kislogo moloka ili kuruta), pahta' (Bashk), *äyerän* 'vid nacional′nogo napitka' (BashkD) *ayran* 'ajran, (južn.) pahta, pahtan′e, skolotina' (Kirg), *ayran* 'sour milk' (Kaz), *ayran* 'ajran' (Kklp), *ayran* 'ajran, pahta' (Nog), *ayran* 'ajran, pahta' (CrTat), *ayran* 'ajran, syvorotka' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *ayran* 'ajran' (Kum), *ayran* 'ajran' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ayran* 'ayran' (Tkm), *ayran* 'pahtan′e, razvedenoe v vode kisloe moloko, prostokvaša, upotrebjaemoe kak prohladitelnyj napitok, ayran' (Az), *ayran* 'buttermilk' (Tt), *ayran* 'ajran' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ayrån* 'ajran' (Uzb), *ayran* 'buttermilk, curds' (TurkiJ), *ayran* 'buttermilk' (TurkiSh), *ayran* 'ajran' (MUyg); ***NE*** *ayran* 'ajran' (Alt), *ayran* 'ein Getränk aus gegohrener Kuhmilch' (AltR), *ayran* 'ajran, moločnyj napitok' (AltTK), *ayran* 'ajran' (Khak), *ayran* 'ein Getränk aus gegohrener Kuhmilch' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakQR), *ayran* 'ein Getränk aus gegohrener Kuhmilch' (KhakSR); ***Y*** *ayran* 'ayran' (RY), *aydax*, *ārax* 'priprava iz parnogo ili varenago moloka i iz slivok k nudanu (kvašnoe moloko s vodoju) i priprava iz parnogo moloka i, inogda, nebol′šogo količestva slivok k kumysu' (Y ← Mo), ? *īrt-* 'vzbivat′ (slivki ili smetanu), pahtat′, sbivat′ (maslo): *süögäy īrdär* 'pahtan′e (masla) iz slivok' [*süögäy* 'slivki, smetana' ← Mo] (Y).

Mo *ayiraġ* 'kumiss, the fermented milk of mares or cows' (L).

E/T see below.

E/H The H word was connected with the T word *ayran* by Vámbéry (1870: 155), who suggested that it goes back to the verb *ayïr-* 'to separate (butter from buttermilk)'. According to Gombocz (1907c: 334–335; 1912b: 88), the H word reflects a T form **ïrag*, which is the Chuv equivalent of *yazak*; see Bashk *yåδū*, a dev noun fr *yaz-* 'to churn'. Ligeti (1960: 299–303; 1986: 15–16, 526, 528) pointed to the Cher form *yə̂ra*, orthographically *yïră* 'pahtan′e, skolotina (ostatok židkosti posle sbivanija masla)', which is a lw fr Chuv, and represents a disappeared Chuv **yăra*, where the *y-* is a later prothetic sound and itself goes back to **ïra* < **ïrag*. This *ïrag* corresponds to T *yazak*. The base of the latter word does exist in the VKip lgs: *may yaz-* 'sbivat′, pahtat′ maslo' (Tat), *yazma* 'ajran' (TatD2), *yazïm*, *yazïm may*, *äyrän may* 'slivočnoe maslo' (TatD2), *yaδ-* 'sbivat′ (maslo), trepat′, rasputyvat′, raspravljat′' (Bashk). The word *yåδū* is cited fr Pröhle's Bashk wordlist (1903–1905/2: 246), where, however, we find *mạy yạδū* 'köpülés [churning]' and *yạδma* 'buttermilk'. Ligeti (1986:

16) supposed that the Bashk *yaδ-*, Tat *yaz-* 'to churn' may belong with T *yay-* and both may go back to an earlier **yad-*. The verb *yay-* 'to churn' is present in some T lgs; see

OT *yay-* 'to shake, to stir' (AK); MT *yay-* 'battre le lait pour faire le beurre' (AChag), *yayïq* 'a vessel into which they pour milk, which they then beat up and fresh butter emerges, churn' (AChagSC); NT *Chuv* ? **yïra* (? **ïrag* < **yïrag* < **yïδag* < **yaδag* < **yad-*) → CherEast *yïrá* [read: *yăra* = *yə̂ra*] 'pahtanie, skolotina (ostatok židkosti posle sbivanija masla)') (Chuv); *NW yaz-* 'razpravljaťˊ, raspraviťˊ', *may yaz-* 'sbivaťˊ, pahtaťˊ maslo' (Tat), *yazma* 'ajran' (TatD2), *yazïm*, *yazïm may*, *äyrän may* 'slivočnoe maslo' (TatD2), *yaδ-* 'sbivaťˊ (maslo), trepaťˊ, rasputyvaťˊ, raspravljaťˊ' (Bashk); *SW yāy-* 'pahtaťˊ, sbivaťˊ maslo' (Tkm), *yay-* 'to churn' (Tt); *Kh yā^{a}-* 'Butter schlagen' (Kh); *SE yay-*, *yäy-* 'pahtaťˊ, sbivaťˊ' (YUygM); *NE* –; *Y* –.

This *yay-*, with the meaning 'to churn, to stir', has to be separated fr the homophonous verb *yad-* (> *yay-*) 'to spread out (on the ground etc.)' (AK), as well as fr *yań-* 'to rout', which gave *yay-* very early, in spite of the fact that this is not always an easy task and that some scholars have mingled them. The verb *yaz-* 'to untie' (AK) can well be separated fr the above; cf. Tuv, where we have all three words, see

NW ǰäy- 'stlaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ, zastelitˊ, raskidyvaťˊ, prostiraťˊ, raskatyvaťˊ' (Tat), *ǰäyü* 'mesto skoplenija stočnyh vod' (TatD1), *yäy-* 'raskidyvat', razvertyvaťˊ, nastilaťˊ, raskatyvaťˊ' (Bashk), *yäyek* 'vešnie vody' (BashkD2), *yäyü* 'polovodʹe', *yäymä* 'lepeška' (SibTat), *ǰay-* 'stlaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ, puskaťˊ na pasťbu' (Kirg), *ǰay-* 'to pasture, to graze, to spread, disseminate, to spread out, lay, hang (such as clothes, pictures etc.)' (Kaz), *ǰay-* 'stlaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, puskat' na pasťbu' (Kklp), *yay-* 'stelitˊ, rasstilaťˊ' (Nog), *yay-* 'rasstilaťˊ, stelitˊ' (CrTat), *yay-* 'raskladyvaťˊ, rasširjaťˊ, gotovitˊ, pečˊ lepeški' (KarL, KarT), *džay-* id. (KarC), *yay-* 'rasstilaťˊ, raspuskaťˊ, rasprostranjaťˊ' (Kum), *džay-* 'rasstilaťˊ, stelitˊ, rasprostranjat', razvoditˊ' (KrchBlk); *SW yay-* 'raspravljaťˊ, razvoračivaťˊ, rasprostranjaťˊ', *yāy-* 'raskatyvaťˊ (testo)' (Tkm), *yay-* 'to spread, to disseminate, to diffuse' (AzE), *yay-* 'to spread, to disseminate' (Tt), *yay-* 'rastjagyvaťˊ, razdvigaťˊ, rasširjaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ' (Gag); *Kh yazāt-* 'ausbreiten' (< *yaz-*) (Kh); *SE yåz-* 'rasstilaťˊ', *yåy-* 'rasstilaťˊ' (Uzb), *yay-* 'to lay out, to spread out, to roll out (dough)', *yæy-* 'to smooth (the ground), to level' (TurkiJ), *yay-* 'to spread open, to develop, to unfold' (MUygE), *yaz-* 'postilaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ' (YUyg); *NE dʹay-* 'razvernutˊ, razžatˊ' (AltQK), *dʹay-* 'stelitˊ, postilaťˊ, rasstilaťˊ, razvertivaťˊ, protjanutˊ' (AltTK), *yay-* 'razvertivaťˊ, razložitˊ, razostlaťˊ, rasprostranitˊ, rassypatˊ' (AltL), *čay-* 'poloskat', opoloskivaťˊ, razlivaťˊ, rassypat', raskidyvaťˊ, rasprostranjaťˊ (sluh)' (Khak), *čay-* 'svalivaťˊ, ronjaťˊ (napr. gruz), perevoračivaťˊ (napr. mašinu), napravljaťˊ vodu po drugomu ruslu (kanalu)' [to turn over < **yań-*], *čas-* 'razvoračivaťˊ, otkryvaťˊ' [to unroll, to open < **yaz-*], *čat-* 'rasstilaťˊ, sušitˊ [to spread out, to dry]' < **yad-* (Tuv), *čay-*

'svalivat′, ronjat′, sdvigat′ na storonu, vyvihivat′', *čas-* 'promahnut′sja, promazat′', *čat-* 'stlat′, rasstilat′, stelit′' (Tof); *Y saygā-*, *sayagā-* 'poloskat′, ubirat′' (Y).

Clauson connected *yay-* 'to stir, shake' with the word *yayïg* and the latter with the name of the River Ural, which is noted by Menandros as *Δαϊχ* and by Constantine VII as *Γεηχ*, the first reflecting a form *J̌aïx* (= *J̌ayïk*) and the second a form *Yäix* (= *Yäyik*). Menandros wrote his work in 583 or 584 but remained to us only in excerpts fr Constantine VII. The first seems to be an old BulgT form, the second an early Kip one. The name of the Ural is surely a der fr *yay-* 'to spread' and not fr *yay-* 'shaking', as claimed by Clauson (1972: 981); see *d′ay-* 'razvernut′, razžat′ [to open wide, to unclasp, to release]', *yayïk* 'ausgebreitet, die Wasserfläche, Überschwemmung' (AltR), *yayïk* 'der Uralfluss' (ChagR), *d′ayïk* 'razliv reki, potop, reka Ural' (AltQK), *ǰäyü* 'mesto skoplenija stočnyh vod' (TatD1), *yäyek* 'vešnie vody' (BashkD2), *yäyü* 'polovod′e' (SibTat) and shows that either the final *-d* had already become *-y* in the 6th c., or EOT *yad-* and WOT *yay-* are two different words phonologically. Clauson's suggestion that *Yayïk* is a pre-T name is less convincing.

Turning back to the Gombocz–Ligeti etymology, their position was that we have to depart fr **yad-* 'to churn etc.' In this case, we would expect *-y* to correspond regularly with an OT final *-d* in Tat and Bashk; see *ked-* 'to put on, to wear (clothing)' > Tat *kiy-*, Bashk *key-* (but YUygM *kez-*). Thus we would also expect Tat, Bashk **yay-* (> *yäy-*) here. Ligeti saw a "highly irregular" (*felettébb szabálytalan*) correspondence here. He pointed to the similarly „irregular" Tat *izge*, Bashk *iδge* 'holy etc.' fr OT *ädgü* (> H *egy*, see **egyház** 'church') (Ligeti 1986: 15), and to *kazak*, *kadak* 'Nagel' (TatB), and *kazak* 'das Pfund' in Tat fr Radloff, together with *kada-* 'kolot′', while Bashk has *kaδa-* id. (< **kaza-*) (see **karó**).

As we shall see in detail under H **karó**, we have two options to solve this problem. Either we suppose that these "irregular" correspondences are Mo lws or we suppose that Tat and Bashk borrowed these forms fr a VBulg dial before the *d* > *δ* became *r*. This change occurred after 1077 (the work of Kashgari) and before 1230. The earliest data on *-r-* occur in the word *trnove* (< *tudun*), cited in the *Chronicle of Troick* in the year 1230 (see Róna-Tas 1982b: 158). This chronology is corroborated by the Chuv word of Pe origin *adina* >> *irne* 'Friday', which could only have entered OChuv after the conversion of the Volga Bulgars to Islam, and this took place in the first decades of the 10th c. (see the report by Ibn Fadlan, 922).

We have to suppose that the forms *izge*, *kazak*, *kadak* and *yaz-*, *yaδ-* entered both the Tat and the Bashk lgs fr VBulg around the beginning of the 13th c., when the Kip tribes occupied the territory of the Volga Bulgars in alliance with the Mongols, and in any case before the "second rhotacism" (*d* > *δ* > *z* > *r*) in Chuv was completed. The consequence of these deliberations is that we have to exclude a supposed **yaδak* as the original form of H *író* 'buttermilk' for chronological reasons. The *-r-* in place

of OT *-d* (*-δ*) is a later development in Chuv, and certainly a change brought about later than the 9th-c. H conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

The initial also presents serious problems. According to Ligeti (1961: 30–32), the *ya-* > *ï-* change occurred in an OChuv period before the *y-* > *ǰ-* change. In early Chuv, a *yï* > *ï-* change would not have been unusual, as it also took place in other T lgs. It could not have come about after the *y-* > *ǰ-* change. In this case, however, we would have to suppose that the Chuv *a* > *ï* change happened before *yï* > *ī* and earlier than *y-* becoming *ǰ-*.

According to Ligeti, H copied a form **ïrag* << **yaδak*, and he tried to corroborate this with the etymology of H **ír** 'to write' (according to him fr **yaz-*) and with the Cher form *yïra* 'buttermilk' ← Chuv **yăra* < **ïraɣ*. As we have seen, H **ír** 'to write' has nothing to do with T *yaz-*.

We have to conclude that H **író** 'buttermilk' cannot be connected with the T word family *yad-*, *yay-* 'to stir, to churn'. The fact remains, however, that Chuv had a word **ïrag* 'buttermilk', preserved at present in Cher as *yïră*, and this cannot be disregarded. Therefore, we have to consider other possibilities.

Räsänen (1969: 9) and Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 80–81) linked H *író* to the Chuv word **ïră*, which occurs in the expression *ĕnĕ ïrri*, *ĕneri* 'molozivo' (< *ĕnĕ ïră+i*). This is the T word *aguz*, later *oguz*, which has also been associated as a popular etymology with the ethnonym Oguz; see

OT *aguz*, *aguž* 'beestings'(AK); MT *aġuz* 'pervoe moloko (posle rodov′)' (AIM), *aġïz* 'yeni doğuran hayvanın ilk sütü' (AIMI), *oguž igi* 'grudnica' (ATef), *aġuz* 'premier lait qui vient après les cuches' (AChag), *aġuz* 'molozivo' (AChagMA), *aġuz* 'koyun ve emsalinin doğurduğu zaman ilk sütünden yapılan yoğurt' (AAHTkm), *ovuz* 'ilk süt' (AAH), *avuz* 'le premier lait (d'une chamelle ou d'une brebis) après la parturition' (ABul), *avuz* 'ilk süt, ağız' (ATuh); NT *Chuv ĕnĕ ïrri*, *ĕneri* 'molozivo' (Chuv); *NW ugïz* 'molozivo' (Tat), *ūz* 'die erste Milch' (TatR), *ubïz*, *uwïz* 'molozivo' (TatD1), *uġïδ*, *ïuïδ* 'molozivo' (Bashk), *ïuġïδ* 'molozivo' (BashkD), *ūz* 'molozivo (v kipjačenom vide v kirgizskom bytu sčitaetsja lakomstvom)' (Kirg), *uïz* 'colostrum' (Kaz), *uïz* 'molozivo' (KazB), *uwïz* 'molozivo' (Kklp), *uvïz* 'molozivo' (Nog), *uz* 'molozivo' (CrTat), *uvuz* 'molozivo' (Kum), *uwuz* 'molozivo' (KrchBlk); *SW ovuz* 'molozivo' (Tkm), *aġïz* 'molozivo' (Az), *aġïz* 'biestings' (Tt); *Kh aġïz* 'Erstmilch' (Kh); *SE åġiz* 'molozivo' (Uzb), *oġuz* 'biestings (milk)' (TurkiJ), *ughuz* 'the milk of the cow a day or two after the birth of the calf (not drinkable)' (TurkiSh), *oġuz* 'molozivo' (MUyg); *NE ōs* 'molozivo' (Khak), *ōs* 'Kälbermilch' (KhakShR), *ā* (sic!) 'molozivo' (but: *inek āzï* 'molozivo korovy' (Tuv, correctly *ās*); *Y uosax* 'pervoe moloko (do treh dnej) posle togo kak korova otelilas′', *urax* 'moločnyj napitok' (Y ← Mo) and Mo *uġurug*, *uġuraġ* 'colostrum' (< **agurag*) ← *agur* < *aguz*.

The Chuv form had the following history: PT **aguz* > PChuv **agaz* > WOT **agar* > **ār* > **ïr* > *ïră*. Morphologically, we could suppose a form **aguzak* which is indeed reflected by Mo **agurag* and this would have resulted in Chuv (**ārag* >) **ïrag* and could be the form copied by H. However, there are serious semantic difficulties in tying this word to H **író**. The first milk, the 'colostrum', and 'buttermilk', 'an aciduous liquid remaining after butter has been separated from milk or cream' (Webster), though both somehow tied to 'milk', are entirely distinct and thus prove unlikely to be connected by pastoral or animal breeding people.

In the T lgs, we find another word for 'to shake' (cf. *ïrga-* 'to shake' (AK)); fr this an OChuv **ïra-* and a der like **ïrag* would not be impossible. But in view of the semantics of this word, it is hardly possible to link it to 'to churn' or to the product of churning; see *ol yïgač ïrgadï* 'he shook the tree so that the fruit should fall' (AK), *ïrga-* 'to rock, to pump, to move something first to one side, then to the other, to swing' (Kaz) and *ïrga-* 'dvigat′, trjasti, dvigat'sja', *irgak* 'ritm' (Kirg).

We have to turn back to *ayran*, the T word for 'buttermilk', already suggested by Vámbéry. The T form *ayran* had been associated with *ayïr-* 'to separate' not only by Vámbéry (see Clauson 1972: 276; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 179–181). This seems to be in contradiction with the fact that T *ayïr-* goes back to OT *adïr-*; see also Tuv *adïr-*, Khak *azïr-*. OT *adïr-* itself is a der fr an **ad-*; see OT *adïn* 'other, the other etc.', dealt with in detail by Erdal (1991: 535–536). Further, the *-d-* is present in Mo *ajï-* 'to watch, observe, to note, take notice' (< **adi-* 'to distinguish, to separate') > *ajïra-* 'to mind, observe, notice, pay attention to' (< **adira-* 'to make a distinction, to separate'). In the case of *adïr-*, Kashgari should have had **adïran*, *aδïran* in this case. We have a strong argument, however, that *ayran* goes back to the verb meaning 'to separate'. In Chag, *ayran* also carried the sense of 'pièce de bois qui sépare les chevaux dans les écuries' and in the CC it meant 'Pferdestall'. It denoted the rod which separated the horses in the stable and hence the stable itself. Thus we have to suppose that the change *adran* > *aδran* > *ayran* occurred earlier in *ayran* than in the verb *adïr-* > *aδïr-* > *ayïr-* because of the /dr/ cluster. In AK, we find *aδrïk* and *ayrïk* 'peat', *aδruk* and *ayruk*, *adriš-* and *ayriš-*, in most cases marked as Og. Interestingly, Khak has *azïr-*, but also *ayran*.

Pulleyblank (1962: 253) reconstructed **agïrak* and supposed a connection with Ch *lao* 'milk products'; see *lao* 'fermented milk, yoghurt, kumiss, cream' (< *lak* < *hlak*), a Xiongnu word which was also copied by the Turks and Mongols as **agïrag* and later changed to *ayïrag*. Mo *ayï°* could go back to **agi°* but not all *ayi* bisyllables go back to *agi*. In support of the Pulleyblank hypothesis one could cite the Mo word *agarča*(*n*) 'a kind of sour cottage cheese made from milk left after the distillation of milk liquor'. However, Mo *ayirag* and T *ayran* belong together and in the case of a hypothetical **agïr-* in T we would expect *agïran* or *agran*.

Thus we have to suppose a verb **ayïr-* 'to make buttermilk, to separate cream and buttermilk'. This word may be present in Y as *īrt-* 'vzbivat′ (slivki ili smetanu), pahtat′, sbivat′ (maslo)', *süögäy īrdär* 'pahtan′e (masla) iz slivok' (on which see Y *süögey* 'slivki, smetana' ← Mo *jögekey* 'cream', Bur *zōxey*), where we have to suppose that the Y form goes back to an earlier *ayïrt-*. According to Kałużyński (1981: 35), Y *īrt-* pertains to T *irit-* 'zakvašivat′ (moloko). He is, however, not distinguishing *īrt-* 'zaputivat′' and *īrt-* 'vzbivat′ (slivki ili smetanu)'. After all, souring and churning are different actions. Fr **ayïr-*, we have two nominal ders *ayïran* and *ayïrag*. The first is present in all T sources. The Chuv forms *uyran*, *uryan*, *oryan*, *oren* 'pahtanie' (Chuv, ChuvA), *uślană uyran* 'pahta' (Chuv → CherM *öran*, CherH *oren* 'pahtanie') may be early Kip lws and the reason why the original word became obsolete in Chuv. The form *ayrak* in AIM may be a Mo lw, but the form **ayrag* is present in Mo and existed in Chuv. The Chuv form reconstructed fr Cher *yïră*, that is **yăra* < **ïrag*, may also point to an earlier **ayrag*.

In some cases, the *ay-* cluster led to *ï* in Chuv, e.g. WOT *ayt-*, *ayït-* 'to ask' > Chuv *ït-*, *ïyt-*, WOT *yarïn* 'tomorrow' > **ayrïn* > Chuv *ïran* (but *yarïn* > WOT **ǰarin* > *śuran* in *śurampuś* 'zarja, rassvet'). In other cases, *ay-* gave *uy-*, as in *āy* 'moon' > WOT **ayïk* > Chuv *uyăχ*. On the latter, we know that the VBulg inscriptions also contain **ayïχ* (with Px3.sg. *ayχï*), *bay-*, *bayu-* 'to be or become rich' > Chuv *puy-*. The Chuv *u* < OChuv **å* < PT **a* > OChuv **a* > *ï* split has to be early because it is reflected in the H lg, the first being present in the majority of the H lws, the second in **disznó**, **tiló** and probably in **béka** and **gyertya**; see § 6.3.1. The similar feature in Tuv and Y are independent changes, but had the same trend as their background.

Summing up, H *író* 'buttermilk' goes back to WOT **ïrag* < PT **ayrag*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 155; Pröhle 1903–1905/2: 246; Gombocz 1907c: 334–335; Gombocz 1912b: 88; Pelliot 1930: 255–257; Bang–Rahmati 1932; Ligeti 1960: 299–303; Ligeti 1961: 15–41; Pulleyblank 1962: 253; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 80–81, 179–181; Pritsak 1964: 345; Räsänen 1969: 9; Clauson 1972: 276, 981; Kałużyński 1981: 35; Róna-Tas 1982b: 158; Ligeti 1986: 15–16, 526, 528; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 76; Erdal 1991: 535–536; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 277.

IZZIK [izzik] 'to glow, be hot' | 1582 *iszó hewseget* [iss-ō hȫšēget], 1618 *izzó* [izz-ō], 1836 *izzik* [izzik] | *izzik-* < **izi-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **isi-* ← WOT **ïsï-* || **izgat** [izgåt] 'to excite, instigate, fire up (a crowd)' | p1372/c1448 *yzgat-yak* [iz-gåt-yāk] | *izgåt-* < **is*(*i*)*gat-* < **isi-* {with suff *-gAt-*} || **izzad** [izzad] 'to sweat' | c1560 *męgh iszzatt* [meg-issåd-t] 'to be heated', c1577 *megh ÿʒʒaggÿon* [izzad′-d′on] 'to sweat' | *izzåd-* < **issad-* < **isi-* {with suff *-Ad-*} || **izzaszt** [izzåst] 'to make something/somebody hot' | c1577 *ÿʒaʒʒd megh* [izås-d meg] 'to make somebody sweat' | *izzåst-* < **issast-* < **isi-* {with suff *-Ast-*} | EOT *ïsï-*, *isi-* 'to be(come) warm, hot, to glow (of iron)'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *isig* 'warm, cordial, affectionate' (RTIrk), *isin-* 'se chauffer, avoir chaud, avoir de sentiments chaleuruex ou affectueux' (UHamTouHou), *isi-* 'to be(come) warm, hot, to glow': *temür isīdi* 'the iron (or other) was hot' (AK), *isik* (sic!) 'warm' (B 1:10, BM 24), *isig* 'warm' (B 4:50, 35:4); **MT** *ïsïġ* 'heiss' (UOg), *isig* 'chaud' (UHy), *isi* 'warm, hot', *issi* 'warm, hot, warmth' (AGul), *isi*, *issi* 'teplyj, gorjačij': *isin-* 'sogrevatʹsja, razgoratʹsja' (AHŠF), *isi* 'sıcak': *isigkün* 'sıcak gün' (AIMI), *isi* 'hot', *isig* 'fever, warm, hot' (AKD), *isig* 'hot, heat', *isin-* 'to warm oneself' (AKor), *ïssï-* 'to warm up', *ïssïġ*, *isig* 'hot, warm' (ARbg), *isig*, *issig* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij' (ATef), *ïsï-* 'être chaud', *ïsïġ/q* 'chaud, chaleur': *ïsïrġan-* 'rougir, avoir honte, être chaud, s'adapter' (AChag), *ïsïġ* 'gorjačij', *isin-* 'statʹ gorjačim, žar, lihoradka' (AChagB), *ïsït-* 'lihoradit': *isitti* 'lihoradil' (AChagMA), *ïsïġ* 'sïǰaq' (AChagŠS), *ïsïġ* 'Warm', *ïsït-* 'Fieberhitze bekommen, fiebern' (AChagŠSK), *ïssïġ*, *ïssïq* 'Hitze, Wärme, heiss, warm' (AChagZ), *isi*, *issi*, *yissi* 'heiss, brennend, Brand', *issin-* 'sich erwärmen' (LCC), *isi* 'sıcak', *isidi* 'ısındı' (AAH), *issi anï goġšattï* 'Gevşetti, sıcak ona ağğşaklık gevşeklik verdi, kımıldamıya hali kalmadı' (AAHI), *issi* 'chaud', *ïssïq* 'fièvre' (ABul), *issi* (? *ïssï*) 'chaud' (ADur), *ïssïn-* [or] *issin-* 'sich wärmen' (AHou), *ïssï* 'hot' (AMGh), *isin-* 'se chauffer, s'échauffer' (AmTr), *isi* 'chaud, récent (crime)' (AmE), *ïssï* 'sıcaklık, hararet', *ïssït-* 'ısıtmak, kızdırmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ăšă* 'teplo, teplaja pogoda, žara', *ăšăn-* 'gretʹsja', *ăšăt-* 'gretʹ' (Chuv), *ăšala-*, *ăštăla-* 'žaritʹ, podžarivatʹ' (ChuvD, Fedotov 1996/1: 94); ***NW*** *esse* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj' (Tat), *eθe* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj' (Bashk), *esse* 'forró, meleg; hot, warm' (BashkP), *yess-* 'statʹ gorjačim', *yessü*, *esse*, *isü* 'gorjaščij' (SibTat), *ïsï-* 'nagrevatʹsja, nakaljatʹsja' (Kirg), *ïs-* 'to get warm', *ïssï*, *ïstïk* 'hot', *ïsït-* 'to warm (up), to heat' (Kaz), *ïsït-* 'gretʹ, nagrevatʹ, razogretʹ' (KazB), *ïsï-* 'gretʹsja, nagrevatʹsja, nakaljatʹsja' (Kklp), *issin-* 'gretʹsja, nagrevatʹsja, sogrevatʹsja' (Nog), *isin-* 'gretʹsja, nagrevatʹsja, sogrevatʹsja' (CrTat), *issin-* 'nagrevatʹsja, raskaljatʹsja', *isʹsinʹ-* 'stanovitʹsja teplym, razogrevatʹsja' (KarT), *issin-* 'nagrevatʹsja, raskaljatʹsja', *isʹsin-* 'gretʹsja' (KarH), *ïsïn-* 'sogrevatʹsja', *isin-* 'gretʹsja', *sin-* 'sogretʹsja' (KarC), *isi-* 'nagrevatʹsja, sogrevatʹsja, teplet'' (Kum), *issi* 'žara, gorjačij' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ïssï* 'žarkij, znojnij, horošij' (Tkm), *isin-* 'gretʹsja', *isti* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žar' (Az), *ısın-* 'to grow warm, to warm oneself, to become fond of', *ıssı* 'warm, hot' (Tt), *issitma* 'Fieber' (Khor), *istïx* 'warm' (SOg); ***Kh*** *hissī* 'warm' (Kh); ***SE*** *isi-* 'nagrevatʹsja, razogrevatʹsja, teplet'' (Uzb), *ïssï-* 'to be warm, to warm' (TurkiJ), *isit-* 'to cause to be hot, to heat (from primitive »isi-« from »issik« <hot>)' (TurkiSh), *issik* 'teplyj' (TurkiL), *issi-* 'sogrevatʹsja, nagrevatʹsja, teplet'' (MUyg), *ïssï*, *ïsï* 'teplyj, gorjačyj, žarkyj' (Sal), *issïġ*, *issïġ*, *siġ*, *sïġ* 'gorjačyj, žarkij' (YUygM); ***NE*** *izi-* 'gretʹsja, sogrevatʹsja' (Alt), *izi-* 'heiss werden, sich erhitzen' (AltR, AltTelR), *izi-* 'heiss werden, sich erhitzen' (AltLR), *izitsāl-* (< *izitip sal-*) 'kipjatitʹ, gretʹ' (AltQK), *izi-* 'sogrevatʹsja' (AltTK), *izi-* 'gretʹsja, nagrevatʹsja, stanovitʹsja gorjačim' (Khak), *izi-* 'heiss werden, sich erhitzen' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *izin-* 'sich erwärmen, heiss

werden' (KhakQbR, KhakShR, KhakSR), *ǐzǐh* 'hot' (FY), *izi-* 'stanoviťsja gorjačim (žarkim), razogrevaťsja' (Tuv), *iʹsi-* 'nagrevaťsja, byťgorjačim' (Tof); ***Y*** *itī* 'žarkij, gorjačij, žara, žar, znoj' (Y), *itij-* 'sich erwärmen' (DlgS).

Mo ? *is-* 'to ferment, to turn sour, to rise (of dough), to oxidize', *isü* 'soot, black' (L).

E/T All ders go back to a form **ïsï-* 'to be warm, hot', Kh *h-* may point to a PT **p-*, but *yï-* (< *hï-* < **pï-*) is very rare. The SibTat data are secondary, and we have no other argument in favour. The front-vocalic forms, though old, seem to be secondary developments. It is very doubtful that Mo *is-* 'to ferment etc.' pertains to the T word, however Mo *isü* 'soot' is interesting. The semantics may point to some early connection. The T word is present in all sources. The Sib *-z-* in place of *-s-* is regular and relatively late. While the voicing of *-s-* is regular in the Sib lgs, it occurs in some words sporadically in other T lgs as well. However, it does not in our word, in which a lengthening can be observed instead (*s* > *ss*) which may be of emphatic origin. The word is back-vocalic in Chuv *ăšă* (< **ïsï*) and in several other T lgs. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 316–317) connected T *isi-* with Mo *asa-* 'to burn, catch fire', which is phonologically hardly plausible.

E/H The H word has a very uncertain FUgr etymology. A word which occurs in the Osty, Zyr and Voty lgs was reconstructed as FUgr **äsɜ* 'heizen, sehr heiss, sehr warm sein' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 27), to which Rédei added: "Mehrere Forscher [...] haben das ung. Wort *izzad-* (altung. *isz-*) 'schwitzen' mit den obigen Wörtern verglichen. Das ung. *izzad-* gehört wegen des inlautenden *zz* (< *sz*) nicht hierher". Other problems were noted by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 255). The reconstructed FUgr open *ä-* could not have produced H *i-*, and the FUgr word is front-vocalic, while the H word is back-vocalic (see also Lakó 1967–1978/2: 334–335). The H word was first connected with the T word by Vámbéry, but later this etymology was not accepted by Gombocz and others. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 255), the T etymology of the word is not acceptable. Palló (1982: 120–122) returned to Vámbéry's etymology. According to Palló, the Chuv word family *věri* 'žar, žara, gorjačij, žarkij', *věre-* 'kipeť, klokotať (napr. ob istočnike), kišeť, snovať' goes back to a PT **üzü-* and thus we have to suppose a PT **isi-* ~ **üsü-* (> AltL *üzüg* 'žarkij') ~ **üzü-* (> Chuv *věre-*) alternation and to this could be added a PT **ïzï-*, which could be the origin of the H word. However, this chain of hypothetical forms is unacceptable. We would have to suppose that the verb *isi-*, *issi-* had a secondary form **izi-*. The forms with *-z-* in the Sib lgs are late secondary developments. In the NW Kip lgs, we do find *-s-* or *-ss-*. In the CC, we come across *issi*, *isi* both in the It and Grm parts, which means that the voicing did not occur in the NW or Kip lgs in this word. Therefore, we have to exclude a possible Cum origin. The only possibility of linking the H word to the T one is if the voicing of the intervocal *-s-* or *-ss-* occurred in H. Some old data show

an *-s-* such as the one in the *Glossary of Gyöngyös* (c1560), where we find *iszzatt* (in place of present-day *izzadt* 'have sweated'), where the written form <szz> may have indicated a long *-ss-*. Another early spelling fr 1582 *iszó hewség* [isō hōšēg] 'glowing hotness', cited fr the Szarvas–Simonyi Historical Dictionary (1890–1893) by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 255), clearly shows an *-s-*. Besides these few forms, many others (see the ders in Benkő 1967–1984/2: 254–255) show a long *-zz-*, which even became affricated (*-dzdz-*) in some dials (see *idzad-*, *iddzad-* etc. for *izzad-* in B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1128–1129). On the other hand, all data for this very frequent H word with a number of ders are fr the second half of the 16th c. or later. One source of H *-z-* is FUgr *-s-*; see e.g. H *ázik-* 'to become wet' < FUgr **sosɜ* or **sïsɜ* (see Lakó 1967–1978/1: 104). Thus we may suppose that the voicing occurred in H (**ïsï-* > *ïzï-*). This was also supposed by those who tied the word to FUgr words. The H word may be of T origin if T *-s-* was copied as *-s-* by H, and *-s-* became *-z-* in H. The uncertainty is due to the absence of early H data.

◆ Szarvas–Simonyi 1890–1893; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 104; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 334–335; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 254–255; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1128–1129; Palló 1982: 120–122; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 27; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 634–635; Fedotov 1996/1: 94; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 316–317.

J

JÁSZ [yās] 'name of an ethnic group of Iranian origin in Hungary' | 1318 PN *nacione Jazonice* [nacione yas-onice], 1335 PN *Jaaz* [yās], p1416/c1450 *iazoknac* [yās-oknåk] | *yās* ← WOT **yās* 'a group of the Alans' (< EOT **ās*) or ORus *yasi* < Al *as*, Os *as* 'Balkar < Ossetian' < OIr < ? **arsiyya* | See also *varsány* and the H GNs *Oszlar*, *Eszlar*.

OT –; **MT** *as* 'Name der alten Alanen, der jetzigen Osseten, die den Kyptschak unterworfen waren' (AChagR), *as* (sic!) 'Iași, town in Moldavia' (AmCh), *As* (Rum *Iași*) 'Jassy, la capitale de la Moldavie' (AmE); **NT** –.

E/T The ethnic name *Ās* is one of the two most frequently used names among the Alans. It is noted in early Gr sources as *Asioi*. For the most important sources for the ethnic name *Ās* see Alemany (2000: 5–7).

According to Ibn Rustah, the Alans consisted of four tribes, among whom were the **Ruḫs-Ās* (? Roxolani) and *Ṭulās* (~ ? *Tuwal-Ās*). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) has *al-Lān* everywhere, but writes of the year 764–765 "…The Hwarezmian *Āstarxan* with Turkish troops attacked the Moslems in Armenia". According to Lewond and Ya'qūbī, his name was *Rās/Raž Tarxan* (Golden 1980/1: 151; see also Minorsky 1937: 451) – perhaps *As* < *Ars*(*iyya*) (< **Aors*) > *Ras*? See also the GN *Astrahan*.

Al Bīrūnī (973–1050) distinguished *As* and *Alan*. He writes: "The tribes of *Alan*s and *As* (*ǰins al-Lān wa'l-Ās*) inhabited the former land of the Pechenegs".

In Mo times, the *As* were clearly distinguished fr the Alans. According to Abū'l Fidā (1273–1331), in the "city of Alania" inhabited by the Alans there lived a Turkic people called *al-Ās*, who had the same religion and way of life as the Alans. According to Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325), Nogay imprisoned Alan merchants among others. The son of Nogay was forced to flee to the country of the *As* (*bilād Aṣ*). This was later incorporated by Ibn Haldūn (1332–1406).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1304–1368/9) remarked that, among other peoples the *As* (*al-Ās*) live in the capital of Özbeg khan. Even more clear is Al-'Umarī (d. 1348/9), who, while reporting on the Golden Horde, distinguishes between the steppe Alans (*al-Āṣ*) living in the Golden Horde and the Caucasian Alans (*al-Lān*).

The Mongols noted *Asud* written as *Asut* in the SH, in chaps 262, 270 and 274 (see de Rachewiltz 1972 and 2004).

The present name of the Ossetians is of Geor origin, but this itself goes back to the ethnic name *As*. In the early Geor sources we find *Ovs*. The *History of the Kings of Iberia* (*C'xovreba K'art'uelt'a*) (11th c.) has *Ovs*(*ni*) 'the Osset people' and *Ovs*(*et'i*) 'land of the Ossets'. *The History of King Vaxtang Gorgasali* (? 8th c.) has *Ovs*, as do the *Chronicle of Iberia* (2nd half of the 11th c.), the *History of the King of Kings* (12th c.) and other sources (for the details, see Alemany 2000).

The name is also present in Os as *Asy*, *Asi* and *Assi* to signify the Balkars, but it is also the name for the old Ossetians in some expressions (e.g. *æsson nimæjæ* 'the old As way of counting', i.e. the use of the decimal system in contrast to the vigesimal one (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 79–80).

It remains an open question whether the ethnic name *Az* that occurs in the Runiform inscriptions (*az bodun*) is the same ethnic name. The connection with *Asia* found in Ptolemy and Strabon is unclear.

The ethnonym *As* only appears in the Ch sources fr the Yuan period on. They figure as guards, military people organised under their own chief, the *Asud bagatur darugači*. In 1275, an *Asud* army (阿速軍 *Asu jun*) was assembled. Their fate and the history of some important *As* persons during the Yuan period is summarised by Alemany (2000: 404–421). The Ch transcription reflects a Mo *Asu*. The second character is *su* 'speedy, fast', EMCh *səwk*, LMCh *səwk*, Yuan *su*.

In the Rus sources, we find *Yas*. In the *Povest´ Vremennyh Let* (PVL), they first occur in the year 965. After defeating the Khazars and taking their city of Bela Veža, Sviatoslav turned against the Alans and Circassians and defeated them. Fr this time on, we only find the ethnonym *Yas* in the Rus sources.

The OSl form *Yas* has been correctly equated with *As*, but the origin of the prosthetic *y-* remained unclear. It has been tacitly assumed that this is due to an inner Sl development, which can be observed in the case of a number of words of genuine Sl origin. However, the Sl *a-* > *ya-* change was closed in the 4th c. (personal communication, K. Agyagási, see now Agyagási–Róna-Tas 2007: 213–221). After this time, a foreign *As* could be substituted by *Yas* because of the low frequency of the initial *a-*, but if the original form was **yas*, this could simply have been copied as *yas*. Now we have serious reason to suppose that the *ās* > *yas* change occurred in WOT.

In OT, the word for 'ermine, weasel' is *ās* and it is *yus* 'gornostaj, laska' in Mod-Chuv. This Chuv word goes back to an earlier **yās* < *ās* where the long *ā* became a diphthong *ia*. Rus *yaska* 'laska, weasel' is also of BulgT origin. PT *ās* 'weasel' > WOT **yas* (> Chuv *yus*) ⟶ Rus **yas* > *yaska*, under the influence of *laska* 'weasel'. According to Fasmer, Rus *yaska* has to be connected with *jasnyj* 'bright, fine (of weather)'. According to Trubačev (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 565), it may also be a tabooistic transformation of Rus *laska*. Neither Fasmer, nor Trubačev considered the WOT etymology.

Thus in the lg of the Chuv ancestors we can suppose a form **Yās* for *Ās*. The diphthongisation of the long *ā* is present in the T lws of H as in **sár** [šār] (< **siar*), **sárga** [šārgå] (< **siarga*) etc., and is also reflected in the name of the fortress Sharkel fortress (Šarkil < **siar* + *kil*) if *š* is what we have to read.

We find the WOT name of the Alans in the name of the capital of the Moldavian Alans. On the portolan map by Angelino Dulcert (around 1330, see Györffy 1990:

315), what is now Moldavia is called *Alania*. The capital of this Alania was called *Yaši*, *Iaşi* in Rom orthography, *Jászvásár* in H (*vásár* meaning 'market (town)'). This is also reflected by the ArmKip sources.

E/H In H, the Alans had two names. In earlier times they were called *Ās*, and later *Yās*.

The first group of names for the Alans in Hungary points to an original **ās*. Their modern forms are *Oszlár* [oslār] and *Eszlár* [eslār] and they all go back to an earlier **āslar*, in all of which the ethnic name *As* has a T pl suff. Three of them can be safely dated to a period prior to the Mo invasion of Hungary in 1241/1242. The earliest noted GN is *Vzlar* [oslar] in 1220, further 1229 *Azalar* > 1275 *Ozlar*, around 1280 *Ozlar*. Four other GNs for which we have data only after the Mo invasion may also be of earlier origin: 1323 *Vzlar*, 1332–1337 *Ozlar*, 1416 *Ozlar*, 1426 *Ozlar*. Some of these GNs occur in places with no Cumans in the vicinity (on these GNs, see Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974/1: 18). These GNs refer to groups of Alans which joined the Hungarians earlier than the 13th c.

The second group of names that denotes the Alans first occurs in H sources in 1318 in pseudo-Lat garb as *Jazones*. Later, they also adopted the name *Iazigi* by false identification with the Yazig people, mentioned first by Herodotus. That people, the *Yazyges Metanastai*, lived in the Carpathian Basin fr the 1st c. B.C. to the 3rd c. A.D.

According to a widely accepted opinion, these Yas ethnic groups migrated to Hungary together with the Cumans. After the defeat of the Cumans and the Alans at the hands of the Mongols in 1222, large groups of both peoples fled to the West. Some groups reached Hungary but left before the Mo invasion of Hungary in 1241/1242 and returned after it. It may be that during a second migration of the Alans in 1238, at which time around ten thousand families were settled in an area fr Wallachia and Moldavia to the borders of Byzantium, some groups moved into Hungary. Other groups may have resettled fr Bulgaria in the 14th c. The Yas people had a quasi-autonomous territory called *Jászság* [Yāsšāg] in Central Hungary until the 19th c., but many smaller groups lived in various other places. A group that lived in the Pilis mountains Northeast fr the city of Pest was visited in 1422 by a person who compiled a short Yas–Lat word list (Koszta–Nyitrai in Kristó 1994: 301). This word list of about 40 words has been published by Németh (1959).

The ethnonym *jász* with its prosthetic *y-* has been considered by Melich (1912a: 193) to be of Sl origin. This was accepted by Kniezsa (1955: 230–231) and Benkő (Benkő 1967–1984/2: 263; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 639). The Hungarians had very old contacts with the Alans (see Róna-Tas 2005c) and the history of these contacts call for further research. There does exist a possibility that the Hungarians copied the name of the *As* fr the same source as the Russians. Considering, however, the historical background, this is less probable. The older name of the *Ās* was *Āslar* in H.

◆ Melich 1912a: 193–199; Minorsky 1937: 451; Kniezsa 1955: 230–231; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 79–80; Németh 1959; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 565; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 263; de Rachewiltz 1972; Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974/1: 18; Golden 1980/1: 151; Györffy 1990: 315; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 639; Kristó 1994: 301; Alemany 2000: 5–7, 404–421, pass.; de Rachewiltz 2004; Róna-Tas 2005c: 205–213; Agyagási–Róna-Tas 2007: 213–221.

K

KAJTÁR [kåytār] *Cum dial* ‘do-less, do-little’, *kajtár madár* ‘migrating bird, birds which come back every year’ | 1346 PN *Kaythar* [kåytār], 1428 PN *Kaythor* [kåytōr], 1615 *kaytér* [kåytēr], 1787 ‘dainty’, 1792 ‘groper’ | *kåytār* ← Cum **kaytar* < **kayt-* {with suff -(*A*)*r*} | EOT *kadït-* ‘to turn back, return’.

Of Cum origin.

OT *qadït-*: *qadïtïp turur* ‘dauernd’ (UHeilkII 420:32), *qadït-* ‘to turn back, refrain’, *qaytar-* ‘to turn (e.g. a horse) »Oghuz«’, *qatar-* (< **qadtar-*) ‘id. »Türk«’ (AK); **MT** *qaytarïl-* ‘çevirilmek, geri döndürmek’ (UYAB), *qayt-* ‘to turn, to turn back, to return’, *qaytar-* ‘to turn off, to return, to repel’ (AGul), *qaytar-* ‘geri getirmek, döndürmek, yöneltmek’ (AHMA), *qaytar-* ‘vozvraščaťʼ, povoračivaťʼ, prevraščaťʼ’ (AHŠF), *qaytar-* ‘to return, to give (back), give as booty’ (AKor), *qaytar-* ‘vozvraščaťʼ, povoračivaťʼ, vyryvaťʼ’ (ANehF), *qayra*, *qayta* ‘back’ (ARbg), *qaytar-* ‘vozvraščaťʼ’ (ATef), *qayta-* ‘revenir, retourner’ (AChag), *qaytar-* ‘to cause to vomit’ (AChagSC), *qayta* ‘zu wiederholten malen, abermals, sich umwenden’, *qaytar-* ‘sich wiederumdrehen’, *qaytarïn* ‘aufs neue, noch einmal’ (AChagŠSK), *qaytar-* ‘zurückgeben’ (LCC), *qaytar-*: *qaytar* ‘geri döndür’ (AAH), *qay-*: *qaydï* ‘ayağı zıldı, yıldı, kayıptı’ (AAHI), *qaytur-* ‘zurückbringen’ (AHou), *qayt-* ‘zurückkehren’ (AKav), *qaytar-* ‘çevirmek, geri döndürmek’ (AMGh), *qayït-* ‘geri dönmek’ (ATuhA), *xaytar-* ‘retourner, restituer, (faire) retourner sur ses pas, ? convertir’ (AmTr), *xaytar-* ‘vernuťʼ (AmD), *xayt-*: *keri xayt-* ‘to return (home)’ (AmCh), *xaytar-* ‘retourner (transitiv), restituer’, *xaytur-* (le même que *qaytar-* ?) ‘remémorer’ (AmE), *qaytar-*, *qaytur-* ‘çevirmek, döndürmek, iade etmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, vozvratiťsja, otstupaťʼ, spadaťʼ’ (Tat), *qaytar-* ‘brositʼ, vybrositʼ, vykinuťʼ’ (TatD1), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, prihoditʼ, priezmaťʼ domoj’ (Bashk), *qåyt-* ‘viszszatérni [to return]’ (BashkP), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja’ (SibTat), *kayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, uhoditʼ, prihoditʼ obratno’ (Kirg), *qayt-* ‘vozvratiťsja, vozvraščaťsja, vernuťsja’ (KazB), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, otstupaťʼ, otkazbyvaťsja’ (Kklp), *kayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, povoračivaťsja, otstupaťʼ, spadaťʼ’ (Nog), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, uvlažniťsja’ (CrTat), *qaytar qušlar* ‘migrating birds’ (TatDobruja, Mándoky 1971: 372), *kayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, prekraščaťʼ’ (KarT), *kayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, prekraščaťʼ’ (KarH), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja’ (KarC), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, izgibaťsja’ (Kum), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, svoračivaťʼ’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, spadaťʼ, idti na ubylʼʼ’ (Tkm), *ġaytar-* ‘vernuťʼ, vozvraščaťʼ, otražaťʼ’ (Az), *kaytar-* ‘vozvraščaťʼ, uklonjaťsja ot raboty’ (Tt), *kayt-* ‘geri dönmek’ (TtD), *ġayït-* ‘zurückgehen’ (Khor), *ġa^{i}r^{t}-* ‘zurückkehren’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, povoračivaťsja, otstupaťʼ, spadaťʼ’ (Uzb), *qaït-* ‘to return, to come or go back’ (TurkiSh), *qayt-* ‘vozvraščaťsja, spadaťʼ, ostupaťʼ’ (MUyg),

qay- ‘vozvraščat′sja’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *kaya* ‘nazad’ (AltQK), *kayta* ‘obratno’ (AltTK), *xay-* ‘obraščat′ vnimanie’ (Khak), *xay-* ‘obhodit′, delat′ obhod, prismatrivat′, projti mimo, ošibočno pojti v storonu, sbit′sja, rikošetirovat′ (napr. o pule)’, *xaya*: *xaya kȫr-* ‘smotret′ nazad’ (Tuv), *hay-* ‘soskalyvat′, soskal′zyvat′, rikošetit′’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T In the Dobruja dial of Tat, the term for migratory birds is *kaytar kuš*. This was noted by Mándoky (1971: 372). It occurs in folk poetry: *kaytar kušlar*, *turnalar | kayda ušïp ketesis* ‘migrating birds, cranes where do you go, fly?’ and *ašïk bolsïn ǰolïŋïs kaytar kušlar* ‘have a good time on your way, migrating birds’. According to Mándoky, *kaytar* is the aorist form of *kayt-*. Similar constructions are known fr other T lgs such as Bashk *küser koštar* ‘pereletnye pticy’, Tuv *čanar kuštar* id. See also Chuv *vĕššе kayakan kayăksem* id., which uses another construction found in many other T lgs. The base is *kayït-* ‘to turn back (caus)’ < *kay-* ‘to turn back’, on which see Erdal (1991: 775). The relationship between *kay-* and *kad-* is dealt with by Clauson and Erdal. It seems that the *kay-* < *kad-* change occurred early in different phonetic positions in different dials, e.g. *kadtar-* > *kaytar-*, *katar-*; see also Khak *xay-*, Tuv *xay-*, *xaya*.

E/H In H, the word *kajtár* most often has the meaning ‘good-for-nothing, worthless, vagabond, tramp etc.’ in the spoken lg and in the dials. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 309), the H word is a der fr the H verbal base *kajt-* ‘to look for, to search’ and the *-Ár* is a H dev suff. Its basic meaning was ‘to search all round without result’ (Grm *stöbernd*). Mándoky (1971: 370) pointed out that in the expression *kajtár madár* ‘*kajtár* bird’ in Cumania, *kajtár* has the same meaning as it does in the Tat of Dobruja, and thus this word may be an independent borrowing fr Cum. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 662) again derived the word fr H *kajt-*, adding, however, “die Deutung wird dadurch etw[as] unsicher, daß das W[ort] selbst aus älterer Zeit belegbar ist als das angenommene Grundw[ort]”. The simile of a faithless, disloyal person or lover who abandons others like a migrating bird is very old. Also, people without a regular domicile are often called ‘migrating birds’ in H. See also Grm *Wandervogel*. Thus we can suppose that the basic meaning preserved in the H dials of Cumania Major is the original meaning and that it was extended to all types of vagabonds or disloyal or good-for-nothing people. The word later came under the influence of the H word *kajt-*, *kajtat-* ‘to search, look for’, and its semantics changed accordingly. An interesting dial meaning is ‘a goose which is not allowed to sit on her eggs but is immediately brought back to the gander, a goose which does not raise her small geese’ and the like (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 24–25). In any case, the influence of the H verb *kajt-*, *kajtat-* is later, and the word is of Cum origin. The expression in Cumania Major is possibly a secondary borrowing.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 149, 156; Pais 1915a: 407; Benkő 1961: 301; Bárczi 1967: 9–10; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 309; Mándoky 1971: 370–373; Palló 1978: 166; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 24–25; Erdal 1991: 775; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 514–515, 662; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 752–753.

KÁKA [kākå] 'bulrush, club-rush, different plants like *Schoenoplectus* (*Cyperaceæ*)' | 1138/1329 ? PN *kaka* [kākå], 1326 ? GN *kakazeg* [kākå-seg], c1500 *kaka* [kākå], c1585 *kȧko* [kāko], dial *kaké* [kåkē], *kákó* [kākō] | *kāka* ← WOT **kakï* | EOT **koka*, **kakï* 'names of different plants' | See Chuv *χuχ*(*ă*) < **kakï*.

OT –; **MT** *qoġa*, *qoġalïq* 'hasır otu denilen ve hasır örmeğe yarayan bir saz' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xux* 'nazvanie travy, stebel′ kotoroj edejat', *xuxă* 'nazvanie rastenia, škirda, dikaja red′ka' (ChuvA), *xuxă*: *vïrăs* (*mayra*) *xuxăxi* 'sverbiga', *xur xuxăxi* 'osot polevoj, moločoj', *xurxux* 'osot polevoj, moločaj' (Chuv), *xux*(*ă*) 'skverda, *Crepis tectorium*' (Chuv, Dmitrieva 2000: 67, 108, 117); ***NW*** *kakï* 'sverbiga' (Tat), *quqï* 'sverbiga' (TatD1), *kakï* 'bolotnoe rastenie, upotrebljaemoe bočarami dlja zakopovačivanija boček' (TatOstroumov, Gombocz 1912b: 88), *qaqï* 'sverbiga' (Bashk), *quġa* 'ozernyj kamiš' (SibTat), *qoġa* 'rogoz, kuga' (KazB), *koġa* 'kuga, osoka' (Kklp), *koga* 'osoka' (Nog), *qoġa* 'kuga' (CrTat), *koġa* 'trostnik, kamiš' (KarT), *koġa* 'trostnik, kamiš' (KarH), *qoġa* 'trostnik, kamiš' (KarC), *koġa* 'nád [reed]' (KumN); ***SW*** *ġōġa*, *ġoġača* 'krjuk, rogatina' (AzD), *koka* 'bataklıklarda yetişen ucu sivri saz' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qŭġa* 'kuga (suhoj kamyš)' (Uzb), *quġa* 'a rush (a kind of grass)' (TurkiSh); ***NE*** *kogo* 'rastenie v rode kamiša, ir′' (AltTelV), *koga* 'eine Schilfart, der Kalmus' (KhakShR), [?] *hoġō* 'pyrej' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Rus *kuga* 'vid kamiša: *Typha latifolia*, rogoz širokolistnyj: *Juncus communis*, sitnik' (← T, see Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 398).

E/T The T lgs contain two words **koga* 'reed, rush, bulrush etc.' and **kakï* 'several kinds of plants that grow in humid, marshy places'. The second is only present in the Volga region in Chuv, Tat and Bashk. It is unlikely that the two belong together, though **koga* may go back to **kōka* (see AzD, and TtD).

E/H The H word was connected with T words by Vámbéry (1882a: 223) and Gombocz (1912b: 88). It was Ligeti who first separated the different T data and cited only the Tat and Bashk words. Ligeti also pointed to the fact that if a form **kakï* had been copied early, the final *-ï* would have disappeared. He supposed that the word is of Cum origin, and that the final *-ï* has been replaced by the H system. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 662–663), the copied form may have been either *kaka* or *kakï* and the chronology of the lw is uncertain. However, we can exclude a T *kaka*. The H dial *kákė* may show that the *kakï* > *kákė* > *káka* change occurred in H. Though the word currently denotes mostly the rush or bulrush, it figures in many other plant names: *szürkekáka* (*Holoschoenus vulgaris*), *csetkáka* (*Eleocharis palustris*), *iszapkáka* (*Dichostylis micheliana*) and *tőzegkáka* (*Rhynchospora alba*)

(see Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 90). Dmitrieva may be right (2000: 68) in claiming that the word that occurs in the Volga region may originally have denoted the reed mace (*Typha latifolia*).

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 223; Gombocz 1912b: 88; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 398; Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 90; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 310; Mokány 1980: 60–61; Ligeti 1986: 310, 542; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 662–663; Dmitrieva 2000: 67–68, 108, 117.

KALAUZ [kålåuz] 'guide, pilot; conductor, ticket inspector' | 1380 PN *Kalawz* [kålåuz], 1538 *kalauz* [kålåuz] 'guide', 1539 *kalaoz* [kålåoz], 1573 *kalahwz* [kålåhuz], 1620 *kalavúz* [kålåvuz] || **kalóz** [kålōz] 'pirate' | 1585 *kalóz* [kålōz] 'Lat. aggressor; H »toluay« <thief>', 1838 'pirate' | *kålåuz*, *kålōz* < *kalauz* ← Cum **kolavuz* (borrowed several times) | EOT *kolavuz*, *kulavuz* 'guide' | Cf. Khwar *xl'wr* 'Fremdenführer' (Benzing 1983: 671), DBulg 9th c. *kolowr-os* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 162).

Of Cum origin.

OT *qulabuz* (changed into: *qulavuz*) 'guide (the Arabic letter *ba* is an alternant of *waw*)' (AK), *qulavuz* 'guide' (AQB), [?] *qulawuz*, [?] *qïlawuz* <QLWS> 'a guide from the people of Jurjānīya' (Ibn Fadlan); **MT** *qïlavuz* 'a guide' (ABF), *qulavuz* 'guide' (AGul), *qulavuz* 'kılavuz' (AHMA), *qïlavuz* 'provodnik' (AIM), *qulavuz* 'kılavuz' (AIMI), *yolčï qïlavuz* 'guidance' (AKor), *qulavuz* 'putevoditeĺ, provodnik' (ANehF), *qïlavuz*: *qïlavuzlïq* 'ukazanie puti, služenie provodnikom' (ATef), *qolavuz* [read *qulavuz* ?] 'indicateur, guide, apparition du bout de l'épi hors de la gaîne' (AChag), *qolavuz* 'storož, karauĺnyj' (AChagB), *qolavuz* 'der Wegweiser, Führer' (AChagR), *qulavuz* 'a guide, escort, the emergence of the point of the grain from the husk' (AChagSC), *qulavuzladï* 'kulavuzluk etti' (AAH), *qïlavuz* 'kılavuz' (AAHI), *qïlaġuz*, *qulaġuz* 'Führer' (AHou), *qulaġuz*, *qulavuz* 'kılavuz, rehber' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kolavïz* 'rukovoditeĺ, nastavnik' (Tat), *qulauz* 'vožd'' (SibTat); ***SW*** *kılağuz*, *kılavuz* 'guide, leader, pilot, bugleman in military exercises' (Tt), *kılağı*, *kulağuz*, *gılavız*, *gılavuz* 'yol gösteren, kılavuz' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word seems to be of Ir origin; cf. Khwar *xl'wr* 'Fremdenführer' (Benzing 1983: 671), DBulg 9th c. *kolowr-os* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 162). The origin of the Ir word is unclear. In any case, it is an old cultural migrating word. Having been copied into the T lgs, it was associated by folk etymology with *kol* 'hand, arm' or *kul* 'slave'. The formation of the T word may have come under the influence of *tïlavuz* (AKD 203 B:16) 'eloquent' (= Mo *kelene uran*); cf. *tïl* 'tongue, language'.

E/H The H word has been connected with the T word since Vámbéry (1870: 188). Gombocz (1912b: 13) mentioned that it does not belong in the oldest layer because of the final *-z*. According to Németh, it is of Cum or Pech origin (1921: 23). This was also Ligeti's position (1986: 89–90, 253, 540). L. Kiss claimed that some Sl (SerbCroat, Blg) forms may be of H origin (Kiss 1964a: 26). According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 490–493), the H word is of Sl origin. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 322; 1993–1997/1: 668) supposed

a Cum origin and suggested that H *kalauz* is a normal change fr a form like *kïlaguz* or *kïlawuz*. The T word cannot be of Ott origin for chronological reasons, and it is unlikely that it was copied fr a Sl lg for the same chronological reasons. The word may have entered the H lexicon several times, and Ott and even Balkan Sl lgs may have influenced the history of the word in H. The form *kalóz* is dial and earlier. A semantic split can be observed in the present H lg: *kalóz* is 'pirate', while *kalauz* is 'guide etc.' This seems to be secondary.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 188; Gombocz 1912b: 13; Németh 1921: 23; Moravcsik 1983/2: 162; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 490–493; Kiss 1964a: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 322; Benzing 1983: 671; Ligeti 1986: 89–90, 253, 540; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 668.

KÁLIZ [kāliz] 'an ethnic group of Muslim faith in Mediaeval Hungary' | 1111 "Institutores autores autem regii fisci, quos hungarice *caliz* vocant" [kāliz], 1135/1262 *kalez* [kālez], 1213/1550 PN *kaluz* [kāluz], *Kalez* [kālez] "infra generationem *kalez*", 1138/1329 PN *Koaliz* [kualiz], 1348 GN *Kalaz* [kalaz] | *kāliz* < **kaliz* ⟵ WOT **kvaliz* | EOT **Kvaliz* 'the name of Khwarezm' < *Xvalis* < *Kwarizm*.

Not in the T lexical sources.

E/T An Ir name possibly mediated by a T lg. The name has various forms in different historical sources. Its first occurrence with *-l-* may be the Old Syriac text of the Pseudo Zacharias rhetor in the 6th c., where we find <KWLS>, read Khwalis (for further data, see Czeglédy 1970: 257 and the Encyclopaedia of Islam). The etymology of the name is unknown. It is perhaps an ethnonym.

E/H One of the names for people of the Islamic faith living in medieval Hungary was *káliz* (see Czeglédy 1970: 254–255). Their presence is documented in early Lat sources and also in GNs (on which see Kristó–Makk–Szekfű 1973–1974/1: 17, who collected 15 GNs). Both the people and the name are ultimately of Ir origin. But Khwarezm gradually became Turkicized fr the 10th c. on, a process which was completed fr the beginning of the 11th c. Earlier, Khwarezm sent mercenaries to serve the Khazars and then they were most probably Iranians. But later Muslim Turks living in the same region were called also "Khwarezmians". Most probably, those who appear in the 12th c. in Hungary were also Turks (see Ligeti 1986: 270). It is an open question whether the Hungarians only became acquainted with the people and their name in the Carpathian Basin, or earlier and directly, or through T mediation. In the first and the last case, the name may be of direct T origin. Since the Ir forms reflected by the Gr and the Rus sources, *Xvalisioi* and *Xvaliss-koe more*, resp, 'the Caspian, i.e., the Khwarezmian Sea' both have an initial fricative, while H has a stop *k-*, this may, according to Ligeti (1986: 270), point to an immediate T origin. I would tend to accept this.

◆ Pais 1934: 127; Kniezsa 1939: 203; Czeglédy 1948: 64; Moravcsik 1958/2: 338; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 326; Czeglédy 1970: 254–255, 257; Kristó–Makk–Szekfű 1973–1974/1: 17; Ligeti 1986: 270; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 670.

KALOKÁNY [kålokāń], **kolokány** [kolokāń] 'a water plant, *Stratiotes aloides*' | 1694 *collocán* [kollokān], 1730 *Kolokany* [kolokāń], 1810 *kalakány* [kålåkāń], 1838 *karakány* [kåråkāń], dial *kalakány* [kålåkāń], *kalokám* [kålokām], *kalakán* [kålåkān], *karakány* [kåråkāń] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 441), *karlokány* [kårlokāń] (Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/3: 350) | *kålokāń*, *kolokāń*, *kårlokāń* < **karlukan* ← WOT **karlukan* | EOT **karlïgan* 'name of a plant' | See also **karakán**.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *xurlăxan* 'smorodina' (Chuv); ***NW*** *karlïgan* 'smorodina', *kara karlïgan* 'černaja smorodina' (Tat), 'kryžovik, *Grossularia reclinata* Mill.', *karlugan* 'černaja smorodina' (TatD1), *qarlïġan* 'krušina, smorodina' (Bashk), *qarlïġan* 'černaja smorodina' (BashkD), *qarlïġan* 'kryžovnik' (KazB), *karlïgan* 'smorodina' (Nog); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *kazïlgan* 'vid černoj smorodiny' (Alt, Rassadin 1971: 220), *kazïrgan* 'kislica černaja' (KhakMatV), *kazïlgan* 'kustarnik s černymi jagodami' (Tuv), *qaragan* 'bagul′nik (rododendron, bolotnyj, svinoj) (Tof), *qazïlgan* 'bagul′nik (rododendron daurskij)' (TofGutar, Rassadin 1971: 220); ***Y*** –.

Mo *qargil* 'a tree with leaves resembling those of an apple-tree and dark reddish bark which is used as decorative covering' (L).

E/T Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 309) reconstructed a verb **karal-* (< *karïl-*, *karlï-*) "most probably" fr *kara* 'black' to which the known suff *-gAn* was added, thus **karalgan* > **karălgan* > **karïlgan* > *karlïgan*. The suff *+gAn*, however, is den (see Erdal 1991: 85–90), thus we have to depart fr a nominal stem. This should be **karïl* < *kara-*(*X*)*l* with the same ending as in *yašïl* 'green' and *kïzïl* 'red'. According to Erdal (1991: 331), these are fr **yaš-sïl* and **kïz-sïl*, which is possible, but he also kept open the possibility of a simple base, i.e. *kïz-ïl*. In any case, we have to opt for a nominal base **karïl*, fr which **karïlgan* > *karlïgan* has been formed. The word has lost its connection with *kara* 'black', hence we find *kara karlïgan* 'black currant' in Tat, along with *kïzïl karlïgan* 'red currant'. The Sib forms *kazïlgan*, *kazïrgan* are dissimilated forms (see **kanyaró**). Tof *karagan* reflects an earlier *karalgan*. The Chuv form points to a WOT form **karlukan*. See also Bur *xargāhan* 'kustarnik, kalina'.

E/H The H word was first linked to T by Vámbéry (1870: 156), who cited Chag *kalagay*. Gombocz (1912b: 89) cited *kašagan*, Mo *kilagana* or *karagan*. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 529) considers it possible that the word has been copied several times. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 772), the copied form is *karagan*, but he also cited Tt *kalkan* 'Dornicht' and Tat *kašagan* 'Kletten', allegedly all fr *kara* 'schwarz, gemein'. Fr a phonetic point of view, Tt *kalkan* may have been taken into account, but Tt *kalkan* means 'shield' or 'the turbot (*Rhombus maximus*)', and only *kalkan dikeni* is

'blessed or holy thistle (*Carduus benedictus*)', where *diken* is 'thorn, thorny plant', also '*Robina pseudo-acacia*'. The *-o-* in the first syllable of the H word *kolokány* is due to assimilation (Ligeti 1986: 194, 197). The H dial variants make it very probable that the copied form was *karlukan* or *karlïkan*. The form *karlokány* was recorded in the Czuczor–Fogarasi dict (1862–1874/3: 350). There may be some uncertainty with the semantic side. T *karlugan* etc., is a bush with black or red berries, especially currants (Rus *smorodina*) etc., while the H word is a water plant. According to Csapody–Prieszter (1966: 106), the plant *Stratiotes aloides*, which is a member of the family *Hydrocaritaceæ*, has the following dial names: *kolokány*, *karakány*, *kirákannya*, *imer*, *imergyökér*, *imely*, *vizialoé*, *viziárticsóka*, *vizifülfű* and *viziolló*, the last four of which contain *vizi* 'water-' as the first element. The plant *Caragana* is present in Hungary and has the names *karakáncserje* (*karakan* bush), *borsófa* (*pea* tree), *borsócserje* (*pea* bush) and *sárgaakác* (yellow acacia) (Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 34). However, since both *Caragana* and *Stratoides aloides* are also called *karakán*, *karakány*, among other things, we have to suppose that H *karlukan* (> *kalokány*, *kalokány*) and *karakan* were originally two different words and later used interchangeably. For the latter, see **karakán**.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/3: 350; Vámbéry 1870: 156; Verbickij 1884: 114; Gombocz 1912b: 89, 142–143; Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 34, 106; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 529; Rassadin 1971: 220; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 441; Ligeti 1986: 194, 197; Erdal 1991: 85–90, 331; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 772; Blagova 1997: 309; Tenišev 2001: 143; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 808.

KALÓZ 'pirate' see **kalauz**.

KAMCSI [kåmči] *Cum dial* 'whip, lash' | dial *kancsi* [kånči], *kancsika* [kånčikå], *kandzsi* [kånji], *kandzsika* [kånjikå], *kamsi* [kåmši], *kamzsi* [kåmži] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 66) | *kåmči*, *kåmši*, *kåmži* ← Cum **kamči* | EOT *kamčï* 'whip' < **kamïčï* < *kam-* 'to strike down, to hit' {with suffs *-I* and *+čI*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *qamčï* 'Peitsche' (UHeilkI 181), *qamčï* 'whip, penis (of horse, bull, camel)' (AK); **MT** *qamčï* 'frusta' (UM), *qamčï* 'Peitsche, Rutenstrafe' (UCiv), *qamčï* 'whip' (AGul), *qamčï* 'kamçı' (AHMA), *qamčï* 'bicz, bat' (AHŠ), *qamčï* 'bič, pleť, knut' (AHŠF), *qamčï* 'knut' (AIM), *qamčï* 'deriden örülen, bir değneğin ucuna bağlanan ve vurmak için kullanılan nesne' (AIMI), *qamčï* 'whip' (AKD), *qamčï* 'pleť' (AM), *qamčï* 'pleť, knut' (ANehF), *qayïš qamčï* 'a whip made from a leather strap' (ARbg), *qamčï* 'pleť' (ATef), *qamčï* 'pleť, knut' (AChagMA), *qamči* (sic!) 'Peitsche, Knute', *qamčin* 'qïrbaǰ, taziane' (AChagR), *qamčï* 'a well-known kind of whip' (AChagSC), *qamčïn* 'qamčï, qïrbaǰ, taziane' (AChagŠS), *qamčïn* 'Peitsche, Geissel' (AChagŠSK), *qamčï* 'Peitsche' (LCC), *qamčï* 'kamçı' (AAH), *qamčï*, *qamšï* 'fouet, fléau' (ADur), *qamčï* 'Peitsche' (AHou), *qamčï* 'Peitsche' (AKav), *qamčï* 'kamçı' (AMGh), *qamšï*,

qamšu ‘kamçı’ (ATuhA), *xamčï* ‘fouet, martinet’ (AmTr), *qamčï* ‘kısa kılıč’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kamčï* ‘knut, pleť, pletka, hlyst’ (Tat), *qamsï* ‘pleť, pletka, nagajka, hlyst’ (Bashk), *kåmsï* ‘ostor [whip]’ (BashkP), *qamčï* ‘knut’ (SibTat), *qamǰï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (SibTatBR), *qamčï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (SibTatTR), *kamčï* ‘nagajka, pletka’ (Kirg), *qamšï* ‘bič, nagajka, knut, pleť’ (KazB), *qamšï* ‘nagajka, knut, pleť’ (Kklp), *kamïšï* ‘nagajka, pleť, knut’ (Nog), *qamčï* ‘knut’ (CrTat), *kamču* ‘bič, pleť, knut’ (KarT), *kamcu* ‘bič, pleť’ (KarH), *qamuču*, *qamučï*, *qamču* ‘knut, nagajka’ (KarC), *qamuču* ‘knut, pleť, nagajka’ (Kum), *kamčï* (see also *kamuču*) ‘ostor [whip]’ (KumN), *kamči* ‘pleť, hlyst, knut, nagajka’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gamčï* ‘knut, bič, pleť, nagajka’ (Tkm), *ġamčï* ‘knut, pleť, nagajka, hlyst’ (Az), *kamçı* ‘whip, whipping, naut. pendant, tail’ (Tt), *kamčï* ‘knut, hlist, nagajka, pleť’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qamči* ‘knut, pleť, nagajka’ (Uzb), *qamchi* ‘a riding whip (consisting of a short wooden handle with a thick stiff thong of a plaited leather, lashed on so as to form one piece with the handle)’ (TurkiSh), *qamči*, *qamčï* ‘pleť, knut’ (TurkiLN), *qamči*, *qamča* ‘knut, bič, nagajka, pleť’ (MUyg), *qamče* ‘pleť, nagajka’ (Sal), *qamǰï*, *ġ’amǰï* ‘fouet, fléau’ (SalK); ***NE*** *kamčï* ‘pleť, nagajka’ (Alt), *kamǰï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (AltLR), *kamčï* ‘pleť’ (AltQK), *kamčï* ‘pleť, knut’ (AltTK), *qamčï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (AltTelR), *xamǰï* ‘kamča, bič, pleť, knut’ (KhakB), *kamǰï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (KhakSR, KhakShR), *kamǰï* ‘die Knute, Peitsche’ (TuvSR), *qïmšï* ‘knut, nagajka, kamča’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kïmńï* ‘bič, knut, pleť, nagajka, skrebnica dlja čistki lošadej’ (Y).

Rus *kamču* > *kamčug*, *kamčuk* ‘kazač´ja pleť’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 176).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 626) and Mándoky (1971: 373–376), this is a dev noun, or, more correctly, a nomen agentis fr *kam-* ‘to strike down’. However, *+čI* is a den suff (see Erdal 1991: 110–118). Thus we have to suppose a noun **kamï* (< *kam-I*). See Nog *kamïšï*, KarC *kamučï* etc. The word is a wandering cultural word (see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 509–511; Mándoky 1971: 373–376), hence its similar forms in all sources. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 804–805) compare T *kam-* with Mo *kömeri-* ‘to fall’ which is phonetically not acceptable.

E/H The H word is a dial word distributed in H Cumania (see B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 66 and Mándoky 1971: 373–376). Earlier, it was thought to be a shortened variant of the H word **kancsuka** ‘knout’. Mándoky (1971: 373–376) has pointed out its Cum origin. According to Mándoky, the H dial variants *kamsi* and *kamzsi* ‘a whip with a long handle’ are parallel lws fr another Cum dial where the *č* > *š* change occurred before H copied the word. The word does not occur in Benkő (1967–1984) or Benkő (1993–1997). Only **kancsuka** is covered in these two works. The forms *kancsika* and *kamcsika* are H ders with the H dim suff *+kA*. According to Paládi Kovács (2001: 201), it is of CrTat origin. See also **kangyík**.

◆ Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 509–511; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 176; Mándoky 1971: 373–376; Clauson 1972: 626; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 66; Erdal 1991: 110–118; Paládi-Kovács 2001: 201; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 804–805.

KANCSUKA [kånčuká] 'a whip with a short handle, knout' | 1684 *kancsuka* [kånčuka], 1723 *tatár kancsuka* [tåtār kånčuká] 'Tatar whip', 1734 *kancsuga* [kånčugå], 1801 *Kantsuk* [kånčuk], *Kantsik* [kånčik], dial *kamcsika* [kåmčikå], *kancsika* [kånčikå], *kancsóka* [kånčōkå], *kancsuka* [kånčukå], *kandzsika* [kånjikå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 66) | *kånčukå* < *kånčikå* 'a kind of whip' (see **kamcsi**) + *kånčuk* ⟵ Rus *kančuk* 'Kazakh whip'.

A word of mixed Sl and T origin.

For all T data, see **kangyík**.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin and the copied form *kančuka* 'Lederriemen' was given most recently by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 678–679). This, however, is impossible for semantic reasons. The T word cited (see under **kangyík**) has the meaning 'saddle strap' everywhere. It is present in H as **kangyík** (< **kanǰika*). H *kancsuka* represents a mix of variants of *kamči* (see **kamcsi**) and Rus *kamčuk*, *kamčug* 'kazač'ja pleť; Kazakh whip'. The H word **kamcsi** 'whip, lash' has the dial forms *kancsi* and *kancsika*, both with the meaning 'whip, lash with a short handle'. Rus *kamčuk* and *kamčug* are lws fr T *kamču* 'whip', where the final guttural is the same as in Rus *žemčug* 'pearl' (see **gyöngy**). In Rus, it adopted the meaning 'Kazakh whip'. In H, the Sl *kamčuk* 'a kind of whip' and the dial H *kančika* (< *kanči* < *kamči*) 'a kind of whip' have been mixed and resulted in *kancsuka* 'whip with a short handle'.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 256; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 511; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 176; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 343; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 66; Poppe 1991: 150; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 678–679; Eren 1999: 206.

KANGYÍK [kånd'īk], **kangyika** [kånd'ikå] *Cum dial* 'saddle strap' | dial *kangyík-szíj* [kånd'īk-sīy], *kangyík-karika* [kånd'īk-kårikå], *kangyík-lyuk* [kånd'īk-yuk], *kangyík-sallang* [kand'īk-šållång] (Mándoky 1971: 378) | *kånd'īk* < *kånd'ikå* ⟵ Cum **kanǰïka* | MT *kanǰuga* 'saddle strap' ⟵ Mo *ganǰuga*.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *Qančuq* PN (UCiv), *ganǰuġa* 'Mong ġanǰuġa' (A5W), *qanǰuqa* 'courroie à l'avant et à l'arrière de la selle pour attacher les bagages, fouet de cuir non tressé' (AChag), *qanǰuġa* 'der Riemen hinter dem Sattel zum Anbinden leichter Sachen' (AChagR), *qanǰuġa* 'tirkeš bendi, [?] begterme, qančurġa' (AChagŠS), *qanǰuġa* 'Köcherband' (AChagŠSK), *qanǰuġa*, *qanǰuqa* 'terki' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qaŋyaġa* 'toroka' (Bashk), *qanjïġa* 'toroka (remeški pozadi sedla dlja pristežki)' (SibTatT), *qancïġa* 'der Riemen hinter dem Sattel zum Anbinden leichter Sachen' (SibTatTR), *kanǰïga* 'toroka' (Kirg), *qanǰïġa* 'toroka (sedlo)' (KazB), *qanžïġa* 'toroka

(sedlo)' (Kklp), *kanžiga* 'toroka' (Nog), *qanžïġa* 'toroka (sedlo)' (Kum), *qanžïġa* 'mesto na spine lošadi pozadi sedla', *qanžïġa bowla* 'toroka' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ganǰïga* 'toroka' (Tkm), *ġanǰïġa* 'tonkie remni v sedle' (AzD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qanžïġa* 'toroka' (Uzb), *ġandžuryae* 'strap at the back of a saddle' (TurkiJ), *qanǰurġah*, *qanǰuġah*, *qanǰïġah* 'straps in the cantle of a saddle for fastening a cloak etc.' (TurkiSh), *ġanǰuġa* 'toroka' (MUyg); ***NE*** *qandǰaġa* 'toroka' (Alt), *qanyïġa* 'der hintere Theil des Sattels, wo etwas angebunden wird' (AltR, AltTelR), *qanyaġa* 'der hintere Theil des Sattels, wo etwas angebunden wird' (KhakShR), *xanǰïġa* 'toroka' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Mo *ġanǰuġa*(*n*) 'thongs attached to a saddle for tying an object' (L), MMo *qanǰuqa* 'saddle strap' (SH), *qanǰuqa* 'saddle thongs' (= T *tizgü*) (AKD 290).

E/T The distribution of the word in Turcia leaves no doubt that the T words in this form and with these meanings are of Mo origin. (See also Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 418–419; Schönig 2000: 98.) Perhaps it was a term used by the Mo cavalry. The forms with *k-* and *g-* are possibly parallel copies fr different Mo sources. The problem, however, is that the Mo word, already present in the SH and found in most modern Mo lgs, has no evident Mo etymology. In the SH, we find *kanǰuka* 'saddle strap' and *kanǰukala-* 'to fasten to the saddle'; in the present Mo dials it is with *g-*. The Mo word is unlikely to be fr *kamtu-*, *kamsu-*, *kamsa-* 'to be united' and *-gA* 'suffix of the nomen imperfecti'. The word has to be separated fr *kamčigu* 'pustule' → ORus *kamčugъ* 'tumor ventri' (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 176, cf. TatD2 *kamčau* 'opuholʹ').

E/H According to Mándoky (1971: 378–380), the word is of Mo origin, and came into H through Cum mediation. The loss of the final vowel and the length of the second vowel in H is due to folk etymology. H *kan* is 'male animal' and *gyík* is 'lizard', i.e. the strap is like a male lizard: *kan* + *gyík* 'male lizard'. Thus *kangyika* > *kangyík*.

◆ Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 418–419; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 176; Mándoky 1971: 378–380; Mándoky 1993: 123–125; Schönig 2000: 98.

KANTÁR [kåntār] 'bridle, reins' | 1571 *kantar-fek* [kåntār-fēk], 1651 *kantárt* [kåntār-t] | *kåntār* ← WOT **kantar* | MT *kantar* 'reins' < *kaŋtar* id.

OT –; **MT** *qantar-* 'die Zügel des Pferdes an den Sattelknopf festbinden' (A-ChagR), *qantar* 'das kurze Leitseil', *qantar-* 'ein Pferd kurz anbinden' (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qantar* 'korotkij povod' (TatBud), *qantar* 'korotkie povodʹja' (Bashk), *qamtar-* 'svjazatʹ zakrutiv ruki nazad' (BashkD3), *kaŋga* 'das Holzgestell des Sattels' (SibTatTR, TatKR), *kaŋtar-* 'vyvoračivatʹ, perevoračivatʹ, privjazyvatʹ lošadʹ sposobom' (Kirg), *kaŋtar-* 'etwas am Sattelknopf befestigen, an den Sattelknopf hängen' (KirgR), *kaŋtar* 'korotkij povod' (Kaz, Budagov Kirg), *kaŋtar-* 'to leave a horse standing, to cool off, tying the reins to the pommel of the saddle' (Kaz), *qaŋtar-* 'datʹ ostytʹ lošadi, privjazav povodʹja k perednej luke sedla' (KazB), *qaŋtar-*

‘dat′ lošadi ostyt′’ (Kklp), *kaŋtar-* ‘davat′ lošadi ostyt′, tomit′’ (Nog), *kantar* ‘uzda’ (KarH), *qantarma* ‘nedouzdok’ (KarC), *kantarla-* ‘privjazyvat′ lošad′, zacepiv povod za luku’ (Kum), *kantarla-* ‘béklyóba verni [to hobble (an animal)]’ (KumN), *qantar-* ‘oprokidyvat′, perevetyvat′ čto (vverh dnom), privjazyvat′ lošadej’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gaŋtar-* ‘privjazyvat′ lošad′, zacepiv povod za luku’ (Tkm), *ġantarġala-* ‘vznuzdyvat′’ (Az), *ġantarġa* ‘udile, uzda-povod′ja’ (AzD), *gantar-* ‘naklonjat′, skručivat′’ (AzD, Blagova 1997: 260), *kantar-* ‘to pull up (a horse)’ (Tt), *kantarma* ‘dizgin, at başlığı’ (TtD), *gaytar-* ‘atın gemini yerine takmak’ (TtD), *kantïrma* ‘nedouzdok, uzda’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qantar-* ‘privjazyvat′ lošad′ tak, čtoby golova ee ne dostavala do korma, privjazyvat′ lošad′, zacepiv povod za luku’ (Uzb), *qantar-* ‘to fasten a horse by pulling its head up’ (TurkiJ), *qangtar-* ‘to fasten a horse’s head up short with a bearing rein, or by hitching the reins over the peak of the saddle’ (TurkiSh), *qaŋtar-*, *qaŋtur-* ‘privjazyvat′ lošad′ za povod’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *xantarġa* ‘remen′ (povod), povedennyj ot mundštuka k sedlu, čtoby lošad′ deržala golovu kverhu; podvjazka uzdcov k duge’ (Y).

Mo *qantar-* ‘to tie the bridle of the horse to the saddle, to pull the reins tight’, *qantarġa* ‘bands or straps used for holding something to prevent it from bending or falling’ (L).

E/T The word is evidently a cultural “Wanderwort”. Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 260) may be right that the Mo word is of T origin and not vice versa. There is no clear etymology for the Mo word. Schönig (2000: 150) refers to the fact that neither T *kantar-*, nor Mo *kantar-* has a clear etymology. He recognised that the basic verbal form was *kaŋtar-*, but hesitated to consider this as a primary form since it is attested neither in Mo, nor in MT (but see AChag above). The Y word is of Mo origin and preserved the earlier meaning. There is a noun *kaŋtar*, *kantar* and a verb *kaŋtar-*, *kantar-*, fr both of which we find further ders (on which see Blagova 1997: 260). The forms with *-ŋ-* seem to be old, since we find in dials *kamtar* (BashkD), and *gaytar* (TtD). The word is not of Ar origin (see Eren 1999: 208) and has nothing to do with Ar *qi‘ār* ‘train of camels, single file of soldiers’; cf. *katar* ‘die Reihe, Kette’ (AChagR).

E/H The H word was connected with the T word by Vámbéry (1870: 157) and Gombocz (1912b: 226–227). Ligeti (1986: 246) pointed out that it is a wandering word and that it occurs relatively late in H. Therefore, he supposed it to be of Cum origin, which was also accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 682). The word is present in all H dials, including the Csángó dial in Moldavia, which points to an early copying.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 157; Gombocz 1912b: 145, 185, 226–227; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 350; Ligeti 1986: 246; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 682; Blagova 1997: 260; Eren 1999: 207–208; Schönig 2000: 150; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 629.

KANYARÓ [kåńårō] ‘measles’ | 1567 *kanyaro* [kåńårō], 1739 *kanyarú* [kåńårū], dial *kanyaró* [kåńårō], *karanyó* [kåråńō] ‘a disease of children (measles, chicken pox, small pox)’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 79) | *kåńårō* < *kåråńō* < **kåråmō* < **karamuɣ* ← WOT **karamuɣ* | EOT *karamuk* ‘corn cockle’, MT *karamuk* ‘a dangerous black pimple which appears on children’ < **kara* {with suff +(*A*)*mUk*}.

OT *Karamuk* ‘name of a person’ (UDvaKol I 20, UActeOuig 17), *qaramuq* ‘corn cockle’ (AK); **MT** *qara* ‘schwarz’ (UOg), *qara* ‘noir’ (UHy), *qara* <QR’> ‘schwarz’, cf. PN *Qaramuq* (UCiv), *qara* ‘black’ (ABF), *qara* ‘black, negro’ (AGul), *qara* ‘kara, siyah’ (AHMA), *qara* ‘temnyj’ (AHŠF), *qara* ‘černyj’ (AIM), *qara* ‘Bildiğimiz renk, kara’ (AIMI), ‘black, black (horse)’ (AKD), *qara* ‘black, darkened’ (AKor), *qara* ‘černyj’ (AM), *qara* ‘černyj’ (ANehF), *qara* ‘black, dark’ (ARbg), *qara* ‘černyj, temnyj’ (ATef), *qaramuq* ‘fruit semblable à la prune, ivraie, tumeur noire’ (AChag), *qara* ‘černyj, černika’ (AChagB), *qaramuq* ‘nazvanie sornoj travy’, *qïzamuq* ‘kor′’ (AChagMA), *qaramuq* ‘ein schwarzes Unkraut im Weizen’ (AChagR), *qaramuq* ‘a red-coloured fruit like a sour cherry, black seeds which appear in wheat, (metaph.) a dangerous black pimple which appears on children’ (AChagSC), *qaramuq* ‘buġdayïn ičinde bulunan daneler, […]’ (AChagŠS), *qaramuġ* ‘buġdayïn ičinde bulunan siyah daneler, it üzümü; Kornradesamen zwischen dem Weizen’, *qaramuq* [see *qaraġrïqï*] ‘bir nevi hastalïqdïr, qaramuq, qïzamuq; eine Art Krankheit, Masern’ (AChagŠSK), *qaramïq*, *qaramuq* ‘Raden, Unkraut, Schlehe, Berberize, eine Art wilder Pflaumen, Dorn, Brandkorn, schwarze Blatter’ (AChagZ), *qara* ‘siyah, kara’ (AAH), *qaramuq* ‘gülçer dedikleri karaca tohum ki ekin içinde çıkar’ (AAHI), *qara*: *qara ätmäk* ‘sorte de pâte de forment’, *qara*: *karaǰa qaz* ‘oie noirâtre’ (ABul), *qara* ‘noir’ (ADur), *qara* ‘schwarz’ (AHou), *qara* ‘schwarz’ (AKav), *qara* ‘kara, siyah’ (AMGhU), *qara* ‘kara’ (ATuhA), *xara* ‘noir’ (AmTr), *xara* ‘černyj’ (AmD), *xara* ‘black’ (AmCh), *xara* ‘noir’ (AmE), *qaramuq* ‘tarlada buğday aralarında biten, anasona benzer söbüce siyah ve acı bir tohum, bir cins yaban eriği, çicek ve kızamık gibi döküntülü bir hastalık (?)’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qaramïq* ‘tif, glaukoma’ (Bashk), *karamïk* ‘nazvanie nakožnoj bolezni (pri kotoroj vse telo pokryvaet′sja zudjaščej syp′ju’ (Kirg), *qaramïq* ‘German measles (a childhood disease)’ (Kaz), *qaramïq* ‘krasnuha’ (Kklp), *karamïk* ‘ospa, vid ospy’ (Nog); ***SW*** *garamïk* ‘vetrjanaja ospa’ (Tkm), *karamïk*, *karamuk* ‘corn cockle, bot. *Agrostemma githago*, blackberry’ (Tt), *karamuk* ‘krasnuha’ (TtB), *karamuk*, *karamık* ‘vücutta sıyah kabarcılıklar çıkaran bir hastalık’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qaraməq* ‘kanyaró; measles’ (UzbD Afghanistan, Ligeti 1937a: 300–301); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word is a den der of *kara* ‘black’ with the suff +(*A*)*mUk*; see Erdal (1991: 100–102), where this word is also dealt with. Its original meaning was ‘black-spotted’. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 650–651) influenced by *kara* ‘black’ but not identical with it.

E/H The H word was first connected with the T word *kïzamïk* ‘measles’ by Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 118) and Gombocz (1912b: 90), who supposed a Chuv form **kïramuk*, but see Chuv *χĕrlĕχen* ‘kor′’. Gombocz noted that the T *-ï-* of the word can hardly be represented in H by *-a-*. Ligeti (1937a: 300–304) pointed out that the copied form was **karamuk* and originally denoted pox-like diseases. This was backed with new data by Eren (1943b: 360). Ligeti stressed that this word does not belong to the cases of rhotacism (1986: 14, 313). This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 684). The change **karamó* > *kanyaró* is a possible but as yet undocumented H change with existing parallels like *karamodik-*, *kanyarodik-* ‘to turn’ (Benkő 1967–1984/2: 353).

◆ Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 118; Gombocz 1907a: 251; Gombocz 1912b: 90; Ligeti 1937a: 300–304; Eren 1943b: 360; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 353; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 79; Ligeti 1986: 14, 313; Erdal 1991: 100–102; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 684; Eren 1999: 242; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 650–651.

KAPTÁNY [kåptāń], **kapkány** [kåpkāń] ‘trap, snare’ | 1628 *kaptány* [kåptāń], 1799 *Kaptán* [kåptān], *kapkan* [kåpkān], dial *kapkány* [kåpkāń], *kapkána* [kåpkānå], *kapta* [kåptå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 96) | *kåptāń* < *kåpkāń* < **kapkan* ⟵ WOT **kapkan* | EOT **kapkan* ‘trap’ < *kap-* ‘to grasp, catch’ {with suff *-gAn*}.

OT *qapġan* ‘saisissant sans cesse, prédateur’: *qadïrï üčün qapġan bolur* (UHam-TouHou), *Kapān* ‘a man’s name’ (AK); **MT** *qap-* ‘ergreifen’ (UCiv), *qap-* ‘to snatch, to bite’ (AGul), *qap-* ‘kapmak, almak’ (AHMA), *qab-*, *qap-* ‘shvatyvat′’ (AHŠF), *qap-* ‘hvatat′’ (AIM), *qap-* ‘ansızın kapıp götürmek’ (AIMI), *qap-* ‘to snatch away’ (AKor), *qap-* ‘prendre, saisir, soit avec la main, soit avec les dents’ (AChag), *qapqan* ‘eine Falle, Schlinge (zum Einfangen und Tödten der Thiere)’ (AChagR), *qap-* ‘to seize with the hands, or grasp with the teeth’ (AChagSC), *qap-* ‘paxš karda gereftan’, *qapaġan* ‘alet-i said’, ? *qaptan* ‘dam’ (AChagŠS), *qapqan* ‘Schlinge, Falle (für wilde Thiere)’ (AChagZ), *qap-*: *qaptï* ‘bugünkü manasında »kaptı«’ (AAH), *qab-* ‘pochwycić, zdobyć’ (ABul), *qap-* [or *qab-*] ‘nehmen’ (AHou), *qap-* ‘entreissen’ (AKav), ? *qap-* ‘yağmalamak’ (ATuhA), *xap-* ‘saisir’ (AmTr), *xap-* ‘shvatit′’ (AmD), *xap-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ (AmCh), *xap-* ‘saisir’ (AmE), *qap-* ‘kaplamak, istilâ etmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kapkăn* ‘kapkan, zapadnja, lovuška’ (Chuv, but »xup-« <zakryvat′>); ***NW*** *kapkan*, *kapkïn* ‘kapkan, lovuška, myšelvka, zapadnja’ (Tat), *qapqan* ‘kapkan, lovuška, zapadnja’ (Bashk), *kapkan* ‘kapkan’ (Kirg), *qaqpan* ‘trap’ (Kaz), *qaqpan* ‘lovuška, kapkan, zapadnja’ (KazB), *qaqpan* ‘kapkan, silok’ (Kklp), *kapkan* ‘kapkan’ (Nog), *qapqan* ‘kapkan, lovuška’ (CrTat), *qapġun* ‘lovuška, kapkan, zapadnja’ (Kum), *kapkan* ‘egérfogó [mousetrap]’ (KumN), *qapxan* ‘kapkan, myšelovka’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gapan* ‘kapkan, zapadnja, lovuška’ (Tkm), *kapan* ‘trap’ (Tt), *kapan* ‘kapkan, zapadnja, lovuška, silok’ (TtB), *kapkan* ‘kapkan, zapadnja, lovuška, silok’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qåpqån* ‘kapkan, zapadnja, lovuška, myšelovka’ (Uzb), *qapqan* ‘trap, foxtrap, gin, snare’ (TurkiJ), *qapqan*, *qapqun* ‘a gin for catching foxes’ (TurkiSh), *qapqan* ‘kapkan, myšelovka, zapadnja, lovuška’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *kapkan*, *kakpïn* ‘kap-

kan' (AltQK), *xapxïn*, *xaxpan*, *xaxpïn* 'kapkan, lovuška, zapadnja' (KhakB), *qapqan* 'eine Falle, Schlinge (zum Einfangen und Tödten der Thiere)' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *kakpa* 'kapkan' (Tuv), *qapqān* 'kapkan' (Tof); ***Y*** *xapān* 'kapkan' (YS).

Mo *qabqan* 'trap, snare' (L).

Os *k'æpxæn* 'stupen'' (← T, Abaev 1958–1989/1: 627).

E/T The T word is a dev der fr *kap-* 'to grasp, seize, catch' with the suff *-gAn*, see Erdal (1991: 385), where this word is also dealt with. It became a lexicalised technical term for special kinds of traps and thus spread over Turcia. It was copied by Rus and perhaps even borrowed back in some cases. The Os is a late lw. On the semantics, see Eng *trap*, Grm *Treppe*.

E/H Benkő (1967–1984/2: 366) considered the word a lw fr Rom *capcánă*, which is a borrowing fr Ott. The H dial Chango (Moldavia) *kapkána* is a separate borrowing. The history and dial distribution of the word was dealt with in detail by Mándoky (1978: 213–216). He pointed out that the Rom word is of Kip, and not of Ott, origin, and the H word cannot be of Rom origin for historical, geographical and phonetic reasons. Mándoky stressed that *kaptány* is an old lw and *kapkány* is a later one of direct Cum origin distributed only in Greater Cumania in Hungary (on the latter, see Mándoky 1971: 381–383). Benkő later accepted Mándoky's argumentation (1993–1997/1: 690) and considers the word to be of T origin, most probably copied before the H Conquest (895). The *-pk-* > *-pt-* change occurred in H.

◆ Gyarmathi 1799; *Anonymous* 1904: 52–53; Gombocz 1909: 420–421; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 627; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 186; Kiss 1964a: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 366; Mándoky 1971: 381–383; Mándoky 1978: 213–216; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 96; Erdal 1991: 385; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 690–691; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 766–767.

KAPU [kåpu] 'gate' | 1009/c1235/1350/1404 GN *Kopus* [kåpū-š], 1061 GN *Kapus* [kåpū-š], 1162 GN *copuu* [kåpū], 1332–1337 *Woschapu* [våš-kåpu] 'iron-gate', p1372/c1448 *kapuÿan* [kåpu-yān] | *kåpu* < **kapū* < **kapuɣ* ← WOT **kapuɣ* | EOT *kapïg* 'gate, door'.

OT *qapïġ* 'gate' (RMKT), *qapaġ* 'porte', *qapaġčï*, *qapïġčï* 'portier' (UHam-TouHou), *qapuġ* 'door, gate', *qapġa* 'gate or pass' (AK), *qapïġ* 'Tor' (BC 15, 19), *qāpaġ* (BL 33a); **MT** *qapuq* 'porta' (UM 98), *qapï* 'porte' (UHy), *qapï* 'porte' (UHyS), *qapïġ* 'Tor' (UCiv), *qapu* 'door, gate' (AGul), *qapuġ* 'kapı' (AHMA), *qabuġ* 'door, entrance, courtyard, temple' (AHŠ 127), *qabuġ* 'vorota, dver'' (AHŠF), *qapï*, *qapu* 'dver'', *qapuq* 'dver', vorota' (AIM), *qapġa* 'sokak ve hisar kapısı' (AIMI), *qapu* 'door, gate', ? *qapuġ* [see *qapuq*] 'gate, door' (AKD), *qapuġ* 'gate' (AKor), *qabuq* 'dver', vorota' (AM), *qabuġ* 'vorota, dver'' (ANehF), *qapuġ* 'door, gate, focus of service' (ARbg), *qapu*, *qapuġ* 'vorota, dveri' (ATef), *qapu* 'porte' (AChag), *qapu* 'gate, door' (AChagSC), *qapu* 'bāb' (AChagŠS), *qabaq* 'Tor, Pforte' (LCC), *qapu* 'kapı' (AAH), *qapï* 'kapı' (AAHI), *qapï*, *qapu* 'porte' (ABul), *qabï*, *qapï*, *qapu* 'porte' (ADur), *qapu* [or *qabu*] 'Tür'

(AHou), *qabu* (ed. *qab*) ‘išik; Tor’, *qap-* ‘entreissen’ (AKav), *qapu* ‘kapı’ (ATuhA), *xabaxčï* ‘portier, concierge’ (AmTr), *xabax* ‘gate, door’, *xapiǰi* ‘kapudshi (officer of the Sultan, messenger in State affairs)’ (AmCh), *xabax* ‘porte’ (AmE), *qapu baġla-* ‘kapıyı kapatmak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xapxa* ‘vorota, (dial) dver′’ (Chuv ← Bashk); ***NW*** *kapu* ust. knižn. sm. *kapka*, *kük kapusï ačïlu* ‘mif. <otkrytie vorot sčast′ja>, <severnoe sijanie>’ (Tat), *qapqa* ‘vorota’ (Bashk), *kåpka* ‘kapu’ (BashkP), *qapqa ece* ‘dvor’ (SibTat), *kapka* ‘vorota, gorodskie vorota, uščel′e’ (Kirg), *qapqa* ‘gate, gates’, *qaqpa* ‘arch. vault, arc, gate’ (Kaz), *qapï* ‘dver′’, (KazD, Blagova 1997: 274), *kapï* ‘dver′’ (Kklp), *kapï* ‘vorota, kn. dver′’ (Nog), *qapï* ‘dver′’ (CrTat), *qapu* ‘dver′, vorota’ (KarC), *qapu* ‘vorota, dver′, vhod’ (Kum), *qabaq* ‘vorota’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gapï* ‘dver′, kalitka’ (Tkm), *ġapï* ‘dver′’ (Az), *kapï*, *kapu* ‘door, gate, hist. central office of the [Ottoman] office in Istanbul’ (Tt), *kapu* ‘dver′’ (Gag), *ġåpï*, *ġapï*, *ġåpu* ‘Tür’ (Khor), *qåpï* ‘Tür’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qåpqa* ‘vorota’ (Uzb), *qapqa* ‘vorota, kryška kotla’ (MUyg); ***NE*** ? *kavï* ‘okolica, okružajučaja mesnost′, okresnosti, okruga, (peren.) sfera, oblast′’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *qaġalġa* ‘gate, door’, *qaġa-* ‘to close, to block, keep out’ (L).

E/T The OT verbal base is *kap-* ‘to close’. The suff is -(*X*)g, hence *kapïg*. However, besides *kapïg* we also frequently find *kapag* in OT, where the second *-a-* is clearly written (see all data in Erdal 1991: 190). According to Erdal, the forms with *-a-* in the second syllable are dial variants. This cannot be excluded, but it is also possible that these forms reflect an earlier origin, and that the PT form of the verb was **kapă-* (see Mo *kaga-*). In this case, we would expect *kapag*. Forms such as LCC, KrchBlk *kabak* are fr *kapgak*, and *kapka*. Forms such as *kakpa* and the like are metathetic forms. The disappearance of the final *-g* either did not leave a trace, hence we have *kapï*, or it did, and in this case we find *kapu*.

E/H The H word has been tied by Vámbéry (1870: 157) to the T word. Since then, the etymology has been accepted by Budenz (1873: 85), Gombocz (1912b: 90), Ligeti (1986: 78) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 691). The word is pre-Ott in H, but was reinforced by Ott *kapu*, especially in the sense of ‘the court of the Ottoman Emperor’; see Grm ‘die türkische Pforte etc.’

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 157; Budenz 1873: 85; Gombocz 1912b: 90; Tagányi 1913: 99; Benkő 1953a: 48; Bárczi 1958a: 77; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 370–371; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 367; Räsänen 1969: 233; Clauson 1972: 582–583; Ligeti 1986: 77–78, 256–257; Erdal 1991: 190; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 691; Blagova 1997: 274; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 765–766.

KAR [kår] ‘arm’ | 1254 ? GN *Korus* [kår-uš], p1372/c1448 *karyay* [kår-yåi] | *kår* < *kar* ← WOT **kar* | EOT *kar*, *karï* ‘forearm’.

OT *qarï* ‘forearm, cubit’ (AK), *qar* <HK’R> ‘Oberarm’ (B); **MT** *qarï* ‘kol’ (UYAB), *qarï* ‘Elle (ein Längenmaß, etwa 30 cm)’ (UCiv), *qarï* ‘lokot′ (mera dliny)’ (AIM), *qarï* ‘čast′ ruki (ot pal′cev do loktja), lokot′’ (ATef), *qarï* ‘kol’ (AYC), *qaru* ‘espace depuis

le haut de l'épaule jusqu'au bout des doigts' (AChag), ? *ǰö'ēn qar* 'levyj flang vojska' (AChagMA), *qarï* 'a span, a builder's cubit, cubit (?), an implement used to measure things, (the arm) from the shoulder to the finger tips' (AChagSC), *qarï* 'Elle; pichum' (LCC), *qarï* 'arşın' (AAH), *qarï* 'Ellbogen, Elle' (AHou), *xari* 'coude' (AmTr), *qaru* 'bazu, kol' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xur* 'lokoť, starinnaja mera dliny dvojnoe rasstojanie ot loktja do konca srednego palʹca' (Chuv), *xură* 'mera dliny v 2 metra' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *qara* 'starinnaja mera dliny, okolo odnogo metra' (TatD1), *karï* 'predpleč́e' (Bashk), *qarï* 'verhnjaja časť ruki, plečo' (SibTatB), *karï* 'verhnjaja časť ruki (ot lokoť do pleča)' (Kirg), *qar* 'upper part of the arm (hand)' (Kaz), *qarï* 'mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju ot sredinu grud do konca palcev vytjanutoj ruki' (Kklp), *karï* '(ist.) lokoť (starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojanso ot loktja do kisti ruki)' (Nog), *qarï* '(ist.) lokoť (starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja priblizitelʹno 0,5m)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *garï* 'bercovaja kosť, kosť goleni' (Tkm), *ġarï* 'časť nogi u ovcy vyše kolena' (AzD), *karaǰa* 'koldaki kas kitlesi, pazı, kol, devenin dizinin iç tarafı'; ***Kh*** *qarï* 'Längemaß' (Kh); ***SE*** *kari* 'mera dliny (ravnaja 140–145 cm)' (Uzb), *keri* 'Armlänge, Elle' (TurkiTR), *keri* 'mera dliny' (MUygMHot), *qar samïq* 'kosť v nižnej časti ruki' (YUygM); ***NE*** *karï* 'časť ruki ot loktja do pleča', *karï dʹilik* 'plečevaja kosť' (Alt), *karï* 'časť ruki ot pjasti do loktja' (AltTK), *qarï* 'der Oberarm' (AltTelR), *kïrï* 'loktevaja kosť' (Tuv), *qïrï* 'loktevaja kosť, lučevaja kosť' (Tof); ***Y*** *xarï*, *xarī* 'predpleč́e, časť ruki ot loktja do zapjasť́e, časť lučevaja kosti ruki meždu loktem i kisťju, loktevaja k kisti kosť, nižnjaja polovina perednej nogi životnogo', *xara* 'predpleč́e, lokoť, loktevaja kosť' (Y), *karï* 'Speiche, Achselhöhle, lučevaja kosť' (DlgS).

Mo *ġar* 'hand, arm, side (right or left), flank, wing (of an army)' (L).

E/T The older form of the word was *kar*. The final *-ï* in *karï* was originally the poss suff but this form was later lexicalised. This type of poss suff is frequent with words for primary parts of the body. This analysis is corroborated by Mo, which has no final vowel in this word. The parts of the arm which are denoted by the word differ in some cases, which is a normal semantic variation across lgs. The word came to signify a measure of length early on, practically the length of one arm, in some cases even of two. Its meaning as a measure changed. (The various measures are dealt with in great detail by Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 278–283)). Since words for measures are used in trade, it became a cultural *Wanderwort*. It is remarkable that the word does not occur in the early Runiform or Uyg texts and only appears in the *Dīvān* of Kashgari and in texts of the MT period.

E/H The T origin of the H word has already been proposed by Vámbéry (1870: 157) and dealt with by Budenz (1873: 85) and twice by Gombocz (1900c: 488; 1912b: 23). But Gombocz did not include it among the words he covered in detail in Gombocz (1912b). The reason for Gombocz's caution was most probably that the word had been connected with some words in the FUgr lgs. Later, this was refuted, and not

included in Lakó (1967–1978/2). The T origin of the H word was clearly demonstrated by Ligeti (1933c: 218–220) and since then accepted by all competent publications (see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 692). The only question which remained open is whether the H lg copied a form with or without a final vowel. In both cases, the result would be the same, because all close final vowels disappeared in OH. Since both Chuv and Mo contain the form without the final vowel, it is more probable that H copied a form like *kar*, i.e. without the final vowel.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 157; Budenz 1873: 85; Gombocz 1900c: 488; Gombocz 1912b: 23; Ligeti 1933c: 218–220; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 369; Ligeti 1986: 313; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 692; Blagova 1997: 278–283; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 530–531.

KÁR [kār] ‘damage, loss’ | 1372/ *kart* [kār-t] | *kār* ← South Sl **kwar* ← WOT **kăvar* < **kōr* or *kār* < **kar* < **kor* ← WOT **kōr* | EOT *kōr* ‘damage, loss’.

Of T origin but with possible Sl mediation.

OT *ev bark ičinte qor yaš egsümez* ‘in des Hauses Innerem (Hend.) die Not und den Schaden (Hend.) nicht abnehmen’ (UTTVI 110:63), *qōr* ‘loss’ (AK); **MT** *qorluġ* ‘für Schaden verantwortlich’, *qorsuz* ‘schadlos’ (UCiv), *qor* ‘zarar, ziyan’ (AHMA), *qor* ‘nesčast′e’ (AHŠF), *qor* ‘pozor, uron’, *qor etmeq* (sic!) ‘poterpet′ ubitok’, *qorluġ* ‘poterpevšij uščerb, uščerb, ubytok’ (AIM), *korlug* ‘zarara uğrayan’, *koritmek* ‘ziyan etmek’ (AIMI), *qor* ‘loss’ (AKor), *qoar* (sic!) *boldi* ‘stal prezrennym’ (= Mo *qor bolba*)’ (AChagMA, Poppe read *qor*, ← Pe), *qor* ‘Verlust, statt *ziyan*’ (AHou read *qur*), *qorluq* ‘žalkij, unižennyj’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xur* ‘obida, oskorblenie, pozor’ (Chuv ← Pe); ***NW*** *xur* ‘pozornyj, prezrennyj’ (Tat ← Pe), *xur* ‘nizkij, prezrennyj’ (Bashk ← Pe), *kur* ‘pozor’ (BashkD3 ← Pe), *kōr* ‘styd, mučenie, oskorblenie’ (SibTat ← Pe), *kor* ‘prezrennyj’ (Kirg ← Pe), *koro-* ‘umenšat′sja’ (Kirg), *qorla-* ‘to humiliate’ (Kaz ← Pe), *kor* ‘uniženie’ (Kklp ← Pe), *kor* ‘unižennyj’ (Nog ← Pe), *korla-* ‘mučit′, pričinjat′ stradanie’ (CrTat ← Pe), *qora-* ‘skončat′sja, umeret′’ (KarC), *kor* ‘unižennyj, oskorblennyj, plohoj, nikuda ne godnyj’ (Kum ← Pe), *qora-* ‘vybivat′, uhodit′, terjat′sja’, *qoraw* ‘uščerb, ubytki, poteri’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *xor* ‘hudoj, toščij’ (Tkm ← Pe), *korla-* ‘portit′’ (Az), *hor* ‘despicable’ (Tt ← Pe); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qorï-*: *qorïmaska* ‘čtoby ne vredit′, ne prinesti ubytka’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *koro-* ‘izčezat′, vymirat′’ (AltQK), *qora-* ‘umeret′, poterpet′ ubytok, ubavyt′sja’ (KhakShVerb, KhakAVerb), *xora-* ‘umen′sat′sja, ubavlat′sja, terpet′ ubytok’, *xoram* ‘utrata, poterja’ (Khak), *xor* ‘neėkonomyčnyj, bystro končajuščij, legko rashodaemyj’, *xora-* ‘umen′šatsja, ubavljat′sja bystro’ (Tuv), *xor* ‘nevygodnyj, neėkonomnyj, nesporyj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *xor* ‘nesporyj, nepročnyj, legko i skoro rashoduemyj, ubytočnyj, ubytok’, *xor-* ‘pričinat′ rashod, puskat′ v rashod, rashodovat′’ (Y), *hor* ‘Unglück, Pech’ (DlgS ← T **sor*).

Mo *qoor*, *qoora* ‘harm, evil, malice, embitterment, poison’, *qoorla-*, *qoorala-* ‘to harm, to poison, kill’ (L) → Tuv *xora* ‘vred’, Tof *xora* ‘vred, otrava’.

Sl *kvar* ‘povreda, bolest’ (Blg), *kvar´* ‘zaguba, ščeta’ (StaroBlg), *kvâr* ‘povreda, ščeta, zaguba’ (SerbCroat), *kvâr* ‘povreda, ščeta, zaguba’ (Slvn), *kvariti* ‘pogubvam’ (Ukr), *kvárit´* ‘razvaljam’ (Slvk), see Georgiev (1971–1979/2: 307).

E/T The T word seems to be a simplex. Ligeti (1933c: 221) pointed out early on that we have to separate خوار *hwar* ‘contemptible, abject, poor, distressed, abandoned’ (Steingass 1981: 479) fr the word under discussion, which is of Pe origin. The Pe word has a wide distribution; in most cases it preserved its fricative initial, but in others it was substituted with a stop and appears as *kor*. T *kōr* has the basic meaning ‘loss’ and, like every loss, it also denotes ‘harm’. In some lgs, only the den pass verb *kora-* or *korla-*, in some lgs even *kor-*, has the meaning ‘to suffer a loss, to go wrong, to die’. In Y, it is in the active voice ‘to cause expenses, to use up’. The word had a long vowel, which is not reflected in Y, but clearly present in Mo, where the orth may represent an Uyg orth peculiarity. In Chuv, besides the Pe word *χur*, we find *yur*, *yură* ‘bednosť’, *yurlă* ‘ bednyj’ (? also *yăk* ‘beda, nesčastie’). As we have seen under **gyarló**, there are serious problems involved with the connection of T *yarlïg* and Chuv *yurlă*. We would have to suppose that the missing base **yar* of *yarlïg* has been preserved in a *y*-Kip lg and then copied by Chuv and that only Chuv preserved this basic word. On the other hand, an OT **kār* regularly results in Chuv *yur*, as in OT *kār* ‘snow’ > Chuv *yur* id. However, it is difficult to link ‘poverty’ and ‘damage, harm, loss’ semantically.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 157) compared the H word with T *karak* ‘brigandage’, *karak-* ‘to rob out’. Early on, Budenz (1873: 103) refuted this etymology. Ligeti (1933c: 220–221) suggested T *kor* as a possible candidate to which “somehow, directly or indirectly” the H word may be linked. He concluded that the comparison is semantically perfect, but the T *o* ~ H *á* is “unclear” to him. Kniezsa (1955: 253) categorised the H word as a certain Sl etymology. According to him, the word is a copy of South Sl **kvarъ*, but remarked that the South Sl word has no Sl etymology. He also pointed out that Ligeti’s proposal could only be accepted if T *kor* had a DBulg form **kăvar* as T *kök* has *kăvak*. Though Ligeti later dealt with the OT long vowels (1938a and 1938b), he did not return to this etymology – nor did it occur in Ligeti (1986). Benkő (1967–1984/2: 370; 1993–1997/1:692) follows Kniezsa and states that the H word is of Sl origin. In the latter work, he notes that the origin of the Sl word is unknown. On the Chuv realisation of OT long labials, see OT *tōrt* > Chuv *tăvat* ‘four’, OT *kōk* > Chuv *kăvak* ‘blue’, OT *kōz* > WOT **kōr* > Chuv *kăvar* ‘burning embers’, OT *tūz* > WOT **tūr* > Chuv *tăvar* ‘salt’, perhaps also OT *kaw* > **kō* > Chuv *ăv*, *ăvă*, *ïvă* ‘tinder’. This means that Kniezsa, as in many other cases, was also on the right track. The South Sl word may be a direct copy of a WOT **kōr* > **kuar* > **kăwar* ⟶ O(South)Sl **kwar*. Sl **kwar*, with a regular loss of postconsonantal *-w-*, it could have produced H *kār*, i.e. *kár*. One question remained: How old is the diphthong in the place of the

long vowel? Chuv has secondary long labials such as *ogul* > *ūl* > *ïvăl, ăvăl*, last of which are present in the VBulg inscriptions as اوِل read *awli*. This points to a relatively early change. But the long vowels and the diphthongs may have been in alternation in OT. See Skrt *tauna* ⟶ OT *tōn* 'garment'.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the word *kōr* was directly borrowed fr T. Cases are rare where H /a/ is corresponds to WOT /o/ but they do exist. See **apró** (← **oprag*), **arat** (← **ora-*), **kalauz**, **kalóz** (← **kolavuz*), **karám** (← **korum*). Even the disappearence of a *-w-* has a parallel in **káliz** (← *Kwaliz*).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 157; Budenz 1873: 103; Ligeti 1933c: 220–221; Kniezsa 1955: 253; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 370; Georgiev 1971–1979/2: 307; Steingass 1981: 479; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 692; Blagova 2000: 73–74.

KARAKÁN [kåråkān] 'man of grit, stout fellow' | c1800/1901 *karakánságoknak* [kåråkān-šāgoknåk], 1846 *karakán* [kåråkān], dial *karakány* [kåråkāń] 'quarrelsome', *kalakány* [kålåkāń], *kalakán* [kålåkān] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 103, 441) | *kåråkān* < **karakan* 'name of a plant' ← WOT **karakan* | EOT *karakan* 'a mountain tree' | See **kalokány**.

OT *qarāqān* 'a type of mountain tree' (AK); **MT** *qara* 'schwarz' (UOg), *qara* 'noir' (UHy), *qara* (*qra*) 'schwarz' (UCiv), *qara* 'black' (ABF), *qara* 'black, negro' (AGul), *qara* 'kara, siyah' (AHMA), *qara* 'temnyj' (AHŠF), *qara* 'černyj' (AIM), *qara* 'Bildiğimiz renk, »kara«' (AIMI), *qara* 'black, black (of a horse)' (AKD), *qara* 'black, darkened' (AKor), *qara* 'černyj' (AM), *qara* 'černyj' (ANehF), *qara* 'black, dark' (ARbg), *qara* 'noir', *qaraqana* [? <QRQND>] 'espèce d'arbuste' (AChag), *qara* 'černyj, černika' (AChagB), *qara* 'černyj' (AChagMA), *qara* 'siyah, kara' (AChagŠS), *qara* 'siyah, kara' (AAH), *qara*: *qara yaġïz* 'esmer' (AAHI), *qara*: *qara ätmäk* 'sorte de pâte de forment', *qara*: *karaǰa qaz* 'oie noirâtre' (ABul), *qara* 'noir' (ADur), *qara* 'schwarz' (AHou), *qara* 'schwarz' (AKav), *qara* 'kara, siyah' (AMGh), *qara* 'kara' (ATuhA), *qara* 'noir' (AmTr), *xara* 'černyj' (AmD), *xara* 'black' (AmCh), *xara* 'noir' (AmE); **NT** [only some ders] ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *qaraan qaraġat* 'smorodina černaja, *Ribes nigrum*' (TatD1), *qaraġan* '»et mujyly« <krušina (Ramnus)>, »selek« <čiliga>' (Bashk), *qaraqan = et karaganï = et muyïlï* 'krušina' (BashkD1); ***Kh*** *qaraqan* 'eine Pflanze zum verbrennen, Wagenitz (*Amygdalus*)' (Kh); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *qaraġana* '*Caragana arborescens*' (L).

E/T The word is a der fr *kara* 'black' with the suff *+gAn* (Erdal 1991: 85–89). Cirtautas may be right when she suggests that 'black' does not necessarily mean a colour in such words, but 'common' (cited by Erdal 1991: 86). In some sources, we find *-k-* instead of the expected *-g-* of the suff: *čïbïkan* 'jujube' (AK <JIYQA'N> with one dot later crossed out, making <B> out of <Y>), *yakrïkan* 'a plant from which berries the size of hazelnuts fall, the *yakrïkan* skin of which is stuck over the lips when they are chapped from the wind, and they heal' (AK). This is not only the

case in the Kashgar dial, but also, e.g. in Kh and in Bashk and Tt dials. After *-r-*, the suff may be *-k*, on which see **kalokány**, **sárkány** and Erdal (1991: 86). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 550) the Mo word is of T origin.

E/H According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 373; 1993–1997/1: 694), the H word is the result of a semantic split fr **kalokány**, **kolokány** after the characteristics of that plant. As already shown at **kalokány**, there is a mix between two plant names, both of T origin, one fr *karlïgan* (> *kalokány*, *kolokány* 'the waterplant *Stratoites aloides*') and the other fr *karakan* '*Caragana*'. The plant *Caragana* is present in Hungary and has the names *karakáncserje* (*karakan* bush), *borsófa* (*pea*-tree), *borsócserje* (*pea* bush) and *sárgaakác* (yellow acacia) (see Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 34). Though in the majority of the T lgs we find the form *karagan*, the word is *karakan* in some dials of Bashk and Tt and in Kh. It was such a form that was copied by H. On the suff *-gAn* in H lws fr T, see **bojtorján**, **csalán** and **kataláng**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 156; Munkácsi 1893: 297–299; Gombocz 1907a: 224; Gombocz 1912b: 89; Bárczi 1941: 152; Vértes 1964: 407–408; Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 34; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 373; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 103, 441; Erdal 1991: 85–89; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 694; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 550.

KARÁM [kårām] 'sheepfold, cattlegrid, stockyard, a yard encircled by a fence, shed for animals' | 1620 *cram* [kram], 1621 *Karam* [kårām], 1708 *Karám* [kårām], 1794 *karánban* [kårān-bån], dial *haráng* [hårāng], *karány* [kårāń], *karán* [kårān] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 103–104) | *kårām* < **korām* ← WOT **koram* | EOT *korum* 'a massive rock, or pile of rocks', T *koram* 'shed for animals', cf. *Kara korum* 'capital of the Mongol Empire, name of a mountain chain' < *koru-* 'to fence in, to protect (a piece of land)' {with suff *-(X)m*}.

OT *qoruġ*: *Amġa Qoruġun qïšlap* 'he spent the winter at Amga Qoruġ' (RMKT), *qoruġ*: *Kasar Qor(u)ġ* 'place name' (RMTes), *qaram* 'fossé' (UHamTouHou), *qorï-* 'to guard, protect', *qorïġ* 'protected place or reserve', *qorum* 'rocks, one calls a "treasure" *qorum*' (AK), *qorum* 'rock' (AQB); **MT** *qoruġ* 'zasadzka, okrążenie' (ABF), *qorï-*, *qoru-* 'korumak', *qoruġ* 'koru(nan) yer, harem' (AHMA), *qoruġ* 'zasada, okruženie' (AHŠF), *qorinču* 'asylum, place of refuge', *q. yär* id. (AKor), *qorï-* 'to ward off', *qorïg* 'ambush' (ARbg), *qorum taš* 'skala, skalistyj kamen′' (ATef), *qoru-* 'orner, poser, priser, estimer, enclore, défendre', *qoruġ* 'défense, hie, mur, pâturage réservé pour les chevaux des sultans' (AChag written as <qwrwġ q> with the intent to write *qoruġ/q*), *qoru-* 'okružat′, ohvatyvat′' (AChagB), *qoru-* 'zaščiščat′', *qorqan* 'krepost′, '= Mo *qorġan*' (AChagMA), *qoru-* 'to restrict, to protect' (AChagSC), *qorudu* 'korudu, himaye etti' (AAH, see p. 82), *koru-* 'korudu – kayırdı, sakladı, himaye etti' (AAHI), *qoru-* 'zaščiščat′, podderživat′' (ATuh), *xorut-* 'faire défendre, demander la protection de q.' (AmTr), *qorut-* 'korumak, muhafaza etmek' (AOtT), *qoru-* 'protéger, garder' (AOtM); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kurum* 'zakrytoe, holodnoe pomeščenie dlja skota, sdelannoe iz dosok ili pletenii' (TatD1), *korum* 'gruda bolš'ših kamnej, otvalivših-

sja ot skal' (Kirg), *koru-* 'to defend' (Kaz), *korïm* 'melkij kamen′' (KazD, Blagova 2000: 80–81), *kora* ' zagon, zagorodka (dlja skota)', *mal kora* id. (Kklp), *kora* 'zabor', *tas kora* 'kamennyj zabor' (Nog), *kora* 'ograda' = *čit* 'izgorod, pleten′, ograda' (CrTat), *kora* 'bar′er, pregrada' (Kar), *kora* 'zagon, hlev' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gōrav*, *gōrag* 'ohrana, zaščita' (Tkm), *gorug* 'zapovednik, zapretnye učastki zemli (pastbišča)' (Az), *koru* 'small wood, grove' (Tt), *korum* 'zaščita, oborona' (TtB), *korum* 'dağların sarp yamaçlarındaki düzlükler, uçurumlarda ancak keçilerin geçebileceği basamak gibi setler' (TtD), *korum* 'zaščita, oborona' (Gag); ***Kh*** *gurum* 'Hügel, Anhöhe' (Kh); ***SE*** *qoram*, *qojam*, *qurām* 'rock', *qojam taš* 'a big stone, rock' (TurkiJ), *qora* 'dvor, zagon dlja skota, izgorod', *qoram* 'ščeben′ [crushed stone], dresva [gravel]', *qoram taš* 'kamen′ gornaja poroda', *qoram* 'zaščitnyj, zaščyščajuščij' (MUyg), *kora* 'zagon, hlev, zagorod' (MUygDTurf), *qora* 'dvor za izgorod′ju', *qoran* 'pleten′, zagorodka iz koljučego rastenija' (YUyg); ***NE*** *korum* 'kar′er, rossyp′ kamnej, kamenistyj' (AltK), *korum* 'rossyp′, melkie kamni obrazujuščejsja skaly' (AltL), *korum*, *korïm* 'rossyp′, melkie kamni' (AltQK), *xorïm* 'gromada skal, kamenistye rossypi' (Khak), *xorum* 'gruda kamnej, nadmogilnyj kurgan, obval kamnej, kamennye rossypi' (Tuv), *horum* 'osyp′ krupnyh kamnej na sklonje gory', *horug* 'zapret, zapreščenie' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *qori-* 'to shut in, confine, enclose, prevent, to prohibit', *qoruġa, qoriya* 'courtyard, enclosure, camp' (L).

E/T The word *korum*, *korïm* is a dev noun fr *koru-*, *korï-* 'to protect, to fence in' with the suff *-(X)m* (see Erdal 1991: 290–300). The word *korum* originally denoted 'rocks, the heap of stones, broken stones, stones piled up and used to protect one's animals'. It is a formation that parallels *korug* 'enclosure'. One has the impression that *korum* was originally the word for the shelter for animals and *korug* was the "shelter" for people. In the Tez inscription (S 2), we read *kasar korug kondï čït tikdi örügün yaratdï yayladï* 'settled down at Kasar *korug*, drove (hit) the stockade (of fences) (into the earth), built his rest station (camp), and spent the summer'. In the Terh inscription (W 1), we find *Täz bašinta örgin anta etitdim, čït anta yarattdïm* 'at the head of the Tez (River) there I built the rest station (camp), and there I drove (hit) the stockade (fences) (into the earth)', and in the Shine Usu inscription (E 8), *Täz bašïnta kasar korudun örgün anta etitdim, čït anta tokïtdïm yay anta yayladïm* 'At the head of the Tez (River) at Kasar *korudu*, there I built my rest station (camp), and drove (hit) the stockade (of fences) (into the earth) and there I spent the summer'. Shine Usu (E 9) contains *anda yayladïm, örgün anta yaratïtdïm, čït anta tokïtdïm* 'I spent the summer, there I built the rest station (camp), drove (hit) the stockade (of fences) (into the earth)' and Shine Usu (S 2) has *Täz bašï čïtïmïn yayladïm yaka anda yakladïm* 'At the head of the Tez (River) at my fences I spent the summer, there I erected the entrenchment'. Shine Usu (S 10) *anta yana tüšüp Orkun Balïklïg bäldirindä el örginin anda örgüpän etitdim el äbi* […] 'there I again having settled

down, at the junction of the Orkhun and the Fishy (River), at the rest station (camp) of the people I made rest, the people's house […]'. Finally, we read in the Köl tegin inscription (N 8) *Amgan korugun kïslap* 'spending the winter at Amgan *korug*'.

The *-n* in *korugun* is an instr suff used as a local case marker (Erdal 2004: 349); see also *čïtïmïn yayladïm* (ShU S 2), *örgïnïn anda örgüpän etitdim* (ShU S 12), *Amgan korugun kïšlap* (KT N 8). The *-n* in *korudun* has the same function, where *korudu* is a dev noun fr the same base *koru-* with the dev suff *-dU* (Erdal 1991: 332–334). *örgün* later has the meaning 'throne', so as early as in the *Irk Bitig* (1) we find *altun örgin olurupan* 'sitting on the golden throne'. It is a der of *ör-* 'to rise, to go out to pasture at night (of sheep)' (AK). *örüg* is an elevated place where one rests; see *sü on kün örüg boldï* 'the army stayed in one (elevated) place for ten days without leaving or raiding' (AK), *örgü* 'hump' (AK), *örge-* 'prebyvat′, ostavat′sja, dlit′sja' (ATef read as *ürke-*, but *öre tur-* and *örü tur-* 'stojat′'; also see Clauson 1972: 226). *örgün* is a dev noun fr *ör-* with the suff *-gXn* (Erdal 1991: 327) and originally denoted the elevated place used by the leader of the army, or the ruler for resting, later the throne. *čït* is the fence hedge, made originally fr thorny bushes, or other natural materials, but also made of lathes and stakes. These were hit into the ground. Thus, what we read in the inscription is the following: the khan set up his summer residence by building his elevated resting place or camp, which was surrounded by a fence made of natural materials such as thorny bushes, lathes and stakes. The *korug* later became the name of the place that was off limits to the common people, the courtyard, the place under taboo etc. These functions are described in detail by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 444–450).

Returning to *korum*, we have seen that *korum* meant 'rocks' and 'treasure' in the sense of something heaped or piled up, gathered as early as the *Dīvān* of Kashgari. Eng *treasure* goes back through Fr *trezor* to Gr *thesauros* (< *thesauriso-* 'to put aside, to pile up, to accumulate'). The meaning 'treasure' can be traced back to a similar origin in the word *korum* in the *Dīvān*. The most primitive shelters for livestock are the natural rocks. They offer protection against the bitter cold wind. These shelters are then extended with piles of stones brought fr other places – as I had the opportunity to observe in Mongolia. In a few lgs, the meanings 'shelter, garden, enclosure' have been preserved. See Tat dial *kurum* 'closed, cold (not heated) place for domestic animals built of planks or wattle fencing'. Tt (not in Redhouse) and Gag *korum* 'defence, protection', MUyg *koram* 'defending, that which defends', YUyg *koran* 'fence, enclosure made of thorny plants'. In many T lgs, there is a word *kora* 'enclosure etc.', most probably originally *korā* with the same semantics. This is a Mo lw fr Mo *korā* < **koraga*, itself a West MMo form of LMo *koruga*. Among the GNs of Central Asia noted by Hedin and published by Jarring (1997: 371), we find *Korum* 'the name of a forest track, the stony place' and *Kara Korum* 'name of the mountains, the black stony place'. The fact that Karakorum is the name of a mountain range and the name

of the capital of the Mongol Empire can now be explained. The mountains are the "Rocky Mountains", while the capital was a place where the animals had their shelters made of rocks earlier on. According to Jarring (1997: 371), *korum* means 'rock' and *Kara korum* 'the black stony place'. Levitskaja's idea (Blagova 2000: 80–81) that *korum* is a der fr a reconstructed verb **kor-* which is only extant in a Tt dial as *kor-* 'obvalivat′sja, obrušivat′sja' is hardly acceptable. The copied WOT form was **koram*. This is also present in MordM as *koram* 'umzäunter Hof', in the MordM–H dict by J. Juhász (1961: 68); here the meaning is given with the H word '*karám*'.

OT had another word *karam* or *karïm* 'a moat, town ditch' (the relevant data are cited by Erdal 1991: 293), a der fr *kar-* 'to overflow', rather than fr *kaz-* 'to dig' (Erdal 1991: 293). Protecting animals with ditches is a practice familiar to the Bedouins, but not the Turks. Thus *karam* 'fossé', cited by Hamilton and others, does not pertain to the H word. Mo *kür*, *küri* 'precipice, rock' cited by Starostin–Dybo–Murdak (2003: 843) cannot be connected with the T word because of phonological and semantical resasons.

E/H The word was not included in Gombocz (1912b), but later Gombocz discovered its T origin (1922: 125). According to Ligeti (1931–1934: 336–338), the H word is a copy of T **korum*, which is a dev noun fr *koru-* 'defend', but the noun had yet to be found. Ligeti thought that the second part of the name of the mountain range Karakorum or Karakoram has nothing to do with the GN Karakorum. The former pertains to *korum* 'rocks'. As we have seen, the two meanings 'rocks' and 'yard, shelter' are two senses of the same word in this case. The T origin was then accepted by Benkő with some reservations (1967–1984/2: 374–375; 1993–1997/1: 695) and without clarifying the T background. Benkő found it possible that the H word is a lw fr Slvk or Grm; see Grm *Kram* → Slvk *kram* 'a type of small, provisional hut'. This is semantically unacceptable. The semantic background of the Grm word is 'a small building for merchandise'. See MHGrm *Kram* 'ausgespanntes Tuch, Zeltdecke, Bedachung eines Kramstandes, Krambude, Handelsgeschäft, Ware, Geld dafür' < OHGrm *cram* 'Marktbude' (Kluge 1934: 325; Wahrig 1968: 2149). The word *Kram* denoted 'miner's hut' in North Hungary until the 19th c. (Gregor 1968: 317–324). On the other hand, *karám* is attested in all parts of H and denotes 'fence, shed for animals usually not covered' everywhere. It is possible that the two words were gradually mixed up in the second half of the 19th c.

◆ Gombocz 1922: 125; Ligeti 1931–1934: 336–338; Kluge 1934: 325; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 288–289; Szalay 1944: 128; Kniezsa 1955: 849; Juhász 1961: 68; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 444–450; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 374–375; Gregor 1968: 317–324; Wahrig 1968: 2149; Clauson 1972: 226; Szabadfalvi 1975: 212–219; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 103–104; Ligeti 1986: 203, 278; Erdal 1991: 290–300, 327, 332–334; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 695; Jarring 1997: 371; Blagova 2000: 80–81; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 843; Erdal 2004: 349.

KARAMBÉL [kåråmbēl] *Cum dial* 'pink, several kinds of pink, *Danthus*, *D. caryophyllus*, several members of the *Caryophillaceæ*' | mid-20th c. *karambél* [karambēl], *karambél-fű* [karambēl-fṻ] (Mándoky 1971: 383) | *kårånbēl* < **karampil* ← Cum **karampil*, *karamfil* | EOT *karanfil* 'clove' ← Pe.

Of Cum origin.

OT *karanfil* 'clove' (AQB); **MT** *garanful* 'Gewürznelke' (LCC); **NT** ***Chuv*** [*tikĕt kurăkĕ* 'gvozdika' RChuv] (Chuv); ***NW*** *kanäfer* 'gvozdika' (Tat), *kälämfer agači*, *känäfer aġači* 'siren, *Syringa vulgaris*' (TatD1), *qänäfer* 'gvozdika' (Bashk), *kälämfer* id. (BashkD1), *kälämper* 'gvozdnika' (SibTat), *kalempir* 'krasnyj perec' (Kirg), *kalampir* 'pinks, carnations (*Dianthus*)' (Kaz), *qalampir*, *qälempir* 'gvozdika (prjanosť), korica' (Kklp), *kalämpir* 'gvozdika' (Nog), *karanfil´* 'gvozdika' (CrTat), *karanfil´* 'gvozdika' (RKarC), *qaranpil* 'gvozdika' (Kum), *qalampir*, *qarampil* 'gvozdika' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gäränfil* 'gvozdika' (Az), *karanfil* 'garden pink, clove, clove pink' (Tt), *karanfil* 'gvozdika' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qalampir* 'krasnyj perec', *kalampir gul* 'rezeda' (Uzb), *qæranfil, qælæmpur* 'clove' (TurkiJ), *qælæmpur* 'gvozdika' (MUyg), *kälämpor* 'gvozdika' (YUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The word which is present in almost all T lgs with the exception of those spoken in Sib, is of Pe origin. See Pe *qaranful* 'a clove, gilly flower' (Steingass 1981: 966). The Pe word, together with its Ar counterpart (*qaranful* 'carnation, clove' Wehr 1974: 760) is of Gr origin *καρυόφυλλον* (Frisk 1960–1979/1: 794).

E/H The word is present in the Balkan lgs, where it is of Tt origin, but the H word may be of Cum origin because of its dial distribution. The H dial word used in Greater Cumania was compared with the Kip word by Mándoky (1993: 126–128). The form of the second part of the word, *-bél*, is a local, H change under the influence of the H word *bél* 'intestines, kernel (of a nut), inner part etc.' The etymology of the word was not dealt with in previous H literature.

◆ Frisk 1960–1979/1: 794; Mándoky 1971: 383; Wehr 1974: 760; Steingass 1981: 966; Mándoky 1993: 126–128.

KARÓ [kårō] 'stake, pale, stick' | c1395 *karou* [kårou] 'palus', 1795 *karrokat* [kårrōkåt] | *kårō* < *kåroų* < **karoγ* ← WOT **karoγ* < **karok* | EOT **kazgok* 'a peg driven into the ground' < *kaz-* 'to bind the horse to a peg'.

OT *qasġuq* 'Nagel' (MMII 11, 18), *qasġuq*: *qasġuq toqïyur men* 'nagle ich fest (more precisely: <wie einen Nagel schlage ich ein [den Vajra]>)' (UUII 61 18), *qazuq*, *qaz(u)ŋuq* 'stake or peg', *tämür q.* 'iron nail, celestial pole' (AK); **MT** *qazuq*: *altun qazuq* 'Polarstern' (UOg), *qazuq* 'pieu, poteau' (UHy), cf. PN *Qazï* (UCiv), *qazuq* 'kol' (AIM), *qazïq* 'yere kakılan sivri ağaç değnek yahut demir' (AIMI), *qazïq* 'tent peg', *qazuq* 'peg, nail' (AKD), *qazuq* 'stake, pig' (AKor), *qazuq* 'qol' (ANehF), *qazuq* 'kol' (ATef), *qazuq* 'grand clou, épieu, la constellation du chevreau' (AChag), *qazuq*

'kol, klin, gvozd'' (AChagB), *qazuq* 'kol' (AChagMA), *qazuq* 'a large nail, the Pole Star' (AChagSC), *qazuq* 'Stock mit spitzem Ende, Nagel' (AChagŠSK), *qada-* 'annageln, befestigen', *qadav*, *xadaq* 'Nagel, Anhängehaken, Buckel' (LCC), *qaz-*: *qazdï atïnï* 'Arapcasına (sic!) bakılırsa »atının durmasını talep etti« demek lâzımdır. Şu halde »atın dizginini çekti« yahut »dur« gibi tercüme etmek daha doğrudur', *qazaġuč* 'Nüshaların arapçasında kelime durdurulan ata ıtlak edilmiştir, lâkin siğanın şekline göre, atı durduran kimsenin ismi olmalıdır', *qazïq* 'kazık' (AAH), *qazuq* 'pieu, pal' (ABul), ? *tämir ġazïq* 'étoile polaire', *qazuq* 'pieu, pal' (ADur), *xazïx*, *xazx* 'barre, (gros) bâton, cheville' (AmTr), *xazuxqa ur-* 'to impale somebody' (AmCh), *qazuq* 'kazık' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xusăk* 'uzkaja derevjanna lopata dlja kopanija kartofelja' (Chuv ← Tat); ***NW*** *kazïk* 'kol, kolyšek', (Tat), *kazak* 'Nagel' (TatB), *kazak* 'das Pfund', *kadak* 'der Nagel, das Pfund (weil die Pfunde auf den hölzernen Stabwagen [Bessmen] mit Nägeln bezeichnet sind)' (TatKR), *qaδïq* 'kol, kolyšek', *kaδak* 'funt' (Bashk), *kazïk* 'kol, klin, prikol' (Kirg), *qazïq* 'post, pile, stake' (Kaz), *qazïq* 'kol' (Kklp), *kazïk* 'kol, korotkij šest (zaostrennyj s odnogo konca)' (Nog), *kazïx* 'kol' (KarT), *kazïk* 'kol, šest′, žerd′' (KarH), *qazïq* 'kol vbity v zemlju, gvozd′' (KarC), *qazïq* 'kol, kolyšek, klin, svaja' (Kum), *qazïq* 'kol, dubina' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gaδïk* 'kol, kolyšek' (Tkm), *ġazïx* 'stolb, podporoka, opora, dlinnyj stolb, skirdy' (AzD), *kazık* 'pole, stake, pile' (Tt), *kazïk* 'kol, kolyšek, svaja, stolb' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qåziq* 'kol, kolyšek' (Uzb), *qazuq*, *qozuq*, *quzuq* 'peg, stake' (TurkiJ), *qazuq*, *qaziq* 'a peg' (TurkiSh), *qazuq* 'derevjannyj kol, palka, gvozd′' (TurkiL), *qozuq* 'kol, kolyšek' (MUyg), *qadaq* 'safety pin' (MUygTY), *ɢadax* 'weight, a nail, screw', *ɢasux* 'hoe' (SalY), *quzuq* 'derevjannyj gvozd′, kolyšek' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kazïk* 'kol, klin' (Alt), *qazïq* 'der Pflock, Pfahl' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *qada-* 'to drive in, knock in, to nail' (L).

E/T According to earlier opinions, the T word was derived fr *kaz-* 'to dig, to dig out' (cf. Clauson 1972: 682; Blagova 1997: 191). This was based on the idea that the most primitive instrument for digging was the spade stick. Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 191) cites Chuv *xusăx* 'orudie dlja kopanie' < *xus-* 'kopat'' (← *kaz-*, cf. *xusăk* above and the illustration in Skvorcov 1982: 710, No. 9). This has been questioned by S. Tezcan, who, in a lecture given at the 31st PIAC in 1988, cited two examples of *kaz-* with the meaning 'to attach one's horse to something so that it can't wander away'. This was accepted and extended by Erdal (1991: 360), according to whom *kaz-* 'to dig' and *kaz-* 'to attach a horse somewhere' were two different verbs, and that *kazgok* should be connected with the second. According to Ligeti (1986: 15), we have to depart fr a PT form with *-d-* (i.e. **kadă-*), for which see Mo *kada-* 'to drive in, knock in, to nail' > *kadagasun* 'nail, peg, spike'. He also contended that the forms with *-z-* are later forms. He based his claim on the fact that we find *kazak* and *kadak* 'nail' in Tat besides the "regular" *kazïk* (TatB, but see Tat *kadak* 'gvozd′, funt'), while Bashk

has *kaδau* ‘gvozd′’ fr *kaδa-* ‘vtykat′, kolot′’. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 420–422), T *kadak* ‘Pfund’ is derived fr *kada-* ‘hineinstechen, hineinstecken, befestigen’, which preserved its *-d-* under Mo influence. The Mo word, however, is of T origin. In support of this idea, he cites Khak *kaza-*, which cannot be of Mo origin because it shows the *-d-* > *-z-* change in Khak, and this change is earlier than the Mo lws. This would be the only example for Mo *d* ⟶ Khak *d* > *z*. Thus the Sagay form *kaza-* (see KhakSR (2: 363), where we find *xaza-* ‘prikalyvat′, kolot′, vonzat′, vbivat′’) has to be original T and represent an OT **kada-* which was borrowed by Mo and later perhaps re-borrowed by T and/or the T forms preserved their *-d-* under Mo influence. To this he adds that it is mere chance that the forms with *-d-* are not recorded after the Mo times. According to Bang, Menges, Kałużyński and Poppe (1962: 337) and Clauson (1972) (see the literature in Blagova 1997: 180–181), the T words are of Mo origin. According to Doerfer and Ligeti, there was also an OT verb **kada-*. Róna-Tas (1970: 572–574) separated the T forms with *-d-* and *-z-*. Here is a more detailed list:

Mo *qada-* ‘to drive in, knock in, to nail’; MT *qada-* ‘annageln, befestigen’, *qadav*, *xadaq* ‘Nagel, Buckel’ (LCC); NT *Chuv xutav* ‘derevjannyj gvozd′, krjuk dlja odeždy, čeka’ (Chuv ⟵ Tat); *NW kada-* ‘kolot′, vonzat′’, *kadak* ‘gvozd′, funt (mera vesa)’ (Tat), *kadau* ‘vešalka’ (TatD2), *qata-* ‘zabivat′, vbivat′’, *qaδïk qata-* ‘vbivat′ kol’, *qaδïq* ‘kol, kolyšek’ (Bashk), *kazak* ‘doloto’, *kadau* ‘gvozd′’ (SibTat), *kada-* ‘vonzat′, vbivat′’, *kadak* ‘funt’, *kadō* ‘prikol (dlja privjazi životnyh)’ (Kirg), *kada-* ‘to drive (something) in, to stick in’, *kadak* ‘pound’, *kada* ‘post, pole, landmark, long stake, picket, nail, stud, peg, stake used for tying horses’ (Kaz), *kada-* ‘vonzat′, vtykat′’, *kadak* ‘funt’, *kada* ‘dlinnyj kol, žerd′’ (Kklp), *kada-* ‘vonzat′, vtykat′, prikalyvat′’, *kadak* ‘funt’ (Nog), *kada-* ‘vbivat′, vognat′, zagnat′’, *kadav*, *kadax* ‘gvozd′’ (Kar), *kada-* ‘vonzat′, vtykat′, ukrepljat′, prikalyvat′’, *kadav* ‘zaklepka (dlja skreplenija kakih l. častej pribora, oridija), steržen′ (dlja skreplenija planok jarma v arbe, šip)’ (Kum), *qada-* ‘stiskivat′, sžimat′, prikalyvat′’, *qadaw* ‘nakladka (dlja zamka)’ (KrchBlk); *SW gadak* ‘funt’ (Tkm), *gadag* ‘zaklepka, os′ nožnic’ (Az), *kada-* ‘to nail’, *kadak* ‘nail’ (Tt); *Kh* ? **kada* ‘Baumstamm’ (Kh); *SE qada-* ‘vonzat′, vtykat′, prikalyvat′’, *qadåq* ‘funt’ (Uzb), *qada-* ‘to stab, to thrust something into something, to drive in’ (TurkiJ), *qadï-* ‘vonzat′, kolot′, prikalyvat′’, *qadaq* ‘funt (410 gramm), gvozd′, prjažka s zažimom’ (MUyg), *qadā-*, *qata-* ‘prikalyvat′, vonzat′, kolot′’ (Sal), *qatag* ‘gvozd′’ (YUyg); *NE kada-* ‘vtykat′’, *kadu*, *kadū* ‘gvozd′’ (AltQK), *kada-* ‘vtykat′, vbit′, stavit′’ (AltK), *kada-* ‘kolot′, vtykat′’ (AltL), *xaza-* ‘prikalyvat′, kolot′, vtykat′, vbivat′ čto-l., podkovyvat′ kogo-čto-l., privjazat′ vožži k oglobljami, čtoby losad′ stojala nepodvižno’, *at xaza-* ‘podkovat′ losad′, privjazat′ vožži k oglobljam, čtoby lošad′ stojala nepodvižno’, *pozïġ xaza-* ‘vbit′ gvozd′’, *xazaġ* ‘privjaz’, *at xazaġda* ‘losad′ na privjaz’ (Khak), *xazaġ* ‘podkova’ (KhakB), *kada-* ‘vbivat′, vkolačivat′, vtykat′, kolot′’, *kadag* ‘gvozd′’

(Tuv), *qada-* ‘vbivatʹ, vkolačivatʹ, vtykatʹ, kolotʹ’, *qadaġ* ‘gvozdʹ’ (Tof); *Y xata-* ‘ukrepljatʹ, utverždatʹ, pribivatʹ gvozdem’ (Y), *kat-*, *katā-* ‘befestigen’ (Dlg).

Later borrowings are *kada* ‘gvozdʹ etc.’ in Kaz, Kklp, *xada* id. in TurkiLN (← Mo *kadā* < *kadaga*) and *kadāzïn* ‘gvozdʹ’ in Tuv (← Mo *kadāsun* < *kadagasun*).

With the exception of Khak, all verbs are lws fr Mo that preserved the *-d-*. Two ders exist fr this verb: one with *-(O)k* and the other with *-(X)g*. That one with *-(O)k*, *kadak*, became the word for a standardised form of a peg, most probably made of iron, used in trade for weighing, hence its meaning ‘pound’, but, e.g., in Tt, it preserved its original meaning of ‘nail’. The forms with *-(X)g* denoted different types of pins or nails; see e.g. in Kaz ‘post, pole, landmark, long stake, picket, nail, stud, peg, stake used for tying horses’. The case with Khak is more complicated. Khak *-z-* may represent a preserved OT *-z-*, but also an early Mo or T *-d-*. The semantics of the Khak word *xaza-* ‘to pin, to stab, to stick into, to plunge into etc.’ is in accordance with the semantic field of the verb *kada-* in the other T lgs. The expression *at xaza-* has two meanings: (1) ‘to shoe a horse (i.e. to nail the horseshoe)’ and (2) ‘to fasten the reins to the shaft so that the horse stands motionless’. Khak *xazag* means ‘leash, tether’ as well as ‘horseshoe’, and *at xazagda* means ‘horse on a tether’. No doubt the special case of OT *kaz-* ‘to attach a horse to a pole or shaft so that it can’t move away’, postulated by S. Tezcan and Erdal (1991: 360), has been preserved. It was later mixed up with the word of Mo origin.

To summarise, we have two homonym words in Khak: (1) *xaza-* ‘to pin, to stick in, to nail, to shoe a horse’, *xazag* ‘horseshoe’, both fr Mo *kada-*; and (2) *xaza-* ‘to fasten the reins to a shaft so that the horse stands motionless’, *xazag* ‘leash, tether’, both fr OT *kaz(ă)-*.

One problem, mentioned by Ligeti (1986: 15), which remains with us is the question of why we find *kazak* and *kadak* ‘Nagel’ (TatB), and *kazak* and *kadak* ‘das Pfund’ in TatKR. According to Berta (1988: 123), TatB *kaza-* ‘einbohren, einstechen’ is ultimately a Mo lw, as TatB *kada-* id. is. This is beyond doubt. Berta pointed to Bashk *kaδa-* id. and this is one of the possible solutions, i.e. namely that the Tat forms with *-z-* evolved under Bashk influence. In a discussion with Benzing (1958: 427–430), Pritsak (1959a: 113–116) collected all the cases in the *Dīvān* of Kashgari where it is mentioned that the inhabitants of Bulgar pronounce the Karakhanid *-d̲-*, the *aḏ-ḏal al-muʿǰama*, as *-z-*. This was around 1071. In Chuv, the Pe word *aδīna* ‘Friday’ is *erne* (see Scherner 1977: 62; Róna-Tas 1982b: 169; Fedotov 1996/2: 480–481), and this is documented in the VBulg inscription of 1297 as *irne* (Róna-Tas–Fodor 1973: 44; Erdal 1993: 163), which shows the *d* > *δ* > *r* change was already completed. The oldest data on the *d* >> *r* change is the title which occurs in the form *trunove* in the year 1230 in the *Chronicle of Troick* and which corresponds, as Šahmatov (1918: 395–397) and Samojlovič (1918: 398–400) have shown, independently fr each other, to T *tudun*

(see Róna-Tas 1982b: 158). We have to suppose that a group of inhabitants of Bulgar pronounced the *δ* as [z] in the mid-11th c. under the influence of the Volga Bulgars. While the ancestors of those who later spoke Chuv moved to the forests and changed their *δ* > *z* to *r*, another group joined the Kipchaks, causing a change of their *δ* into *z*. Their lg was known to Kashgari, which means that the merchants of Bulgar spoke this dial and brought it to the Karakhanid court. The Tat *kaza-* and *kazak* forms reflect *kaδa-* and *kaδak*, resp, and are either of Bulgar (MChuv) or Bashk origin. The latter is possible only if the Bashkirs of today were already in the Volga–Kama region. Ibn Fadlan recorded "Bashkirs" in the region in 921/922, but this only suggests the presence of the ethnonym and not necessarily that of speakers of the lg we now call Bashkir.

The position of the Küerik form *kayal-* 'sich stechen' (ChulR, Radloff 1893–1911/2: 91) remains an open question. This has been discussed by Gombocz (1905: 274), Poppe (1962: 337) and Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 180). Levitskaja added Bashk *kayaw* 'žalo; sting' to this, which is *kaδaw* in some Bashk dials (see BashkD1). Both the Chul–Küerik and the Bashk forms with *-y-* seem to be inner dial hypercorrections. For instance, in the Chul dials, we find both *ayak* and *azak* 'foot' (Pritsak 1959: 623). Of course, for *kayaw* and *kaδaw* we could reconstruct an OT verb **kada-*, but this is very unlikely. Thus we can put aside the VT problem and deal with two words, OT *kaz*(*ă*)- 'to attach one's horse to a shaft or similar' and Mo *kada-* 'to drive in, knock, to nail'. OT *kazgok*, MT, NT *kazuk* etc. 'post, pile, stake' are two different ders, the first with *-gOk* and the second with -(*O*)*k*, but some of the *kazuk* forms may have resulted fr the loss of the postconsonantal *-g-* (< *kazgok*). Is it possible that OT *kaz-* 'to attach etc.' and Mo *kada-* 'to nail' have something common? The meaning of OT *kaz-* is not primarily 'to attach one's horse to something so that it can't wander away' but 'to pin, to pin down' and the 'pin' with which something was pinned, is the *kazgok*. Though as a Mo correspondence, one would expect **kara-*, but this is not the case here. There is, however, a parallel example. For T *käz-* 'to travel', we find Oyr *kede-* 'to go around, wander' (Krueger 1978–1984/3: 718), Kalm *ked*^{e}- 'hier und dort herumstreifen, Umwege machen, sich ringsum ziehen'. This corresponds with Mo *kesü-* 'to wander, rove, travel', Khal *xes-*, Ord *gesü-*, Bur *xese-*, *xehe-*. Both the *-d-* and *-s-* words can hardly be separated fr Mo *kerü-* 'to roam, wander'. Here one has the impression that Mo *kerü-* goes back to a form **kezü-* (cf. T *kez-*) and belongs to an earlier layer than *kese-*, *kede-*, where the *d* ~ *s* variation reflects the substitution of a foreign *-z-* (on the details, see Róna-Tas 1970: 485–487). Mo *kadaga* and *kadagasun* 'nail, peg, spike' are Mo ders fr the verb *kada-*. *gadasun* 'stake, picket, pale, peg' belongs to the same word family. In the Bur literary lg, this is *gadaha*(*n*) 'palka s železnym nakonečnikom (dlja vykapyvanija koren′ev sarany), kol, kolyšek,

svaja', *altan gadahan* 'Polarnaja zvjezda' (cf. OT *temir kazok*), but in the West Bur dials it is *gahana*, which reflects a former **gasana*, once more an *s* ~ *d* variation.

To sum up, T *kaz-* 'to attach a horse to a stake, nail etc.' and Mo *kada-* 'to nail etc.' may well belong together; the Mo word may be a copy of the PT form **kazǎ-*. Mo *karu-* 'to rasp, plane' does not pertain to the T words cited above as Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak claim (2003: 768–769) because of semantic reasons.

E/H The H word was connected early on with T by Vámbéry (1870: 157–158). According to Gombocz (1912b: 90), it is a copy of an unattested Chuv **karïg* corresponding to T *kazïk*. This was accepted by later research (see Benkő 1967–1984/2: 387; 1993–1997/1: 701). According to Ligeti (1986: 15), the H *-r-* in *karó* goes back to the change of OT *-d-* > *-z-* > *-r-* in Chuv. This cannot be accepted for chronological reasons.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 157–158; Radloff 1893–1911/2: 91; Gombocz 1905: 274; Gombocz 1912b: 90; Samojlovič 1918: 398–400; Šahmatov 1918: 395–397; Benzing 1958: 427–430; Pritsak 1959: 623; Pritsak 1959a: 113–116; Poppe 1962: 337; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 420–422; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 387; Róna-Tas 1970: 485–487; Clauson 1972: 682; Róna-Tas–Fodor 1973: 44; Scherner 1977: 62; Krueger 1978–1984/3: 718; Róna-Tas 1982b: 158, 169; Skvorcov 1982: 710; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 79; Berta 1988: 123; Erdal 1991: 360; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 701; Erdal 1993: 163; Fedotov 1996/2: 480–481; Blagova 1997: 180–181, 191; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 768–769.

KÁRÓKATONA [kārōkåtonå] 'a fishing water bird with black feathers, cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*' | 1519 *kara kathonat* [kåra kåtonā-t], 1531 *karakatona* [kåråkåtonå], 1807 *karakatna* [kåråkåtnå], 1856/1858 *kárókatonák* [kārōkåtonā-k], *karakatana* [kåråkåtånå], *kárakatna* [kāråkåtnå], *kárakatona* [kāråkåtonå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 121) | *kārōkåtonå* {influenced by H *károg-* [kārog] 'to caw' and *katona* [kåtonå] 'soldier'} < *kara katona* < **kara kotan* ← WOT **kara kotan* | EOT *kara* 'black' + *kotan* 'heron'.

Of possible T origin.

T *kara* 'black' in all sources with the usual changes; see **karakán** and **kalokány**.

T *kotan*, see all data under **gödény**.

Mo *qutan*, *qotan* 'pelican' (L), *xoton šuvū* 'gödény [pelican]' (KhalK), *kök xutn* 'caplja' (RKalm ← T), *xutn* 'Wasserrabe, grosse Möwe' (Kalm ← T).

E/T The T word *kotan* has the basic meaning 'a kind of fishing bird, heron and the like'. A word form *chódang* occurs in the literature cited as Mo. The origin of this item is the *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica* by Pallas (1811/2: 293), where it denotes the *Pelecanus onocrotalus*. Pallas's form has often been cited, indirectly fr Gombocz for the most part (1912b: 172). The Mo material in the *Zoographia* is of Khal origin. Pallas's transcription is not always precise; see e.g. *Onachá* 'equulus' and compare Khal *unaga*, Kalm *unγn*, Bur *unaga* 'foal'. Since the word for 'pelican' is pronounced [xotan] in Khal, the pronunciation [xodaŋ] cited by Pallas is highly dubious and may

simply be a wrong transcription. As we shall see, both the *-d-* and the *-ng* coda of the form cited fr Pallas became important for the etymology. Pallas also cites a Tu form *Kutan* as *Pelecanus onocrotalus*. Most of Pallas's Tu material seems to be fr the Barguzin dial of Evenki. We now have excellent dicts available on the Evnk lg and its dials (Vasilevič 1958; Romanova–Myreeva 1968; Cincius 1975–1977) and no word can be traced similar to that cited by Pallas fr Tu. The word itself is present in Cincius (1975–1977/1: 440) as Man *qūtan morin* 'čalaja lošad'', a clearly Mo lw expression in Man. The word *kutan* itself is also present in Man, where it is a late Mo lw (see Rozycki 1994: 149). Whatever the origin of Pallas's Tu word may be, we have to leave it aside for the time being. The Y words have also been cited a number of times, mainly fr the Pekarskij dict, where two forms are cited, *kutaŋ* 'a kind of bird' (1917–1930/1: 1265) and *küten* 'special bird which is as big as the crane' (1917–1930/1: 1345). The form *kutaŋ* is of special interest, because it may be an older form than *kutan*. It is equally possible that the final *-ŋ* evolved under the influence of Y *sudaŋ* 'raznovidnost' utok'. The expression *sudaŋ turuya* has the same meaning as *kutan turuya* 'grey heron' (Afanas'ev 1976: 214). Slepcov's Y–Rus dict (1972: 194) cites *kutan* with the meaning 'heron'. In the Y dial dict compiled by Afanas'ev (1976), we find *kutan*, *kudan* and *küten* in conjunction with *turuya* 'crane' and *kuogas* 'polar diver', and also independently. Their meanings are 'heron' or 'grey heron'.

It is also well worth mentioning a word with an identical meaning and a very similar pronunciation. See *korday*, *korday kugu* 'swan' (AK), *kurtay* 'caplja' (SibTat), *kordoy* 'Pelikan' (TurkiTR), *kordoy* 'der Reiher' (AltR), *kordoy* 'der Reiher' (AltTelR), *kordï*, *kordo* 'der Reiher' (KhakQbR), *koday* 'lebed'' (MUyg) (see Blagova 2000: 79, most data fr Verbickij 1884: 143). Though this word has forms without *-r-* (see MUyg), it has no etymological connection with *kotan*. Chuv has a word *kutan* which goes back, if it is not a lw, to **kütän* or the like. It denotes a small fish like the 'gudgeon'. The H equivalent is **küllő**[2] 'gudgeon or a similar fish', also a T lw. Whether this is a case of a curious metonymy of 'fishing bird' > 'the fish caught by the bird' > 'the name of the fish' is uncertain.

The Ugr word **kottɜŋɜ* 'swan' has long been associated with the word under discussion. See the earlier literature in Lakó (1967–1978/2: 278) and Rédei (1986–1991/2: 857). The Ugr word is present in Vog as *kotā·ŋ, xotaŋ* etc., in Osty as *kŏtəŋ* and in H as *hattyú*. Finno-Ugrists claim that the Ugr word is of T origin. According to Róna-Tas (1988a: 749), the direction of the borrowing is uncertain. He pointed to the fact that if we reconstruct a long *-tt-* in Ugr (and this is the correct one) we have to explain why the long consonant represents the T short one. Further, a T final *-n* could hardly have been substituted by a Ugr final *-ŋ*. The reconstructed final *-ŋ* in Lakó (1967–1978/2: 278) was changed by Rédei (1986–1991/2: 857) to *-ŋɜ*, which may have solved the problem of the final *-ŋ*, but raised a new problem of the Ugr final

vowel being nowhere in the T material. Moór (1958: 71–73) suggested that this is a matter of a North Eurasian migrating word among hunters. Some of the irregularities in the T material (*kotan*, *kutan*, *kïtan*, *küten*, final *-n*, *-ŋ*) can best be explained if we suppose a word of ultimately non-T origin. The *-d-* in MUyg is due to the influence of *korday* > *koday*. Of course, the word has to be relatively old in T, since it is also present in the SW T lgs. If the word under discussion has nothing to do with Chuv *kutan* 'gudgeon', it was still present in Chuv earlier, but disappeared fr there; see H **gödény**. At present, we can only state that the word is of old North Eurasian origin, like e.g. T *aŋ*, Mo *aŋgir* 'a kind of yellow duck', Man *aŋgir niyehe* 'anggir duck, ruddy shelldrake, *Cascara ferruginea* (Pallas)' (Norman), Tib *anggi-ra* (5D No. 15618), Ur *aŋɜ* 'Polarente'. This latter item is also interesting because of the final T *-ŋ*.

E/H The official identification of the word in question with the cormorant is due to late H scholarship. It was Munkácsi's idea (1893: 296) that the H bird name may be of T origin and that the first part may have been *kara* 'black'. It was the second part that was problematic. One would expect a copied form like **katna* or **katona*, **katuna*, but neither form can be traced in the T lgs. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 387–388) has seen serious phonological problems in supposing a T word like *kotan*, which is present in H as **gödény**. In the Grm edition, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 701) stressed that the present form evolved under the influence of the verb *károg-* 'to caw' and *katona* 'soldier'. The earliest data show a clear first part *kara* with the possible meaning 'black' – at least the bird has black feathers. The second part cannot be of H origin. *kara* was not copied separately fr T, thus the name can hardly be a H construction of *kara* and a H word. If the first part is of T origin, the second also has to be T. As a serious argument against the T origin of H *kárókatona*, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 701) notes that T has no similar compound word. This argument can now be at least weakened. In the T lgs, we find *ak kotan* 'white heron' and *kök kotan* 'grey (lit. blue) heron'. The heron also has another name in T, and this is *čilen*. In the lg of the Lebed (Swan)-Tatars of Siberia, the 'heron' is called *kara čilen*; cf. AltL, AltLR *kara-čilen´* 'der Reiher', KrchBlk *čille* 'caplja', Tat *čelän* id., Bashk *selen* id., Khak *sülen* id., Tuv *šilen* id., Tof *šilen* id. and Bur *xilen*(*g*) 'caplja s beloj gruďju i krasnymy nogami; aist'. Though till now I have not come across a compound like **kara kotan*, only *kara čilen*, it may still supposed that it exists or existed. This was copied as **karakotan* and then came under the folk etymological influence of *károg-* and *katona*, as Benkő claims. The relatively late appearance of the word in H (16th c.), however, is remarkable.

◆ Pallas 1811/2: 293; Verbickij 1884: 143; Munkácsi 1893: 296; Gombocz 1912b: 172; Pekarskij 1917–1930/1: 1265, 1345; Moór 1958: 71–73; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 387–388; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 278; Kecskeméti 1968: 12, 40; Slepcov 1972: 194; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 440; Afanas´ev 1976: 214; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 121; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 857; Róna-Tas 1988a: 749; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 701; Rozycki 1994: 149; Kara 1998: 592; Blagova 2000: 79.

KARVALY [kårvåy] ‘sparrow hawk, *Accipiter n. nisus*’ | 1222/1550 GN *carol* [kårol], 1262 PN *karul* [kårul], 1265 ? PN *Corwlus potoka* [kårol-uš påtåkå], c1395 *karo* [kårō] ‘sufus’, c1405 *carul* [kårul] ‘*Nisus*’, 1412 *caruul* [karvulʹ], 1506 PN *karwalyos* [kårvåʟʹ-oš], c1525 *karolh* [kårolʹ], 1533 *karuol* [karulʹ], 1794 *karujt* [kåruy-t], dial *karaj* [kåråy], *karoj* [kåroy], *karvó* [kårvō], *karho* [kårho] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 127) | *kårvåy* < **karɣay* ⟵ WOT **kargay* | EOT *kïrguy* ‘sparrow hawk’.

Of debated T origin.

OT *qarġuy*, *qïrġuy* ‘sparrow hawk’, *čipäk qarġuy* ‘sparrow hawk’ (AK); **MT** *qïrġu* ‘rod hiščnoj pticy, (tur. slovo značit <kopčik, perepeljatnik>, ar. perevod: <mïšelov, sarïč>)’ (AIM), *qïrġu* ‘atmaca, (kuş)’ (AIMI), [*qarčïġay* ‘hawk’], *quġur* ‘? sparrow hawk’ (ARbg), *q(ï)raġu* <QR’ĠW> ‘épervier, oiseau de proie’ (AChag), *qïrġu* ‘a sparrow hawk’ (AChagSC), *qaraġu* ‘bir nevi šikyar kušu dur’ (AChagŠS), *qaraġu* ‘Sperber, Z. eine Art Jagdvogel’ (AChagŠSK), *qorġuy* ‘Nachtigall’ (LCC, the meaning (paser < passer) is evidently wrong, see Drimba 2000: 232), *quruġï* ‘bir nevi toğan kuşu’ (AAH), *qïġruv* ‘oiseau de nuit, chathuant, huette’, *qïrġï* ‘oasieau de proie, épervier’ (ABul), *qïrġïy*, *qurġaš* ‘jastreb’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xĕrxi* ‘kobčik, nebolʹšoj sokol’ (Chuv), *xĕrxü* ‘hiščnoj pticy’ (ChuvA), *xĕrxi* ‘valamely ragadozó madár, ölyv, fogdos egereket, mikor helyen lebegve vijjog, az esőt jelent, azt mondják akkor, hogy »xĕrxi šïv ïyᴅat’« <vizet kér> [some bird of prey, hawk, it catches mice, when it hovers in place and screeches, it means rain, one then says “xĕrxi šïv ïyᴅat’” (it is asking for water)]’, (*kăykăr* ‘sokol’ ⟵ Tat) (ChuvP); ***NW*** *kïygïr* ‘urmanda yäši häm yaŋgïr aldïnnan kïčkïra torgan kečeräk koš, jaŋgïr telänčese rusčasï: čeglok’ (TatA), *qïrġïy* ‘*Falco nisus*, der Sperber’ (TatKR), *qïrġïy*, *qïyġïr* ‘jastreb’ (TatD1), *qïrġï* ‘Sperber, *Falco nisus*’ (TatB), *qïyġïr* ‘čeglok (ptica)’ (Bashk), *qïrġïy* ‘jastreb-perepeljatnik’ (Kirg), *qïrġi* ‘kobčik, perepeljatnik, jastreb-perepeljatnik’ (KazB), *qïrġïy* ‘jastreb-perepeljatnik’ (Kklp), *kïrgïy* (dial) ‘žuravl’ (Nog), *qïrïy* ‘jastreb’ (CrTat), *kïrġïy* ‘sokol, jastreb’ (KarT), *kïrġïy* ‘sokol, jastreb’ (KarH), *qïrġïy* ‘jastreb’ (KarC), *kïrġïy* ‘sólyom [falcon]’ (KumN), *qïrġïy* ‘poét. strojnyj točenyj’, (KrchBlk), *qïrġaw* ‘golos’ (Blk ustnyj); ***SW*** *gïrgï* ‘perepeljatnik, jastreb-perepeljatnik, kobčik’ (Tkm), *ġïrġï* ‘jastreb’ (Az), *kïrgï* ‘falcon, sparrow hawk’ (Tt), *kïrgï* ‘şahın kuşu, atmaca’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qirġiy* ‘perepeljatnik, jasreb-perepeljatnik’ (Uzb), *qurġuy*, *qïrġuy* ‘sparrow hawk’ (TurkiJ), *qirġâï* ‘a small species of hawk’ (TurkiSh), *qirġiy* ‘jastreb-perepeljatnik’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *qïrġïy* ‘eine kleine Habichtsart (die sich gut zur Jagd eignet)’ (AltTelR), *xïrġayax* ‘jastrebok’ (Khak), *qïrġayaq ‘Falco apivorus*’ (KhakSR); ***Y*** *kïrbïy* ‘dračun, seryj sokol, sokol-čeglok, *Falco subbuteo*’ (Y).

Mo *kirġuy* ‘small hawk, small predatory bird’ (L).

E/T The word belongs to a group of bird names, which may be classified as quasi-onomatopoeic and which includes *kïrgavul* ‘pheasant’, *karga* ‘raven’, *korday* ‘pelican, swan’, *karlïgač* ‘swallow’, *karčigay* ‘hawk’, all back-vocalic and containing *k*, *r*

and, most of them, *g* sounds. The T word *kïrguy* also has forms like *kïrgiy*, *kïygur*, *karguy* and *korguy*, *kurguy*, ? *ukar* ‘grue’ (UHyS). The final *-Vy* in the SW T lgs changed into *-i*: *kirgi*, *girgï* and *xerxi*. The great variety of the forms is due to the quasi-onomatopoeic character of the word, and some occurrences show otherwise irregular changes. The WOT form had to be *kargay*, where the /a/ in place of the close labial is regular in the second syllable. Interesting is the Evnk form *kīran* ‘orel-krikun, jastreb’.

E/H The T origin of the word was first claimed by Vámbéry who connected the word with T *kïrkaul* ‘pheasant’ (1882a: 293). Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 118–119) gave the right solution, which was accepted, though with some hesitation, by Gombocz (1912b: 219). Benkő (1967–1984/2: 395) accepted the T etymology, but pointed out some phonological irregularities in the history of the word. Ligeti (1986: 71) saw a special H feature in the sound *-v-*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 705) supposed that the word was borrowed several times, hence the irregular correspondences. The expected H form would be **kåryuy* or **kårhoy*. The dial form *karho* may be a continuation of the latter. We would expect *-ry-* in place of *-rg-*; see **bojtorján**, **borjú**, **gyapjú** and **tátorján**. It is possible that T *karguy* was adapted as **karɣuy* > **karyuy*, but later a form **karyu* was changed because of the similarity with the other bird name *varjú* [vårjū] ‘crow’. The *-v-* may be a later insertion; the oldest data are without it. The final *-l* > *-ly* is also irregular, but see **torontál** ← *turumtay*. Writing on the latter, Ligeti (1956: 346) promised to deal with **karvaly**, but there is no trace of such a paper. The T word was also copied by Sl lgs as **kraguy* and its developments. Here, the enigmatic *-l* also appears in the earliest item *kragouil′* (*Vita of Constantine*) and in some other cases (Slvn *krágulj*, Slvk *krahujec*, *krahulec*, Pol *krogulec* etc., see Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 363). It should be mentioned that we find a written form <torontaÿil> for H *torontál* in the *Wordlist of Besterce* (c1395). The orthography <ÿl> was considered to be the same as <ly>, i.e. /l′/. In any case, the problems of the Sl and H final *-l* have to be resolved together. It may be a special WOT form.

Because of the as yet unresolved H problems, the T origin of the word is uncertain. The great variety of the H forms may be due to its onomatopoeic character, but then the origin of *-v-* remains unresolved. The T word has another H copy; see **herjó**.

A similar word is present in the Ugr lgs as POUgr **kōrɣāy* (see Honti (1982: 156), > H *harkály*), but it has the meaning ‘woodpecker’ and this is very far fr the meaning of the T word.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 293; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 118–119; Gombocz 1912b: 219; Ligeti 1956: 336–346; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 443–444; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 363; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 395; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 127; Honti 1982: 156; Ligeti 1986: 71; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 705; Drimba 2000: 232; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 680.

KATÁNG [kåtāng] ‘chicory, *Cichorium sp., Cichorium intybus*’ | c1395 *kathang* [kåtāng], 1500–1530 *kathan koro fẅ* [kåtān kōrō fū̄], c1560 *kattangh* [kåttāng], 1710 *kuttan karott* [kuttān kårōt], 1775 *katlankóró* [kåtlån-kōrō], 1791 *kotánykóróval* [kåtāń-kōrōvål], dial *katáng* [kåtāng], *kotang* [kotång] ‘*Cycorium intybus*’, *katángfű* [kåtāng-fū̄], *katángkóró* [kåtāng-kōrō] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 145) | *kåtāng* < **katāng* ← WOT **kataŋ* | EOT **kataŋ* < *kat*(*a*)- ‘to be hard’ {with suff -(*X*)*ŋ*} | See MT *katïgan* or *katagan* ‘wild chicory’ < *kat*(*ï*)*g* {with suff +*gAn*}.

OT *qat-* ‘to be firm’ (RMShin), *qatïġ* ‘hard’ (RTIrk), *qat-* ‘to become hard’ (AK), *qattïġ* (B 26av2); **MT** ? PN *Qatġïn* (UCiv), *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘sert, sıkı, güç’ (AHMA), *qat-*: *qatï* ‘sil′nyj, durnoj’, *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘derzko’ (AHŠF), *qat-*: *qattï boldï* ‘delat′sja sil′nym’ (AIM), *qat-* ‘katılaşmak, karıştırmak’ (AIMI), *qat-*: *qata* ‘hard, stingy’, *qatïġ* ‘hard, firm’, *qatu* ‘strong’, [cf. *qadang* ← ? Pe *ḫadang* ‘white poplar, tree from which they make arrows and saddle-trees’] (AKD), *qat-*: *qatïq* ‘sil′nyj, tverdyj’ (AM), *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘krepkij, sil′nyj, krepko, sil′no’ (ANehF), *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘hard’ (ARbg), *qat-*: *qatï*, *qatïġ* ‘krepkij, tverdyj, sil′nyj, žestkij, žestokij’ (ATef), *qat-* ‘accoupler, être fort, dur, se coaguler’, *qataġan* ‘qui est devenu fort ou dur’ (AChag), *qat-*: *ġatïq aġrïqan* ‘tjažko bol′noj’, *qatïġ küldi* ‘sil′no smejalsja’, *qatïq* ‘tverdyj’, *qattïq ïšïq boldï* ‘(solnce) stalo strašno žarkim’ (AChagMA), *qat-* ‘to be hard/tough’ (AChagSC), *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘hart, fest, stark’ (AChagŠSK), *qat-*: *qatï*, *qattï* ‘hart, fest, stark, heftig’ (LCC), *qatïġan* <QṬĠ’N> ‘hindiba otu, *Cichorium endivia*’ (AAH), *qat-*: *qattï siki* ‘siki katılaşdı, dimdik oldu’, *qat-*: *qatï qïn* ‘şiddetli ceza, ağır işkence’ (AAHI), *qat-*: *qatï* ‘dur’ (ADur), *qat-*: *qatï* ‘hart’, *qatïġan* <QṬĠN> ‘Endivie’ (AHou, see Eren 1943a: 21 who read *qatagan*), *qat-*: *qatïġ* ‘katı, sert, çok’ (AMGh), *qat-* ‘katı olmak’ (ATuhA), *xat-* ‘durcir, se rendre immobile, se figer (douleur, étonnement)’ (AmTr); *qat-*: *qatï* ‘çok ziyade, pek, şiddetli, iyice, sıkı sıkı, ağır, acı’, *qat-*: *katï-* ‘katılaşmak, sertlemek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xït-* ‘tverdet′’, *xïtanka* ‘suhoščavyj, suhoparyj, žestkij’, *xïtanka kurăk* ‘žestkaja trava’ (Chuv), *xïtankă* = *xïtanka* (ChuvA), *xïtkan* ‘toščij, suhoparyj, hudoj’, *xïtkurăk*, *xïtă kurăk* ‘donnik [H somkóró; Lat. *Melilotus*], nazv. rastenija’, *xït*(*ă*)*kărăś* ‘podgruzd′, nazivanie rastenija’, *xït*(*ă*)*kĕpśe* ‘nazv. rastenija’, *xïtă xura* ‘nazv. žestkih krupnyh rastenij vrode »pileš tărlă korăk«’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *qatï qura* ‘cikorij (Lat. *Cichorium intybus*)’, cf. *qura*, *quray yiläk*, *kur′läk* ‘malina; Lat. *Rubus idaeus*)’, *katut* (= *katï ut*) ‘cmin (Lat. *Helichrysum arenarium*)’ (TatD1: 596), *qatïġu* ‘vysyhanie, zatverdenie, stanovlenie žestkimi travy posle sozrevanija’, *katïy* ‘rombovidnyj hvorost’ (TatD2), *qattï* ‘tverdyj’, *qataŋgï* ‘suhoščavyj’ (SibTat), *kataŋ* ‘tverdovatyj, zagrubevšij’, *katïŋkï* ‘suhoparyj, hudoščavyj’ (Kirg), *qataŋ* ‘tverdovatyj, rešitel′nyj’ (KazB), *qataŋ* ‘tverdyj, žestkij, strogij’ (Kklp), *kat* ‘mozol′’, *katï* ‘tverdyj’ (Nog); ***SW*** *gata-* ‘zatverdet′’, *gataŋŋïr* ‘bongardija zolotistaja’ (Tkm), *katï* ‘hard, stiff’ (Tt); ***Kh*** *qattu-* ‘fest verden, sich verdicken, gerinnen (Milch), erstarren’ (Kh); ***SE*** *katanak* ‘durnišnik obyknovennyj (H szerbtövis; Lat. *Xanthium*)’ (Uzb), *qat-* ‘to

grow hard', *qati*, *qatïġ*, *qattïġ* 'hard, heavy' (TurkiJ), *qataŋ* 'žestkij' (MUyg), *qatïq* 'tverdyj, žestkij' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kat-* 'vysohnuť, zatverdeť', *katan* 'uprugyj, tverdyj, krepkij', *katu* 'tverdyj, groznyj', *kat(t)ū* 'žestokij' (AltTK), *katkan* 'krepkij' (AltL), *xat-* 'zasyhať, tverdeť', *xatïg* 'tverdyj' (Khak), *qa't-* 'vysyhať, ogrubať (o rukah)', *qa'tï-* 'stať tverdym, zatverdeť', *qatïġ* 'tverdyj, žestkij' (Tof); ***Y*** *xat-* 'sohnuť', *xatan*, *xataŋ* 'tverdyj', *kïtāt-* 'stanovytsja tverdym, krepkim ili žestkim', *kïtānax* 'tverdyj, krepkij, tverdosť' (Y), *kat-* 'trocken werden' (Dlg), *kataŋ* 'ausgetrocknet, trocken, hart (getrocknet), mager' (DlgS).

Mo *qata-* 'to dry, dry up, to become hard', *qataġu* 'hard, strong', *qatan* 'hard, strong', *qataŋġu* 'hard, strong' (L).

E/T T *kataŋ* is an adj with the meaning 'hard'; it is derived fr *kat-* 'to be hard', originally 'to dry up', with the suff *-(X)ŋ* (Erdal 1991: 337). The T word is represented in Mo by both *katan* and *kataŋgu*. For the second, compare Chuv *χïtanka* 'suhoščavyj, suhoparyj, žestkij'. In some T lgs, **kat-* only has the meaning 'to dry up' and **katï-* means 'to be hard'. In the case of *kataŋ*, we have to suppose that the verbal base in PT was **kata-* (see Mo *kata-* 'to dry, dry up, to become hard') and thus the morphological structure is *kata-(X)ŋ* > *kataŋ*, while **katïg* is OT *kat-(X)g* > *katïg* 'hard'. MT <QṬĠN> in AAH and in AHou may be read both as *katïgan* or *katagan* 'chicory'. This is a der with *+gAn*, frequent with plant names (see Erdal 1991: 83–89 and **csalán**, **kalokány**), fr *katïg* 'hard' > **katïggan* > *katïgan*, or less probably fr **katag*. T *kataŋ* and other words with the meaning 'hard' joined several plant names. In the Volga region, **katï kura* has the meaning 'chicory'.

E/H Munkácsi (1884b: 116) compared the H word with Kaz *kau* 'altes, verdorrtes Gras'. Gombocz (1912b: 219) did not accept this comparison. Eren (1943a: 20–24) pointed to the two MT items in AHou and AAH, resp, and reconstructed a copied form **kataxan*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 405), the T word is derived fr a T verb *kata-* with the suff *-gAn*, but this is problematic, because the T word occurs in only one T lg, MKip. Ligeti (1986: 309–310) and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 710) accepted the etymology given by Eren and suggested that the *-n* > *-ng* change of the final occurred in H. The H word occurs in most cases in the adj construction **katáng kóró**, where **kóró** is also a T lw. H **katáng** was separated fr the adj construction and became an independent term for hard, stiff plants, especially chicory. MKip *katagan* may have had a similar history but with another morphological structure. The word *katïgan* or *katagan* originally denoted plants with a hard or stiff stalk, and later it may have become the special term for chicory. The final *-ng* is not a H development; it is a copy of a T *-ŋ* and the whole adj structure **kataŋ kurag* was copied. For the construction "hard plant", see Chuv *χïtkurăk*, *χïtă kurăk* 'donnik [H *somkór*; Lat *Melilotus*], nazv. rastenija' or TatD *katï kura* 'chicory'.

◆ Munkácsi 1884b: 116; Gombocz 1912b: 219; Eren 1943a: 20–24; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 405; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 145; Ligeti 1986: 309–310; Erdal 1991: 83–89, 337; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 710; Eren 1999: 222; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 785–786.

KAZÁR [kåzār] 'an ethnic name, Kazar' | a1200 *gentes qui dicuntur Cozar* [kåzār], 1221 PN *Cazar* [kåzār], 1238 GN *Chazar* [kåzār], 1283 GN *kazaar* [kåzār] | *kåzār* < *kazar* ← WOT **kazar* | EOT *kasar*, *kazar* 'the Khazars' ← PN Cæsar.

OT *qasar* (RMTerh, RMTesI, RMShin), *Hasar tegin* 'a name' (MPMahrnāmag), *Ho-sa*, *Ko-sa* (Ch), *kasar* <ksr> (S Pseudo-Zacharias), *Kasar* 'a name' (Arm Movses Dashuranc'i), *xazar* (G Constantine VII, Theophanes, Nicephoros), *Ḫazar* <ḪZR> (A Tabari, Baladuri, Ibn Rustah, Ibn Hurdadbih, Masudi, Ibn Fadlan, Istahri etc.), *ḫazar* <ḪZR> (A Persian Bal'ami, Gardizi, Hudūd al-Ālam), *hazar* <xzr> (H Letter of Joseph Kagan), *kazar* <QZR> (H Cambridge document), *kozar* <KWZR> (H Sefer Yosippon), *xazar* (Georgian K'artlis C'xovreba), *xazir* (Arm Movses Dashuranc'i, Movses Horenac'i, Lewond), *Xazarig* 'name of the forefather of the Kazars' (S Michael of Syria), *kozar* (Sl Vita Constantini, Vita Methodii, ORus Chronicles), *chazari*, *chaziri*, *gazari*, *caziri* (various Lat sources). On the above data, see Golden (1980/1: 123–133), Róna-Tas (1982a: 349–380, 1983b: 126–133) and Golden (1992: 233).

E/T In two successive papers, Róna-Tas (1982a, 1983b) pointed out that the earliest and certain T name of the Khazars was *kasar*, as it appears on three runiform inscriptions, the Terh, TesI and Shine Usu inscriptions of the early Uygur Khaganate (see also Bazin 1981–1982, which was published in 1983). This form is also to be found in the Manichean Pe *Mahrnāmag*, and this is the earliest form represented in the various Ch transcriptions of the name in both the Old and the New Tangshu. The earliest item is that of the so-called Pseudo-Zacharias rhetor, an appendix to the Syriac version of the ecclesiastical history of the bishop of Mitilen, Zacharias, originally written in Gr. The original work dealt with the time between 450–518, and the appendix can be dated on textual evidence to 555 (see Czeglédy 1971: 133–148, who read it falsely as **axasir*, Róna-Tas 1999: 75). The three runiform inscriptions can be dated to 740 (TesI), 752–753 (Terh) and 759 (Shine Usu), resp. According to F. W. K. Müller (1913: 36), the Manichean Pe *Mahrnāmag* can be dated to 761/762, not much later than the latest of the three runiform inscriptions. As was pointed out in a personal letter by Golden (see Róna-Tas 1983b: 130–131), both forms *Kasar* and *Xazr* occur in the work of the Arm historian Movses Dashuranc'i. This famous *History of the Albans* (of the Caucasus) is a compilation of older sources and was created around the 10th c., but has interpolations fr the 11th c. and even fr the 12th c. (see Schütz 1976: 272–273). The form with *-s-* seems to belong to an older source excerpted by the author. This means that we have independent sources fr the 6th c. until the end of the 8th c. which reflect the original T form of this ethnonym, *kasar*.

Based on the earlier positions taken by Hashimoto and Katayama, Senga (1990: 57–69) suggested that *Kosa* is not the name of a tribe in the Ch sources, but a surname of a tribal leader. His arguments are not convincing, but even if the name **Kasar* denoted the surname of a tribal leader this would only point to his tribal origin. Less probable is Senga's opinion that "[i]t is likely that the surnames of tribal heads which had become known to the Chinese at the time of the foundation of the Uighur empire were used in later times for tribal names as well". Before the Chingisids and the Ottomans, there is no example of ethnic groups being named after historical persons. Conversely, there are many cases in which (1) a *heros eponymos* was created for ethnic groups (this was also the case with the Khazars, for which see the story in the work of Michael of Syria: *Xazarig*), and (2) persons fr an ethnic or tribal group were named after their origin, or after the tribe of which they were the ruler (see the *Xasar tägin* in the *Mahrnāmag*). We have no reason to doubt that there existed a tribal unit called Kasar in Inner Asia. Senga himself admits that "[g]iven that a tribe called Ko-sa (Qasar) once existed in Mongolia, it might have been closely associated with the T'ieh-le tribal groups, and above all, with the Ssu-chieh tribe" (1990: 63). Thus doubts raised by Golden (1992: 234) based on Senga's argumentation seem to be unfounded.

According to Bazin (1983: 70), the Uyg Kasar tribe or a fragment of it moved to the West and hence came the name of the later Khazars. His argumentation discards the data fr the Pseudo Zacharias. Róna-Tas (1983b: 130) suggested that the Kasar tribe among the Uygurs formed part of the Khazars who had moved eastwards, and joined the Uygurs. Whatever the relationship between the "Eastern" and "Western" Khazars may be, there can hardly be any doubt that they share the same name.

This name later changed to *kazar* and *xazar*. Thus all earlier etymologies on the form *Kazar* have to be refuted. On these etymologies, see Róna-Tas (1982a). Gombocz (1912b: 197) thought that the Khazars spoke a non-Chuv lg, because of the *-z-* in their name. This has been accepted with caution by Golden (1980/1: 129). However, it is unacceptable for several reasons: (1) The earlier form was *kasar* with *-s-*; (2) even if the name *kazar* were the original, it could have been fr a Chuv type of lg because, as Ramstedt (1922–1923: 25) and Clark (1978: 373–376) have demonstrated, there is no primary or secondary rotacism before *-r-*, i.e. there is no *VrV-r* sequence in Chuv. This means that a form **karar* is impossible in the Chuv ancestor lg; (3) finally, even if the name Khazar were of non-Chuv origin, even this would provide no information on the lg spoken by these people, because self-nominations can be of foreign origin. *Rus* is not of Sl origin, nor is *Frank*, *French* of NLat origin.

The *-z-* of the later item seems to be a typical OChuv feature. All original intervocalic *-s-* sounds became [z] in ModChuv, which is an unvoiced lax sound not noted by the orth. This system of weakening the intervocalic fortis sounds appears

to be old. It is part of a regional trend of weakening, which also occurs sporadically in some Kip lgs as early as the CC. See e.g. *azïq*, *azïx* 'nützlich, Vorteil' < OT *asïg* 'profit, advantage', but also *asïx*.

In Chuv, we find *χuyar* 'bark of a tree' in place of OT *kadïz*, instead of the expected **xurar*. The early *z* > *r* change later blocked the usual *VdV* >> *VrV*, producing instead *VyV*. The *d* > *y* change, instead of the expected *d* > *r*, was blocked by an early *-zVr* sequence going back to an earlier *-sVr*.

The spirant guttural *x-* found in many sources may reflect either a strong aspiration or a spirantisation. This velar guttural later changed to *χ-* in Chuv. We do not know the exact chronology of the steps of the $k' > k^x > {}^k\chi > \chi$ change and we do not know what exactly was reflected by the Ar *ẖ-*. However, it was noted by Ibn Fadlan as early as in 921/922 that the birch tree (OT *kadïŋ*) is called *ẖaḏïŋ* <ẖḏnk> among the Volga Bulgars, marked by the same *χ-* as in the name of the Khazars. This means that the change of the back velar already reached the spirant phase at the beginning of the 10th c. Such H words of T origin as **hajó**, **herjó** and **homok** also suggest that the spirantisation progressed relatively early. However, as Róna-Tas (1982a: 372–373) has pointed out, forms with initial *χ-* do not necessarily directly reflect a T pronunciation. They may reflect an Ir pronunciation, more precisely a Sogdian one, which was noted by different scribes as a "learned form". The titles *kan*, *kagan* and *katun* are written with the same *x-* in Sogdian. Both the Islamic and the Gr world first came into contact with the Turks through Sogdian mediation.

According to Róna-Tas (1982a), the name *kasar* goes back to the name *Caesar*, which became a title not only in Europe (*Kaiser* and *Tsar*), but also in the East, and became *kasar* in the lg of the Turks through an Ir form *kesar*. The title of the ruler of the Turk Shahi dynasty in Afghanistan, who ascended the throne in 783, was *From kesar* 'the caesar of Rome'. This title appeared on coins as *FROMO KESARO*, and was also noted by the Tib sources as *'Phrom Ge-sar*. In a lg like T which has word stress on the last syllable, a *kesar* > *kasar* assimilation is normal. The T form also entered the Mo lg. This may have been the origin of the name *Kasar*, the younger brother of Chinggis khan and also the name of a kind of dog, the *kasar* dog, both occurring in the SH (for the data, see de Rachewiltz 2004: 369 and Index). On the other hand, the name *Kesar* > Tib *Ge-sar* became *Geser* in Mo. This is the name of the famous hero of the epic cycle in Central Asia. In Mo, the word stress is on the first syllable and therefore the Tib *Ge-sar* became *Geser*.

E/H The ethnic name was known in Hungary in the 9th–13th c. and is preserved in GNs. It is, however, uncertain whether the name in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200) reflects the name as it was preserved fr a time before the Conquest, if it (re-)entered the H lg through Sl mediation, or if it was "reconstructed" fr an existing GN. According to Anonymous, when the Hungarians entered the Carpathian

Basin they found several peoples there. Among them were the "Cozar", whose name has to be read *kazar*. Most H historians suppose that these "Cozars" were in fact the Kabars who left the Khazars and joined the Hungarians before the Conquest. This is probable, because the name *Kabar* or *Kavar* is practically absent in the register of GNs in Hungary. Kristó–Makk–Szegfű (1973–1974/1: 12) mention five dubious GNs, but most of them are surely not connected with the name *Kabar* or *Kavar*. In many cases, Anonymous "reconstructed" peoples fr GNs known to him around 1200. The <-o-> is a kind of rendering of the labial H /å/ in the early Lat documents of Hungary. The GN is not always distinguishable fr the Sl word *kozar* 'goatherd'. A collection of GNs connected with the ethnic name *kazar* can be found in Kristó–Makk–Szegfű (1973–1974/1: 12), which covers 21 GNs. The name fell into oblivion and was revitalised in the 18th c., perhaps by the poet Ferenc Faludi (1704–1779), who took the name fr the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (see Kniezsa 1955: 870). The H form of the Middle Ages reflects a T form with *-z-*.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 197; Müller 1913: 36; Ramstedt 1922–1923: 25; Kniezsa 1955: 870; Czeglédy 1971: 133–148; Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974/1: 12; Schütz 1976: 272–273; Clark 1978: 373–376; Golden 1980/1: 123–133; Róna-Tas 1982a: 349–380; Bazin 1983: 51–71; Róna-Tas 1983b: 126–133; Ligeti 1986: 487–489; Senga 1990: 57–69; Golden 1992: 233–234; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 715; Róna-Tas 1999: 75; de Rachewiltz 2004: 369.

KEBEL [kebel] 'bosom, breast' | 1186/13th c. PN ? *Keleb* [keleb], late 12th c./c1195 *kebeleben* [kebel-ēben], c1230 *kebeil* [kebel′], p1416/1466 *kebèletecbè* [kebel-etekbe] | *kebel* ← WOT **käbäl* | T ?

Of debated T origin.

T not in any T lg, but see e.g. *kebelmiš* 'sich anziehen' (LCC), *kebze* 'grud′' (Kklp).

Mo *kebeli* 'belly, stomach, paunch, womb', *kegeli* 'womb, pregnancy, embryo, belly (obs.)' (L), MMo *kegeli*, *ke'eli* etc. (see Ligeti 1986: 51), *keheli* 'belly' (AKD 209), *kewl′* (KalmB), *kēl′ị* (Kalm), *xewel* 'has, kebel, méh [belly, paunch, womb]' (KhalK), *xēl* 'magzat [embryo, foetus]' (KhalK), *xēli* 'život, beremennost′' (Bur), *k'ēl* 'foetus (chez les animaux)', *k'eweli* 'matrice sein' (Ord), *k'ēlie* 'ventre, renflement (mur, vase), canon (d′un fusil)' (Mngr), *keli* 'abdomen' (Shirongol), *k'ēl* 'waist, belly, area of stomack' (Dah).

E/T Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 668–669) connect the Mo word with T **gēp-* 'to swell, swollen (of a belly), to become pregnant, pregnant, to be arrogant, inflated' and cite Tt *gebe* 'pregnant' and Chuv *kapar* 'insatiable, gluttonous', among others. Even if all the words were to go back to a Mo–T or PA **kēp'V* 'belly', it is unclear what kind of suff °*li* is in Mo and how this was only preserved in H.

E/H The H word has been linked to the Mo word (see Ramstedt 1935: 230), either as a direct lw or as a word of T origin which disappeared fr the T lgs, but was preserved in Mo (fr which it entered several Tu lgs). The Mo data show a variation like

**kebeli ~ *kegeli*, and the two forms co-exist in some Mo lgs. We can observe a relatively late semantic split in a few lgs. The possible Mo relationship of the word was covered by Ligeti (1935a: 198). Finally, he pointed to the fact that if the Mo word had had a T origin, or a counterpart, we should expect a form like **käpäl(i)*, because *-p-* corresponds regularly in T to a Mo *b ~ g < β ~ γ* (Ligeti 1986: 50–51). Therefore, the Mo word has to be excluded fr the discussion about the origin of the H word. Though Benkő (1967–1984/2: 416) wrote that a possible T link should be investigated, later (1993–1997/1: 716), following Ligeti's arguments, he claimed that the origin of the words is unknown and that its connection with Mo is erroneous. The word has been discussed by Futaky (2001: 28–30), according to whom the word is of Mo origin in H and was borrowed fr Avar into H. In his review of Futaky's book G. Kara (2002: 491) is highly negative about Futaky's suggestions (on which see also Róna-Tas 2003), but he states that the question of the H word *kebel* is ultimately unresolved.

The problems are of a chronological character. Futaky refers to Poppe (1955: 98) and Weiers (1970: 581–590) for support, but nothing in these sources or in other works by Poppe and Weiers bears out the supposition that the Mo *b ~ g < β ~ γ* change = T *-p-* was completed by the 9th c. However, we find data that contradict this as early as in the linguistic material of the Tabgach or Wei dynasty (386–538). The word for 'earth, dust' is **togusin*, **tagusin*, **togočin*, a word which has been identified by Ligeti (1970: 279–280) with Mo *togosun* and with Kitan *towəs* (Ligeti 1938b: 198). This word should be connected with T *top-rak* 'earth, dust'. This may be a case where T *-p-* shows a Tabgach (Mo) *-g-* reflex (perhaps *-γ*), while another Mo lg, Khitan (10th c.), has *-w-*. On the other hand, the Tabgach word for 'doorkeeper' is **kabakčin*. This contains the suff for the nomen actoris *+čin* and **kabak* corresponds to T *kapïg* 'door, gate'. The word for 'gate, door' is 'to close' in Mo *kagalga < kaga-* (see T *kap-* id.). The Ch syllable that transcribed the second syllable of Tabgach **kabak* is *bak* in EMCh, *pɦak* in LMCh and 薄 *bó* 'thin' in ModCh (Pulleyblank 1991: 41; see also Ligeti 1970: 296). In any case, the chronology of Mo *b ~ g < β ~ γ*, T *-p-* calls for further investigation, and G. Kara is right when he states that the question is ultimately unresolved. See Mo *keb* 'mould, pattern, model, type, form, shape', *kege* 'pattern, design, ornament' and H **kép**.

Another possibility would be to suppose that the word came through T, perhaps through Kip mediation. The original meaning of the word in H may have been 'lap, bosom', as in the *Funerary Sermon and Prayer* (a1195: "in the *kebel* of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"), but it also referred to the bosom part of a garment. As the latter, it may have reached the Hungarians through trade. It may be connected with *käbälmiš* 'angekleidet, vestitus' (LCC), which goes back to **käbäl-* 'sich ankleiden'. Though Monchi-Zadeh (1969: 189) cites a Kip *käbäl* 'Oberkleid', this seems to be a misunderstanding; in the LCC, we only find <chebelmís>, i.e. *käbälmiš* (37v). Kip

käbäl-* may go back to T **käpäl-* like OT *köp-* 'to swell' > LCC *köb-*, OT *käpäli* 'butterfly', LCC *köbäläk* etc. If there existed a T **käpäl* 'bosom of the garment', this may have become **käbäl* in Cum and then this may have been copied by H. Or it is a Mo lw in LCC. In this case, we have to suppose that the meaning 'bosom of a garment' developed in Kip. Until now, a noun like **käpäl* could not be found in T, but its Mo correspondences *kegeli* and *kebeli* do exist. Thus we have to suppose that **käbäl* was a Kip form of an AT **käpäli* or a re-borrowing fr Mo. In this case, the answer to Ligeti's doubts is supplied, and the origin of the H word is clarified. It may have been a Kip lw. However, until we find the word **kepel*(*i*) or **kebel* in any of the T sources or lgs, this remains a hypothesis. On Mo words which have been transmitted to H through Cum, see **bóda, **daku**, **ige**, **kangyík** and **nyögér**.

◆ Ligeti 1935a: 198; Ramstedt 1935: 230; Ligeti 1938b: 198; Poppe 1955: 98; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 416; Monchi-Zadeh 1969: 189; Ligeti 1970: 279–280, 296; Weiers 1970: 581–590; Ligeti 1986: 50–51; Pulleyblank 1991: 41; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 716; Futaky 2001: 28–30; Kara 2002: 491; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 668–669.

KECSKE [kečke] 'goat, *Capra hircus*' | GN 1278 *kechkehat* [kečke-hāt], p1395 *kegke* [keǰke], p1430 *keczyka* [kečike], c1560 *kęchkek* [kečkē-k], dial *keske* [keške] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 163–164) | *kečke* < **kečeke* ← WOT **käčäkä* | EOT *keči* 'goat', T **käčäkä*.

OT *äčkü* 'Ziege' (UHeilkI 24), *käči* 'goat (Og)', *äčkü* 'goat' (AK); **MT** *äčkü*, *ečkü* 'goat' (ABF), *käči* 'keçi' (AHMA), *geči* [see <GYČDY> and <GYČY>] 'koza' (AIM), *keči* 'goat' (AKD), *äčki* 'chévre', *öčkü*, *öčki* 'bouc, chévre' (AChag), *üčgü* (sic!) 'goat' (AChagSC), *äčki* 'keči' (AChagŠS), *ečki* 'Bock' (LCC), *äčki*, *käči* 'keçi' (AAH), *keči boynuzu* 'harnop' (AAHI), *äčki*, *käči* 'chèvre' (ABul), *käči*, *käši* 'chèvre' (ADur), *äčki* 'Ziege, das Weibchen heisst ibid.', *käči* 'Ziege' (AHou), *käči* 'Ziege' (AKav), *ečki*, *ekši*, *eški*, *keči* 'keçi' (ATuhA), *ėṣk'iy*, *ėčk'i*, *ėčk'i*, *ėk'či* 'chèvre, bouc' (AmTr), *gäči* 'koza, kozij' (AmD), *keči* 'chèvre' (AOtM); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kačaka*, dial *kačča* 'vozglas, kotorym otgonjajut koz, koza' (Chuv); ***NW*** *käjä* 'koza' (Tat), *käčki*: *käčki saqalï* 'dikij pasternak, pasternak lugovoj', *ičke* 'koza' (TatD1), *käzä* 'koza' (Bashk), *icke*, *ickä* 'koza' (SibTat), *ečki* 'koza' (Kirg), *eškĭ* 'goat, she-goat' (Kaz), *eški* 'koza' (Kklp), *eški* 'koza' (Nog), *ečki* 'koza' (CrTat), *ečki* 'koza' (KarT), *ecki* 'koza' (KarH), *ečki* 'koza' (KarC), *ečki* 'koza' (Kum), *ečki* 'koza' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *geči* 'koza' (Tkm), *keči* 'kozel, koza' (Az), *keči* 'goat, she-goat' (Tt), *geči* 'keçi', *išk* 'keçi' (TtD), *keči* 'koza' (Gag), *geči*, *gäči*, *gečči*, *gäčči* 'Ziege' (Khor), *geči* 'Ziege' (SOg); ***Kh*** *äčču*, *äčgü*, *göčü* 'Ziege' (Kh); ***SE*** *ečki* 'koza' (Uzb), *ičkü* 'goat' (TurkiSh), *äčkü* 'goat' (TurkiJ), *äčkü*, *äčki* 'kozel, koza' (MUyg), *ešku* 'koza' (Sal), *eske* 'kozel odnogo goda' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ečki* 'koza' (RAlt), *äčkä* 'Ziege' (AltR, AltTelR), *ečki* 'koza, domašnjaja koza' (AltQK), *öškü* 'koza (domašnjaja)' (Tuv), *ö'škü* 'domašnjaja koza' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *esige*, *isige* 'kid, young goat' (L).

E/T Most authors derived the words for 'goat' with one or another call word for the animal. These opinions are dealt with by Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 34–36). According to him, these ders are not acceptable. Rather, most of the call words are shortened or distorted forms of the word for the animal. He points to the structure of the words: the final *-i ~ -ü* and *-ki ~ -kü ~ -kä*. In addition to Sevortjan's opinion, we have to take into account that there are two types of frequently used utterances in connection with animals: the herdsman calls animals with one type, and drives them with the other. It is very difficult to separate the two series of words **ečkü* and *keči* fr such types of calling and driving words. All other forms show assimilation and may represent metathesis or mixing. An interesting Chuv word may be, if original, reconstructed as **kaśaka*. This does not exist today, but the Ašmarin Dictionary has: "*kaś* to že čto *kačaka*, vstreč[ajetsja] tol'ko v složenii *kaś-taki* 'kozel'. *Načert.* 101" (ChuvA). *Načert.* is the work *Načertanie pravil čuvašskogo jazyka i slovar', sostavlennyj dlja duhovnyh učilišč Kazanskoj eparhii*, published in 1836 in Kazan'. The billy goat in the VT lgs is Tat *käǰä täkäse* and Bashk *käzä täkähe*, which correspond to the otherwise isolated Chuv data fr Ašmarin, though they are not noted in any of the other Chuv dicts known to me. The fact, however, that *kača* is a call word in Chuv with which one drives goats is consistent with Sevortjan's view that the special shortened form is due to this use of the word. This may provide the key to the other forms as well. Mo *esige* surely goes back to **äčkä* (see T *äšgäk* 'donkey' and Mo *eljigen*). Words with *k-* are typically Og forms, as already noted by Kashgari, but they are also present in the VKip lgs and Chuv. The Chuv word has a dim suff. Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 504) suggest that both **käči* and **äčkü* "must come from an Indo-European *satem* form derived from **q^{h}oḱ-*". This can neither be ruled out, nor refuted. Historically, the domestication of the goat is very old and may have come fr the Near East. But the words which denote it were under the special influence of its usage. See also Os *sæğ*, *sæğæ* 'koza' (Abaev 1958–1989/3: 58).

E/H The word was connected with the T word early on by Vámbéry (1870: 158) and Gombocz (1912b: 90–91). As a second possibility, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 718) mentioned that the word could be of inner H origin fr a H call word. This is very unlikely. We find only in Chuv the dim suff which is reflected in H. The unusual preservation of Chuv *-č-* in the present Chuv item is due to its call word function, but the expected form with *-ś-* has also been attested.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 158; Gombocz 1912b: 90–91; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 58; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 420; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 34–36; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 163–164; Ligeti 1986: 283–284; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 718; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 504.

KÉK [kēk] 'blue' | 1075/†1124/†1217 GN *kektou* [kēk-tou], 1216 *keýckend* [keyk-kend], 1268/1365 GN *kyklew* [kīk-lō̈] | *kék* < *keyk* ⟵ WOT **kõk* | EOT *kök* 'blue'.

OT *kök* ‘blue’, *kök teŋri* ‘sky god’, *kök türk* ‘an ethnic name’ (RMKT), *kök* ‘bleu ou vert, ciel’ (UHamTouHou), *kȭk* ‘sky, sky blue, dark grey’ (AK); **MT** *kök* ‘blau’ (UOg), *kök* ‘bleu’ (UHy), *kök* ‘bleu’ (UHyS), PN *Kök* (UCiv), *kök* ‘sky’ (ABF), *kök* ‘green’ (AGul), *kök* ‘gökyüzü, gök, mavi’ (AHMA), *kök* ‘nebo, zelenyj’ (AHŠF), *kök* ‘nebo, goluboj’ (AIM), *kök* ‘soyun aslı, gök, sema, mavi renk’ (AIMI), *kök* ‘sky, blue’ (AKD), *kök* ‘blue’ (AKor), *kök* ‘nebo’ (AM), *kök* ‘nebo’ (ANehF), *kök yaš ünmädi* ‘no green, fresh plants sprouted’ (ARbg), *kök* ‘nebo’ (ATef), *gök* ‘vert, bleuâtre, ciel’ (AChag), *kök* ‘sinij’ (AChagMA), *gög* (the “Rūmī” may refer to the spelling *gög*, not to the word itself) ‘vegetation, meadow, blue, (*gög gömek* for ‘intensely blue’), sky, metaph. as an expression for cauterisation for which they burn blue paper’ (AChagSC), *gök* ‘blau, Himmel’, *kök* ‘blau, Himmel, Ursprung, Zeit, Anfang’ (AChagŠSK), *kök* ‘Himmel, blau’ (LCC), *kök* ‘(renk) açık mavi, sema, cins’ (AAH), *kök* ‘ciel’ (ABul), *kök* ‘ciel, bleu’ (ADur), *kök* ‘blau, Himmel’ (AHou), *kök* ‘blau, Himmel’ (AKav), *kök* ‘gök, gökyüzü’ (AMGhU), *kök* ‘gök rengi, mavi’ (ATuhA), *kʿokʿ*, *kok*, *kokʿ* ‘ciel, bleu’ (AmTr), *gok*, *kok* ‘cinij, goluboj, seryj’ (AmD), *kok* ‘heaven’ (AmCh), *kok* ‘ciel, racine’ (AmE), *gök* ‘koyu yeşil, mavi’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kăvak* ‘sinij, goluboj, seryj, sedoj, sivyj’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *kük* ‘sinij, goluboj, sivyj (o masti lošadi)’ (Tat), *kük* ‘sinij, goluboj, seryj’ (Bashk), *kük* ‘sinij, goluboj, sery’ (SibTat), *kök* ‘nebo, sinij, goluboj’ (Kirg), *kök* ‘sky, heaven, blue, green, gray’ (Kaz), *kök* ‘nebo, sinij, goluboj, zelen′, seryj’ (Kklp), *kök* ‘nebo, goluboj, zelen′’ (Nog), *kök* ‘nebo, goluboj’ (CrTat), *kʹok* ‘nebo, sinij, goluboj’ (KarT), *kek* ‘nebo, sinij, goluboj’ (KarH), *kök* ‘nebo, goluboj, temni-sinij’ (KarC), *gök* ‘sinij, goluboj, nebesno-goluboj, zelenyj’, *kök* ‘nebo’ (Kum), *kök* ‘goluboj, sinij’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gȭk* ‘sinij, goluboj, zelenyj’ (Tkm), *ǵöy* ‘nebo, sinij, zelen′’ (Az), *gök* ‘goluboj, lazurnyj, sinij’ (TtB), *kök* ‘gök’ (TtD), *gök*, *göy*, *gey*, *gek*, *gēk*, *gȭk* ‘grün’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *kīᵉk*, *kiᵉk*, *kȭök*, *küök* ‘grün’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kök* ‘sinij, goluboj, zelenyj, seryj’ (Uzb), *kök* ‘the sky, blue, green’ (TurkiSh), *kök* ‘zelen′, zelenyj’ (TurkiLN), *kök* ‘blau, himmelblau, hellgrün, grassgrün (der Umfang der durch dieses Wort bezeichneten Farbennuancen ist nicht in allen Dialekten derselbe)’ (TurkiTR), *kök* ‘sinij, goluboj, seryj’ (MUyg), *köx*, *kʼöx*, *kʼu* ‘goluboj’ (Sal), *kök*, *kuk*, *kük*, *kük’*, *kʼük*, *kʼüʼk*, *kek* ‘sinij, zelenyj’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *kök* ‘zelen′, trava, sinij, goluboj’ (Alt), *kök* ‘blau, himmelblau, hellgrün, grassgürn (der Umfang der durch dieses Wort bezeichneten Farbennuancen ist nicht in allen Dialekten derselbe)’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *kök* ‘sinij, goluboj, seryj’ (AltQK), *kök* ‘goluboj, sinij, zelenyj, seryj’ (AltTK), *kök* ‘sinij, zelenyj, seryj’ (KhakB), *kök* ‘blau, himmelblau, hellgrün, grassgürn (der Umfang der durch dieses Wort bezeichneten Farbennuancen ist nicht in allen Dialekten derselbe)’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *göh* ‘blue’ (FY), *kök* ‘sinij, zelenyj (o trave), sedoj, seryj’ (Tuv), *kök* ‘sinij, zelenyj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *küöx* ‘goluboj, zelenyj, zelen′’ (Y), *küök*, *küöx* ‘blau’ (Dlg).

Mo *köke* ‘blue, sky blue, green, ash-coloured, dark (of a face)’ (L).

E/T T *kȭk* is a basic word, had a long vowel and denoted 'blue, sky blue, grey and green', hence also 'the sky' itself. As can be seen fr the Mo item, PT had a final vowel. There exists a vast literature on the word, which will not be reviewed here, because the H word only has the meaning 'blue'.

E/H The H word was connected by Vámbéry (1870: 158) with its T counterpart. Its T origin was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 91), Ligeti (1933a: 276; 1986: 38, 112, 187) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 426–427; 1993–1997/1: 721). Earlier opinions also agree that the OH form *keyk* with its diphthong may be a reflection of the T original. Either it reflects a diphthong *-öi-*, or it is a H adaptation of the long *ȭ*. Since there was neither a sound *ö*, nor a long *ȭ* in OH, the long *ȭ* may have been substituted by a long closed *ē*. This may have had such dial variants as *kēk* ~ *keyk*, see WOT **kān* ⟶ OH *kean*, see page 3. Chuv *-ăva-* also points to a long T *ȭ* (*kȭk* > **koak*, **kowak* > *kăvak*), but is another continuation of it, and the H does not reflect the Chuv change (see also the Kh diphthong). The H word denoted 'green, blue, grey', but not 'sky'. A few ders were also copied. See **kikerics**, **kökény** and **kökörcsin**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 158; Gombocz 1912b: 91; Ligeti 1933a: 276; Németh 1935–1939: 530; Benkő 1953a: 53; Eren 1958: 85–89; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 426–427; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 66–68; Ligeti 1986: 38, 112, 187; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 721; De Bie-Kerékjártó 2001: 85; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 714.

KELENGYE [kelenď e] 'trousseau, dowry, gift given with the bride or bridegroom' | 1592 *kelengyere* [kelenď ē-re], 1787 *kelengye* [kelenď e], dial *kelengye* [kelenď e] 'light, small shawl' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 176) | *kelenď e* < **kelinǰe* < **kälinčäγ* ⟵ WOT **kälinčäγ* | T *kälinčäk* 'weasel, fur of weasel given as gift with the bride' < *kälin* 'bride'.

OT *kälin*: *qïz kälinlärim* 'moji moloduški' (RY 3:6), *kälin* 'Schwiegertochter' (UTTVI 311), *kelin* 'bride' (AK), *kälin* 'bride' (B 19:2); **MT** *kelin* 'femme du fils, bru' (UHy), *kälinlä-* 'eine Frau nehmen' (UCiv), ? *awurna kel*(*e*)*ni* <AWRNY KLNY> 'wet nurse' (ABF), *kälin* 'bride' (AGul), *kälin* 'nevesta' (AHŠF), *gälin* 'nevesta' (AIM), *kelin* 'düğünü yapılmakta olan kız, gelin' (AIMI), *kelin* 'bride' (AKD), *kälin* 'nevesta' (ANehF), *kälin* 'a bride' (AChagSC), *kälin* 'Braut' (LCC), *kälin* 'gelin' (AAH), *kälin* 'Braut' (AHou), *kälin* 'gelin' (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** *kin* 'snoha, nevestka', *kilĕnteš* 'snohi, ženy rodnyh brat'ev (po otnošeniju drug k drugu)' (Chuv), *kinśi* 'snošenka' (? < *kinśĕ* with suff *-i*), *kinśĕm* 'moja snošenka', *kinteš* '= kilĕnteš' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *kilen* 'snoha, nevestka, moloduha', *kilendäš* 'snohi, nevestki (ženy rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu)', *kilenlek* 'položenie nevestki (snohi)', *kilen-künček* 'snohi, nevestki, moloduhi', cf. *künček* 'kusok vydelannoj koži' (< *kün* 'koža') (Tat), *kilenčäk* 'jaš' kilen' (TatE), *kilen* 'snoha, nevestka', *kilendäš* 'ženy rodnyh brat'ev (po otnošeniju drug drugu)', *kilensäk* 'lask. snošen'ka, moloduha' (Bashk), *kilenkäy* 'moloduha' (BashkD3), *käläš* 'nevesta, molodaja žena, ljubovnica', *kilgen* 'prišelec' (SibTat), *kelin* 'nevestka, snoha, moloduha', *kelindik* 'položenie snohi, neveztki, položе-

nie moloduhi', *kelinček* 'nevestuška, snošen'ka, moloduha, moloduška', *kelinči* 'snohač' (Kirg), *kelĭn* 'sister-in-law (brother's wife), daughter-in-law (son's wife in relation to her father-in-law)', *kelinšek* 'young wife, young woman', *kelimsek* 'alien, newcomer' (Kaz), *kelin*, *kelinšek* 'snoha, nevestka, moloduha', *kelinlik* 'položenie snohi, nevestki, molodcy molodohi' (Kklp), *kelin*, *kelinšek* 'nevesta, snoha' (Nog), *kelin* 'nevesta, snoha', *kelinček* 'laska (životnoe)' (CrTat), *kelin* 'nevesta, snoha' (KarT), *k'elin* 'nevesta', *kelincik* 'krot', mole' (KarH), *kelin* 'nevesta', *kelindeš* 'ženy rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu' (KarC), *gelin* 'nevestka, snoha' (Kum), *kelin* 'nevesta, novobračnaja, snoha', *kelinčik* 'nevestuška', *kelinlik* 'sužena, nevesta' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gelin* 'molodica, nevestka, snoha', *gelinlik* 'nevesta, narečennaja' (Tkm), *gelinček* 'živokost' sognutoplodnaja (Lat. *Delphinium camptocarpum*), larkspur' (Tkm, Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 12), *ǵälin* 'nevesta, snoha, kukla', *gelneje* 'nevestka (žena staršego brata ili rodstvennike po otnošeniju k mladšim rodstvennikam muža), tetja (obrašcanie k staršej po vozrastu ženščine)', *g'elinǰik* 'kukolka, puppet, laska (polevoe hiščnoe životnoe)' (Az), *gelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law, wife', *gelinǰik* 'poppy, weasel (Lat. *Mustela*)', *gelinǰik balïġï* 'three-bearded rockling (Lat. *Gaidropsarus mediterraneus*)', *gelinlik* 'fit for a bride, marriageable (girl), wedding dress, the state of a bride' (Tt), *gelin* 'nevesta, snoha' (Gag), *gälin*, *gelin* 'Braut' (Khor), *gälin* 'Braut' (SOg); ***Kh*** *kälĭn* 'Braut', *kälĭnäk* 'Puppe' (Kh); ***SE*** *kelin* 'molodaja, moloduha, nevestka, snoha', *kelinčak* 'molodaja, nevestuška' [in a riddle = puppet] (Uzb), *kelin* 'daughter-in-law', *kellim*, *keŋim* 'my daughter-in-law' (TurkiJ), *kelin* 'a daughter-in-law' (TurkiSh), *kelin* 'nevestka' (TurkiL), *kälin* 'die Schwiegertochter und die Frau des jüngeren Bruders oder nahen Verwandten' (TurkiTR), *kelin* 'neveska, snoha', *kelinček* 'nevestka, moloduha, molodaja' (MUyg), *keĭn*, *keĭne*, *keĭnï*, *ke:m*, *ke:n*, *ki:n*, *kiĭn*, *kiĭne*, *kiĭnï* 'žena supruga' (Sal), *k'elin*, *k'elĭn*, *kelĭn* 'nevesta, žena' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kelin* 'snoha, nevestka, moloduha' (Alt), *kälin* 'die Schwiegertochter und die Frau des jüngeren Bruders oder nahen Verwandten' (AltR, AltTelR), *kelin* 'snoha', *kelisken* 'jaščerica' (AltQK), *kelin* 'nevestka' (AltTK), *käli* 'die Schwiegertochter' (KhakShR), *kilĭn* 'nevestka, moloduha, snoha', *kileski* 'jaščerica' (KhakB), *kelin* 'die Schwiegertochter und die Frau des jüngeren Bruders oder nahen Verwandten' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *gĭl-* 'to come' (FY), *kelin* 'snoha, nevestka' (Tuv), *helin* 'snoha, nevestka (žena syna)' (Tof); ***Y*** *kiỹīt*, *kinīt* 'žena mladšego rodstvenika: sina (nevestka ili snoha), vnuka, pravnuka, brata (nevestka), plemjannika, deverja (nevestka, jatrov')', cf. *käl-* 'pribyvat' kuda etc.' (Y), *kinīt* 'Schwiegertochter' (DlgS).

E/T The word *kälin* 'bride' is a dev noun fr *käl-* 'to come, i.e. the one who comes (to the house of the bridegroom)'. See Mo *beri* 'bride, daughter-in-law' ← T *bēr-* 'to give' and *kelin* = *beri* (AKD 232, 200C: 4). In Chuv, a special *kälin* > **keln* > *kin* change occurred. The word *kälinčäk* 'weasel' has already been connected by Budagov and

Radloff with the word *kälin* 'bride' and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 18) accepted this. He supposed that the original T word was replaced by a der fr 'bride' because of a taboo. In many T lgs, *kälinčäk* simply denotes 'bride' or 'young bride, young girl'; see e.g. Chuv *kinšĕm* (< **kälinčäk-im*) 'my small daughter-in-law', TatE *kilenček* 'young "kilen"'. A similar structure is present in H where the name of the bride is *meny* or *menyasszony* (*asszony* 'woman, lady'), a word of Ugr origin (< PUgr **mińä*) and the name of the weasel is *menyét* with the OH dim suff *+t ~ +d*. The compound word *hölgymenyét* also denotes 'weasel', where *hölgy* (< FUgr **kaδ´wa*, see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 116) has the meaning 'lady' and earlier meant 'ermine'. A similar semantic shift, 'girl, beautiful female' + dim suff > 'weasel', or other small furry animal, can be found in many lgs such as It *belulla*, *donnola*, Fr *belette* and OEng *fairy* 'weasel' (see Benkő 1967–1984/2: 156). It is less probable that the semantic shift 'small girl etc.' > 'weasel' is due to tabooistic reasons. It is more likely that the shift had the common background that both are small and beautiful, but "dangerous". In some mythical tales, the weasel transforms into a beautiful, charming young girl. This myth may also have facilitated the linguistic connection. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 156), the original meaning of the H word *hölgy* is less likely to have been 'weasel' and the denotation of the bride probably arose when the bride was bought for weasel fur and hence her price was counted in terms of that commodity. In fact, in many nomadic and hunter societies, furs are given as a trousseau, a gift given with the bride. According to the Jayhani tradition preserved in the work of Gardizi (mid-11th c., see Martinez 1982: 162): "they have the custom in [the matter of] taking (lit. asking for) a wife [to the effect] that when they ask for a wife they take the bride price (or marriage portion) in accordance with her (i.e. the woman's) wealth consisting of horses of more or less (the value) of that (wealth) (…) And they mount [up] to take the bride price (i.e. in a procession), the girl's father takes the groom's father to his house and whatever he has by way of sable (or marten), ermine, grey squirrel, weasel and underbellies of fox… [all of these] he brings together [and stitches] with needles and brocade to the amount of ten fur coats. [Then] he wraps [these] in a bed roll and ties [it] on the groom's father's horse and sends it off towards his home. Then, whatever is necessary by way of the girl's bride price (i.e. as determined by the value of the furs sent by her father) [consisting] of cattle and movable chattels and household furnishings (or cash and silk cloth), which have been deemed appropriate, is sent to him (i.e. the bride's father) and only then is the girl brought to the [groom's] house". Though there is a debate about the identity of the people in the passage, it is certain that it is either Hungarians or Volga Bulgars, but not Slavs (see Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 36–42; Zimonyi 2003: 19–20). As I myself have witnessed, the exchange of bride price and trousseau was the usual practice in some parts of Mongolia until the mid-20th c.

E/H Munkácsi (1884a: 262) was the first to tie Ott *gelinlik* 'Brautgeschenk, Mitgift' to the H word under the assumption of an East T **kälindik*. Gombocz accepted this (1912b: 91–93) and called attention to T forms such as Chag *kälinčäk* and Kaz *kälinšäk*. Hadrovics (1955a: 340–342) suggested that the H word has a MLat origin. It may be derived fr MLat *clenodium* 'treasure', which figures in a deed of 1348 as the name of the 'trousseau, gift given with the bride'. The MLat word is of MGrm origin (see *Kleinod* 'a precious thing, treasure'). Úrhegyi (1967: 482–484) supposed a H origin fr *kelendő* 'saleable'. Her main argument was that the word appears with the meaning 'trousseau' late in the 18th c. and is not well distributed in the spoken lg and dials. Thus it should be an inner H word formation. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 430) notes, besides Hadrovics's and Úrhegyi's opinions, the T origin fr **kälindik* suggested by Gombocz. The latter is, according to Benkő, less probable, because the original T word does not exist in the form **kälindik*, and the late occurrence of the H word also works against a T origin. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 723) added the new data fr Transylvania fr 1592 but essentially did not change his opinion. The items fr Transylvania cited fr a document written in 1592 by Attila Szabó T. (1975–1995/6: 331) are of essential importance. The same word had already been cited as a dial form fr Transylvania by B. Tóth (1899: 124), but Úrhegyi (1967: 484) claimed that all data fr the spoken lg and dials are late borrowings fr the literary lg, including the dial data cited by Tóth as well as those cited by B. Lőrinczy (1979–2002/3: 176) which had been collected in NW Hungary (Csallóköz). This can now be refuted, and it is clear that the word existed fr the NW to the SE of the H lg region and should be much older than its first appearance in the written sources. In hand with these data, one can also refute the notion that the word is a neologism invented in 1787 by Barczafalvi Szabó (see Úrhegyi 1967: 484; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 430), who was a teacher in Sárospatak (NE Hungary) and the author of several neologisms. He had to have taken it fr the spoken lg and if so, this points to a third region of Hungary. The word **kälinčäk* is present in Chuv in the regular form *kinśĕ* (< **kiläńčä* < **kälinčäγ* < **kälinčäg* < **kälinčäk*, cf. Chuv *kin* < *kälin* 'bride'). The H form *kelengye* points to an earlier form **kelinǰe*, which would regularly have come fr an earlier **kelinǰeγ*, a copy of a WOT **kälinčäγ*. On the final vowel in H *kelengye*, see § 6.2.2. The semantic change 'young bride' > 'weasel trousseau' > 'fur of the weasel, weasel' occurred in T. H copied the word with the meaning 'trousseau, dowry'.

◆ Munkácsi 1884a: 262; Tóth 1899: 124; Gombocz 1912b: 91–93; Hadrovics 1955a: 340–342; Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 12; Úrhegyi 1967: 482–484; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 156, 430; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 18; Szabó T. 1975–1995/6: 331; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 176; Martinez 1982: 162; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 116; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 723; Göckenjan–Zimonyi 2001: 36–42; Zimonyi 2003: 19–20.

KENDER [kender] 'hemp, *Cannabis*' | 1192/1374/1425 ? PN, GN *Kenderez* [kendereš], 1256/1367 GN *Kendurturlow* [kendür-törlöü], 1334 GN *Kenderusveulgh* [kender-

üš völď], c1395 *kender* [kender] | *kender* < **kendir* ← WOT **kändir* | EOT *käntir* 'hemp' ← ? IE.

OT *kentir* 'chanvre' (UHamTouHou), *känpä* 'a plant' (AK, Känjäk); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *kantăr* 'konoplja' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kinder* 'konoplja, holst, holstina, polotno' (Tat), *kinder* 'konoplja, penika, holst' (Bashk), *kinder* 'konoplja' (SibTatB), *kender* 'kendyr′, konoplja obyknovennaja' (Kirg), *kendĭr* 'konoplja, len' (KazB), *kendir* 'kendyr′, konoplja' (Kklp), *kendir* 'konoplja, len, pen′ka, špagat' (Nog), *kendir* 'konoplja' (CrTat), *kïndïr* 'konoplja' (KarH), *kendir* 'kendyr′, konoplja' (Kum), *kendir* 'konoplja' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kendir* 'kendyr′', *kendir yüp* 'verevka iz kandyrja, spagat' (Tkm), *kändir* 'verevka, kanat, pen′ka, kendyr′' (Az), *kendir* 'hemp; Lat. *Cannabis sativa*' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kendir* 'kendyr′' (Uzb), *kendir*, *kendi* 'hemp' (TurkiJ), *kändir* 'konoplja' (MUyg), *kenǰir* 'konoplja' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kendir* 'kendyr′, konoplja' (Alt), *kendir*, *kändir* 'der Hanf' (AltR), *kändir* 'der Hanf' (AltLR, AltTelR), *kendir* 'konoplja' (AltQK), *kindĭr* 'kendyr′, konoplja' (KhakB), *kändir* 'der Hanf' (KhakShR), *xendir* 'konoplja, len, verevka' (Tuv), *hendĭr* 'konoplja, kukeľ, pen′ka' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kenčr*, *kinčr* 'Hanfgewebe, Hanf' (Kalm).

E/T The T word is surely a cultural *Wanderwort* perhaps related to Ir **kana*, on which see Os *gæn* / *gænæ* 'hemp' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 512–513), which is a member of a greater IE word family **kanap* (see Lat *cannabis*, Grm *Hanf*, Eng *hemp* etc. (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 570–571) and Känjäk *känäp* in Kashgari). It is, however, not an original IE word because the initial *k-* is preserved in the *satem* lgs, including Os and Sl (cf. Sogd *kynp'*, Rus *konoplja*). According to Gamkrelidze–Ivanov, the *satem* form is present in Skrt and also in Scythian. We have to accept their opinion that the word, present in several other Eurasian lgs as well, is a migratory word of unknown origin. Os *gæn* was connected by Abaev (1958–1989/3: 60–68) with Os *sæn* 'wine', under the assumption that its older Scythian form **sana* had the meaning 'hemp' (cf. OIndo-Aryan *śaṇ-* 'hemp', see Mayrhofer (1992–2001/2: 605); Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995: 570)). The word is not present in Mo; the Kalm word seems to be of T origin, though it points to a form **kentir* and not *kendir*.

E/H The H word has been considered a T lw since Budenz (1873: 132), which was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 92–93), Ligeti (1986: 29, 290) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 441 and 1993–1997/1: 727).

◆ Budenz 1873: 132; Gombocz 1912b: 92–93; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 512–513; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 60–68; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 608–609; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 441; Ligeti 1986: 29, 290; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 605; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 727; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 570–571; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 805–806.

KÉNESŐ [kēnešȍ] *arch* 'mercury' | c1525 *kenesew* [kēnešȍ], 1533 *Kenőső* [kēnösȍ], c1560 *kęnyeső* [kēńešȍ], 1575 *kénefőt* [kēnešȍ-t], dial *kineső* [kinešȍ], *kinyeső* [kińešȍ] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 195) | *kēnesȍ* < **kenešū̆* ← WOT **kenä šū* | EOT *köne suvï* 'mercury, lit. "tick water"'.

OT *köne suvï* ‘Quecksilber’ (UHeilkI); **MT** *könüg suv* ‘vif-argent’ (UHy), *könesu* ‘rtut’ (AIM), *künesu* ‘cıva’ (AIMI); *kännä* ‘tique’, *kännä oti* ‘ricin’ (AChag, see Rus *kleščevina* ‘*Ricinus communis*’ and below), *köne suvï*, *köne suvu* ‘Quecksilber, *argentum viuum*, *viuum argentum*’ (LCC), *könäy su* ‘Quecksilber’ (AHou), *känä*, *könä* ‘klešč’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čĕrkĕměl* ‘rtuť’ (Chuv, see Tat *terekömeš*); ***NW*** *känä uti* ‘kleščevina’ (Tat), *känä üläne*, *känä uti* ‘orlïgïnnan kastorka maye alïna torgan ülän üsemlek, rusčasï kleščevina’, *künä suï* ‘terekömeš, gadäti šartlarda sïek bulgan jaltïravïk ak avïr metall’ (TatE), *künä suwi* ‘rtuť’ (TatD1), *künä suï* ‘rtuť’ (RTat), *künä su* ‘rtuť’ (SibTat), *kene* ‘klešč’ (Kirg), *kene* ‘tick’ (Kaz), *kene* ‘klešč’ (Kklp), *könesuv* ‘rtuť’ (Nog), *günesuv* ‘rtuť’ (Kum), *ginasuw* ‘rtuť’, *gäbä*, *gubu*, *gabu* ‘melkoe nasekomoe, pačuk’ (KrchBlk ← Os); ***SW*** *gänä* ‘tick’ (AzE), *kene* ‘tick, castor bean’ (Tt), *gene* ‘kene’ (TtD); ***Kh*** *kana* ‘Zecke’ (Kh ← Pe); ***SE*** *koinak su* ‘rtuť’ (UzbMalov, Abaev 1958–1989/1: 531), *kana* ‘klešč’ (Uzb), *kana* ‘klešč-krovosos’ (MUyg), *kana* ‘klešč, pʹjuščij krov u lošadej i volov’ (MUygD Aks); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *qubalġa*, *qubulġa* ‘parasite, mite, tick’, *qačiġ* ‘crab louse, phthirius, tick’, *möŋgün usu* ‘quicksilver, mercury’ (L).

Pe *kana* [känä] ‘tick’, *kanaha* [känähä] ‘ticks’ (Steingass).

Os *gʹïnasu* ‘rtuť’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 531 → Kab *gʹinasu*, *gĕnasu*, Circassian *gʹĕnasu*, Ubih *kenesu*, Chechen *ginsu*, cf. Os *gæbï*, *gïbï*, *gæbu* ‘klešč’).

E/T The word *känä* may be of Pe origin (see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 615–616), but it cannot be tied to MT *könüg*. Räsänen (1969: 290) linked this word to Chuv *künĕ*, *kunĕ*, *kun* ‘legko raskalyvajuščijsja’, that which is ‘easy to break’, but this is a misunderstanding. The Chuv word is T *köni* ‘straight, upright’ (Fedotov 1996/1: 307) fr *kön-* ‘to become straight’. In Chuv, it has the basic meanings ‘smirnyj, prostak, sgovorčivyj’, that is ‘quiet, simpleton, compliant’. In some contexts, e.g. in *künĕ śurălakan yïvaś* (Ašmarin 1928–1950/7: 75), it has the meaning ‘wood which is easy to split’.

The phrase *könä suvi* means ‘tick water’, that is ‘a fluid which is used against ticks, insects, mercury’. The word was copied by Os. The Os and H point to a WOT *-ä-* in the first syllable. One has the impression that two words were mixed: OT *könüg*, *könü*, *könä* and Pe *känä*.

The castor bean is called *känä otï* and figures as early as the Chag dicts. This may be a semantic copy of Rus *kleščevina* ‘castor bean’ (< *klešč* ‘tick’). According to Fasmer (1964–1973/2: 250), the Rus word may be a calque of Lat *ricinus* ‘tick, castor bean’. The Lat meanings may be due to the similarity of the tick and the castor bean, but it is also possible that the oil of the castor bean was used against ticks. In any case, **känä* and **könü*, in different compounds or alone, are present in one and the same T lg.

E/H Kuun (1880: 30, 94) was the first to suggest that the H word is of T origin. He compared the H word with Kaz *künä suvi* and CC *chonasuy*, *konessu*. This was

accepted by Gombocz (1907a: 253–254; 1912b: 93), who mentioned that the *-š-* may be a Chuv feature, but possibly also due to a H folk etymology: namely H *kén* [kēn] 'sulphur' and *eső* [ešő] 'rain' meaning 'sulphur rain'. Clauson (1972: 726) proposed that *š-* is of Chuv origin. Ligeti (1986: 303–304) noted that the H word is only documented fr the 16th c. on, and that this may point to a borrowing of a form **kenä suβ*. The use of mercury was distributed through long-range trade. In the Mo period it was exported fr Georgia. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 728), the word is a loan fr before 895 and is a copy of the compound OT **könä* 'Zecke' and OT **sub* 'Wasser'. He mentioned that the copied sibilant may have been *š* (of Chuv origin), with which the H folk etymology was later associated. I have to agree with Benkő. In spite of the relatively late first record of the word, we have to suppose that the H word is a copy of a form like **kenä šū* and not a Cum form like CC *könä suvï*, *könä suvu*. The labial vowel would have been preserved.

◆ Kuun 1880: 30, 94; Gombocz 1907a: 253–254; Gombocz 1912b: 93; Ašmarin 1928–1950/7: 75; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 531; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 615–616; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 250; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 442; Räsänen 1969: 290; Clauson 1972: 726; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 195; Ligeti 1986: 38, 303–304; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 728; Fedotov 1996/1: 307.

KENTREG 'breast strap' see **kömődörög**.

KÉP [kēp] 'picture, shape, form' | 1138/1329 PN ? *Kepís* [kep-iš], late 13th c./1310–1320 *kepeben* [kēp-ēben], but c1380 *yokypyn* [yō-kīp-in], p1416/1466 *kėp* [kēp] | *kēp* ← WOT **kāp* | EOT *kēp*, *kēb* 'mould, model'.

OT *kep* 'model' (UXuanzang 2110-2111, Clauson 1972: 686), *kēp* 'mould, like': *kärpič kēpi* 'brick mould', *qušlar kēpi učtïmïz* 'we flew like birds', Oguz: *bu är anïg kēpi* 'this man is like him' (AK); **MT** *bigin*, *kibin* 'come' (UM, see AM), *käbi*, *käbin* 'kak, podobno' (AHŠF), *kibi* 'like' (AKD), *bekin*, *käbin* 'podobno, podobnyj' (AM), *bikin*, *käbig*, *käbin* 'like' (ARbg), *bigi*, *biki*, *käbi* 'kak, podobno' (ATef), *kibi* 'an adv. of comparison meaning "like, resembling" placed after words' (AChagSC), *kibi* 'wie, solcher' (LCC), *käp* 'kalıp', *kibi* 'gibi' (AAH), *käbi* 'comme (comparaison)' (ABul), *kibik* 'comme (comparaison)' (ADur), *kibi*, *kibik* 'wie' (AKav), *kibi* 'gibi' (AMGhU), *kibi* 'gibi', *kibik* 'uzak için benzetme edatı' (ATuhA), *k'ibik'*, *k'ïybik'* 'comme' (AmTr), *kibik* 'kak, podobno' (AmD), *kibik* 'like, similar to' (AmCh), *anïŋ* (*munïŋ*) *kibik* 'comme cela, de même' (AmE), *bigi* 'gibi', *gibin* 'gibisini, gibi' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *kap* 'vnešnij vid, figura, ob´em, celyj', *pek* 'pohožij na kogo-čto-l.' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kebek*, *kebi* 'kak, kak budto, budto, slovno' (Tat), *kip* 'forma' (Bashk), *kip*: *kibe betü* 'vnešnij vid' (SibTat), *kep* 'forma, odežda, maska, čučelo' (Kirg), *kep* 'čušelo' (Kklp), *kibi* 'kak, podobno, budto' (CrTat), *kep* 'kolodka, forma, bolvan, bolvanka' (Kum), *kibik* 'kak, podobno, podobno tomu' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kip* 'obrazec, vid, tip, prenodjaščee (izmeničivoe) kačestvo' (Tt), *gibi* 'podobno, kak, podobno tomu, kak,

v kačestve' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kabi* 'napodobie, podobno, vrode, kak' (Uzb), *käbi* 'napodobie, podobno, vrode, kak, kak i' (MUyg), *k´ep*, *kep* 'forma, vid, obyčoj, ceremonija' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kep* 'forma, podobie, lico, maska' (Alt), *käp* 'das Mass, Modell, der Leisten, das Schema' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *kep* 'stan, forma, obrazec' (AltQK), *kip* 'forma, odežda, palto' (KhakB), *käp* 'das Mass, Modell, der Leisten, das Schema' (KhakShR), *xep* 'odežda, obmundirovanie, forma, šablon' (Tuv), *xep* 'odežda, obmundirovanie, forma, šablon' (Tof), *hep* 'forma, šablon, kolodka, vid, izobraženie' (TofKR); ***Y*** *kiäp* 'vykrojka, obrazec dlja krojki tkani ili kože, obrazec dlja vykrojki častej plat˝ja, forma, vid, obraz, obličie' (Y).

Mo *keb* 'mould, pattern, model, type, form, shape', *kege* 'pattern, design, ornament' (L).

E/T The word is a simplex with a long vowel and originally with a final *-p*. In keeping with Chuv *kap*, the WOT vowel must have been a long open /ā̄/, while the EOT had a long closed /ē/. With Px3.sg, or even without it, the word had the meaning 'like' as early as OT (see AK). We find very early metathetic forms like *peki*, *begi* etc. (see also Chuv *pek*). According to Szemerényi (1978–1979: 391–392), the word is of Ir origin. He cited Avestan *kṛp* 'das sichtbare Äußere, äußere Erscheinung, sichtbare Gestalt, Leib, Körper'. There was a *šwa* (*ə*) before the *r̥*, and a form like **kərp* would have produced *kep* in T. To this we can add Pah *kirb* 'body, form' (MacKenzie 1986: 51; Nyberg 1974: 113; Nyberg–Utas–Toll 1988: 111 read *karp-*, Manichean Pe *kyrb*, Pazānd *karf* → Arm *kerp*). A final cluster like *-rp* is allowed in T, as in *yarp* (see **gyarapodik**). In this position, an *-r-* would not disappear in copied forms. The long closed *ē* in the T word also excludes the Ir origin of this word. The OChSl *kap* 'idol' (see also *kapišče* 'pagan church') is of T origin (see Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 185). A further argument against the Ir origin of the T word is Mo *kege*, which reflects an AT **kepĕ* or **kēpĕ*. H and Sl preserved the final unvoiced *-p*. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 668), Mo *keb* is a lw fr T and Mo *kege* is the regular reflex of PA **kép'à*.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 159) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. This was accepted by all H authorities. The only question left open is whether the H long *ē* reflects an OT long close *ē* or the length is a secondary H feature common in monosyllabic words. It is important to note that the H word became a postposition in the sense of 'like, as' and it became a suff in ModH, which still has only one vocalic form *+képp(en)* (see e.g. *semmiképp* 'in no way' (*semmi* 'nothing') and *másképp* (not **máskáp*) 'in another way' (*más* 'other')). Ligeti (1986: 190–191) pointed out the parallel change of function in T, and supposed that the change was triggered in H by T during the T–H bilingualism. For a similar case, see **kor**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 159; Gombocz 1912b: 93–94; Németh 1942a: 6–7; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 185; Kiss 1964a: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 447–448; Clauson 1972: 686; Nyberg 1974: 113; Szemerényi 1978–1979: 391–

392; Ligeti 1986: 190–191; MacKenzie 1986: 51; Nyberg–Utas–Toll 1988: 111; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 730–731; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 668.

KEPE [kepe] ‘shock, shook, sheaves placed crosswise, also a unit of grain paid or given’ | 1138/1329 PN ? *Kepís* [kepī-š], c1395 *kepe* [kepe] | *kepe* < **kepeγ* ← WOT **käpäγ* | EOT *käpi-* ‘to dry somewhat’, MT *käpäg*, Bashk *kibä*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *kepi-* ‘to dry somewhat’: *tōn kepidi* ‘the surface of the garment dried somewhat’ (AK); **MT** *kebeg* ‘bran’ (AKD = Mo *kebeg* ‘residue’ both read as *kebek*), *kepe* ‘aus Rohr oder Stroh geflochtene Hütte’ (AChagŠSK), cf. *keben* ‘Haufe’ (LCC); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tip-* (sic!) ‘sohnuť, sušiťsja’, *tipĕ* ‘suhoe mesto, suš’’, *tipĕ ută* ‘suhoe seno’, *kapan* ‘kopna, stog, skirda, skird’ (← Tat), *kupa* ‘kuča, gruda, kripa, stopka, burt, voroh, malen′kaja kopna, stožok’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *kib-* ‘sohnuť, vysyhať, sušiťsja’, *kibän* ‘stog’, *kübä* ‘voroh sena (kotoryj možno podnjať vilami v odin priem), valok (napr. sžatogo, na svjazannogo v sponu hleba), dial. kopna (sena)’ (Tat), *kibän* ‘Schober, Femen’ (TatB), *kib-* ‘sohnuť, vysyhať’, *kipše-* ‘vysyhať, podsyhať’, *käbän* ‘stog’, *kibege-* ‘sohnuť, hudeť (ot bolezni, pereživanij i.t.p.)’, *kibene-* ‘sušiťsja’, *kibän* ‘stog’, *käbäk*, *käwen* ‘mjagkina’, *kibe* = *säsä* [see below: ‘? poparno sostavlennye snopy (tretij staviťsja sverhu s kolos′jami vniz)’], *kübä* ‘kopna (sena)’ (Bashk), *kiben* ‘stog’ (BashkD3), *kibän*, *käbän*, *kämäl*, *kimäl* ‘stog sena’, *kübä* ‘volk (voroh sena)’ (Sib-Tat), *kep-* ‘podsohnuť, podvjliťsja’, *kepe* ‘šalaš, izbuška’, *čöp kepe* ‘šalaš iz travy, iz sena’ (Kirg), *kep-* ‘to dry, to dry up, to get dry’, *kepe* ‘hut, cattle fence, corral’, *kepken* ‘dried up, withered’, *keptir-* ‘to dry, to drain’ (Kaz), *kep* ‘zasuhať, vysuhať’, *kebiü* ‘zasyhanie’, *kepken* ‘suhoj’ (Kklp), *kep-* ‘zasyhať’ (Nog), *kep-* ‘podsyhať’, *keben* ‘stog, omet’ (CrTat), *kep-*, *kebi-* ‘vysyhať, sohnuť, zasyhať’ (Kum), *keb-* ‘sušiťsja, sohnuť’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kepe-* ‘sohnuť, vysyhať’, *kepbe* ‘ščity, spletennye iz kamyša, tamariska i.t.p., mazanka, hata’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kep-*, *käbi-* ‘sohnuť, vysyhať’ (UzbD, Blagova 1997: 45); ***NE*** *kep-* ‘obsyhať, podsyhať’ (Tuv), *ke″p-* ‘obsyhať, podsyhať’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kebeg*, *kebig* ‘husk, peel, chaff, bran’ (L).

E/T We have to exclude fr the word family *käpä*, *käppä*, *käpbä* ‘hut made of straw or other dry plants’, which seems to be a Pe–Ar word, on which see Blagova (1997: 46–47). The T word **käpän* > *käbän*, VKip *kiben*, Chuv *kapan* etc. ‘stack, rick’ may go back to the verb *käp-* ‘to dry out’ with the suff *-Xn*, which forms subject nominals for intr verbs (Erdal 1991: 300–308). Perhaps we are dealing with the word for the mowed and gathered crop or grass, hay for drying. The H word can only go back to a T **käpäg*, where the suff *-(X)g* (Erdal 1991: 172–223) has the same function as *-Xn*. I have not encountered this or forms that go back to this structure. See, however, AKD *käbäk* ‘bran’, Kklp *käbiü* ‘dried something’. The latter goes back to a form *käpig*.

AKD *käbäk* 'bran' may also be read as *käbäg*, like its MMo equivalent, which is surely *kebeg* and not *kebek*, as read in Golden (2000: 294). In many cases, AKD writes only one dotted <b> instead of three dotted <p>, thus it remains unclear whether this must be read as *käpäg* or *käbäg*. Theoretically, the word for 'husk, peel, chaff, bran' may have denoted the material fr which a shock was made. But, in fact, this is hardly possible semantically. The shock (H *kepe*) consisted of crops and not of husk or bran.

In the Bashk–Rus dictionary by Uraksin (1996: 269), we find a word *kibä* with the remark that it is a dial word equivalent to *säsä*[3]. In the dict, there is no *säsä*[3], but we find *säsä*[1] 'ščetka (nad kopytom lošadi) [fetlock (of horses above the hoof)], poparno postavlennye snopy (tretij stavitsja kolos´jami vniz) [sheaves placed in a pair and the third is placed above with its ears upside down]', and *säsä*[2] 'rogatina (medved´ja) [bear spear]' on page 573. Bashk *kibä* has to be equivalent to *säsä*[1] and *säsä*[3] must be a mistake on the part of the editors. Bashk *kibä* (< **kepä*) is exactly equivalent to H *kepe*. None of the three dial dicts at my disposal, nor the Bashk wordlist of Pröhle, has the word *kibä*. The words noted by Tumaševa fr the SibTat dials *kibän*, *käbän*, *kämäl*, *kimäl* 'stack, rick (of hay)' are interesting. They may be connected with the Bashk word *kibä* in the same way as Bashk *kibän* and *käbän* are. However, the morphology of Bashk *kibä* is not quite clear. It is less probable that Bashk *kibä* is a delabialised form of *kübä* 'kopna sena'. The latter is a lw fr Rus *kopa* 'kuča sena' (see Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 316), which goes back to a PSl **kopa* fr **kopati* (see Trubačev 1974–1995/11: 10–12). In Chuv, we find the verb *tip-* 'to dry out', which shows a regular phonetic correspondence to Kip *kip-* < *kep-* (see Fedotov 1996/2: 233–234; Blagova 1997: 45) because of the strong palatalisation of the *k-* before *-i-*. Chuv *tipĕ* has the meaning 'dry place, dry, everything dry or dried', *tipĕ ută* 'dry hay'. This goes back to **kepi* or **kepe* but not to **kepä*.

E/H The H word was connected with T words by Vámbéry (1870: 159) and Munkácsi (1884a: 262), but first seriously dealt with by Gombocz (1912b: 94). According to Gombocz, the H words *kepe* and **kéve** may be tied to the VKip and Chuv words. **kéve** would reflect **kebän* and *kepe* could be related to *kübä*. Kniezsa has covered the possible Sl origin of H *kepe* suggested by Moór (1931: 61). According to Moór, H *kepe* has to be linked to Sl **kopa*. Kniezsa refuted this suggestion. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 448–449), the H word *kepe* is of debated origin. It is either of Sl or T origin, with the first being more likely. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 731) states that the origin of the H word remains unclear, and supposes that the T forms are of Sl origin. This and the lack of a clear T prototype point to the Sl origin of the H word. Benkő is right when he points out that the T forms *kübä* etc. are of Sl origin, and more properly of Rus origin. Though T *kübä* should be an early Rus lw in the Volga region (Sl *kopa* ⟶ T *kübä*), both its Sl and T forms have to be excluded fr the possible candidates for the prototype of H *kepe* for

phonetic (first syllable is labial in Sl) and chronological reasons. If Bashk *kibä* goes back through **kebä* to an earlier **käpä*, which is phonetically possible, this may be the origin of the H word. It would be the same word as Chuv *tipĕ* << **käpä*. If this can be substantiated, morphologically we could depart fr a form **käpäg* 'what is dried or for drying' and Bashk *kibä* would be a lw fr MChuv **kipä* < **käpä* < *käpä*, with which compare Kklp *käbiü* < **käpäg*.

At present, the whole background is uncertain. The H word **kéve** 'sheaf, gavel' was taken as a parallel form with the same origin as *kepe* (Gombocz 1912b: 94; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 731). If the etymon for the H word *kepe* has anything to do with *kep-* 'to dry', then **kéve** cannot be related to *kepe*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 159; Munkácsi 1884a: 262; Gombocz 1912b: 94; Moór 1931: 61; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 316; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 448–449; Trubačev 1974–1995/11: 10–12; Erdal 1991: 172–223, 300–308; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 731; Fedotov 1996/2: 233–234; Uraksin 1996: 269, 573; Blagova 1997: 45–47; Golden 2000: 294.

KEREP [kerep] *arch dial* 'a kind of ship' | 1248/1421 *de navi quæ kerep dicitur* [kerep], 1422 *unum magnum navem kerep* [kerep], 1621 *kerépes* [kerēp-eš], dial *kerep* [kerep] (Keresztes 1952: 293), *kiskerep* [kiš kerep] 'one of the boats on which a water mill stands' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 374) | *kerep* ← WOT **käräp* | MT *käräp* ← Gr.

OT –; **MT** *käräp* 'gemi' (AAH), *kärräb* 'vaisseau, navire' (ABul), *käräp* 'Fahrzeug' (AHou), *k'ẹrap*, *k'orap* 'caissem cercueil, (?) vaisseau' (AmTr), *kärap* 'navire' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *karap* 'korabl', sudno' (Chuv); ***NW*** *käräp* 'das Schiff – aus dem Russ.' (TatR), *käräplä* 'das Schiff – aus dem Russ.' (SibTatTR ← Rus), *gerep*, *geräb*, *geréb* 'sudno, korabl'' (Kar); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *käräp* 'das Schiff – aus dem Russ' (AltR); ***Y*** –.

E/T It is interesting that, although the word was noted by Radloff as being fr Kasan Tat, it cannot be found in any of the Tat or Bashk dicts available to us. The Chuv word may be of Tat origin, but may also be much earlier. On phonological grounds, we cannot rule out that the word was copied before the Chuv moved to the Volga–Kama region. It is possible that they borrowed it when they lived North of the Black Sea. The T word occurs in MGr, for which see *κάραβος*, *καράβιον* (detailed data in Golden 1985–1987: 98–99), spoken Lat *carabus*, It *caravella*, Ar *qārib* etc. According to Fasmer, the Gr word entered the Sl lgs very early because of the preserved *-b-*. See Rus *korabl'*, Blg *kórab*, SerbCroat *kòrâb*, *kòrabl'a*, Czech, Slvk *koráb*, Pol *korab* (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 321). The origin of the Gr words, however, is unclear. It has been connected with OGr *κάραβος* 'stag beetle, crab'. The Gr origin of the Sl word has been questioned by some scholars (see the long treatment and bibliography in Trubačev 1974–1995/11: 45–49). One of the main problems is the position of the stress. The Rus word has the word stress on the second syllable at present, hence the first vowel is unstressed and very near to the sound *a*. This is also the case in the Rus dials, where we also find *korábъ* and *karáp* (see Trubačev 1974–1995/11: 46). This

is the reason why Radloff suggested the Rus origin of the T word. However, e.g., the stress in the Blg and SerbCroat forms is placed on the first syllable. The MGr form places the stress on the first syllable, the NGr *καράβι* on the second. It looks like a migrating cultural word which was copied back and forth several times. Whatever the origin of the Sl word, the T word is an independent lw fr MGr *κάραβ-*(*ος*). The front-vocalic character of the T word is due to the *k-* in MGr. The *Rasūlid Hexaglot* (see Golden 2000: 143, col 193 A No 25) noted the MGr form with Ar letters as <K'R'FYN> *karavin*, written with keph (see also Golden 1985–1987: 98–99).

E/H Kniezsa (1955: 253–254, 667) refuted the idea that the H word is of Sl origin, and claimed that it is of T, more precisely of Cum origin, while the word *karab*, occurring only once in a H document (1550) is South Sl in origin. This has been accepted by Benkő, who added that perhaps the word came into Cum through Eastern OSl or ORus (1967–1984/2: 455–456; 1993–1997/1: 735). The word has not been dealt with by Ligeti. The word cannot be of Ott origin for chronological reasons. However, the fact that it is documented in the dial of South Hungary (in Ormányság, along the River Dráva) and it is not known in the dials of the two Cumanias, may point to a Kip der fr the Balkans. On the Kipchaks of the "Second Bulgarian Khanate", see Vásáry (2005: 13–56). While the hapax *karab* is a lw fr South Sl, the H word was re-borrowed by SerbCroat in the form *kerep* and has been documented since 1852 (see Hadrovics 1985: 306).

◆ Zajączkowski 1949: 15; Keresztes 1952: 293; Kniezsa 1955: 253–254, 667; H. and R. Kahane–Tietze 1958: 780; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 321; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 455–456; Räsänen 1969: 255; Trubačev 1974–1995/11: 45–49; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 374; Hadrovics 1985: 306; Golden 1985–1987: 98–99; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 735; Golden 2000: 143; Vásáry 2005: 13–56.

KÉRŐDZIK [kērȭdzik] 'to ruminate (of bovines)' | p1372/c1448 *kerewdnek* [kērȭdnek], p1416 *kerǫdǫznèk* [kērȭdöz-nek], 1585 *kerȯzni* [kērȭz-ni], 1760 *kȯrȯdzȯ* [körȭdz-ȭ] | *kērȭdzik-* < *kēr-* {with suffs *-Ōdz-* and *-ik-*} ← WOT **käwir-* || **kérő** [kērȭ] 'cud' | 1551 *kerȯt rag* [kērȭ-t rāg] (Heltai Bible, Benkő 1967–1984/2: 463), 1585 *kerȯ* [kērȭ], *kerȯragas* [kērȭ rāgāš] 'rumen, cud, rumination' (Calepinus, Kálmán 1958: 352), dial *kérő* [kērȭ], *kírő* [kīrȭ], *kűrű* [kűrű] 'cud' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 237–238) | *kērȭ* < **kevreɣ* < **keverey* ← WOT **käwiräg* < *käv-* {with suffs *-(I)r-* and *-Ag*} | EOT *käv-* 'to chew', *kävšä-* 'to chew the cud', T *kävir-* 'to chew' < *käv-* 'to chew' {with suff *-(I)r-*} | To be separated fr *kävrä-* 'to be or become weak', *kävräk* 'fragile'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *kövšek* 'flasque, lâche, mou, tendre' (UHamTouHou), *kävgäk* 'a stammerer' (UWarnke, Erdal 1991: 393), *käv-* 'to chew without swallowing, to stammer, to soften, to weaken', *kävšä-* 'to ruminate (of a camel), to become soft (of something hard), to become leavened, well baked (of bread)': *kävšäk ätmäk* 'good leavened bread, well baked and wholesome, become soft', *kävrä-* 'to weaken': *anïg küči kävrädi* 'his

strength weakened' (also of anything hard whose strength weakens) (AK); **MT** ? PN *Kävši* (UCiv), *käv-*: *kävšä-* 'gevşemek', cf. *qovšat-* 'gevşetmek' (AHMA), *kev-*: *kevšedi kele* 'životnoe pereževyvalo žvačku' (AChagMA), *kev-*: *gevše-* (spelt) 'to chew the cud' (AChagSC), *kev-*: *qavša-* '[?] g/kevšelmek' (AChagŠS), *kev-*: *ġavša-* 'čene oynadup aġïzda šeyi öyütmek, sert šeyi yumušak etmek, gevšemek, činemek; im Munde zerkauen, einen harten Gegenstand erweichen, kauen; bošamaq, münhal olmak, sakïz gibi čïnamak, devenin dïš gevišmesi; sich scheiden, aufgelöst werden, Wiederkäuen des Kameels', *kev-*: *ġavšaq* 'yumušaq, mülayim, boš; weich, sanft, leer' (AChagŠSK), *kev-*: *kävšädi* 'geviş getirdi' (AAH), *kev-*: *gevdi* 'dişi ile çiğnedi, ezdi, ağızda geveledi' (AAHI), *kevšen-* 'geviş getirmek' (ATuhA), *gev-* 'ağızda çiynemek, gevelemek', *gevše-* 'geviş getirmek', *geyše-* (mistranscribed *geŋše-*) 'gevşemek', cf. *qaġša-*, *qaxša-*, *qaxšaš-* 'bir şeyin parçaları gevşeyip dağılacak hale gelmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *kavlek* 'žvačka, kavlem ževok, razževannaja pišča' (Chuv), *kavle* 'žvačka u žvačnyh životnyh' (ChuvA), *kavle-*, *kavlya-*, *kevle-*, *kelle-* 'ževať (žvačku)' (ChuvA, Fedotov 1996/1: 210); ***NW*** *küšä-* 'ževať žvačku, postojanno esť' (Tat), *köyšä-* 'ževať, pereževať', *köyöš* 'žvačka (životnyh)' (Bashk), *küyšö-* 'ežiťsja (verhnej častťju korpusa), ževať žvačku' (Kirg), *küyse-* 'ževať žvačku, pereževyvať' (KazB), *güyse-* 'ževať žvačku (peren.) govoriť neskoľko raz odno i to že' (Kklp), *küyze-* 'ževať' (Nog), *kevšek* 'rasslablennyj, slabyj, žvačka' (CrTat), *güyše-* 'ževať žačku' (Kum), *küwšen-* (Krch), 'ževať, perekusiť' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gävüš* 'dišleriŋ bilen čeynelende edilyän xereket' (Tkm), *gövšä-* 'ževať, pereževyvať' (Az), *gev-* 'to chew, to mumble (in the mouth)', *gevir-* 'to chew, mumble', *geviş-* 'to chew the cud, to ruminate', *geviş* 'a chewing the cud, rumination' (Tt), *gevše-* 'slabeť, toščať' (Gag); ***Kh*** *kə̄viš-* 'wiederkäuen' (Kh); ***SE*** *kavša-* 'ževať žvačku' (Uzb), *köyši-* 'ževať, pereževivať' (MUyg); ***NE*** *kepše-* 'ževať žvačku, (peren.) šambať' (Alt), *kebir-* 'gryzť' (AltL), *kipsen-* 'esť, ževať na hodu' (Khak), *kegžen-* 'ževať žvačku' (Tuv), *keġže-* 'ževať žvačku (o životnyh)' (Tof); ***Y*** *käbin-* 'ževať žvačku' (Y).

Mo *kebi-* 'to ruminate, chew the cud' (L).

E/T The basic word is *käv-* but it is debated whether this is one verb or two homophonous verbs, one for 'to chew' and the other for 'to weaken'. Németh (1962: 212) even writes of an OT nomen verbum **käb*(-), *käv*(-), *käm*(-), including *käm-* 'to gnaw' (cf. OT *kämür-* id.). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 5–7) separated the last one and only referred to a possible connection with it (1974–1980/3: 18–19). Menges (1955: 748) mentioned a potential relationship with IE **gi̯eu, ĝ(i̯)eu* 'kauen' (Pokorny 1959–1969/1: 400). Also, Erdal supposed that the word for 'to chew' is of IE origin (1991: 420). According to Németh, the IE link is "nicht ganz überzeugend" (1962: 212). Erdal separated *käv-* 'to chew', which is, according to him, "probably borrowed from some Indo-European language" (1991: 328), and *käv-* 'to weaken', under the assumption that they are two different, homophonous words (see also in the index, p. 860). Ac-

cording to Kashgari, *käv-* not only has the meaning ‘to chew’, but ‘to chew without swallowing, hence one also says this if somebody is stammering’. This is a very clear hint that the word is associated with the rumination of animals, and the Mo counterpart also denotes only this, i.e. ‘to chew the cud’. On an OT chronological level, the two words for ‘to chew (the cud)’ and ‘to weaken’ are surely two different words. If they are related, the link has to go back to a much earlier time (what is chewed is weak, softened?), but this can neither be corroborated nor refuted. For our purposes, we have to separate the word *käv-* ‘to chew’ and its ders fr *käv-* ‘to weaken’, on which see **kőrő**.

A verb has been derived fr the verb *käv-* ‘to chew the cud, ruminate’ with the rare suff *-(I)r-* (Erdal 1991: 535–538). This is hitherto attested only in Tt *gävir-* ‘to chew, to mumble’. A noun *käviš* was formed with the suff *-Xš* fr the basic verb *käv-* ‘to chew the cud’ (Erdal 1991: 262–275) and it meant ‘the chewing of the cud, rumination’ (see Bashk *köyöš*, Kaz *küyis*, Tkm *gāvüš*, Az *köyüš*, Tt *gäviš*, Uzb *kävš*); Chuv *kavle* < **kävil* with lambdacism. Erdal derives the verb *kävšä-* ‘to ruminate’ fr ‘to soften’ and ultimately ‘to weaken’, separating it fr ‘to chew’, which is not convincing (Erdal 1991: 420). The verb **kävišä-* > *kävšä-* ‘to ruminate’ was formed fr the noun *käviš* with the den suff *+A-* (Erdal 1991: 420); this verb is present in almost all of our sources and also reflected in Chuv *kavle-* etc. The Chuv forms point to a strong palatalisation of the *-l-* due to the following palatal *-i-* and the change can be reconstructed as **kävil* > **kavilä-* > *kavle-*, *kavlʹa-*, *kevle-*, *kelle-*. The verb *kämir-* ‘to gnaw’ must be separated fr this verb (cf. Németh 1962: 212). The verb *kävrä-*, *küvrä-* etc. ‘to become weak’, in contrast to Németh’s position, has likewise nothing to do with the word under discussion (see H **kőrő**); it is derived fr *käv-* ‘to weaken’.

E/H The word was tied to T *kägür-*, *kärgü-* ‘to belch, eruct’ (cf. Tt *gäġir-* id.) by Thúry and Vámbéry (1914: 180). Gombocz (1912b: 27) considered the H word to be the result of an inner formation fr the H verb *kér-* ‘to ask for’. Beke (1953: 479) claimed that there existed a verb *kér-* ‘to ruminate’ in H, which had dial forms in the Ormányság (Southwest Hungary), *kür-* and *kűr-*, and it was fr this that the H word was formed. According to Kálmán (1958: 354), the H word is of FUgr origin and has to be linked to a FUgr base **kerɜ-* (*kērɜ-*). Lakó (1967–1978/2: 354) wrote that the word has two, equally possible etymologies, one fr T *kävir-* and the other fr FUgr and cites the same words as Kálmán fr Vog, Zyr and Voty. They see the problem with the FUgr origin more on the semantic side. The FUgr words denote ‘rülpsen, aufstossen’ and the change to ‘ruminate’ had to occur in H. According to Rédei (1986–1991/1: 151), H *kérődz-* is “möglicherweise eine Entlehnung aus dem Türk”. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 463; 1993–1997/1: 769), both the FUgr and the T origin of the word are possible, but the der fr a H verb *kér-* ‘to ask for’ (in the sense of ‘to ask back from the stomach’) is unlikely. However, the OH word *kérő* ‘cud’ may point to a H verb *kér-*,

which has nothing to do with *kér-* 'to ask for'. Németh (1962a: 30–36) has argued in favour of the T origin of the word but supposed a broader T background. He claimed that *käv-*, *käb-* and *käm-* all belong together, and *kävirik* (see **kőrő**) 'fragile etc.' also form part of this word family, which is not acceptable. Németh's argument against a possible FUgr der of the word is of a semantic nature. According to him, the FUgr words that mean 'to belch, eruct' are of onomatopoeic character. Palló (1982: 130–131) regarded the H word as being T in origin, but also did not separate the words for 'to weaken' and 'to chew the cud'. Interestingly enough, Ligeti (1986 and elsewhere) did not even mention the verb *kérődzik-* but did deal with **kőrő** (1986: 63), which means that he did not consider the two words to be of common origin.

The H word *kérődzik-* is a H der. Its suff *-Ódz-ik-*, which is a compound one, forms refl verbs with a durative aspect fr tr and intr verbs (D. Bartha 1958: 50). Its base is *kér-* and recent forms in the H dials like *kérő* 'cud' and old forms like those fr the beginning of the 15th c., *kerdes* 'eructatio' (< **kerődés*), *kerő* 'beim Wiederkäuen aufgestoßene Speise etc.' (see Kálmán 1958: 352; Németh 1962: 216; Berrár–Károly 1984: 398) point to the fact that H had an earlier verb *kér-* 'to ruminate', as suggested by Beke (1953: 479) and Németh (1962: 216–217). The H word also has labial variants in the dials; see *kőrzik-*, *kűrűzik-*, *kírőzzik-* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 238). Fr T *-ävi-*, we would expect a long /ɔ̄/ in H (see **kőris**, **kőrő**, **őröl**, **sőreg**). This would mean that the original form was *kőr-ődzik-* and the first vowel was delabialised in most dials (*kérődzik-*), but preserved in the Transdanubian ones. This scenario is possible (see also Németh 1962: 216). The problems around the semantics do not seem to be decisive. The Voty, Zyr and Vog words may be independent formations, but also old copies of the T word. The terminology of keeping reindeer contains many borrowings fr T lgs. On the other hand, a H *kér-* 'eruct' > 'ruminate' fr a FUgr **kerɜ-* cannot be excluded. It is mainly the fact that the terminology of a more developed animal husbandry in H is of T origin that favours the T origin of the basic verb. See **köpcös**, **köpec**, **kőrő**.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 27; Vámbéry 1914: 180; Beke 1953: 479; Menges 1955: 748; D. Bartha 1958: 50; Kálmán 1958: 352–354; Pokorny 1959–1969/1: 400; Németh 1962: 212, 216; Németh 1962a: 30–36; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 463; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 354; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 5–7, 18–19; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 237–238; Palló 1982: 130–131; Berrár–Károly 1984: 398; Ligeti 1986: 63; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 151; Erdal 1991: 262–275, 328, 393, 420, 535–538, 860; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 769; Fedotov 1996/1: 210; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 667.

KERT [kert] 'garden, place for animals' | 1055 ? GN *kert hel* [kert hel′], 1221 GN *kertes* [kert-eš], c1395 *kerth* [kert] | *kert* < *kert*(*e*) ← WOT **kärtä* | VBulg **kärtä* (← Os *kärt* ← Ir < IE **garda*) → Mord, Zyr *karda* (→ Vog and Osty *karda*), Tat *kirte*, Bashk *kärtä* etc.

Of possible T origin.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *karta* ‘izgorod (iz žerdej, pruťev), zagorodka, prjaslo, ograda, zagraždenie, zagon, hlev (s krysej iz žerdej), snopy složennye krest nakrest (dlja suški), rjad, val (skošennoj travy), krug, zapadnja, lovuška (dlja ptic i zverej), krug, oreol’, *ankarti* ‘gumno, ogorod, dvor’ [*an* < *avăn* ← Rus *ovin* ‘the place where corn is dried’], *kilkarti* ‘dvor’ [*kil* ‘house’] (Chuv); ***NW*** *kirtä* ‘izgorod, ograda, zagorodka, tyn, žerd, prjaslo’ (Tat), *karde*, *kardï* ‘izgorod v polje dlja skota’, *kirte* ‘perekladina v izbe’ (TatD1), *kardï* ‘izgorod v polje dlja skota’, *kirtä* ‘ljuboj vid hleva krome srubnogo, nadvornye podstrojki’ (TatD2), *kärtä* ‘šest. žerď, izgorod, ograda, zagorodka (iz žerdej), hlev’ (Bashk), *kärtä* ‘dvornye podstrojki’ (BashkD2), *kärtä* ‘žerdi pod kryšej saraja, hlev’ (BashkD3), *kirtä* ‘hlev’ (SibTat), *kerte* ‘feeding rack, fence, enclosure’ (Kaz, local WC), *kerte* ‘bagana [pole, post], tulguur [pole for pushing or propping]’ (Kaz, Mongolian); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *qarsi* ‘palace’ (L).

FUgr Zyr *karta* ‘hlev, častʹ doma, gde nahoditsja hlev s senovalom’, MordM *karδ* ‘konjušnja, hlev’, MordE *karδač* ‘dvor’, *karδaz*, *kaldač* ‘dvor, hlev’, Osty *karta*: *karta-xār* ‘dvor, dvorovaja losadʹ’, Vog *kart* ‘dvor, dom’ (Wichmann 1903: 69–70; Egorov 1964: 91; Fedotov 1996/1: 232–233; ← VBulg).

Toch *kerc*(*i*)*ye* (pl) ‘palace’ < **karči* → OT *karšï* ‘palace’ (→ Pe *qarši*) → Mo *qarsi*.

Rus dial *kárda* ‘zadnyj dvor, zagon dlja skota (Tambov, Samara, Simbir, Orenburg)’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 196–197), ‘prigoroda, skotnyj dvor na pole, baz, bazok, zagorod dlja skota, ogorod v pole dlja ovoščej’ (Dalʹ 1863–1866/2: 92; ← VT).

Other **IE** Arm *k’ert’* ‘gorod’ (already in Hesiodos), Got *garda* ‘zagon’ (see Abaev 1958–1989/1: 586–587).

Cauc Chechen *kert*, Ingush *kärt* ‘izgorod, zabor’, Geor (Western dial) *karta*, *kal’ta* ‘ogoroženno mesto dlja skota’, Megrel *karta* id. (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 587).

E/T The T word has only been distributed in the Volga region and Kaz, and goes back to an early MChuv or VBulg form **kärtä*. This entered Mord and Zyr. The Osty and Vog words are lws fr Zyr. Also, the Rus dial forms go back to a VBulg **kärtä*. Behind this linguistic distribution there is a well described ethnographic complex of a type of fence or enclosure originally used for cattle and horses. This later became part of the yard among the settled Turks, Finno-Ugrians and Russians in the region.

The VBulg word is not of T origin. The only possibility would be to suppose a dev formation fr the verb **kärit-* ‘to let to stretch out’ (< *kär-* ‘to stretch out (e.g. a cord)’) with the suff *-I*: **käriti* > **kärti*. However, the Chuv *karta* can only reflect an earlier **kärtä* and not *kärti*. On the other hand, the VBulg word can hardly be separated fr the Ir and non-Ir words cited above. The ultimate source of these words is IE **g^{h}erd^{h}*(*-t^{h}*) ‘to fence in, surround’ (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 647–648). See Gr *χόρτος* ‘fenced area, fence, garden’, Welsh *garth* ‘enclosed area’ etc. However, the

words do not always follow the linguistic rules supposed for the given lgs. This may be due to the fact that this is once more a case of a cultural migrating word. The word entered the lg of the Bulgars fr an Ir lg, when they were still in the south. According to Abaev (1958–1989/1: 587), the Os word *kært* cannot be a regular continuation of the IE base, because we would then expect **kard*. According to Joki (1973: 269), the irregularity in the Os form is due to its "Scythian-Sarmatian" origin, fr which the Toch word also stems.

E/H According to Bárczi (1951: 20–21), the H word is of FUgr der. It is an old dev der fr a verbal base **ker* (< FUgr *kerä* or *kērä*-), which now only exists in ders like H *kerül*- 'to go round', *kerít*- 'to fence, enclose', *kereng*- 'to circle', where it is frequent (on the FUgr origin of the base verb, see Lakó 1967–1978/2: 354–356). This has also been Benkő's view (1967–1984/2: 463–464; 1984: 98, 103–104; 1993–1997/1: 739). According to them, the Os word is of H origin. Joki, Abaev and Ligeti doubted this. According to Joki and Abaev, the H word originates fr Os. Ligeti (1986: 173) supposed that the similarity of the H and Os words is due to chance.

There did exist a very old dev suff *-t* in H, as can be seen fr the noun *holt* 'died' < *hal* 'die'. But in most cases, it is also *-Vt* with monosyllabic verbal stems as in *falat* 'a bit' < *fal*- 'to bite', *főzet* 'decoction' < *főz*- 'to cook' and many others (see D. Bartha 1958: 78). This suff was already *-Vt* in the same document in which we find *kert*: the *Foundation Deed* of the Abbey of Tihany, 1055: *zakadat* [sakadat] 'precipice, abyss' < *szakad*- [sakad] 'to get torn, break'. It is very unlikely, though not impossible, that the H word *kert* is a H der fr a FUgr base. It is improbable that a H word *kert* 'garden, place for animals', Os *kært* 'garden' belongs to two different sources, and it is also unlikely that the Os word is of H origin. The question of H lws in Os has been discussed in the literature with the conclusion that none of the H words suggested (*kert*, *részeg*, *tölgy*) were copied into Os (see Ligeti 1986: 173). On the other hand, H *kert* cannot be connected directly with BulgT/OChuv **kärtä* because the final open *-ä* would have been preserved. A possible solution is that all three lgs, Os, H and T, copied the word fr an Early Middle East Ir lg other than Os. It is surely an oversimplification to consider that Os is the direct continuation of Al and that Al may have had different dials (see Harmatta 1951: 261–312). It is less possible that H *kert* is a back-formation fr a copy like **kerte* (← WOT *kärtä*), which was felt to have a poss suff (see 1285 Particulam terre Scege*kerthe* vocatam (Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906, c485), 1363 Prima loco Artolf*kerte* incipi (ibid)).

◆ Daľ 1863–1866/2: 92; Munkácsi 1893a: 120; Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: c485; Wichmann 1903: 69–70; Bárczi 1951: 20–21; Harmatta 1951: 261–312; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 586–587; D. Bartha 1958: 78; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 442–443; Egorov 1964: 91; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 196–197; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 463–464; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 354–356; Joki 1973: 269; Szabó 1979: 102–143; Benkő 1984: 98, 103–104; Ligeti 1986: 173; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 739; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 647–648; Fedotov 1996/1: 232–233.

KESELYŰ [kešeyū] ‘vulture, *Vultur*’ | 1233/1345 ? GN *Keseleu* [kešeleü], 1342 GN *Keseleufescek* [kešeleü fēsek], p1372/c1448 *kefelÿw* [kešel′ū] | *kešeyū* < *kešeleu̯* < **küčeleγ* ← WOT **küčäläγ* | MT *kučalak* ‘milan, falcon’ < **küčäläk* < *küč* ‘strength, force’ {with suff +*lAk*}.

Of debated T origin.

OT *küč* ‘strength’ (RMKT), *küč* ‘force, puvoir, puissant’ (UHamTouHou), *küč* ‘strength, violence’, *küčel-* ‘to seize wrongfully’ (AK), *küč* ‘Kraft’ (B); **MT** *küč* ‘güç’, *küče-* ‘zorlamak’ (UYAB), *küč* ‘Macht, Kraft’, *küčäk* ‘mächtig’, cf. PN *Küč* (UCiv), *küč* ‘force, violence, oppression’ (AGul), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet’, *küčey* ‘zor, güç’, *küčeylik* ‘güçlük’ (AHMA), *küč* ‘sila, nasilie, mošč′’: *küčämlä-* ‘postupat′ rezko, nasilovat′, pričinjat′ zlo’ (AHŠF), *güč* ‘sila’ (AIM), *küč* ‘güç, kuvvet’ (AIMI), *küč*: *küčlü*, *küčlüg* ‘strong’ (AKD), *küčäl-* ‘to be compelled, to be forced’ (AKor), *küč* ‘sila’ (AM), *küč* ‘sila, nasilie, mošč′’ (ANehF), *küč* ‘power, »küčümüz yetmäs« = we lack the (financial) means, violence, oppression, crime’, *küčä-* ‘to oppress’ (ARbg), *küč* ‘sila’, *küčä-* ‘prinuždat′, upotrebljat′ nasilie’, *küčäy* ‘trudnyj, tjaželyj, vrednyj’ (ATef), *küč* ‘güç’, *küče-* ‘zorlamak’ (AYC), *qučalaq* ‘milan, masque’, *güč* ‘force’ (AChag), *küčlük* ‘sil′nyj, krepkij (o vine)’ (AChagB), *küç* ‘sila, krepkij’, *küčegen* ‘naprjagavšijsja’, *küčledi* ‘soveršil nasilie’ (AChagMA), *qučalaq* ‘der Geier’ (AChagR), *küč* ‘strength, violence’: *iš küč* ‘business, important affairs (in this sense it cannot be used by itself, but only in the Hend.)’ (AChagSC), *qučalaq* ‘qahraman’ (AChagŠS), *güč*: *güčän* ‘mit Gewalt’ (AChagŠSK), *quǰalaq* ‘milan, Weihe, Taubenstösser’ (AChagZ), *küč* ‘Kraft, Vermögen’, *küče-* ‘nötigen, Gewalt antun’, *küčen* ‘sich anstrengen’ (LCC), *küč* ‘kuvvet, güč’ (AAH), *küč* ‘difficile, dur’ (ADur), *küč*: *küčlü* ‘stark’ (AHou), *küčli* ‘stark’ (AKav), *küč* ‘güč, kuvvet’ (AMGhU), *küč* ‘kuvvet’, *küč* ‘sila’ (ATuhA), *k‘uç*, *kuç* ‘force’ (AmTr), *kuč* ‘force’ (AmE), *güč* ‘zülum, gadr, haksızlık, zor’ (AOtT), *güč* ‘difficile, force’ (AOtM); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *köčlelek* ‘sila, mošcnost′’ (Tat), *köslölök* ‘sila, mošč′’ (Bashk), *kösögen* ‘vid stepnogo orla’ (BashkD3), *küǰügän* ‘der Ader’ (SibTatBR), *küčügön* = *kök ǰoru* ‘borodač-jagnjatnik’ (Kirg), *küčügüt*, *küčübüt* ‘ein Raubvogel’ (KirgR), *küštilik* ‘power, might’, *küšigen* ‘carrion eagle’ (Kaz), *küšlilik* ‘sila, mošč′’, *küšigen* ‘orel-jagjatnik’ (Kklp), [*küšik*, *küšelek* ‘ščenok’], *küšlilik* ‘sila, mošč′’ (Nog), [*küčyüy*, *küčelek* ‘ščenok’] (CrTat), *kiclilik* ‘sila’ (KarH), *güčlülük* ‘sila’ (Kum), *küčlülük* ‘ostrota, krepost′ čego, sila’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *güyč* ‘sila’, *güyčlülik* ‘sila’ (Tkm), *k′üǰlülük* ‘moščnost′’ (Az), *güç* ‘strength, force’ (Tt), *güč* ‘sila, mošč′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *kīʲč* ‘mühsam, schwierig, Kraft’, *kīʲčluγ* ‘kräftig’, *kūč* ‘Schwierigkeit, Mühsal’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kuč* ‘sila’, *kučlilik* ‘sila’ (Uzb), *kuč*, *quč* ‘power, strength, force’ (TurkiJ), *küč* ‘sila, mošč′’ (MUyg), *quš* ‘force’, *quči yoxa* ‘faible’ (SalK), *kuš* ‘sila’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *küčügen* ‘eine kleine Adelart, der weissgeschwänzte Adler’ (AltTelR), [*küčegeš* ‘ščenok’] (AltQK, AltL), *küstig* ‘silnyj’, [*küčüges* ‘ščenok’] (Khak), *güštih* ‘strong’ (FY), *küš*

'sila', *küškül* 'rjabčik', *küčülüg* 'silnyj' (Tuv), *küš* (*küǰü*) 'sila', *küske* 'čajka' (Tof); ***Y*** *kűs* 'sila' (Y), *kűs* 'Kraft' (Dlg).

Mo *küčün* 'power, force, strength' (L).

E/T The T word was formed fr *küč* 'force' with the suff *+lAk* (see Erdal 1991: 89–90). Fr the same base with the suff *+gAn* we find *küčügän* in BashkD, SibTatBR, Kirg, KirgR, Kaz, Kklp, AltTelR (Erdal 1991: 85–89), see **küllő**[1].

E/H It was first Gombocz (1901c: 125–127; 1912b: 94–95) who connected the H word with a reconstructed form **küčäläg*. He cited three items, all with the form *kučalag* (Budagov, Zenker and Radloff, all going back to Budagov; see also AChag fr PdC), but they are the same Chag word. Gombocz also cited a Kalm form *gaekschgae* '*Accipiter albicilla*', which is *gesk*^{e}, *geks*^{e} 'Fischadler, weissgeschwänzter Adler' in present-day Kalm (Ramstedt 1935: 135; see Tof *küske*). The etymology has been accepted by Ligeti (1986: 56) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 467; 1993–1997/1: 741) with the caution that the word does not appear in the T sources, but words with other suffs fr the same base can be cited. The suff had to be the den *+lAk*, which forms den nouns of bird names (see Erdal 1991: 89–90). The base could, however, hardly be *küč*. It is more probable to suppose a dev noun fr *küčäl-* 'to seize with strength, to seize wrongfully' (see AK). **küčälig* was formed fr a **küčäl-* with a suff *-(X)g*, and this then formed the suff for forming bird names with *+lAk*, creating **küčäligläk*. Fr this it became **küčäläk* by haplology. A WOT equivalent of this form was **kücäläγ*. A less probable hypothesis is to suppose an abstract noun *küčlük* with the same suff and haplology: **küčlükläk* > **küčläk*. See **küčlüglük* > **küčlülük* 'might, power' above in the Kip and Og lgs. In *küčäläk* 'puppy, cub' the suff is dim and can hardly be separated fr *küčük* 'dog' (see Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 92–93) and thus has nothing to do with the word under examination. *kučalak* is a hapax word in Chag; it is not present even in the long chaps on birds in the Man *Pentaglott* dict (5D). However, the basic word *küč* 'strength' appears as a back-vocalic word in Turki, Sal and YUyg, while we find *küč* in Chag. Whereas **küčäläγ* is a perfect etymon for the H word both fr a phonetic and a semantic point of view, its morphological structure is still unclear.

◆ Gombocz 1901c: 125–127; Gombocz 1912b: 94–95; Ramstedt 1935: 135; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 467; Räsänen 1969: 306; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 92–93; Ligeti 1986: 56; Erdal 1991: 87–90, 172; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 741; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 730–731.

KÉSIK [kēšik] 'to be, become late' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Kefeudí* [kēš-eüdi], 1211 ? PN *keseu* [kēs-eü], p1372/c1448 *kefek uala* [kēs-ek vålå] | *kēšik-* < *kēš-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **kēč-* ← WOT **kēč-* | EOT *kēč-* 'to be late', not *käč-* 'to pass away, to pass through'.

OT *kečä* 'in the evening' (RTIrk), *keč* 'tard, en retard, bien aprés', *kečä* 'fin de soire, nuit' (UHamTouHou), *käčik-* 'sich verspäten' (UBTVIIIA158, according to Erdal (1991: 495) a possible misreading), *kēč-* 'to be slow', *kēčür-* 'to postpone',

kēč ‘tardiness’, *kēč keldi* ‘he came late’ (AK); **MT** *keč-*: *käčür-* ‘(die Zeit) verstreichen lassen’ (UCiv), *keč* ‘late’ (ABF), *keč-* ‘gecikmek’ (AHMA), *keč-* ‘pozdnij, pozdno’ (AHŠF), *gečä-* ‘opozdat′, medlit′’ (AIM), *keč-* ‘geçmek’ (AIMI), *keč tiril* ‘live long!’ (AKD), *käč* ‘late, tardy’, *käč qal-* ‘to hang back, to be dilatory’ (AKor), *keč-* ‘pozdnij, pozdno’ (ANehF), *keč* ‘late’ (ARbg), *keč* ‘pozdnij, pozdno’ (ATef), *keč-* ‘geçmek’ (AYC), *geč* ‘étonné, stupéfait, tard’ (AChag), *keč* ‘dolgo, davno’, *keč-*: *kečik-* ‘opozdat′’ (AChagMA), *käč-* ‘vorübergehen, hinübergehen, weggehen’ (LCC), *keč-*: *kečdi* [see *kiçdi*] ‘tabiatiyle geç kaldı’, *kečikdi-* [see *kiçıkdi* (sic!)] ‘mahsus gecikti’ (AAH), *käč-* ‘spóźnić się’ (ABul), *keč-* ‘träge sein’ (AHou), *keč* ‘geč’, *keǰik-* ‘kecikmek’ (ATuhA), *k‘ėč̣*, *k‘ieč̣*, *kị̈eč̣* ‘tard’, *k‘ėč̣ik‘-*, *k‘i̯eč̣ik‘-*, *k‘i̯ėč̣ik‘-* ‘remettre à plus tard, retarder, s’arrêter, rester’ (AmTr), *keč-* ‘poterjat′, lišit′sja’ (AmD), *keč* ‘late, evening, night’, *kečikmax* (sic!) ‘delay, retardation’ (AmCh), *käč-*, *keč-* ‘passer’, *käčiktir* ‘retarder’ (AmE), *geǰirgen-* ‘geç bulmak, geç görmek, gecikmiş saymak’ (AOtT), *geč* ‘tardif, attardé, tard, tardivement’, *keč-*: *gečik-* [see *geč*] ‘venir tardivement’ (AOtM); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kaś* ‘večer’ (Chuv), *kaśăx-* ‘zapazdyvat′’ (ChuvA) [cf. *kaśăx-* ‘naslaždat′sja, upivat′sja, umirat′ (o zaklyvaemyh životnyh)’ (Chuv)]; ***NW*** *kiček-* ‘opazdyvat′, opazdat′, zaderživat′sja, večeret′’ (Tat), *kisek-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′’ (Bashk), *kečik-* ‘opozdat′’ (Kirg), *kešĭk-* ‘zaderžat′sja, zapozdat′, opazdyvat′’ (KazB), *kešik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′’ (Kklp), *kešik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (Nog), *kečik-* ‘opazdyvat′’ (CrTat), *kečik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (KarT), *kecik-* ‘zaderživat′sja, medlit′’ (KarH), *kečik-* ‘opazdyvat′’ (KarC), *gečik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (Kum), *kečik-* ‘zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gič* ‘pozdno, pozdniyj’, *gīǰe* ‘noč′’, *gīǰik-* ‘večeret′, opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (Tkm), *ǵeǰä* ‘noč′’, *ǵeǰik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdat′, melit′, zaderžat′sja’ (Az), *gece* ‘night’, *geç* ‘late, delayed’, *gecik-* ‘to be late, to be delayed or retarded’ (Tt), *geǰik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kečik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (Uzb), *kečik-* ‘to delay, to be late’ (TurkiSh), *käčik-* ‘spät bleiben, sich verspäten’ (TurkiTR), *kečik-* ‘opazdyvat′, zapazdyvat′, zaderživat′sja’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *kеč* ‘večer’ (AltL, AltTK), *käčik-* ‘spät bleiben, sich verspäten, Abend werden’ (AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

E/T There were two verbs in OT: *käč-* ‘to pass away, elapse, cross over etc.’ and *kēč-* ‘to be late, to be slow’. The second one has a homophonous nominal form *kēč* ‘late, lateness, slow, late in the afternoon, night’. The opposition of the vowels (*ä* : *ē*) is well reflected in many T lgs, including the SW ones. However, Chuv *kaś* and *kaśăx-* point to an open *ä* (< **käčik-*). This may be a secondary development in Chuv, where we find **käč-* ‘to pass, pass away etc.’ also as *kaśăx-*. There are a few other cases in Chuv where the reflex *a* of the open *ä* is present in place of the expected close *-ē-* (> Chuv *-i-*, as in *bēš* ‘five’ > *pilĕk* etc.) (see PT *ēšik* ‘door’ > Chuv *alak*, PT *bēr-* ‘to give’ > Chuv *par-*, PT **kēp* > *kap*). According to Clauson (1972: 694), *kečä*

'late evening etc.' is a dev nominal form fr *kēč-*. I think this is a case of the nominal base and the petrified equative *+čA*: **keč+čä* > *kečä*. Interestingly enough, instead of *kēč-* 'to be late', all later sources show **kēčik-*. This may point to the fact that the opposition *ä* : *ē* became obsolete and *kēč-* was replaced by *kečik-* to maintain the distinction between the two verbs.

E/H According to all authors (Vámbéry 1870: 159; Gombocz 1912b: 95; Ligeti 1966c: 396–398; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 469; Palló 1982: 132; Ligeti 1986: 56, 121; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 742), the H verb is a copy of OT *kēč-*. Opinions that the copied form may have been *kīč-* are unfounded. The length of the first vowel in the H word may reflect a T long vowel, but this cannot be proven, because if the copied word had a short vowel, the principle of secondary lengthening in H monosyllabic words would have applied. The verb later joined the H *-ik-* conjugation (see **baszik**, **bocsánik**, **gyónik**, **szökik** etc. and § 6.7).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 159; Gombocz 1912b: 95; Ligeti 1966c: 396–398; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 469; Clauson 1972: 694; Palló 1982: 132; Ligeti 1986: 56, 121; Erdal 1991: 495; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 742.

KÉVE [kēve] 'sheaf, bundle' | p1372/c1448 *keueyeket* [kēvē-yeket], p1416/c1450 *kėuè* [kēve].

Of unknown origin, see the details under **kepe** and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 746).

KICSINY [kičiń] 'small, little' | 1215/1550 ? PN *Kufun* [küšün], p1372/c1448 *kewczewned* [küčün-ed], 1595 *kichiny* [kičiń] | *kičiń* < **kičin*, *küčün* ⟵ WOT **kičin* < **kičigin* < **kičigkinä* < **kičig* {with suff *+kIńA*} || **kicsi** [kiči] 'small' | 1138/1329 PN *Kufidí* [küši-di], 1329 GN *kychyd* [kiči-d], 1538 *kichÿgyërmek* [kiči-d'ërmek] | *kiči* < **kičin* ⟵ WOT **kičin* || **kis** [kiš] 'small, little' | 1075/†1124/†1217 GN *kustiza* [küs-tizå], 1227/1443 GN *Kysfolud* [kiš fålud], 1337 *kis* [kiš] | *kiš* < **kiši* < **kiči* < **kičiγ* ⟵ WOT **kičiγ* | EOT *kičig* 'small' < **kit* {with suff *+sIg*}.

OT *kičig* 'little' (RMKT), *kičig* 'petit, nom de personne' (UHamTouHou), *kičigkiyäsintä* (with poss and loc suff, see Erdal 1991: 55), *ičig* 'small' (AK), [?] *k*(*i*)[*č*]*ig*: *kičig tamular* (B4: 53); **MT** *kičig* 'küçük' (UYAB), *kičiġ* 'petit' (UHy), *kičig* 'petit, humble' (UHyS), *kičig* 'klein', *kičig* 'Schüler', *Kičikyä* 'GN' (UCiv), *kičig*: *k. bayram* 'the festival of sacrifice at the end of the pilgrimage season' (ABF), *kičči*, *kiči* 'little' (AGul), *kičig* 'küčük' (AHMA), *kiči*, *kičči*, *kičig* 'malen'kij' (AHŠF), *kiči* 'küčük', *kičkine* 'cüce, küçük çoçuk' (AIMI), *kičik* 'small, little' (AKD), *kičig* 'small' (AKor), *kičig* 'malen'kij' (ANehF), *kičig* 'malenkij' (ATef), *kičik* 'petit, méprisable' (AChag), *kiǰik* 'little, small' (AChagSC), *kiči* 'klein' (LCC), *kiči* 'küçük' (AAH), *kičkine* 'küçücük' (AAHKip), *kiči legen* 'el, abdest leğeni' (AAHI), *küčük kečik* 'junger Hund' (AHou), *kiči*, *kičik* 'small' (AMGh), *kičiräk* 'molože, men'še' (ATuh), *kiči* 'petit, jeune', *kičkina*, *kičkinay*, *kičgina* 'petit, mince' (AmTr), *kiči*, *ġiči* 'küçük' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kĕšĕn* 'mladšij, molože, maldšij, nizovoj, neboľšoj' (Chuv); ***NW***

keče ‘malyj, malen′kij, mladšij’ (Tat), *kečki* ‘malen′kij’ (TatD1), *kese* ‘mladšij (po vozrasti)’ (Bashk), *küsük* ‘kicsiny’ (BashkP), *kece*, *kecek* ‘malen′kij’ (SibTat), *kiǰū* ‘klein’ (SibTatBR), *kičū*, *kičik* ‘malyj, malen′kij, mladšij’ (Kirg), *kïšï* ‘mladšij, molože’ (KazB), *kišï* ‘younger, smaller, less’, *kiškene* ‘small, little, a little’, *kiškentay* ‘little, small’ (Kaz), *kiši* ‘mladsij, moložoe, malen′kij, nebol′šoj’ (Kklp), *kičik* ‘malen′kij, mladšij’ (CrTat), *kiči* ‘malyj, nebol′šoj’ (KarT), *kici* ‘malyj, neznačitel′nyj’ (KarH), *kičik* ‘malenkij’ (KarC), *gičči* ‘malen′kij, malyj’ (Kum), *kiči* ‘mladšij’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kiči* ‘malen′kij, malyj’ (Tkm), *kičik* ‘malyj, malen′kij, neznačitel′nyj, mladšij’ (Az), *küčük* ‘malen′kij, nebol′šoj, malyj, mladšij’ (Tt), *kiči*, *kici*, *kičciyh*, *kiččih*, *köčče* ‘küçük, ufak’ (TtD), *küčük* malyj, malen′kij, neznačitel′nyj, tesnyj, mladšij’ (Gag), *kiči*, *kʲči*, *kičči*, *kʲčik*, *kčik*, *kičiy* ‘klein’ (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kičik* ‘malen′kij, malyj, mladšij’ (Uzb), *kičik* ‘small, little, young, youngest’ (TurkiJ), *kičik* ‘little, small’ (TurkiSh), *kičik* ‘malyj’ (TurkiLN), *kičik* ‘klein, gering’ (TurkiTR), *kičik* ‘malyj, malen′kij, men′šoj, mladšij’ (MUyg), *kičig* ‘small’ (MUygTY), *kici*, *kiǰi* ‘mladšij’, *kiči*, *kiǰ′i* ‘malen′kij’ (Sal), *kiči*, *qïči*, *q′ïǰï*, *qïčča*, *q′čï*, *q′ïčï* ‘petit’ (SalK), *k′ičïġ*, *k′ïǰ′iġ* ‘malen′kij, mladšij, molodoj’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *kiči* ‘nemnogo, čutočka’, *kičü* ‘malyj, malen′kij, mladšij’ (Alt), *küčū* ‘klein’ (AltR), *kiǰiγ* ‘klein’ (AltLR), *kičik*, *kičix* ‘malen′kij’ (AltQK), *kičü* ‘malen′kij, mladšij’, *kičinek* ‘mladšij, malen′kij, molodoj’, *kičineš* ‘očen′ malenkij’, *kičeš* ‘sovsem malenkij’, *kišnek* ‘malen′kij’ (AltTK), *kičik* ‘klein, gering’, *kičū*, *küčū* ‘klein’ (AltTelR), *kičig* ‘malen′kij, mladšij’ (KhakB), *kiǰiγ*, *kiǰäk* ‘klein’ (KhakSR), *kiǰiγ* ‘klein’ (KhakShR), *gičik*, *gičüh* ‘small’ (FY), ? *kičigene* ‘bot. gusnaja lapka’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T The idea posited by Bang (see Blagova 1997: 76) that *kičig* can be traced back to an earlier **kitsig* (< *kit*+*sig*) has been corroborated by Levitskaja with such forms as *kitčä* ‘small’ (TtD), *kitili* ‘very small, a bit’ (TtD), *gitä* ‘small (of stature of man)’ (TtD), *gitčä* ‘malenkij’ (Balk), containing an element **kit*, which cannot be defined any further. To this we can add *ulugsïg* on which, see Erdal (1991: 72). Some forms may go back to **kit-čük* with the dim suff +*čUk* (Erdal 1991: 47) > *kičük* > *kičik*. On other dim suffs which attach to *kičig*, see Blagova (1997: 77). Besides *kičig* (> *kičü*), we find also *kiči* or *kičik*, in many cases in the same lg or dial. The form *kiči* seems to exist in parallel with *kičig* and *kičü* (< *kičig*) and may be the result of a sporadic and early disappearance of the final *-g* fr *kičig*. The labialization in Tt and Gag is surely a late secondary development. In the OOtt texts, we find *kiči*, *giči* (see AOTt 1969: 2550, also Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 628–631, 661). Tt *küčük* has the dim suff +*čUk*. Chuv *kĕšĕn* can be traced back to an earlier *kičin*. The final *-n* may be the old and petrified instr with the suff +*In*, which forms adverbs in Chuv (see Levitskaja 1976: 114) as in *xĕlĕn šăvĕn* ‘zimoj i letom’ etc.

E/H In H, we have two independent forms *kicsiny* and *kis*. The first is a copy of OChuv **kičin*, the second is a H development fr **kiši* < **kiči*, which may or may

not go back to *kičig*. The form *kicsi* is a secondary H development fr *kicsiny*. The labial forms in the OH records are secondary, inner H dial developments (see Dudás 2003: 120). The T origin of the words was recognized early (see Vámbéry 1870: 169; Gombocz 1912b: 96; Ligeti 1986: 46 etc.). Benkő pointed to the fact that *kicsi* is a secondary development fr *kicsiny* (Benkő 1967–1984/2: 483; 1993–1997/1: 749). According to Benkő (1957: 50) the *š* of *kis* [kiš] is of early H dial origin. This is, however, less probable; it was more common: see **besenyő**, **bors**, **koldus**, **kos**, **sátor** etc. and § 5.6.3, 6.2.4.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 169; Gombocz 1912b: 96; Benkő 1957: 50; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 628–631, 661; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 483; Levitskaja 1976: 114; Ligeti 1986: 46; Erdal 1991: 47, 55, 72; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 749; Blagova 1997: 76–77; Dudás 2003: 120; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 787–789.

KÍJC [kīyc] 'felt' *Cum dial* in **megkíjcesedik** [megkījcešedik] 'to become felty (of the hair of dogs)' | *megkīycešedik-* < *kīyc* {with preverb *meg-* and suffs +(*V*)*š*, +(*V*)*d-* and *-ik-*} < **kiyic* < **kiyiz* ⟵ Cum **kiyiz* | EOT *kidiz* 'felt'.

Of Cum origin.

OT *kiδiz* 'felt' (RTIrk 33), *kiḏiz* 'felt' (AK), *kiḏiz* 'felt' (AQB); **MT** *kädäz* 'coton, ouate (!)' (UHy for *kebiz*), *kidiz* 'Filz, Filzstoff' (UCivLo 06:2,3), *kiyiz* 'vlasjanica' (ABF), *kiyiz* 'grube sukno, włosiennica' (AHŠ), *kiyiz* 'vlasjanica' (AHŠF), *gīyiz* 'vojlok' (AIM), *kīyiz* 'keçe' (AIMI), *küyiz* <KWYZ> (not *kiviz*) 'felt', *kiz*: *qara iv kizi* 'felt of the tent' (AKD), *kiz* 'vojlok' (ANehF), *kiyiḏ*, *kiyiz* 'felt' (ARbg), *kiz*, *kigiz* 'feutre' (AChag), *kiz* 'felt' (AChagAb), *kiz* 'keçe' (AChagAbA), *kiz* 'nemez' (AChagAbV), *kiz*, *kiyiz* 'košma' (AChagB), *kīz* 'vojlok' (AChagMA), *kiz* 'felt (Pe *namad*; Ar *libd*)' (AChagSC), *giyiz* 'Filz', *kiz* 'Filz, Decke' (AChagŠSK), *kiyiz* (chiix) 'Filzdecke' (LCCI), *kiyiz* 'keçe' (AAH), *kiyiz*(*kiz*) 'feutre, drap' (ADur), *kiyiz* (or *kīz* ?) 'Filz; al-lubbād' (AHou), *kiz* 'felt' (AMGh), *kiz* 'vojlok', *kiyiz*, *küyüz* 'podstilka' (ATuh), *kiyiz*, *küyüz* 'keçe' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kiyez* (-ie-) 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj, košmovyj' (Tat), *kiyez* 'aska ǰäyär öčen mamïk belän sïrïlgan sïrma, körpä; matrac' (TatD1), *kiyezdek* 'kiez itek; valenki' (TatD2), *keyez* 'nemez; Filz' (TatB), *keyej* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj' (Bashk), *kīs* 'kiez [kiyez]; vojlok, košma' (SibTat), *kīs* 'košma' (SibTatBD), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma' (Kirg), *kiïz* 'felt' (Kaz), *kiyiz* 'košma, vojlok' (Kklp), *kiygiz* (KklpD, Blagova 1997: 66), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj' (Nog), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma' (CrTat), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma' (KarH, KarSh), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, vlasjanica' (KarT), *tiyiz* 'vlasjanica' (KarH), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj, košmovyj' (Kum), *kiyiz* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kīz* '(ust.) košma, vojlok, vojločnyj' (Tkm), *kigiz*, *kiz* 'vojlok, košma' (TkmD), *kiyiz* 'keçe' (TtD, Bursa, immigrants?); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kigiz* 'košma, vojlok' (Uzb), *kiyiz*, *kiygiz* 'vojlok, košma' (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 392), *kigiz*, *čigiz* 'felt-carpet, felt-rug, felt' (TurkiJ), *kigiz*, *kīs* 'košma, vojlok' (TurkiL), *kigiz* 'vojlok, košma' (MUyg), *kīz*, *kez*, *kes* 'košma, vojlok' (MUygD, Tenišev 2001: 392), *ġïġïs* 'vojlok' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kiyis* 'košma, vojlok' (Alt), *kīs* 'košma'

(AltQK), *kiyis* 'vojlok' (AltTK), *kīs* 'vojlok, košma' (Khak), *gīs* 'felt' (FY), *kidis* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj' (Tuv), *hidis* 'vojlok, košma, vojločnyj, košemnyj' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The word *kediz* is in complementary distribution with EOT *käčä*, which is present in Chuv as *kĕše*, *kĕšše* 'felt (laid down for special guests)'. In some SW lgs and dials, the word may be a Kip copy. The word has been dealt with many times (see Doerfer 1963-1975/3: 661–662; Räsänen 1969: 270; Clauson 1972: 707; Blagova 1997: 66–67; Tenišev 2001: 392–393; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 151–152 etc.). The T word shows a special alternation *-d-* / *-δ-* / *-y-* ~ *-g-*. The forms with *-g-* can be regarded as secondary. They occurred perhaps due to a hypercorrection in lgs, in which the internal *-y-* can go back to **-g-*. In some lgs one can find a confused form with internal *-yg-*. The explanation that this resulted fr an old form **kidgiz* is unlikely. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 661–662), Blagova (1997: 66–67) and Tenišev (2001: 392–393) rightly rejected Bang's etymology (1923: 127), according to which the T word may go back to the verbal stem **käd-* 'anziehen'.

Ramstedt (1935: 230) connected Mo *kebis* 'carpet' with T *kidiz* and his opinion was repeated by Ščerbak (1997: 127), but this is not acceptable for phonetic reasons, as already shown by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 661–662). Egorov (1964: 110) erroneously compared Chuv *kĕšše* 'vojlok, košma' with T *kidiz*. This was corrected by Eren (1982: 35–36) and Fedotov (1996/1: 287). They rightly pointed to the other word *käčä* (Clauson 1972: 694).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 846) reconstructed the PT word as **kidiŕ* 'felt' and compared it with "Altaic" parallels which show rounded vowels. Accordingly, this irregularity can, perhaps, be explained so that **kidiŕ* shows secondary vowel assimilation and goes back to **küdiŕ*. This hypothesis cannot be supported by the data and it is not very clear in this case what kind of form **küdiŕ* would be.

E/H The H past perfect form *megkíjcesedett-* has been noted and published by Kun (2000: 215). He collected it in Karcag, the central town of Nagykunság (Cumania Major), and in its surroundings, with the meaning '(it) had become felty (of the hair of dogs)'. It is a verbalised form of **kijic* with the perfective preverb *meg-*, the den suff +(*V*)*s*, the freq suff +(*V*)*d-* and the suff *-ik-*. This type of incorporation is normal in H; see *seb* 'wound' > *megsebesedik-* 'to get wounded' and *filc* 'felt' (← Grm *Filz*) > *megfilcesedik-* 'to get felty'. P. Kun has correctly noted that the verb may go back to the Cum word *kiyiz* 'Filzdecke, feltrum'. For the phonetic change Cum *z* ⟶ H *c*, we have such parallels as Cum *bugaz* ⟶ H *Bugac* (GN), Cum *kümpäz* ⟶ H *Kömpöcz* (GN), Cum *kïzïl* ⟶ H *Kecel* (GN), as pointed out by Kun, citing Rásonyi (1967: 139, 142) (see further **cigle**, **cötkény**, **köpcös**, **köpec** and § 8.10). Ligeti (1986) did not mention this H dial word among the T elements of the H lg. Neither was it dealt with by Mándoky, himself born in Karcag. The word has not been noted in the standard dicts.

◆ Bang 1923: 127; Ramstedt 1935: 230; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 661–662; Egorov 1964: 110; Rásonyi 1967: 139, 142; Räsänen 1969: 270; Clauson 1972: 694, 707; Eren 1982: 35–36; Fedotov 1996/1: 287; Blagova 1997: 66–67; Ščerbak 1997: 127; Kun 2000: 215; Tenišev 2001: 392–393; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 151–152; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 846.

KIKERICS [kikerič] 'wild/meadow saffron, *Colchicum autumnale*; lion's tooth, *Taraxacum*' | c1405 *kwtwrchv* (r: *kwkwrchv* ?) [kükürčü], c1525 *kẏwkerchw* [kükerčü], p1577 *kėkėrch* [kökörč], 1604 *kükercz* [kükerč], 1785 *kikerits* [kikerič], dial *kikirics* [kikirič], *kökörics* [kökörič], *kükörics* [kükörič], *kukurics* [kukurič], *kökörcs* [kökörč], *kikircs* [kikirč], *kökircs* [kökirč], *kükörcs* [kükörč], *kékkükörics* [kēk kükörič] | *kikerič* < **kükerilč* ⟵ WOT *kökärilč* < **kökär-* {with suff *-Xlč*} || **kökörcsin** [kökörčin] 'pulsatilla, meadow anemone, *Pulsatilla*; common marsh marigold, *Caltha palustris*' | c1395 *kikerchen* [kikerčen] 'titipus' | *kökörčēń* < WOT **kükerčyen* ⟵ **kökärčyän* | EOT *kə̄kär-* 'to be or become blue, green', cf. *kökürčgün* 'dove' | See **kiköcsén**.

OT *kökürčgen* 'pigeon, dove' (USuv 299:6, 620:20, UHeilkI 40), *kökürčgün* 'dove' (UMaitr 5r26), *köker-* 'to turn grey, to become sky-coloured', *kögürčgün* 'dove' (AK); **MT** *köker-* 'to mould, turn mouldy', *kügärčin* 'dove' (AGul), *kögärǰin* 'güvercin', *köger-* 'filizlenmek, çıkmak' (cf. ARbg), *kögerčin* 'güvercin', *kökiš* 'göğümsü, mavimsi' (AHMA), *kökär-* 'zelenet′, zaplesnet′', *kögärčin* 'golub′, golubica' (AHŠF), *kögerčin* (AKD), *köker-* 'to become green (of a meadow), to grow leaves (of a tree)' (ARbg), *g/köger-* 'devenir bleu', *kögenel* 'oiseau de proie semblable à l'épervier', *kökeyin* 'espèce de tayon' (AChag), *köverčken* 'golub′' (AChagMA), *kögerčin* 'dove', *göger-* 'to become green, blue' (AChagSC), *kökenel* 'eine Art Jagdvogel, Adlerähnlich' (AChagŠSK), *kügürčin* 'Taube' (LCC), *kügerčin* 'güvercin' (AAH), *kügerčin* 'pigeon' (ABul), *kügerčin* 'pigeon' (ADur), *köwerčin*, *kögerčin* 'Taube' (AHou), *kügärǰin* 'Taube' (AKav), *köker-* 'stanovit′sja sinim', *kökerčin* 'golub', *kökärčin*, *ökärčin* 'güvercin' (ATuhA), *k'ogar-* 'verdir', *k'ugurčin*, *kugurčin* 'pigeon' (AmTr), *göger-* 'morarmak, yeşermek', *göverčinnik* 'güvercinlik, güvercinlerin barındığı yer' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *kăvakar-* 'sinet′, golubet′, stanovit′sja sinim', *kăvakarčăn* 'golub′', *kăvakarčăn kušě* 'bot. nezabudka' (Chuv), *kăvakarśïn*, *kăvakarśăn* 'golub′', *kăvakša* 'nazivanie pticy' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *kügärčen* 'golub′' (Tat), *kügercen*, *kügerčen* 'golub′', *kügercen ayak* 'begonia rekord (Lat. *Begonia Record*)', *kügärčen bašmagï* 'Lat. *Linaria vulgaris*', *kügärčen borčagi*, *kügärčen zubï*, *kügärčen ipiye*, *kügärčen sötö*, *kügärčen täpiye*, *kügärčen čäčäge* 'names of different plants', *kükčin* 'fioletovyj cvet' (TatD1), *kügär-* 'sinet′, golubet′, zazelenet′', *kügärsen* 'golub′' (Bashk), *kügärsen täpeye* 'košač′ya lapa (cvetok)' (BashkD2), *kə̄gə̄r-* 'sinet′, zelenet′', *kögärčin*, *kögörcen* 'golub′' (SibTat), *kögör-* 'blau, grün werden, grünen' (SibTatBR), *kögör-* 'sinet′, zelenet′, prorastat′', *kögürčkön*, *kögüčkön* 'golub′' (Kirg), *köger-* 'to turn blue, grow blue, become blue', *kögeršin* 'pigeon', *kögeriš* 'small meadow' (Kaz), *köger-*

‘zaplesnet′, sinet′, procvetat′’ (KazB), *köger-* ‘sinet′, zelenet′’, *kögeršin* ‘golub′’ (Kklp), *köger-* ‘sinet′’, *kögeršin* ‘golub′, golubka’ (Nog), *koger-* ‘sinet′’, *gogerjin* ‘golub′’ (CrTat), *k′ok′urč′un′*, *k′uk′urč′un′* ‘golub′’ (KarT), *kigircin*, *tigircin* ‘golub′’ (KarH), *köger-* ‘sinet′’, *kögirčin*, *kögürčin*, *kögürčün*, *kürgüčün* ‘golub′’ (KarC), *göger-* ‘zelenet′, prinimat′ zelenuju okrasku, sinet′’, *gögürčün* ‘golub′’ (Kum), *köger-* ‘sinet′, stanovit′sja sinim, zelenet′’, *kögürčün* ‘golub′’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gögər-* ‘zelenet′, vshodit′, sinet′, stanovit′sja sinim’, *gögerčin* ‘dikij golub′’ (Tkm), *göyär-* ‘sinet′, posinet′, zelenet′’, *göyärčin* ‘golub′’ (Az), *göyävar* ‘zelen′’, *göyärämtilix* ‘lug, lužajka, zelenaja mestnost′’ (AzD), *göğer-*, *göver-* ‘to turn green (of vegetation), to turn blue’, *güvercin* ‘pigeon, rock dove’, *güvercin kökü* ‘columbo, calumba, root of Lat. *Jateorhiza palmata*’, *güvercin otu* ‘vervain, (Lat. *Verbena officinalis*)’ (Tt), *kögürçün* ‘güvercin’ (TtD), *gök* ‘nebo, sinij, goluboj’, *güverjin* ‘golub′, sizyj golub′, temno-seryj (o masti)’ (Gag), *gegärčin*, *gögärjin* ‘Taube’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *kīᵉker-* ‘wachsen (von Pflanzen), grünen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kokar-* ‘zelenet′, prinimat′ zelenuju okrasku, sinet′’ (Uzb), *köker-* ‘to become blue or green’, *kökür-* ‘to grow (of trees)’ (TurkiJ), *kökar-* ‘to become blue (or green)’ (TurkiSh), *kököy-* ‘zelenet′, byt′ horošim’ (TurkiLN), *kökär-* ‘blau werden’ (TurkiTR), *kökär-* ‘zelenet′, prinimat′ zelenuju okraski, sinet′’ (MUyg), *kü′li-* ‘zelenet′’ (Sal), *küx*, *güx* ‘bleu’ (SalK), *kükür-* ‘sinet′’, *köküšken*, *kökuškon*, *köküškön* ‘golub′’, *küküšken*, *kukuškun* ‘malenkaja ptica, pohožaja na vorob′ja’ (YUyg); ***NE*** *kögör-* ‘sinet′, zelenet′’ (Alt), *köɣür-* ‘blau, grün werden’ (AltR), *kögör-* ‘sinet′, zelenet′ (o trave)’ (AltQK), *köɣür-* ‘blau, grün werden’ (AltTelR), *kögär-* ‘grün, blau werden, grünen, sich mit Blüthen bedecken’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *köyür-* ‘blau, grün werden’ (KhakShR), *köger-* ‘sinet′, zelenet′, sedet′’, *kögāzin* ‘dikij golub′’ (Tuv), *köger-* ‘sinet′, zelenet′’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kögör-* ‘zelenet′, sinet′, golubet′’, *kögölčör*, *kögörčör*, *kögötčör*, *kögöčör*, *kögöččör* ‘ceryj i raznie ottenki serago’ (Y), *kögör-* ‘blau, grün werden’ (Dlg).

Mo *kökere-*, *köküre-* ‘to become blue or green (of vegetation)’, *kegürǰigene* ‘pigeon, dove’ (L), see *kögldžŗgĕnĕ* ‘Taube’ (Kalm < *kögelǰirgene* < **kögerčigene* or **kögerčügene*), *xūrzgene* ‘dove’ (KhalK < **kegürǰigene*, **kögülǰirgene*), *xöxörgönö* ‘a kind of yellow weed (*Isatis*)’ (KhalK < **kökergene*).

E/T While the final consonant of the basic word *kök* is *-k* in all T lgs (see **kék**), the second consonant in *kökär-* has been weakened in all T lgs with the exception of the SE group and Kh (KarT seems to be a later change). The *-k-* is also reflected in Mo. Most OT and MT data could also be read as *kögär-* and thus the weakening in some T lgs could have occurred very early. It is of chronological importance that H preserved the strong *-k-* in these words. Clauson (1972: 713) remarks that the morphological structure of *kögürčgün* ‘dove’ is obscure. The *-rčg-* cluster is unusual but not unprecedented (see e.g. *ikirčgü* ‘doubt’ fr *ikiz* ‘double, twin’ (see **iker**)). Perhaps *kögürčgün* is a den form fr *kögär-* / *kögür-* with the suff *-čUk* (Erdal 1991: 357) and *+gAn* (Erdal 1991: 83), thus **kögürčükgän* > **kögürčügän* > *kögürčgän* > *kögürčän*,

kögärčän. In covering this word, Erdal remarks (1991: 87) that the vowel in the last syllable is a *waw* in UMaitr and AK, the original form must have been *kökürčgün* and the *ä* was introduced under Mo influence. In this case, however, the morphological structure of the T word remains obscure. I think that the *-ü-* of the final syllable is due to assimilation. The Mo forms are of T origin, because the basic verb in Mo is *kökere-* and not *kögere-*. My morphological analysis may be corroborated by Kirg *kögürčkön* and fr *kökür-*, YUyg *köküškän*, *kökuškon*, *köküškön*, *küküškän*, *kukuškun* < **kökürčgän*. The word has the meaning 'dove, pigeon' everywhere, but several plants have 'dove' in their name, especially in the Volga region. As we shall see under **kiköcsén**, H also has a bird name that belongs to the same T word group.

E/H In H, the different dial forms cited above belong together and their differences stem fr inner H history. The copied form must have been **kökerilč*. In OH there was no *-ö-* and T *ö* had to be substituted either by *-ü-* (later > *ö*) or *e* (later > *i*). According to Benkő, the H word may go back to forms like *kükerčen* and *kikerčen* and the final *-en* disappeared fr the latter in the H lg by false analogy, perhaps imitating **gyümölcsény** and **gyümölcs** (see Benkő (1967–1984/2: 605)). Ligeti's idea (1986: 186, 308), repeated by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 751), that *kikerics* is a copy of an unattested T **kükürč*, **kikirč* is less probable, but see Kaz *kögeriš* (< **kögärič* < ? **kökärič*) 'small meadow'.

L. Károly suggests (personal communication) departing fr the verb *kökär-* 'to become blue' with the suff *-Xš* (Erdal 1991: 262–275) and *+gAn* (Erdal 1991: 85–89): *kikärič* < (*kikerči* < *kikerši* / *kikeršü* <) **kükäriš* ⟵ *kökär-Xš* > **kökäriš+gAn* > *kökärčgän* > **kökärčän* ⟶ *kökörčēń*. This is backed by the early H data. I prefer *-Xlč* in place of EOT *-Xš*.

The word denoted the bluish colour of the dove 'the bluish bird', and the attributive became independent fr a permanent attributive compound like *kökürčgän čäčäg* (see Tat), literally 'dove flower'. Similar constructions exist in H and denote several plants. See *galambbegy* '*Valerianella*', *galambfa* '*Davidia involucrata*', *galambfű*, *galambláb-gólyaorr* '*Geranium columbinum*', *galambvirág* '*Brayera anthelmintica*' etc. (see Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 66), where *galamb* has the original meaning 'dove'. This is more probable than the other possibility that the word originally meant a bluish flower in T but that this meaning disappeared fr T and was only preserved in H. H *kikerics* also denotes certain yellow plants, but this is an inner H development. The same word forms also denote bluish flowers (see dial *kékkükörics* [kēk küköríč] 'blue kükörics' above).

◆ Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 66; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 605; Clauson 1972: 713; Ligeti 1986: 186, 308; Erdal 1991: 83, 85–89, 262–275, 357; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 751; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 714.

KIKÖCSÉN [kiköčēn] *arch* ‘a bird similar to a falcon, a kind of bird of prey’ | 1569 *kiköcsén* [kiköčēn] ‘a bird’, 1579 *kiköchen* [kiköčen] | *kiköčēń* < **kikörčen* < **kükerčen* ← WOT **kökärčän* < **kökerčgän* < **kökerčükkän* < **kökär-* {with suffs *-čUk* and *+gAn*} | EOT *kökär-* ‘to be or become blue, green’, cf. *kökürčgün* ‘dove’ | See **kikerics**, **kökörcsin**.

T all data see under **kikerics**.

Arm *k‘ok‘učin* ‘dove’ (Kirakos of Ganzak ← T).

E/T The dove is present in all T lgs as a “blue bird” (see under **kikerics**). In some cases, the *-r-* disappeared, as in *kögüčkön* ‘golub′’ (Kirg), *köküškän*, *kökuškon*, *köküškön* ‘golub′’, *küküškän*, *kukuškun* ‘malenkaja ptica, pohožaja na vorob′ja’ (Y-Uyg), *kögāzin* ‘dikij golub′’ (Tuv). As a parallel to ‘blue’ ~ ‘dove’, see Os *æxsīn* ‘temno-seryj’, *æxsinæg* ‘golub’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 220–221), Rus *golub* ‘dove’, *goluboj* ‘blue’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 432–433).

E/H The bird *kiköcsény* occurs in the correspondence of H noblemen in the 16th c. (see Takács 1914: 321–338). The data collected by Takács and analysed by Eren (1943c: 157) clearly show that the bird was a predatory one used for hunting, i.e. it was a kind of falcon or hawk. The idea that it could be of T origin was first formulated by Eren (1943c: 157). Corroborating the etymology, Schütz (1991: 570–573) cited the Arm item. According to Schütz, it was a bird of prey as small as the dove, perhaps the *Falco columbarius aesolon*, a small type of falcon. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 751). The word is now absent fr literary H and all H dials. For the delabialisation, see **kikerics**.

◆ Takács 1914: 321–338; Eren 1943c: 157; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 220–221; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 432–433; Schütz 1991: 570–573; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 751; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 714.

KÍN [kīn] ‘pain’ | 1138/1329 ? GN *kínufti* [kīn-ušti], late 12th c./c1195 *kinʒotviatwl* [kīn-zotvyātūl], c1456 *kenokban* [kēn-okbån] | *kīn* < **kīn* ← WOT **kīn* < **kïyïn* | EOT *kīn*, *kïyïn* ‘pain’ < **kïyï-* {with suff *-Xn*}.

OT *qïyïn*: *qïyïnïg köŋülče ay-* ‘prescribe punishments as you think (according to your heart)’ (RMTon), *qïn* ‘torture, peine, punition’ (UHamTouHou), *qïn qïzgut* ‘Pein und Qual’ (UUII 26:14), *kïyn kagut* ‘Strafe’ (USita l. 188), *qïna-* ‘to punish’ (AK), *qïn*, *qïyïn* ‘punishment’ (AQB), *qïn* ‘Qual’ (BG 61); **MT** *kïna-* ‘eziyet çektirmek’ (UYAB), *qïn*, *qïyïn*, *qïyn* ‘Strafe, Bestrafung’, PN *Qïnġuučï* (UCiv), *qïn* ‘pain, torment’ (AGul), *kïn* ‘işkence, ceza’ (AHMA), *qïn* ‘męka, cierpenie, kara’, *qïyna-* ‘dręzyć, męzyć’ (AHŠ), *qïn* ‘stradanie’ (AHŠF), *qïyïn-* ‘mučit′, nakazyvat′’ (AIM), *qïn* ‘chastisement’ (AKor), *qïnan-* ‘to be tormented, to be punished’ (ARbg), *qïyïn* ‘muka, mučenie’ (ATef), *kïna-* ‘eziyet çektirmek’ (AYC), *qïn* ‘tourment, peine’ (AChag), *qïyïn* ‘temnica, mučenie’, *qïynal-* ‘byt′ zaključennym (v temnice) – ošibočno, vmesto <mučit′sja>’ (AChagB), *qïyïn* ‘mučenie’ (AChagMA), *qïn* ‘punishment’ (AChagSC),

qïn 'Qual' (AChagŠSK), *qïn* 'Leiden, Marter' (LCC), *qïn*: *qatï qïn* 'şiddetli ceza, ağır işkence' (AAHI), *xïyïn* 'tourment, torture, supplice' (AmTr), *xïyïn*: *xïynat-* 'to torment, to torture somebody' (AmCh), *xïyin* (sic!), *xiyin*, *xyïn* 'torture' (AmE), *qïn* 'işkence, ceza, eziyet, felâket' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xĕn* 'muka, mučenie, beda, bolezn′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kïyïn* 'trudnyj, tjaželyj, složnyj', *kïyna-* 'bit′, kolotit′' (Tat), *kïyïncï* 'zloj, obidčik' (TatD1), *kïyïn* 'trudnyj, tjaželyj' (Bashk), *qïyïn-qïstau* 'zatrudnenija' (BashkD2), *qïynal-* 'mučit′sja' (BashkD3), *kïyïn* 'trudnyj, lovkij, hrabryj' (Kirg), *qïyïn* 'complicated, complex' (Kaz), *qïyïn* 'trudnyj' (Kklp), *kïyïn* 'trudnyj, složnyj' (Nog), *qïxna-* 'mučit′, stjazat′' (CrTat), *kïyïn* 'stradnie, mučenie, ustalost′' (KarT), *kïyïn* 'stradnie, mučenie, ustalost′', *keyïn* 'muka, stradanie' (KarH), *qïyïn* 'zatrudnitel′nyj, trudnyj' (KarC), *qïyïn* 'trudnyj, složnyj, trud' (Kum), *qïyïn* 'trud, rabota, hlopoty, zarabotek' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kïyïn-* 'to have a sensation of aching and debility (organ of body)' (Tt), *kïyïn*, *kïyïnč* 'gnet, gnetenie, tiranija, zestokost′' (TtB), *kïyïǰï* 'bezžalostnyj, žestokij' (Gag); ***Kh*** *qī-* 'jemandem leid tun, unangenehm sein' (Kh); ***SE*** *qiyin* 'trudnyj, zatrudnitel′nyj, složnyj' (Uzb), *qïna-*, *qïnæ-* 'to torture' (TurkiJ), *qïyün*, *qiyin* 'difficult, troublesome, a painful punishment, torture' (TurkiSh), *qïïn* 'mučenie, nakazanie' (TurkiLN), *qiyin* 'trudnyj, zatrudnitel′nij, složnyj' (MUyg), *qïn* 'mučenie, tjagota' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kïyïn* 'mučenie, stradanie, gnet' (Alt), *kïyïn* 'mučenie' (AltQK), *kïyna-* 'mučit′' (AltTK), *xïyna-* 'bit′, izbivat′, pytat′, mučit′' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 631), the words may perhaps be connected with *kïd-* 'to go back, distort etc.'. Erdal is right (1991: 305) when he points out that *kïyïn* comes fr *kïyï-* rather than fr *kïy-* and that this /y/ does not go back to an earlier /d/. The word has to be connected with *kïyïk* 'anything cut obliquely, such as the tip of a stylus' (Erdal 1991: 237). See also *kïyïl-* 'to sink (of the sun etc.)'. The basic semantics is 'to cut, to chop' (see *kïy-* 'to chop up, to slaughter' (Tt), *kïyïčï* 'cutter, pitiless or cruel person' (Tt)). The idea of being cut into pieces as an example of heavy suffering is a feature of the Sib shaman, who, coming back fr a trance, says that he was or he feels that he was cut into pieces. To punish was first of all to beat, on which see the VKip lgs, but the punishment of the Lord of Hell was to be cut into pieces. Fr the basic meaning 'punishment', 'illness' (see Chuv 'bolezn′'), all types of ill feelings evolved. The original form was *kïyïn*, but such forms as *kī̈n* and *kïn* developed very early. This is less likely to be a case of a final palatal *-ń*. Theoretically, a **kī̈ń* > *kïyn* change would be possible, such as **kōń* > *koyn* > *koyun* 'sheep', but the historical data do not support such a reconstruction. We have *koy* but we do not have **kïy*.

E/H The word was first tied to T words by Vámbéry (1870: 159) and this was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 95), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 491; 1993–1997/1: 753) and Ligeti (1986: 182, 187, 198, 542). It was debated whether the *ïyï* > *ī* change occurred in T or in H and this is still an open question. It is perhaps more probable that H copied a form with long back-vocalic /ī̈/ and only the fronting occurred in H. Ders

of the word occur in two of the earliest H texts, in the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* (c1195) and in the OH *Lament of the Virgin* (c1300). Their occurrences do not show a diphthong or anything pointing to a *-ïyï-* sequence.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 159; Gombocz 1912b: 95; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 491; Clauson 1972: 631; Hadrovics 1985: 307–308; Ligeti 1986: 182, 187, 198, 542; Erdal 1991: 237, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 753; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 821.

KIS 'small, little' see **kicsiny**.

KOBAK [kobåk] 'gourd, calabash, *Lagenaria vulgaris*; head, billy-cock-hat' | 1340 ? PN *Kobak* [kobåk], 1354 ? PN *kabak* [kåbåk], 1732 *kobak* [kobåk], 1758 *kabakos* [kåbåk-os], 1799 'head' | *kobåk* < **kåbåk* ← Cum **kabak* < **kapak* | EOT *kāpak* 'gourd, pumpkin' < *kāp* 'container' {with suff *+Ak*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT ? *Qapaq*, ? *Qabaq* 'nom de personne' (UHamTouHou), *qabaq* 'Kürbis' (UHeilkII 1:92), *qabaq* 'gourd' (AK), *qaġun* 'Melone' (BK 4); **MT** *qab*: *qapqu* 'tasse de porcelaine' (UHy), *qap* 'Lederschlauch, Maßenheit' (UCiv), *qabaq* 'squash' (ABF), *qap* 'kabuk, çanak, kap' (AHMA), *qabaq* 'veko', *qab* 'kora, koža, šeluha, futljar′' (AIM), *qap* 'kılıf, kın, ağacın kabuğu' (AIMI), *qabaq* 'gourd' (AKD), *qabaq* 'pumpkin, squash' (AKor), *qabaq* 'veki', *qab* 'skorlupa, šeluha (oreha), kora (dereva)' (ANehF), *qabaq yïġačï* 'calabash-tree' (ARbg), *qabïq*, *qabuq* 'kora, kožica' (ATef), *qabaq* 'citrouille, but placé sur une perche et qu'on vise avec des flèches' (AChag), *qabaq* 'lob, tykva', *qobqa* 'vedro, kotorym dostajut vodu iz kolodca' (AChagB), *qabaq* 'tykva' (AChagMA), *qabaġ*, *qabaq* 'gourd, metaph. 'a target' which they fasten on the top of a tall pole and shoot at, originally in shooting competitions they put a pumpkin on the top of a tall pole and so the word came to be used for target' (AChagSC), *qabaq* 'kudu, qabaq oyunu' (AChagŠS), *qabaq* 'Kürbis' (LCC), *qabuq* 'ağaç kabuğu' (AAH), *qoč qabaq oldu* 'boynuzsuz' (AAHI), *qabaq* 'Kürbis' (AHou), *qabaq* 'Kürbis' (AKav), cf. *qapurčuq* 'kabuk' (AMGhU), *qabaq* 'kabak' (ATuhA), *xabux* 'coque, écorce, (petite) membrane' (AmTr), *quboq*, *qubuq* 'kubok' (AmD), *xap*: *xapčux* 'bag, small sack' (AmCh), *qabaq* 'içki kadehi, şarap tası, şarap kabı' (AOtT), *qabaq* 'citrouille' (AOtM); **NT *Chuv*** *xupax*, *xupankă* 'skropula (napr. orehov), šeluha, oboločka (zerna), granka (orehov)', *kavăn* 'tykva' (Chuv), *kapak* 'tykva' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *kabak* 'tykva' (Tat), *qabaq* 'tykva' (Bashk), *qabaq* 'tykva' (SibTatB), *kabak* 'tykva, tykvjanka, gorljanka' (Kirg), *asqabaq* 'pumpkin, squash, gourd (*Cucurbita*)' (Kaz), *asqabaq* 'tykva, tykvennyj' (KazB), *qabaq* 'tykva, gorljanka' (Kklp), *kabak* 'tykva' (Nog), *qabaq* 'tykva' (CrTat), *kabax* 'tykva' (KarT), *qabaq* 'tykva' (KarC), *qabaq* 'tykva' (Kum), *qab* (karač.) 'tykva' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ġābaq* 'tykva' (TkmD), *kābak* 'tykva' (TkmD, Blagova 1997: 162), *ġabaġ* 'perednjaja čast′, ran′še, tykva' (Az), *kabak* 'pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), gourd, slang: lout, awkward and stupid' (Tt), *gabax*, *gabak* 'kabak' (TtD), *kabak*

'tykva, (peren.) pustaja golova' (Gag); ***Kh*** *qapaq* 'Geschwulst, Blase (dim. Ableitung zu »qāp« <Gefäß>)' (Kh); ***SE*** *qåvåq* 'tykva' (Uzb), *qapaq*, *qapaɣ* 'bottle gourd, bockey, calabash' (TurkiJ), *qapaq* 'polaja tykva (neboľšaja), sosud iz takoj tykvy' (TurkiLN), *qapaq* 'tykva' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The scattered OT data can also be read with *-p-*. The word is a der with the suff *+Ak* (Erdal 1991: 40–41) fr a word *kāp* 'container' (Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 414). According to Erdal (1991: 40), the early form of the word 'container' should be read as *kāp* 'a wine skin or some other container' and this word as *kāpak* 'vessel, pumpkin'. Behind this reconstruction, there is the Ch word 榼 *kē*, EMCh *kʰəp* / *kʰap*, LMCh *kʰap* 'ancient drinking vessel'. In this position, there was no *p* : *b* opposition in EMCh. It is possible that the Ch word is of non-Ch, maybe of T origin. A T **kap* and **kab* would have been borrowed in the same way. A simplex form *kab* 'tykva; pumpkin, gourd' occurs in KrchBlk. Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 163) notes a few Cauc lgs like Kabard, Adige and Abhaz where similar monosyllabic forms occur (cf. Abhaz *qab*, Budukh *qab*). It is possible that Krch copied *kab* fr a Cauc lg. The TtD form *kap* 'kabak' may come fr immigrants in Turkey. It is, however, less probable that T *kapak* goes back to the Cauc form. Kh *kapak* 'blister, pustule' and Chuv *χupaχ* 'pod of nuts' (*kapak* is a late Tat lw) show that the word originally meant 'globular container'. It is remarkable that AK has *ka* 'vessel, container'. The T word for 'melon' is *kagun*, which may have a foreign der (see the details but without any critical remarks in Blagova 1997: 175). Ar *qāwūn*, suggested by Egorov (1964: 84), seems to be a lw in Ar. Tib *ga-gon* 'a melon' is itself a lw and thus it can hardly be the original for the T words (Räsänen 1969: 220). The Kalm word is not *gaun*, as claimed by Räsänen, but *gū*, where *gaun* is a form that has been reconstructed by Ramstedt (1935: 156). Mo *guva* 'gourd, pumpkin' is itself a Ch lw (瓜 *gua*, EMCh *kwai* / *kwɛ:*). Only in Chuv and a few Bashk dials has the meaning 'melon' changed to 'pumpkin'. In H, a tasteless melon is called a 'pumpkin', and perhaps a similar change occurred in Chuv.

E/H The word has been considered as a T lw since Vámbéry (1870: 160). According to Gombocz (1912b: 96–97), it is of OChuv origin. This has been questioned by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 412–413). Kniezsa (1955: 858–859) refuted its alleged Sl der. Benkő claimed (1967–1984/2: 507) that the word is originally Kip, i.e. Cum, and is part of the middle layer. Ligeti (1986: 115) was uncertain about the Kip starting point because he thought that *-b-* was original in the word, and not due to a secondary Kip weakening. He also saw chronological problems. Early on, the word only occurs as a PN, but these names have always uncertain connections with a common word. It may be that the word was present in pre-Ott times, but Ott influenced its later history. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 762) remarked that the time of the borrowing is not yet clarified. Since the original intervocalic *-p-* can be ascertained (see *kap*), it is safe to say that the word falls within the middle layer and is of Kip, most probably

Cum, origin in H. The word has several metaphoric meanings in H, which are late H changes. The *-o-* is an inner H development, perhaps a dissimilation; see **boszorkány**, **koporsó**. On *-b-*, see **koboz**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160; Gombocz 1912b: 96–97; Ramstedt 1935: 156; Kniezsa 1955: 858–859; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 412–414; Egorov 1964: 84; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 507; Räsänen 1969: 220; Ligeti 1986: 115; Erdal 1991: 40–41; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 762; Blagova 1997: 162–163, 175; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 646, 763.

KOBOZ [koboz] 'lute, cittern' | 1193 GN ? *coboz* [koboz], 1326 PN *Kobzus* [kobz-uš], 1620 *koboznak* [koboz-nåk] | *koboz* < **koboz* ← Cum *kobuz* < *kopuz* | EOT *kopuz* 'a stringed instrument'.

Of Cum origin.

OT *qopuz* 'un sorte de guitare' (UHamTouHou), *qopuz* 'lute' (AK); **MT** PN *Qopuz* (UCiv), <QWBZ> (ABF), *qobuz* '(muzykal′nyj instrument)' (AHŠF), *qopuz* 'muzykal′nyj instrument, v nekot. dial.: volynka, dudka, v drugih: rod gitary' (AIM), *qabuz* [misvocalized] 'kemançe', *qobuz* ["misvocalized *qapuz*" according to Clauson 1972: 588] 'kopuz' (AIMI), *qopuz*: *qopuzčï* 'player of the lute' (AKD), *qobuz* 'sorte de guitare en forme de poire et à une corde' (AChag), *qobuz* and *qopuz* 'dva roda muzykal′nyh instrumentov, odin vrode skripki i drugoj, kak čang, na kotorom igrajut pri pomošči gub i zubov' (AChagB), *qopuz* 'skripka' (AChagMA), *qobuz* 'lute, a well-known kind of musical instrument (*sāz*)' (AChagSC), *qopuz* 'Melone, Kürbis, Geige' (AChagŠSK), *qobuzčï* '(Lautenspieler), Musikant' (LCC), *qopuz* 'aleti musikiye' (AAH), *qubuz* 'ut gibi, fakat yayla çalınır üç telli eski saz' (AAHI), *qobuz* 'eine Art Geige' (AHou), *qopuz*, *qubuz*, *qupuz* 'ut biçiminde eski bir Türk sazı' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kupăs* 'skripka, garmonika, garmon′, garmoška' (Chuv ← Tat); ***NW*** *kubïz* 'komuz (tatarskij gubnoj muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Tat), *qubïz* 'garmon′' (TatD1), *qubïδ*, *qumïδ* 'komuz, vargan (gubnoj ščipkovyj muzykal′nyj instrument), komuz (trehstrunnyj ščipkovyj muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Bashk), *qomïs* 'das Brummeisen' (SibTatBR), *komuz* 'komuz (trehstrunnyj ščipkovyj muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Kirg), *qobïz* 'kobyz' (KazB), *qobïz* 'komuz (derevjannyj smyčkovyj muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Kklp), *kobïz* 'garmon′' (Nog), *qobïz* 'ščipkovyj instrument' (CrTat), *kobuz* 'kobuz (rod smyčkovogo muzykal′nogo instrumenta)' (KarT), *kobuz* 'kobuz (rod smyčkovogo muzykal′nogo instrumenta)' (KarH), *qobuz* 'kobuz (strunnyj muzykal′yj instrument)' (KarC), *qomuz* 'komuz (nacional′nyj trehstrunnyj ščipkovyj muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Kum), *qobuz* 'garmon′' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gopuz* 'vargan (devičij gubnej muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Tkm), *kopuz* 'lute (old Turkish guitar)' (Tt), *kobuz* 'akordeonun küçüğü, bir çeşit çalgı' (TtD), *kobza* 'kobza (muzykal′nyj instrument)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qŭbiz* 'kobuz (nazvanie muzykal′nogo strunnogo instrumenta)' (Uzb), *qubuz* 'a Turkestan-made Jews harp' (TurkiJ), *qubuz*, *qupuz* 'a Jew's harp. Also, a rough guitar with horsehair strings. Also, the inside of the cheek.' (TurkiSh), *qobuz* 'das Brummeisen' (TurkiTR), *qovuz* 'kobuz, vargan' (MUyg), *qoŋïs*,

qoŋus ‘muzykal′nyj strunnyj instrument’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *komus* ‘vargan’ (Alt), *komïs* ‘garmon′, kobys’ (AltQK), *komïs*, *koŋïs* ‘komus (muzykal′nyj instrument)’ (AltTK), *xomïs* ‘komus (muzykal′nyj instrument)’ (Khak), *qobus* ‘das Balalaika’ (KhakShR), *gomus* ‘komuz’ (FY), *xomus* ‘homus (muzykal′nyj instrument)’ (Tuv), *hobus* ‘muzykal′nyj instrument (ljubj), muzyka’ (Tof); ***Y*** *xomus*, *xamïs* ‘kobys, kobyz, vargan, dudka’ (Y).

Mo *quġur* ‘stringed musical instrument played with a bow’ (L).

E/T The AT form was surely **kopuz* with *-p-*, as attested in Mo *kugur*. The Chuv word is of Tat origin. Later, the weakening of *-p-* appeared in many lgs. It originally meant ‘a stringed musical instrument’. Then, in some lgs, it also denoted the Jew’s harp. The labial stop became nasalised (see also Kirg) in some Sib lgs. The word was copied by Rus and also re-borrowed fr Rus. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 743–744) supposed that the words with *-m-* and with *-b-* < *-p-* were initially different. However, the semantic distribution does not support this hypothesis; see, e.g. Kirg, which was originally a SibT lg.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 160). Early on, Gombocz (1912b: VI) recognised that the word could only be of Kip der, and therefore a Cum word in H. This was later accepted by all H authorities.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160; Gombocz 1912b: VI; Németh 1921: 22–23; Bárczi 1953: 392; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 443–445; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 535–537; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 509; Räsänen 1969: 281; Clauson 1972: 588–589; Ligeti 1986: 91–92; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 763; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 743–744.

KOLDUL [koldul] ‘to beg, to mendicate’ | p1372/c1448 *koldolnÿ* [koldol-ni], c1512 *meg kulduluan* [meg kuldul-vān] | *koldul-* < **koldu* {with suff +(*V*)*l-*} ← WOT **koldu* < **kol-* {with suff *-dU*} or *koldul-* < *kolduš* {by analogy} || **koldus** [kolduš] ‘beggar’ | p1416/1466 *koldos* [koldoš], c1518 koldus [kolduš] | *kolduš* < **koldu* {with suff +(*V*)*š*} ← WOT **koldu* or *kolduš* < **kuldučï* ← WOT **koldučï* < **koldu* {with suff +*čI*} | EOT *kol*(*t*)*gučï* ‘beggar’ < **kolgučï* < **kolug* < *kol-* ‘to beg’.

Of possible T origin.

OT *qol-* ‘to ask for’ (RTIrk 47), *qol-* ‘to pray’: *suyumuznï yazuqumuznï bošunu qolmaq kärgäk ärti* ‘it was necessary to pray to be freed from our sins (Hend.)’ (UChuas 263-5), *qol-* ‘erbitten’: *krmšuxn qoltï* ‘er … erbat Verzeihung’ (MTTII A:36), *qol-* ‘erbitten’ (UM I 32:12), *qolur-biz* ‘erflehen wir’ (UTTIII 173), *qol-* ‘to ask for’ (U-XuanzangIndex), *qoltgučï*, *qoltgučï* ‘quémandeur, mendiant’ (UHamTouHou), *qol-* ‘to ask’: *ol mändin nāŋ qoldï* ‘he asked me for the thing’, *qolun-*: *är nāŋ qolundï* ‘the man asked for a thing’, *qoldačï* ‘beggar’: *qoldačïqa miŋ yaġāq barča bilä ayruq tayāq* ‘I owe the beggar a thousand walnuts, besides all this (I’ll give him) a stick to lean on’ (AK), *qol-* ‘to desire, to seek’ (AQB), *qol-* ‘erflehen’ (? *hkuol-*) (BK 5 (?)), *qolγur-* ‘erflehen’ (*hkuol//or-*) (BK 5:5), *qolunluγ* ‘bittend’ (*hkoloṃlug*) (BK 7); **MT** *qol-* ‘istemek’ (UY), *qol-* ‘istemek’ (AHMA), *qol-* ‘prosić, błagać’, *qoltγa*, *qoltqa* ‘prośba, życzenie,

błaganie' (AHŠ), *qol-* 'prosiť, umoljať', *qoltqa*, *qoltġa* 'pros'ba' (AHŠF), *qol-* 'to ask, pray for', *qol-* 'prosiť, umoljať' (ANehF), *qol-* 'to request, to beg, to ask for the hand of a woman', *qolġučï* 'beggar' (ARbg), *qol-* 'prosiť' (ATef), *qol-* 'istemek' (AYC), *qol-* 'demander, demander excuse, rechercher une fille en mariage' (AChag), *qol-* 'to ask for permission, or a girl in marriage' (AChagAb), *qol-* 'özür dilemek, nikâhla kız dileyüb almak' (AChagAbA), *qol-* 'bocsánatot kérni, leányt feleségül megkérve elvenni [to beg for pardon, to marry a girl, asking for (and not abducting) the bride]' (AChagAbV), *qol-* 'prosiť proščenija' (AChagB), *qul-* (r: *qol-*) 'prosiť proščenija, prosiť voobšče, isprašivať, želať' (AChagBud), *qol-* 'bitten' (AChagR), *qol-* 'to ask for' (AChagSC), ? *qodoš* 'Derwisch' (AChagŠSK), *qol-* 'erbitten' (LCCG), *qol-* 'erbitten' (LCCI), *qol-* (misvocalized as *qïl-*) 'imádkozik; beten' (AKav), *xol-* 'to ask for, request, beg', *xolun-* 'to request' (AmCh), *ḫol-* 'demander', *ḫoltḫa* 'demande, prière' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kĕle-* 'prosiť, vypraševať, kljančiť, hotiť, želať, moliťsja, tvoriť molitvu, prosiť, zapraševať, naznačať cenu' (Chuv), *kĕle-* 'kérni; bitten' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *qoldo-* 'helfen' (KirgR), *kol-* 'prosiť'e', *kolam astrï* 'očen'e prošu', *kolun-* 'prosiť, vypraševať, napraševať'sja', *maxlania kolundï* 'on prosil izvinenija' (KarT, KarH), *koltka* 'pros'ba, molitva, molenie', *koluvcu* 'prositeľ' (KarH); *qol-* 'prosiť', *qoltqa* 'mol'ba, pros'ba, molitva' (KarSh), *koltxa* 'pros'ba, mol'ba, molitva', *koluvču* 'prositeľ' (KarT); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qulčiliq* 'slavery, servitude' (TurkiSh), ? *kōła-* 'sprašivať', *k'ōla-* 'doprašivať' (Sal), *q'ołqïzï*, *q'ołq'ïzï* 'prositeľ, niščij' (YUyg), *xol-*: *parlïġa xol-* 'prosiť milostynju', ? *xoal-*: *parlïġa xoal-* id., *qol-*, *qul-* 'prosiť', *qolqïča*, *qolqïčï* 'niščij, prositeľ', *qolma* 'niščij, prositeľ' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kolgužu* '(foľkl.) prosjaščij mylostyn'ju, niščij' (Tuv), *qolda-* 'fragen' (TuvSR); ***Y*** –.

E/T The verbal base of the possible T etymon for the H word pair *koldul-*, *koldus* is *kol-* with the basic meanings 'to beg, to ask, to entreat'. On the most important historical data on the base and its ders, see Clauson: *kol-* 'to ask for (something *Acc.*)' (1972: 616–617), *koltur-* caus of *kol-* (1972: 620), *kolġïr-* hap. leg. inchoative f. of *kol-* (1972: 621), *kolun-* refl f. of *kol-* (1972: 623), *kolunġučī* 'beggar' dev. n. ag. fr *kolun-* (1972: 624). A small collection of the data on the verbal base can also be found in Blagova (2000: 36–37). Sevortjan's (1962: 412) explanation about the interrelation between the verb *kol-* 'to beg' and the noun *kol* 'the upper arm' cannot be accepted despite Blagova's opinion. Erdal (1991) discussed the ders of *kol-* in several passages of his book (cf. Index). The base and its ders are, however, not as widespread in the ModT lgs as Ligeti thought (1986: 212). They are missing fr the SW lgs, Chuv, Y and Kh, as well as in the majority of the South SibT and the Kip lgs – except the Kar dials. Some authorities, e.g. the editors of DTS (see Nadeljaev 1969: 454), Clauson (1972: 621), Ligeti (1986: 212) and Tenišev (2001: 355), maintained that the verb *kol-* has a secondary form *kolt-*. Ligeti (1986: 212) discussed the variations *kold-*, *kolt-*, suggesting that they are formed with a suff of intensity. Actually, the forms *kold-*,

kolt- have been properly analysed by Erdal (1991: 440). He rightly pointed out that the segment *-t-* is neither part of the verbal stem, nor a caus suff, but a dental addition after a sonant preceding a consonant, which appeared occasionally in a number of well-known lexemes (see e.g. *külgü ~ kültgü* 'apoplexy', *bagïrlak ~ bagïrtlak* 'sand grouse'). This additional *-t-* sound can also be found in the contemporary Kar data with the suff *-gA* as *koltka*.

The word reconstructed here as **koldu* is a der of the verb *kol-* 'to beg, to ask, to entreat' with the dev suff *-dU* (Erdal 1991: 332–334). The suff forms nouns which denote the resultative object of tr verbs and the subject of intr ones. Erdal (1991: 332) paid special attention to the OT noun *umdu* 'coveting, begging' and its der *umdu+čï* 'beggar'. In UShōAv 21, the binom *uuntuči-koltguči* occurs, where the first word is *ūntuči* with a dotted <n>, but surely a dissimilative form of *umduči*. The OT verb *um-* 'to ask, entreat' is a perfect match for the verb *kol-*. Although this semantic parallel cannot prove the validity of the reconstructed lexeme **kol-du* 'entreat, begging', it can definitely strengthen it. I reconstructed WOT **koldu* which corresponds to EOT *koltgu* < **kolgu* (see Tuv *kolgu* below) < **kolug*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 555) compared PT **Kol-* 'to beg' with PMo **golu-* 'to be unhappy with something, consider something bad', a suggestion which is unacceptable for semantic reasons.

Discussing Tuv *kolda-* '(fol′kl.) prosit′, vyprašivat′', Tatarincev (2000–2004/3: 181–183) rightly rejected the possibility proposed by earlier researchers that it may be interrelated with T *kol* 'upper arm', which is *xol* in Tuv. The etymological connection of Tuv *kolda-* '(fol′kl.) prosit′, vyprašivat′' with Tuv *kolgužu* '(fol′kl.) prosjaščij mylostyn′ju, niščij' seems very convincing.

E/H The T origin of the H word *koldus* 'beggar' was first suggested by Vámbéry (1870: 160), who tied it to a – still not verified – Chag form *kuduš* 'wandering dervish, beggar'. Vámbéry also pointed out that this T word, like the form *kolgučï* 'asking, entreating', belongs to the same word family and that they are both ders of the T verb *kol-* 'to ask'. It is important to know that Vámbéry (1870) used Chag data fr one of his earlier works (see e.g. *kuduš* (Trkm.) 'der Derwisch, Bettler' (Vámbéry 1867: 316)). This item is later cited – as a Tkm word – by Budagov (1869–1871/2: 72) and Radloff (1893–1911/2: 1006). Radloff's dict (1893–1911/2: 611–612) also contains the forms *kodoš*, *kodaš* as Ott, meaning 'der Hahnrei, ein Mann, der seine eigene Frau prostituiert' as well as 'ein sich umhertreibender bettelnder Derwisch'. These data fr Radloff must be dealt with separately and should also be verified. Budenz (1873: 104) regarded Vámbéry's etymology as linking "seemingly identical" words. Hunfalvy (1878: 446) noted the Rum origin of the verb, while Munkácsi (1883: 75, 80) pointed to its South Sl connections. Munkácsi actually listed the H word *koldus* among the words of Ugr origin. Németh (1926–1932a: 198) – and then again under

the pseudonym János Török – argued for the T origin of the word *koldus* (1926–1932: 238). Bárczi (1941: 168) considered the etymology of the word *koldus* uncertain. His logical argumentation that the nominal *koldus* may not be separated fr the verb *koldul-* has been repeated a number of times by D. Bartha (1953: 174), Pais (1953a: 175) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 524) among others. In the entry *kol-* 'bitten', Räsänen (1969: 277) considered H *koldus* to be of T origin. Ligeti (1986: 212) rejected the adventurous explanation offered by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 524) and maintained that the origin of the word pair *koldul-*, *koldus* is probably T, but also added that the T etymology offered so far "falls short indeed, at least within the framework of traditional methods of etymological construction". As in so many other cases, Ligeti (1986: 212) pointed early on toward a possible solution, except – as yet again, in so many other cases – he did not elaborate on his idea, i.e. he wrote, "In the pair *koldus*, *koldul-* the final -(*u*)*s*, -(*u*)*l* is undoubtedly a H suffix." The view represented in EWUng (see Benkő (1993–1997/1: 770)) barely differs fr the explanation offered in Benkő (1967–1984/2: 524). Benkő's view about the H origin of *koldul-* is unacceptable. He supposes a link to the verb *kall-* 'walken'. More recently, *koldus* and *koldul-* were dealt with by Berta (2005: 49–55). According to him, it seems indeed to have resulted fr internal H development. Ultimately, however, it is of T origin and its possible etymon may have been a nominal form **koldu* 'begging'. Both the verb *koldul-* (with the den suff +(*V*)*l-*) (cf. Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár 1967: 330) and the noun *koldus* (with the den suff +(*V*)š) (cf. Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár 1967: 331) may have originated fr this base copied by H.

A T **koldu* must have lost its final /u/. However, by then the H ders *koldu-l-* and *koldu-š* had become deeply embedded into the H lg. It is less probable that H copied a WOT **koldučï* as *koldučï*, then the final /i/ disappeared and the *č* > *š* change followed (see **orvos**, **táltos**). In this latter case, the verb *koldul-* was added to the OH noun *kolduš* by analogy. The verb first occurs at the end of the 14th c., the noun at the beginning of the 15th c., but both forms are much earlier.

◆ Vámbéry 1867: 316; Budagov 1869–1871/2: 72; Vámbéry 1870: 160; Budenz 1873: 104; Hunfalvy 1878: 446; Munkácsi 1883: 75, 80; Radloff 1893–1911/2: 611–612, 1006; Németh 1926–1932a: 198; Török [Németh] 1926–1932: 238; Bárczi 1941: 168; D. Bartha 1953: 174; Pais 1953a: 175; Sevortjan 1962: 412; Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár 1967: 330–331; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 524; Nadeljaev 1969: 454; Räsänen 1969: 277; Clauson 1972: 319, 616–617, 620–621, 623–624, 718; Ligeti 1986: 212; Erdal 1991: 332–334, 440; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 770; Berta 2000b: 189–193; Blagova 2000: 36–37; Tatarincev 2000–2004/3: 181–183; Tenišev 2001: 355; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 555; Berta 2005: 49–55.

KOLOKÁNY 'a water plant, *Stratiotes aloides*' see **kalokány**.

KOMLÓ [komlō] 'hops, *Humulus lupulus*' | 1086 GN *Qumlouozou* [kumlou åsou], 1212 GN *Cumlūs* [kumlu-š], 1231 GN *Comlousd* [komlō-šd], 1478 *komplo* [komplō],

1577 *kómló* [kōmlō] | *komlō* < **kumlaų* < **kumlaɣ* ← WOT **kumlaɣ* | EOT *kumlak* ‘hop’.

OT *qumlaq* ‘a plant similar to bindweed that grows in Qifčaq (i.e. hops)’ (AK); **MT** cf. PN *Qumluq* ‘Name einer Klosteranlage’ (UCiv), *qolmaq* ‘houblon’ (AChag), *qumlaq* ‘Hopfen’ (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xămla* ‘hmel′’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *kolmak* ‘hmel′ (astenie)’ (Tat), *qomalaq* ‘hmel′’ (TatD2), *qomalaq* ‘hmel′’ (Bashk), *qŏmlaq* ‘hmel′’ (SibTat), *qumnaq* ‘der Hopfen, Hopfenzapfen’ (SibTatBR), *qŭlmaq* ‘hops (Lat. *Humulus lupulus*)’ (Kaz), *kïlmak* ‘hmel′’ (Nog), *kumlax* ‘hmel′’ (KarT), *qumlaq* ‘hmel′’ (KarC), *xumallak*, *xumellek* [Blk] ‘hmel′’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *kïmïkak* ‘hmel′’ (AltL), *kumunak* ‘hmel′’ (AltQK), *qumdaq* ‘der Hopfen’ (AltTelR), *xumnax* ‘šiška (hmelja, sosny)’ (Khak), *qumnaq* ‘der Hopfen, Hopfenzapfen’ (KhakSR); ***Y*** –.

Os *xₒymællæg*, *xumællæg* ‘hmel′’ (Abaev 1958–1989/4: 261–262).

E/T The word is a migrating cultural one. An etymology fr **kum* ‘Welle’ suggested several times by Räsänen (most recently 1969: 299) is hardly acceptable. It is based on the entry in AK: ‘a plant similar to bindweed which grows in the Qifčāq country. They prepare a drink from it mixed with honey. When this plant is brought on board ship the sea becomes so agitated that the passengers nearly drown’, but even this does not point to a folk etymology, otherwise frequent with Kashgari. The word is very old in the Germanic lgs. See Mid–Low Grm *homele*, Old Islandic *humli*, *humla*, *humall* etc. (→ Lat *humulus*, Finn *humala*), which may be the origin of Sl **hъmelь* (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 249–250, who rejected the T origin). The etymology of the Germanic word is unclear. It has been connected with the verb *hummeln* ‘herumtasten’ (Kluge 1934: 255; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 250). The word is present in Os as *xₒymællæg*, *xumællæg* ‘hmel′’ (Abaev 1958–1989/4: 261–262). According to Abaev this goes back to an Ir **hauma-aryaka* ‘arijskij hom’, fr which the present Os form is a regular development. A form **humæl* developed fr another form **hauma-arya*. The former was copied by several Germanic, FUgr and some Cauc lgs, while the T and some other Cauc words were copied fr **hauma-aryaka*. Further, according to Abaev, the word belongs to the Scythian (Saka, Sarmatian etc.) lexicon, but the chronology is difficult to establish. In this case, we have to depart fr IIr *sóma-*, Ir **hauma-* as the name of a plant and not of a drink. This would be the horsetail (*Ephedra*) (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 562–563). Some authors claim that the *soma* was originally made of a kind of amanita mushroom (*Amanita muscaria*). The origin of the T word may be an Ir form like **xumalak*, the same fr which Os *xumællæg* is derived. The word is only present in the NW and West Sib T lgs and even there it is often an inner T lw. KrchBlk is an independent lw fr Os.

E/H The T origin of the H word was recognised early (Beregszászi 1796). It was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 97–98), Benkő (1953a: 48; 1967–1984/2: 357; 1993–1997/1: 777) and Ligeti (1986: 78, 236). Ligeti pointed to the fact that the word is a cultural

wandering word and may ultimately be of Grm origin, which is questionable. The Os word has not yet been included in the history of the H word. It forms part of a group of botanic terms which are common to WOT, Os and H (see **gyékény**, **komló**, **kökény**, **kőris**, **körtvély** (**körte**), **som**, see § 7.1 and Róna-Tas 2004).

◆ Beregszászi 1796; Gombocz 1912b: 97–98; Kluge 1934: 255; Benkő 1953a: 48; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 261–262; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 249–250; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 357; Räsänen 1969: 299; Sinor 1969: 276–277; Clauson 1972: 628; Ligeti 1986: 78, 236; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 777; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 562–563; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 805; Róna-Tas 2004: 260–273, 419–438.

KOMÓCSIN [komōčin] 'timothy-grass, phleum, *Phleum sp.*' | 1788 *komotsiny* [komōčiń], 1798 *komotsin* [komōčin], 1807 *komótsin* [komōčin], dial *komocsu* [komoču] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 455), *komorcsik* [komorčik] '*Sparganium*' (Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 107) | *komōčin* < **kåmičin* ← WOT **kamïčïn* < **kamïlčan* < **kamïlč* {with suff +*An*} | EOT *kamïš* 'reed'.

OT *qamïš*, *qamuš* 'reed' (RTIrk), *qamiš* 'roseau' (UHamTouHou), *qamïš* 'reed' (AK); **MT** *qamïš* 'bambou, roseau' (UHy), *qamïš* 'trostnik' (AHŠF), *qamïš* 'trostnik' (AIM), *qamïš* 'sulak yerlerde biten içi boş ve boğumlu bitki' (AIMI), *qamïš*: *qamïš va qašaq* 'reed, cane, rush, bulrush' (AKD), *qamïš* 'reed, shuttle' (ARbg), *qamïš* 'roseau' (AChag), *qamïš* 'trostnik' (AChagMA), *qamïš* 'ney' (AChagŠS), *qamïš*, *xamïš* 'Rohr, Stengel' (LCC), *qamïš* 'roseau' (ABul), *qamïš* 'roseau, canne à sucre' (ADur), *qamïš* 'Schilfrohr' (AKav), *qamïš* 'kamış' (AMGhU), *qamïš* 'kamış' (ATuhA), *xamïš*, *xamï*(*z*) 'roseau, jonc, canne' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xămăš* 'kamyš, trostnik', *xămăl* 'stebel′ (zlakov), sternja, stern′, žniv′e' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Tat), *qamïl* 'stebel′, l′na, konopli, stebel′ u rastenija' (TatD1), *qamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik', *qamïl* 'stern′ja, žniv′e, stebel′ (rastuščego hleba)' (Bashk), *qamïl* 'stebel′, sternja skošennoj travy' (BashkD2), *kåmïš* 'nád [reed]' (BashkP), *kamïš* 'kamyš' (Kirg), *qamïs* 'kamyš, trostnik' (KazB), *qamïs* 'kamyš' (Kklp), *kamïs* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Nog), *qamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (CrTat), *kamuš* 'kamyš, trostnik, plečevaja kost′' (Kar′T), *kamus* 'kamyš, trostnik, stebel' (KarH), *qamïš* 'kamyš' (KarC), *qamuš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Kum), *qamiš* 'kamyš' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Tkm), *gamïšak* 'vejnik somnitel′nyj (Lat. *Calamagrostis dubia*)' (Tkm, Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 11), *ġamšaq* 'trostnik' (TkmD), *ġamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Az), *kamïš* 'reed, bamboo, cane' (Tt), *kamuš* 'kamış' (TtD), *kamïš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Gag), *ġamiš* 'Schilf' (Khor), *ġamiš* 'Schilf, Rohr' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qamič*, *qamiš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (Uzb), *qumuš* 'reed' (TurkiJ), *qamiš* 'a reed' (TurkiSh), *qamïš*, *qamuš* 'kamyš' (TurkiLN), *qomuš* 'das Schilf' (TurkiTR), *qamuš*, *qomuš* 'kamyš, trostnik' (MUyg), *qumïš* 'kamyš' (MUygKuč), *qomuč* 'kamiš' (MUygD, Blagova 1997: 249), *kāmuš* 'kamyš' (Sal), *qamïš*, *qāmïš* 'canne' (SalK), *qamïš* 'rastenie »kamyš«' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kamïš* 'kamyš' (RAlt), *qamïš* 'das Schilf, Rohr' (AltR, AltTelR), *kabïš* 'kamyš'

(AltQK), *kamïš* ‘kamyš’ (AltTK), *xamïs* ‘kamyš’ (Khak), ? *xïmïs-sigen* ‘ščavel’, cf. *sigen* ‘seno, trava’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *xomus*, *xamïs* ‘ozernyj kamyš, trost, trostnik’ (Y).

Os *qamïl*, *xɔamïl*, *qamil* ‘kamyš, bur´jan’ (← WOT; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 261).

Rus *kamyš* ‘reed’ (← T).

E/T The form with lambdacism is present in Os. It has to remain an open question whether T **kamïl* ‘stem, stalk’ has anything to do with the word under discussion. The word *kamïš* denotes different kinds of reed.

E/H According to Rásonyi (1927a: 52–53), the H word, which denotes a special kind of grass, developed because grass is like reeds. He proposes that the T word has a dim suff *+čIn* and the original would have been **kamïščïn*. In his second paper (1961: 250), Rásonyi pointed out that forms like *komócsing* [komõčiŋ] are secondary. The problem with Rásonyi’s etymology is that there does not exist a dim suff *+čIn*. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 539) called attention to the possibility that the final *-n* could be a H suff, since we have *komócsos* in a dial, another der fr *komócs* with the meaning ‘with abundant leaves’. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 778–779) suggested that perhaps the *-n* could be a T suff. The suff is the same as *+An* in **gyümölcsény**, **kökény** and perhaps **gyertyán**, and *kamïš* and **kamïšan* and H *komócs* and *komócsin* belong together like *yemiš* and *yemišän* and H **gyümölcs** and **gyümölcsény**. The late occurrence of the word makes it difficult to reconstruct the vowel in the third syllable, it should have been originally **komocsány* and the vowel of the third syllable changed fr */a/ to /i/ in H under the influence of the neighbouring palatalised consonants. The dial words *komócsa* and *komócsó* ‘strawberry’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 455) are different words. **komócsin** is now a dial word, found in several parts of Hungary, but not hitherto attested in Cumania. There is no reason to suppose that it is a Kip lw, as Benkő (1993–1997/1: 778–779) suggested. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word.

◆ Rásonyi 1927a: 52–53; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 261; Rásonyi 1961: 250; Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 11; Csapody–Prieszter 1966: 107; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 539; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 455; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 778–779; Blagova 1997: 249; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 774.

KOMOLY ‘serious, solemn’ see **komor**.

KOMONDOR [komondor] ‘a kind of Hungarian sheepdog’ | 1454 ? PN *Komondor* [komondor], c1519 *komondor* [komondor] | *komondor* < **kumandur* ← Cum **kumandur* | T **kumandur* ‘an ethnic name’ < *kuman* ‘Cuman’ {with suff *+dUr*}.

Of Cum origin.

Not in the T sources.

E/T–E/H According to Rásonyi (1931: 316; 1941–1943: 289–290), this name for a dog breed was originally an ethnonym. Rásonyi supposed that the ethnonym *kuman* took on a suff *+dUr*, which is present in other ethnonyms (see e.g *onogundur* < *onogur* in the works of Nikephoros and Theophanes and the *De thematibus* of Constantine

VII, see Moravcsik (1983/2: 218–219), *ονογουνδουροι*). The adj became an independent noun fr the attributive compound *komondor eb* 'Cumandur dog'. The ethnonym is present in some GNs in Moldavia, such as *Comăndăriascăi*, *Comăndăreştiĭ*. According to Rásonyi (1941–1943: 289–290), in Dimashki's cosmographic work (died 1327), a tribe name written as <QMNKW'> and read hitherto as *Kumangü* should be emended to *Kumandur*. Németh dealt with ethnonyms ending in *+dUr* (1930: 58–59; see also Németh 1991: 99). He collected the following names: *Mongoldur* (among the Kara Kirgiz), *Kundur* (Vámbéry (1885: 552) reconstructed this name fr the Rus *kundrovi*, *kundrovski*); *Bayundur* (an Og tribe name in AK and in Houtsma (1888: 224) <B'YNDR, B'YNDWR>); *Čaudur* (an Og tribe name in AK: *Čuvuldar*; Houtsma (1888: 224): <Č'WLDR>); *Igdir* (an Og tribe name also *Yigdir*; AK: *Igdir*; Houtsma (1888: 225)); *Bökädür* (an Og tribe name in AK: <BWKDWZ>; Dankoff–Kelly read *Bügdüz* (1982–1985/1: 101); Houtsma (1888: 225) <BWKDWR>); and *Orkundur* (a river name together with the river name Orkun, but also a tribal name in Rashiduddin). According to Rásonyi, *Kumandur* is an imperative with the meaning 'sois (un vrai) Coman' (Rásonyi 1962: 236), which hardly seems to be probable.

The presence of the clan name *Kumandur* in Hungary can now be corroborated by the fact that it also occurred in the H sources as a name of a person. It denoted somebody who belonged to the clan of the Kumandurs, which later became a family name (see Kázmér 1993: 611: *Komondor* fr the years 1454, 1490, 1513, 1720). Otherwise, the name of the Cumans is **kun** in all H sources. The T etymology of *komondor* was accepted by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 540; 1993–1997/1: 779) and Ligeti (1986: 90, 278).

◆ Vámbéry 1885: 552; Houtsma 1888: 224–225; Németh 1930: 58–59; Rásonyi 1931: 316; Pais 1934: 128; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 289–290; Rásonyi 1962: 236; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 540; Dankoff–Kelly 1982-1985/1: 101; Moravcsik 1983/2: 218–219; Ligeti 1986: 90, 278; Németh 1991: 99; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 779; Kázmér 1993: 611; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 695; Rásonyi–Baski 2007: 492.

KOMOR [komor] 'gloomy, grave, morose, sombre, dull-coloured; not properly castrated' | 1222 ? PN *Chomor* [komor], ? PN *Cumur* [kumur], p1372/c1448 *komorodott* [komor-odott] 'morose', 1577 *komor* [komor], 1621 'distressed, darksome', 1793 'not properly castrated bull', dial *komor* [komor] 'gloomy, dark (of the sky); not properly castrated horse, bull, boar, ram; bull which is partly impotent' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 456) || **komoly** [komoy] 'serious, solemn' | 1788–1789 *komoly* [komoĺ], 1848 *komol* [komol] | *komor* < *komur* ← WOT **komur* < **koŋur* | EOT *koŋur* 'dark chestnut'.

OT *qoŋur* 'hoarse (voice), chestnut (colour of sheep or other)' (AK); **MT** *qoŋur* 'a *qula* horse verging on yellow' (ABF), *qoŋur* 'benekleri türlüce olan (bunun doğru manası 'kumral' demektir)' (AIMI), *qonġur* (sic!, with *nġ*) 'a horse of which the colour verges on black' (AChagSC), *qonġur*: *qonġur at* 'qonġur asb' (AChagŠS), *qonur* 'kumral, krem rengi' (AAHI), *qoŋur* 'rötlich' (AHou), *qoŋur* 'koyun gözlü'

(ATuhA), *qoŋur* ‘yanık al, yağızımsı al’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *xămăr* ‘koričnevyj, buryj, kauryj, rusyj’ (Chuv), *xămăr* ‘buryj, vremja, sklonnoe k nenasťju’, *xămăr śantalăk* ‘vremja k nenasťju, pasmurnaja pogoda’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *koŋgïr* ‘rusyj (o volosah), buryj’, *koŋgïrt* ‘rusyj, rusovatyj’ (Tat), *quŋïr*, dial *qoŋor* ‘temno-buryj, buryj, smuglyj, temnyj, karyj (o glazah)’ (Bashk), *qumïr* ‘buryj’ (BashkD), *qoŋïr* ‘krasnoryžij’ (SibTat), *koŋur* ‘temno-uryj, smuglyj, (o haraktere) mjagkij, nežnyj’ (Kirg), *qoŋïr* ‘light brown, dark grey’, *koŋïr salqïn* ‘the cool (for example of the evening)’ (Kaz), *qoŋïr* ‘temno-buryj, smuglyj’ (Kklp), *koŋïr* ‘temno-buryj (o cvete materii), rusyj’ (Nog), *qoŋur* ‘buryj’ (CrTat), *qongur* ‘karyj, temno-buryj’ (Kum), *qoŋur* ‘buryj (o masti), neblagoprijatnyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *goŋur* ‘buryj, temno-koričnevyj’ (Tkm), *gonur* ‘buryj, karyj’ (Az), *konur* ‘(horse) iron grey colour, dark grey, (man) swarthy, bold, proud (in a good sense)’ (Tt), *koġur*, *kongur*, *konġur*, *konkur*, *konur* ‘sarı ile siyah karışımı bir renk, koyu kumral, kestane renki (öküz, inek için kullanır)’ (TtD), *komur* ‘buryj’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qŭnġir* ‘buryj, temno-seryj, temno-rusyj’ (Uzb), *qungur* ‘dun’ (TurkiSh), *qoŋur* ‘buryj, temno-rusyj, temno-seryj, ryžij’ (MUyg), *qoŋïr* ‘buryj (mast)’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *koŋïr* ‘temnoseryj, kauryj (masť lošadi)’ (Alt), *qoŋïr* ‘gelbbraun’ (AltTelR), *xōr* ‘kauryj (masť lošadi)’ (Khak), *xōr* ‘kauryj (o masti lošadi), milaja in: *xōrum* moja milaja’ (Tuv), *hōr* ‘krasno-buryj, kauryj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *xoŋor* ‘kučevoj, kučevoe (oblako), otdeľnyj’, *xoŋor*, *xoġor* ‘želtovatyj, gus’ gumennik’ (Y), *koŋor kās* ‘eine Gänseart, russ. gusʹ-gumennik’ (DlgS).

Mo *qoŋġur* ‘fallow, yellow bay, chestnut (of a horse)’, *qoŋġur* ‘dear, darling, open-hearted, artless, ingenuous’ (L).

E/T The T word denotes a wide range of colours fr light yellow to dark brown, and even greyish (Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 100–102). In most cases, it is a colour of animals, but is also used for the human face. The word was connected by Palló (1923–1927: 157) with *koŋuz* ‘beetle and the like’ (on which, see Y *xomurduos*, *xoŋurduos* ‘dvorosek, skripun (nasekomoe, žuk)’), and *koŋ* ‘raven’. Levitskaja claimed (Blagova 2000: 60) that T *koŋ* is a copy of Mo *koŋ*, attested in *koŋ keriye* ‘raven’ and that this *koŋ* is an onomatopoeic word. According to Levitskaja, the der of *koŋur* fr *koŋuz* ‘beetle etc.’ (cf. *koŋursi-* ‘to be black from smoke’) is more probable. The original meaning of *koŋur* would be ‘black of burnt manure, old clothes etc.’, but this may also be of a secondary folk etymological character. There is no need to go beyond the word *koŋur* because it is attested in all T and Mo lgs, and its possible der fr a base like *koŋ* is unclear because of morphological problems. It is interesting that this word that denotes light and dark shades of yellow-brownish colours has also contrasting metaphorical meanings. In almost all T and in most Mo lgs, the word means something or somebody kind, nice, agreeable etc. It is said of weather, wind etc. and also of people. Many dicts consider the colour and the abstract characteristic as two homophonous words. In Chuv, however, besides a colour, it denotes gloomy,

cloudy weather. The *-ŋ-* became *-g-* and disappeared in some T lgs, while it became *-m-* in Chuv (see **gyom** and § 6.7.3).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 160), Katona (1931: 52) and Palló (1981a: 208) considered the word to be of T origin. According to Palló, the metaphorical change 'dark colour' → 'gloomy' occurred in T. Neither Gombocz (1912b) nor Ligeti (1986) included the word in their respective monographs, which means that they did not consider it to be of T origin. Benkő, following their lead, first denied its T origin (1967–1984/2: 540–541) and later regarded it as not very probable (1993–1997/1: 779). But none of the H authors, mentioned above, offered another etymology. They considered the word to be of unknown origin. Benkő's idea (1986: 23) that the H word is a back-formation fr *komorul-* 'to become gloomy' lacks any foundation. The verb is a H den der. In H, the word had different meanings, which can be grouped as follows: (1) 'peevish, sullen, unamiable, in a bad humour etc. (of people)'; (2) 'dark, gloomy (of the sky or weather)'; and (3) 'improperly castrated horse, bull, boar, ram, a bull which is partly impotent'. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 540), it cannot be corroborated by historical data that the original meaning was the second and that the first developed fr it by implication. The third meaning reflects the bad nature of an uncastrated or imperfectly castrated animal and not its colour, hence it is a metonymical usage of the first. However, similar cases are common, like Grm *Trub*, *trübe*, or Eng *gloom*, *gloomy*, where both, independently of their actual etymology, have meanings referring to both the psychological status of people and the character of weather. The Grm and the Eng words go back to earlier words with the meaning 'unclear' (mostly of fluids). Since the second meaning of the H word can now also be identified in Chuv, which also has the regular *-m-* in place of T *-ŋ-* (see also **gyom**), it can hardly be doubted that the word is of T origin. H *komoly* 'serious, solemn', occurring only since the 18th c., is a dial form, and was distributed by the H neologist F. Kazinczy.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160; Palló 1923–1927: 157; Katona 1931: 52; Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 100–102; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 540–541; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 456; Palló 1981a: 208; Benkő 1986: 23; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 779; Blagova 2000: 60; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 720.

KOPORSÓ [koporšō] 'coffin' | p1372/c1448 *Coporfoknak* [koporšō-knak] 'grave', p1456 *koporso* [koporšō], 1565 'coffin' | *koporšō* < **kopurčaγ* ← WOT **kapurčaγ* | EOT *kapurčak*, *kapïrčak* 'coffin' < *kapïz* 'coffin' {with suff *+čAk*}.

OT *qobï* 'empty, nonexistent, non-present' (RTIrk), *qoburčaq* > *qaburčaq* 'a wooden case, it is usually used to mean "coffin"', *qodurčuq* 'doll, they are figures which little girls make to play with, in the shape of people' (AK); **MT** *qavurčaq* 'laleczka, kukiełka' (AHŠ), *qaġurčaq* 'kukla' (AHŠF), *qabarčuk* 'voldyŕ [blister]' (ANehF), *qobur* 'vase, soucoupe, etui', *qoburčuq* 'petit boîte', *qoġurčaq* 'poupée, marionette' (AChag), *qawurčaq* 'kukla' (AChagB), *qabarčuq* 'blister', *quburčuq* 'a box' (AChagSC), *quburčuq* <chuburcuç> 'Schachtel' (LCC), *qaburčaqlï baġa* 'kap-

lunbağa', *qaburčuq* 'ağaçtan içi oyularak yapılan, yahut ağaç kabuğundan yapılan hokka, kutu' (AAH), *qabïrčaqlï baġa* 'tortue' (ABul), *qabarčuq* 'Puppe des chinesischen Schattenspiels', *qabarčaqlu baġa* 'Schildkröte' (AHou), *qaburčuqlï baqa* 'tortoise' (AMGh), *qabarčaq*, *qabaršaq*, *qabïrčaq*, *köbürčük* 'sunduk', *qabarčaklï baġa*, *qabaršaqlï baġa* 'čerepaha' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xup*, *xupă* 'kora' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kabïrčïk* 'rakovina, rakuška, tverdaja češuja (na kožnom pokrove nekotoryh životnyh)' (Tat), *qabïrsaq* 'rakovina, rakuška, molljusk' (Bashk), *kabïrdzak* 'tonkij, uzkij' (SibTat), *kabïrčïk* 'tonkij sloj poverh židkosti (napr. sloj slivok na moloke, sloj l′da), češuja (ryb′ja)' (Kirg), *qabïršaq* 'scales (of fish etc.)' (Kaz), *qabïršaq* 'plenka, češuja, oboločka' (KazB), *qabïršaq* 'tonkij sloj čego-l., korka, češuja' (Kklp), *qaburčaq* 'rakovina, rakuška' (CrTat); ***SW*** *gapïrjak* 'jaščik, korobka' (Tkm), *gapčag* 'mešok iz rogoži, kul′' (Az), *kabucak* 'iki kapağı düz, elips biçiminde kutu', *kapïrcax* 'tahıl tanelerinin kabuğu', *kaburcak* 'tahıl kabuğu', *kaburcak* 'gelinlik giysisi ile birlikte hazırlanan içine dikiş ve tuvalet eşyası konulan kutu' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qaparčuq* 'a rash on the skin' (TurkiSh); ***NE*** *kayïrčak* 'jaščik, sunduk' (Alt), *qayïrčaq* 'der Kasten, die Truhe' (AltR, AltTelR), *kabïrčak* 'skorlupa, rakovina' (AltQK), *qabïrčak* 'die Schale, Hülse, die Muschel, das Schalthier' (AltTelR), *qabïrčïq* 'die Schuppen des Zapfen der Zirbelfichte' (AltR), *xaračax* 'jaščik' (Khak), *qārčaq* 'der Kasten, die Truhe' (KhakSR), *qoġur* 'der Sarg' (ChulR), *xārjak* 'jaščik, škatulka, korobka, grob' (Tuv), *hāršak* 'jaščik, sunduk' (Tof); ***Y*** *kuorčax* 'grob, jaščik dlja vloženije trupa, grob, vydoblennyj iz cel′nago dereva ili sostavlennyj iz dvuh vydolblennyh polovin cel′nago dreva, grobnica, derevnjaja koloda, v kotoruju kladut telo šamana ili šamanki i kotoruju stavat na vysolih stolbah v otkrytom meste ili pomeščajut na derevo, prostoj iz tesnicy srub v mogile (jame), v kotoroj hronili mertvyh bez grobov, nine mestilišče v kotoroe vlagajut grob, jaščik, korobočka', *kuoččax* 'rod doščatoj obložki v mogile s dnom' (Y).

Mo *qayirčaġ*, *qaġurčaġ* 'small box, chest' (L).

E/T According to Ligeti (1934: 200–208; 1986: 276–278), *kapïrčak* is a der fr the verb *kap-* 'to close, to cover' with a dev suff *-r* and the suff *+čAg* (var. *+čUg*) (Ligeti 1934: 207). This is hardly acceptable because there is no dev suff *-r*. Ligeti pointed out that the word has two forms, **kapïrčak* and **kopurčak*, which may point to an early, dial alternation *a ~ o*. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 392–393) and Clauson (1972: 586–587), the word under discussion cannot be connected with T *kobur* because the latter is a Mo lw. See *kobugur* 'concave', *kobuga* 'well bucket (usually made of skin or wicker), trough, ditch, gutter' (partly misunderstood by Levitskaja; see Blagova 1997: 277). Clauson (1972: 586) refers to *kabar-* 'to become a container', which is a verb fr *kab* 'container', also with the meaning 'to form a blister, vesicle and the like'. According to T. Tekin (1979: 127–128), the base of the word is **kawuz* 'peel, pod, Rus: šeluha, oboločka zerna' and *kawïrčaq* was derived fr **kawïr*

'the bark of the tree' by adding the suff *+čAk*. This was also accepted by Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 277).

First, we have to separate most of the Sib data. Most of the items with *-y-*, a long vowel or zero and with the meaning 'box' are of Mo origin, including Y. The data which mean 'shell etc.' are original. The two extant Mo words *kayïrčag* and *kagurčag* go back to an earlier T **kapïrčak*, **kapurčak*.

At a second step, we have to separate the T words that denote 'box, coffin' fr those that mean 'scales of fish, thin layer covering something, peel, shell, pod, hull, capsule, bark'. Tezcan was surely right when he tied *kapïrčak* to *kapïz* 'coffin', which occurs several times in Xuan Zang IX and X (1975, Erdal 1991: 47; also see the data in Barat 2000: Index). *kapïrčak* was formed fr *kapïz* with the suff *+čAk* (Erdal 1991: 47, citing the word under discussion). On the *z* (+ *Č*) > *r* change, see § 6.2.9 and several papers by Tekin (1969, 1979, 1986), though, according to him, *r* + *C* > *z*. Here questions arise concerning the morphological structure of *kapïz*. The base of this word is no doubt *kāp* 'container' (see also AK *qa*, *qa qača* 'vessel, container'). T *kāp* has been covered in detail by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 366), and see **kobak** above. Its meaning is 'vessel, container, sack, peel, anything which contains something'. In any case, T. Tekin was on the right track.

We obtain *kapak* > *kabak*, *kapčak* 'a small container' fr *kap* with dim suffs, see **kobak**. In *kapïz*, we have a den suff *+I-* (Erdal 1991: 479–480), and the noun *kapïz* 'coffin' was formed fr the verb **kapï-* 'to contain' with the dev suff *-(X)z* (Erdal 1991: 323). The suff *+čAk* was added to this noun, and fr PT **kapïzčak* > WOT **kapïrčak* 'box for corpse, coffin' was formed. Mo *kayirčag*, *kagurčag* 'box' reflect this T word.

The T words that denote 'scales of fish, thin layer covering something, peel, shell, pod, hull, capsule, bark' have to be linked to T *kabuk*, *kabïk* 'shell, seed coat, husk, shell etc.' See *kabuk*, *kabïk* 'die Rinde, Schale, Hülse' (CrTatR, SibTatBR, KarLR, Tt), which goes back to **kāp* 'bark, rind'. This has been preserved in AAH, AIM *kab*, Chuv *χup* 'kora' (see also Tkm *gov* 'češuja zmeja' (< **kav* < *kab*), in some T sources *yïlan kabï* 'koža zmeja' (see Blagova 2000: 7–8)). The words *χupaχ*, *χupankă* 'skropula, šeluha, oboločka zerna, granka orehov' were derived fr Chuv *χup*. **kapï-* 'to form a peel, a hard layer' was formed fr the nominal base **kāp* (see SibTat *kabïrčïk* 'tonkij sloj poverh židkosti (napr. sloj slivok na moloke, slo l′da)'), further **kapïz* 'hard peel, scales'. The der is similar to that of *kapïrčak* in the Kip lgs and in Alt dials. TurkiSh *kaparčuk* 'a rash on the skin' and the word for 'tortoise' *kaburčuk*(*lï*) *baka* etc. also belong here. In the Tt dials, we find the words for 'box' and for 'seed coat, husk' side by side (for the data see above). Mo *kagursun* 'chaff etc.' and *kayirsun* 'scales' are reflections of T **kapïz* 'hard peely scales', i.e. **kapur*, **kapïr*. Having now separated *kapïrčak*[1] 'box' (→ Mo *kayirčag*, *kagurčag*) fr *kapïrčak*[2] 'scales of fish, thin layer covering something, peel, shell, pod, hull, capsule, bark, tortoise

shell etc.' (< **kapïr* → Mo *kayirsun* 'scales', *kagursun* 'chaff'), it is a further question whether *kāp* 'container' and *kāp* 'bark' are originally two different, homophonous words or whether they go back to the same word. It is possible that the material fr which the container was made gave the name to the container. For the time being, we can leave this question open.

There exist some seemingly aberrant forms like *köpörčök* 'der Kasten, die Sachtel' (TatR). This is missing in all Tat dicts accessible to me, but nevertheless it has to be authentic, because we find *kuburčuk* in LCC written <chuburcuç> and *kübürčük* in ATuh (read by Fazylov as *köbörčük* 'sunduk'). ATuh also has *kabarčak* and *kabïrčak* 'sunduk' and *kaburšak* 'igruška, kukla'. In AChag, we find *kobur* 'vase, soucoupe, etui', *koburčuk* 'petit boîte' and *kogurčak* 'poupée, marionette'. The meaning 'doll, puppet' is also present in AHŠ for *kavurčak*. The relation between the words with *a*–*ï* and *o*–*u* vocalism is unclear. Though Levitskaja cites a LMo form *kogurčag* (Blagova 1997: 277), this does not exist (in both places cited by Levitskaja, we find *kagurčag* correctly; cf. Ramstedt (1935: 202) and Poppe (1960: 133)). The words with labial vocalism go back to *kobur* 'vessel'. This word is present in Chag. *koba*, *kobu*, *kobak*, *kobuk* pertain to this word, all with the meaning 'something hollow, empty, deepening between mountains, deep, hollow (of geographic features)'. Most data were collected by Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 5–7). Compare Mo *kobuga* 'well bucket (usually made of skin or wicker), trough, ditch, gutter', *kobul* 'gutter, gully, trough, mould for making candles, small copper tube on a helmet in which an ornamental plume or tuft of plumes is placed', *kobulu* 'bark of the cork tree', *kobdu* 'case, long and narrow box, quiver', *kobil* 'groove', *kobudal* 'ditch, channel', and also *gobi* 'semidesert, Gobi', *gobil* 'cavity, hole, pit, hollow, groove, depression'. All these words go back to a base **kob* 'hollow, empty'. See e.g. *kuv* 'hohl', *kuv agač* 'ein hohler Baum' (LCC), *kobï* 'empty' (RTIrk), *kovi*, *kowï* 'hollow (tree)' (AK), *kowuk* 'hollow' (AK). In the legend on the origin of the Kipchak, the name Cuman is connected with a tree hollow (cf. Bang–Marquart 1914: 158–161; Pritsak 1982: 325–326; Golden 1992: 271).

To sum up, the words with labial vocalism go back to a word **kobV* with the basic meaning 'hollow, empty'. The case or box may have been manufactured of bark or hollowed wood. This is clearly stated by AAH: *kaburčuk* 'ağaçtan içi oyularak yapılan, yahut ağaç kabuğundan yapılan hokka, kutu'. Thus we have either **koburčuk* or **kaburčuk*. This is also noted by the second hand of the MS of AK, where *koburčak* was first written and then altered to *kabïrčak*. East and South Sl *kovčeg* 'bark, Noah's Ark, receptacle' reflects a MT form **kovurčag* (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 272). The Sl form may be the result of a shortening *kovurčag* > *kovrčag* > *kovčég* by a regular T loss of the second vowel and the elimination of the cluster *-vrč-* by the Sl lg. According to Vásáry (2007: 445), Sl *kovъčeg* goes back to a "Protobulgarian" **kovčak*.

The doll is *ko̲durčuk* in AK. It is perhaps a der fr *koduz* ‘woman left without a husband’ fr the shadow theatre. Compare also AHou *kabarčuk* ‘Puppe des chinesischen Schattenspiels’. See also Turki *korčak*, perhaps to be read **kōrčak* ‘doll’, or *ko*(*r*)*čak*, as in Raquette (1927: 29), MUyg *korčak* ‘kukla, igruška’ and MUygMAks *kōčak* ‘kukla’. It is also possible that the ‘dolls, puppets etc.’ were made of bark and *kodurčuk* only influenced the word. The meaning ‘blister’ developed fr the original meaning ‘small container’. The sense of ‘the box into which the corpse is put, coffin’ evolved very early fr ‘container, box’. This we see in AK, and also in Mo, where the word also has the meaning ‘coffin’, e.g. in Bur and Kalm. Mo is the source of the Y term. Kałużyński (1961: 74) remarks that the suff +*čAx* seen in the Y word may be of T origin, but the word is a Mo lw. Y *kuorčax* ‘grob, jaščik dlja vloženije trupa, grob, vydoblennyj iz cel′nago dereva ili sostavlennyj iz dvuh vydolblennyh polovin cel′nago dreva, grobnica, derevnjaja koloda, v kotoruju kladut telo šamana ili šamanki i kotoruju stavat na vysokih stolbah v otkrytom meste ili pomeščajut na derevo’, exists in a pair with ChulR *kogur* ‘Sarg’. Chulim *kogur* is also of Mo origin (Ligeti 1986: 278). Castrén (1857: 127) noted *xur* [read *xūr* ?] ‘Sarg’ (< *kogur*) fr Bur.

E/H The H word was first connected with the T word by Vámbéry (1870: 160). This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 198) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 566) who both reconstructed the original of the H word as **kopurčag*, citing the Chag data. Ligeti (1986: 277) correctly reconstructed **kapïrčak* but derived it fr *kap-* ‘to cover’. Ligeti remarked that the meaning ‘coffin’ is only present in AK and in Bur and Y. The H word originally also denoted ‘grave, pit’. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 793) reconstructed **kopurčak* and derived it fr *kap-* ‘to cover’. The most likely reconstruction is **kapurčak*. Since the earliest data in the H sources, we only find the meanings ‘coffin, grave’. However, in some H dials, we also find the sense ‘two wooden boards, planks that fix the top of a roof made of thatch or reeds’ and the like (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 478). The question is whether H borrowed the word with the meaning ‘coffin’ or with the meaning ‘box’ and only secondarily, independently fr T did the sense ‘coffin’ develop. The archaeological material fr the conquest period of the Hungarians shows that they used a wooden coffin made of planks. Thus the meaning ‘coffin’ may be of T origin.

◆ Castrén 1857: 127; Vámbéry 1870: 160; Gombocz 1912b: 198; Bang–Marquart 1914: 158–161; Raquette 1927: 29; Ligeti 1934: 200–208; Ramstedt 1935: 202; Poppe 1960: 133; Kałużyński 1961: 74; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 392–393; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 366; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 272; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 566; Tekin 1969: 51–80; Clauson 1972: 586–587; Tekin 1975: 275–284; Tekin 1979: 127–128; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 478; Pritsak 1982: 325–326; Ligeti 1986: 276–278; Tekin 1986: 141–160; Erdal 1991: 47, 323, 479–480; Golden 1992: 271; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 793; Blagova 1997: 277; Barat 2000: Index; Blagova 2000: 5–8; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 763–764; Vásáry 2007: 441–446; Róna-Tas 2009: 459–466.

KOR [kor] 'age, period' || **+kor** [kor] 'temporal suffix' || **korán** [korān] 'early' | †1057/†a1235/1404 ? PN *Koras* [kor-åš], p1372/c1448 *haynal corik* [håynål kor-ik; r: kor-ig] 'until daybreak, age' | *kor* < **kur* ← WOT **kur* | EOT *kur* 'time, rank, line'.

1 'belt, girdle, rank, line': **OT** *qur* 'Reihenfolge': *qurïnta käzikinte* (UTTVB 6), *qur-* 'spannen' (UTTI 162), *qur* 'Gürtel' (UTTVII 46:13), *qur* 'belt, girdle, rank', *qurdaš* 'rank': *ol beg birlä qurdašdï* 'he sat in the same rank as the emir (or other)', *quram* 'rank': *kišilär quram olturdïlar* 'the people sat down according to rank' (AK), *qur*: *yaši quri bod sïn avïnči ne ol?* 'what are its (i.e. the Intellect's) age and its rank, its stature and its disposition?' (AQB 1849); **MT** *quur* 'ceinture' (UHy), *quur* 'ceinture' (UHyS), *qur* 'belt' (ABF), *qur* 'kuşak, kemer' (AHMA), *qur* 'pojas, kušak' (AHŠF), *qur* 'pojas' (AIM), *qur* 'kuşak' (AIMI), *qur* 'belt, girdle' (AKD), *qur* 'rank' (AKor), *qur* 'pojas, kušak' (ANehF), *qur quršan-* 'to put on a belt' (ARbg), *qur* 'ceinture' (AChag), *qur* 'pojas' (AChagMA), *qur* 'belt, girdle, a course (of masonry etc.) in a wall or foundation, an equal' (AChagSC), *qur* 'Gürtel, Rand, Wächter, Falle' (AChagŠSK), *qur* 'Leibgurt' (LCC), *qor* 'bel bağı' (AAH), *qur* 'Leibgurt' (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kor* 'dial. sreda, krug (ljudej)' (Tat), *qŏr* 'krug, rjad', *kor*: *baš kor* 'šerstnaja tkanevaja tes´ma dlja zakreplenija osnova jurty' (Bashk), *kur* 'pojas, gruppa' (Kirg), *qur* 'šerstjanaja tes´ma', (Kklp), *kurdašï* 'korobejnik, melkij torgovec, torgovec galanterijej' (Nog); ***SW*** ? *k´ur* 'silnyj, pyšnyj, kučnyj, mnogoludnyj' (Az); ***Kh*** ? *kurdī* 'Stirnband, Band das sich die Frauen umbinden (< ob = kurdisch?)' (Kh); ***SE*** *qur* 'a balance, a remainder (of goods or money)' (TurkiSh), *qor* 'tier, band, ribbon, course (of masonry)' (TurkiJ), *qur-* 'to put in order, to arrange, prepare' (TurkiJ), *qur* 'stroka' (MUyg), *qur* 'line, row, stroke', *qur* 'kind of string or sash used for pants' (MUygE), *qur*, *qor* 'pojas' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kur* 'der Leibgurt, der Kreis' (AltR, AltTelR, AltLR), *xur* 'pojas' (Khak), *gur* 'belt' (FY), *kur* 'pojas, kušak, remen´' (Tuv), *kur* 'pojas, kušak' (Tof); ***Y*** *kur* 'pojas' (Y), *kur* 'Gürtel' (Dlg).

[?] **Mo** *qor*, *qour* 'the part of the quiver where the tips of the arrows are placed', *qorġa* 'fort, fortress, shelter, enclosure' (L).

2 'age, period, from the same age': **OT** –; **MT** *qur* 'vremja' (ATef), *qurun* 'temps, époque' (AChag), *qur* 'an equal' (AChagSC), *qur* 'halazade, amcazade' (AChagŠS), *qor* 'vakit, sıra', *qur* 'yaş, akran ve emsal' (AAH), *qur* 'akran, emsâl' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kŏr* 'vremja, pora (napr. zrelosti, starosti)' (Tat), *qor*: *yeget qorona ideü* 'stat´ soveršennoletnym' (Bashk), *kur* 'vremja, raz' (Kirg), *qŭrdas* 'coeval' (Kaz), *qŭrdas* 'rovesnik, rovesnica, sverstnik, drug detstva' (KazB), *qurdas* 'sverstnik, rovesnik, obraščenie ženščinu ko vsem rovesnikam muža' (Kklp), *kurdaš* 'drug, tovariš' (Kum); ***SW*** *kurûn* '(bygone) ages, times' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qurdåš* 'rovesnik, sverstnik' (Uzb), *qur* 'para, raz', *qurdaš* 'rovesnik', *kurbi* 'rovesnik, sverstnik', *kurbi-kurdaš* 'rovesniki, sverstniki' (MUyg), *qur* 'time': *bir qur oqup čiq* 'to read through once', *qurbi-*

qurdaš ‘somebody of the same age’ (MUygE), *qor* ‘raz, očered′, vremja’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *korom* ‘posle, nemnogo pogodja’ (Alt), *kur* ‘vremja, slučaj, obstojatel′stva’ (AltL), *xur* ‘godovoj otgul (o rabočej lošadi), nagulivanie žira (o skoto)’ (KhakB); ***Y*** *kur* ‘godovoj, odnogo godu, prošlogodnij (hleb, mjaso), staryj’ (Y).

Mo *qur* ‘that which has been in the same state for a year or more, last year’s’, *qur tarġu* ‘fat which an animal has retained since the last year’ (L, see KhakB), *qorum*, *qurum* ‘instant, moment, very short time, in a second, in a moment’ (MMo), *qorumut* ‘a short time’ (SH).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 642), this is a case of two homophonous words, *kur*[1] ‘belt, girdle’ and *kur*[2] ‘rank, stage, a line’, which may easily have been confused in early texts. Ligeti (1986: 189) suggested that this is in fact one word, the semantics of which stretches fr ‘line, rank’ to ‘time’, but he excludes ‘girdle’. According to Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 150–154), *kur*[1] has the meaning ‘belt, girdle etc.’ and *kur*[2] ‘time, time (as in ‘many times’), those being of the same age, group of persons, rank (as in ‘pertaining to the same high rank‘). Levitskaja acknowledges that there may be a connection between girdle and social status since Mo has *büsügey* ‘woman, literally the one without a girdle’ and *büstey* ‘man, male, lit. with a girdle’. In fact, this may well be a more complicated situation. The belt or girdle is a sign of rank in the nomadic societies of Eurasia. The situation, cited by Levitskaja, of women being ‘beltless’ and men being belted is a relatively late development. The belt as a high decoration or a gift plays an important role in the *Qutadgu Bilig*. In lines 1476–1477, we read: *kezigče kelir bu ölümnüŋ qurï* / *ölümke özüŋ čin anuqlap yorï* / *kümüš qur baġučï munu men tiyü* / *ölüm tuttï erse üzüldi qurï* ‘Each man in turn rises to death’s rank / Prepare then for the worst: / Though proudly you tie on a silver belt / With death this [belt] too will burst’ (translated by Dankoff (1983: 88), *belt* added in the last line by me).

The belt of Fortune is a frequent expression in the text. It is the belt on which a sword is fastened, *kiličlig kur* (AQB 3047), and it is a decoration: *munu qur badïm men tapuġqa qatïġ* / *bayat birsü* [read *bersü*] *tevfiq ay bilgi batïġ* ‘I have girt on tightly the belt of service / May God grant you His favour, O deep of wisdom’ (Dankoff 1983: 231).

Archaeological excavations show that the quality of the belt points to the rank of the deceased.

Thus it is very difficult to separate the two lexical items denoting ‘belt, girdle, sign of dignity’ and ‘rank’. On the other hand, the first verse above shows that for Yusuf Khass Hajib, the author of the *Qutadgu Bilig*, *kur* in *ölümnüŋ kurï* had the meaning ‘death’s rank’ in Dankoff’s translation, in the sense of the row, or the course, the turn, the sequence of death, death’s time, but not in the sense of belt or of rank as dignity. Death, coming in due course, just bursts your belt and destroys your dignity

and pride. The semantic split had already occurred in the Karakhanid lg. We have to suppose that the earlier meaning of the word was 'belt', fr which developed the sense 'sign of dignity or service' and this later became an independent sememe. On the other hand, *kur* 'belt' has several extended meanings. The verbal der *kurša-* (< *kur*+(*X*)*š*+*A*-) denotes 'to bind the waist (with a belt)' and 'to encircle, surround' (Clauson 1972: 665).

Besides the T word *kur* 'belt' > 'rank, dignity', we have the T word *kur*[2] 'time, a short period of time, age etc.' Are the two words only coincidentally homophonous, or is there any historical connection between them? Rank is closely connected with age in the nomadic societies. An older person is, normally, of higher rank. Everywhere in the East reverence towards the elder is an important social factor. In the yurt, the elder sits before the younger, the elder is seated nearer to the holy spot, to the point opposite the entrance. Among the Mongols, the elders are seated more to the north, facing south. Among the Turks of non-Islamic Central Asia, the elders are seated more to the west facing east (see Róna-Tas 1964: 142–164). The *Qutadgu Bilig* is interesting: in line 1849 we have *yašï kurï* which was translated by Dankoff as 'its age and its rank'. At the same time *yaš-kur* has to be a binom with the meaning 'age and rank' or 'age' or 'rank according to age'. Here we have to mention that *kur* also has the meaning 'line'. See *kor* 'tier, band, ribbon, course (of masonry)' (TurkiJ with unusual vocalism), *kur-* 'to put in order, to arrange, prepare' (TurkiJ), and *kur* 'stroka' (MUyg), *kur* 'line, row, stroke', *kur* 'kind of string or sash used for pants' (MUygE). On the other hand, *kur* 'time, age' appears in such expressions as *kurdaš* 'those of the same age'. It functions in such expressions as Kirg *üč kur keldim* 'Ja tri raza prihodil; I came three times' and *bir kur kedeyler* 'gruppa bednjakov; a group of poor people'. These meanings have to be separated. Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 152) also cites the meaning 'group of people gathering for festivals, weddings etc.' that occurs in Chag, Tat, Bashk and UzbD. However, this is connected with 'belt', and is the "round", the circle or ring of people sitting around the table or the fire. In the expression *bir kur kedeyler*, we come across the same meaning 'circle, group of people'. In most cases, the word *kur* denotes age, as in *kurdaš* 'those of the same age', or the full age, as in Bashk *yeget korona ineü* 'to become an adult, to reach the age of the "yigit", the lad', *ir korona tulïu* 'to become grown-up, to reach a man's age'. In contrast to *vakit* or *zaman* (words for 'time' and of Ar origin), *kur* has the meaning of a given time, a time which has a beginning and an end, a time which elapses between two given points. Mo treats time as a given chronological interval: *kur* 'that which has been in the same state for a year or more, last year's', *kur targu* 'fat which an animal has retained since the last year' (L), *korum*, *kurum* 'instant, moment, very short time, in a second, in a moment', MMo *korumut* 'a short time' (SH). This means that *kur* is a section on the (endless) line of time. Since a belt is also cut out of a

longer strip of leather or hide, at the same time it has the meaning ‘line, course (of masonry), i.e. a continuous horizontal range of bricks, shingles in a wall’ (see Turki and MUyg). It may be that the two words sometimes belonged together, and *kur*[2] ‘a section of time’ and *kur*[1] ‘belt, a section of a longer strip’ may have a common origin. At the present moment, we have to leave this question open. In OT, we find a verb *kur-* ‘to put in order, to string a bow, to erect a building etc.’ There is likely a link with the noun *kur* ‘a course of brick’, but this is not clear. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 700) compared the word with Mo *kiri* ‘measure, degree’. The basic meaning of the Mo word is ‘ability, limitation of capacity’.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 160). This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 98–99); Benkő (1967–1984/2: 567; 1993–1997/2: 795) and Ligeti (1986: 188–190), though the T background was not quite clear. It is more important that there are two T words in H which became suffs, **kép** and *kor*. In expressions like *akkor* ‘then’, and *hatkor* ‘at six o’clock’, *+kor* functions as a normal temporal suff. However, it does not follow the rule of vowel harmony as seen, e.g., in *mindenkor* ‘always’, *hatkor* ‘at six o’clock’ and *hétkor* ‘at seven o’clock’. The noun became a postposition and then the postposition became a suff. The adv *korán* ‘early’ was formed in H fr the basic word *kor* (see **késik**, *később*). This has a large literature which will be not cited here (see only the last item by Nyirkos 2000: 319–322). Ligeti has pointed out that similar changes can be observed in some T lgs (see *üč kur keldim* above). Gergely (1991: 207–213) has recently analysed the semantics of H **idő** ‘time’ and *kor*, both of T origin. She pointed to the fact that H *kor* denotes a shorter period of time. This is in agreement with the T background.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160; Gombocz 1912b: 98–99; Róna-Tas 1964: 142–164; Ligeti 1966c: 394–396; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 567; Clauson 1972: 642, 665; Dankoff 1983: 88, 231; Ligeti 1986: 188–190; Gergely 1991: 207–213; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 795; Blagova 2000: 150–154; Nyirkos 2000: 319–322; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 700.

KORHÁNY [korhāń] *arch*, *dial* ‘tomb, small hill, elevated, dry place in a marsh’ | 1332 GN *Kurchan* [kurhān], 1338 *kon-korhan* [kun korhān] ‘a Cuman tomb’, 1359 GN *kolpakorhana* [kolpå-korhānå] (Györffy 1935–1939: 479), 1411 GN *kezepkorhanhalma* [kezēp-korhān-hålmå] (Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 342), 1471 GN *korhan* [korhān] (Kiss 1988/1: 779), dial *korhany* [korhåń], *korhány* [korhāń] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 487), *kórhány* [kōrhāń] (Csángó in Hegedűs 1952: 327) | *korhāń* < **koryan* ← WOT **koryan* < *korï-* {with suff *-gAn*} | EOT *korï-* ‘to fence in, protect’, MT *kurgan* ‘tomb’.

OT [**qorġan*, r: *qorïġïn* (RMKT, RMBilg, see Clauson 1972: 158; Erdal 1991: 385; Aydemir 2002: 203)], [*qorïġ* ‘protected place’ (AK)]; **MT** [*qorïġan* “Zelt” = ‘enclosure’ (UOg ← Mo)], *qurġan* ‘rampart’ (ARbg), *qur-* ‘stroit′, sooružat′’ (ATef), *qurġan* ‘château fort, la partie d’une ville entourée d’une enceinte’ (AChag), *qorqan* ‘kre-

post′’ (AChagB), *qorqan*: *qorqan tamï* ‘krepostnaja stena = Mo »qorġanu balġasun«’ (AChagMA), *qurġan* ‘Festung’ (AChagŠS), *qurġan* ‘Grabhügel’ (LCC), *qurġan* ‘Muhasırların muhafazası için yapılan siper, sur’ (AAH), *qurġun* ‘tombeau, sépulcre, tertre tombal’, *qarġan*, *qårġan* ‘muraille fortifiée, enceinte’ (ABul), *qurġan* ‘Grabbügel, Viehhof, Kastell’ (AHou), *qurġan* ‘kubbe’ (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW kurgan*** ‘kurgan, krepost′, ukreplenie’ (Tat), *qurġan* ‘krepost′, ukreplenie, kurgan’, [*qorġan* ‘zanaveska’] (Bashk), *kurgan* ‘namogilnyj holm’ (SibTatB, Blagova 2000: 78), *korgon* ‘krepost′, tverdynja, zaščita, vysokaja glinobitnaja ograda u mogili, razvaliny, zagon dlja ovec’ (Kirg), *qorġan* ‘fortress, defence station, bulwark, fortification, support abutment, stronghold’ (Kaz), *qorġan* ‘kurgan, ukreplenie, opora, oplot, zaščiščajsja, oboronjasja’ (KazB), *qorġan* ‘krepost′, tverdynja, ograda’ (Kklp); ***SW kurgan*** ‘a fortification, castle, fort, tomb, mound, tumulus’ (Tt), *korugan*, *koruk*, *koruluk*, *koruh* ‘otunu biçmek için korunan tarla’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qorġån* ‘krepost′, ukreplenie, ukreplennyj gorod, citadell, kurgan’ (Uzb), *qurɣan* ‘fortress’ (TurkiJ), *qurġan*, *qorġan* ‘die Festung, Befestigung, eine befestigte Stadt’ (TurkiTR), *qorġan* ‘krepost′, ukreplenie, kurgan (odinokoe stroenie s vysokimi glinjanymi stenami)’ (MUyg), *korgan* ‘krepostica (odinokoe stroenie s vysokimi glinjanymi stenami)’ (MUygHot), *Qorġantepe*, *Qōġantepe* ‘Korgantepa (kvartal, mahallja v s. Aktači (Leninskij rajon, Andidžanskoj oblasti UzSSR s osnovnym ujgurskim naseleniem)’ (Sadvakasov 1970: 167, 210), *koygon* ‘ukreplenie, dom, zabor’ (MUygLN, Blagova 2000: 79); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *qoriyan*, *qoruġa*(*n*) ‘courtyard, enclosure, camp, barracks, station’, *qori-* ‘to shut in, confine, imprison, enclose, to prevent, prohibit, to hold back, dissuade’, *qoriġul* ‘enclosure, enclosed place, sheepfold, cage, hindrance, prohibition, interdiction, place where it is forbidden to hunt and cultivate soil (such as temple sites, certain tombs and other places considered sacred)’, *qoriġ* ‘prohibition, interdiction, holding back, restraining oneself’ (L).

E/T As correctly stated by Aydemir (2002: 204), the noun is a der fr the verb *korï-* ‘to fence in, to protect (a piece of land)’ with the dev suff *-gAn* (Erdal 1991: 382–387), and with syncopation *korïgan* > *korgan*. The *-u-* in some SE data and in Tt may be due to the influence of the Rus word *kurgan*, itself a T lw. In a series of Rus–T dicts, *kurgan*, *kürgen* is a foreign word fr Rus used only by the local T *literati* and not a lw in the strict sense. Fortification with walls is a very old feature. The verb originally had the meaning ‘to protect by enclosing, to fence in’. The tomb was also protected by or built of walls encircling the tombs of the dead. Gimbutas used “Kurgan culture” as an archeological term, and it spread to many Western lgs as well. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 745-746) compared the word with Mo *küriyen* ‘enclosure’, which exists in Y and Dlg as a Mo lw.

E/H The T origin of the word was identified by Gyárfás (1870–1885/3: 204), and later dealt with by Rásonyi (1957: 87). Its background was clarified by Aydemir (2002:

202–205). It is absent fr Ligeti (1986) and Benkő (1967–1984 and 1993–1997). According to Györffy (1990: 97), the word is of Pech origin. The word is only documented fr H Cumania and in the H dial of the Csángós of Moldavia. In GNs, it also appears in other regions in Hungary. Its meaning in the Csángó dial is 'small hill'. In the dial of Cumania, it denotes small elevations in the marsh. This semantic change occurred in H. Its present semantics was influenced by the H verb *korhad-* 'to rot, moulder' and *korhany* now has the meaning 'marsh, muddy place' in the dial of Sárrét (Transdanubia).

◆ Gyárfás 1870–1885/3: 201–204; Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 342; Györffy 1935–1939: 479; Hegedűs 1952: 327; Rásonyi 1957: 87; Sadvakasov 1970: 167, 210; Clauson 1972: 158; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 487; Kiss 1988/1: 779; Györffy 1990: 97; Erdal 1991: 382–387; Blagova 2000: 78–79; Aydemir 2002: 202–205; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 745–746.

KÓRÓ [kōrō] 'dry stalk of weed' | c1200 ? GN *Couroug* [kourou-d'], c1405 *koro* [kōrō] | *kōrō* < **koroų* < **kuroγ* ⟵ WOT **kowrog* < **kowrok* < **kowïrok* < **kobï* {with suffs +(*A*)*r-* and -(*O*)*k*} | EOT *kurug* 'dry' < *kurï-*, *kuru-* 'to be or become dry' {with suff -(*X*)*g*}, *kobï* 'empty, hollow'.

Of debated T origin.

1 **kurug* 'dry': **OT** *quruġ* 'sec, vide' (UHamTouHou), *quruġ*: *qūr* 'Oğuz dialect. It is shortened from *quruġ*', *quruġluq* 'dryness of a thing' (AK), *quruġ*, *qoroġ* 'trocken, gedörrt' (B); **MT** *quruġ* 'kuru, boş' (UYAB), *qurqay* 'sec', *quru-* 'devenir sec' (UHy), *quruġ* 'vide' (UHyS), *quraqlïq* 'drought', *qurï*, *quru* 'dry' (AGul), *quraq* 'kurak', *qurï-* 'kurumak', *quruġ* 'kuru' (AHMA), *qurġaq* 'suhoj, vysohšij', *qurï-* 'vysyhaťˊ, peresyhaťˊ', *quruġ* 'tščetnyj' (AHŠF), *qurï*, *quru* 'suhoj', *quru-* 'sohnuťˊ' (AIM), *quru-* 'kuruluk kesbetmek' (AIMI), *quruġ* 'dry', *quruq* 'unripe grape, sour grape' (AKD), *quruġ balčïq* 'dry clay', *quru-* 'to wither, to dry' (AKor), *quruq* 'suhoj, pustoj' (AM), *qurï-* 'vysyhaťˊ', *quruġ* 'suhoj, pustoj' (ANehF), *quruġ* 'dry, withered' (ARbg), *quruġ* 'suhoj' (ATef), *quruġ* 'kuru, boş' (AYC), *quruġ*, *quruq* 'sec, bâton, morceau de bois sec, verjus, défense, haie, mûr, provisions, pâturage réservé pour les chevaux des sultans' (AChag), *quruġ*: *quruġ yïl boldï* 'nastupil zasušlivyj god', *quruq* 'suhoj' (AChagMA), *quruġ* 'dry' (AChagSC), *quruġ* 'verbotene Stelle, trocken, Garten', *quruq* 'trocken, Meeresufer' (AChagŠSK), *quru* 'trocken, verdorren' (LCC), ? *qavra*, *qurïdï* 'kurudu', *quru* 'kuru' (AAH), *quru*: *quru ät* 'viande sechée au feu ou au soleil', *quru-*: *qurut-* 'wysuszyć, osuszyć' (ABul), *qurï* 'sec', *quru* 'sec, sèche' (ADur), *quru* 'trocken, Festland' (AHou), *quru yüzüm* 'Rosine' (AKav), *quru* 'kuru', *quru-* 'kurumak' (ATuhA), *xuru* 'sec, desséché, endroit sec ou aride', *xuru-* 'sécher, se dessécher, maigrir' (AmTr), *xurut-* 'faire sécher' (AmE), *quru*, *quru yer* 'kara, toprak, yer' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xăr* 'suhoj, vysohšij' (Chuv); ***NW*** *korï* 'suhoj, vysohšij, zasušlivyj' (Tat), *qoroq* 'pustoj, vysohšij' (TatD1), *qoro* 'suhoj, pustoj, bezdušnyj' (Bashk), *qoroq* 'suhoj, vysohšij' (SibTat), *kuru* 'suhoj, ni s čem, bez ničego, pustoj' (Kirg), *kŭrġaq*

'materik, suhoj, bez vlagi' (KazB), *qurï* 'suhoj, pustoj, tol'ko' (Kklp), *kurï* 'suhoj, zasohšij, pustj, tol'ko' (Nog), *quru* 'suhoj' (CrTat), *kuru* 'suša, suhoj' (KarT), *kuru* 'suša, suhoj' (KarH), *quru* 'suhoj' (KarC), *quru* 'suhoj, pustoj, suša' (Kum), *kuru* 'száraz gally' (KumN), *quru* 'pustoj, golyj, suhoj, tol'ko' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gūrï* 'suhoj, zasohšij, vysohšij' (Tkm), *ġuru* 'suhoj, suho, suša' (Az), *kuru* 'dry, devoid of moisture, dried' (Tt), *guru-* 'kurumak' (TtD), *kuru* 'suhoj, vysohšij, golyj' (Gag), *ġurrï*, *ġurru*, *ġurri*, *ġorri* 'trocken' (Khor), *qurru* 'trocken' (SOg); ***Kh*** *qurruɣ* 'trocken' (Kh); ***SE*** *quruq* 'suhoj, lišennyj vlagi, pustoj' (Uzb), *quruɣ*, *quruq*, *quyuɣ* 'dry, barren, empty, dry land, poor' (TurkiJ), *quruġ*, *quruq* 'dried, dry' (TurkiSh), *quyuq* 'suhoj, suhoe mesto, bereg reki' (TurkiLN), *quruq* 'trocken, leer' (TurkiTR), *quruq* 'suhoj, vyohšij, pustoj, ni s čem' (MUyg), *kurï* 'suhoj, suho' (Sal), *quru* 'sec' (SalK), *quruġ*, *quruq* 'pustoj, suhoj, naprasnyj' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kuru* 'suhoj, ni s čem, pustoj' (Alt), *quru* 'trocken, leer, mager' (AltR, AltLR), *kuru*, *kurug* 'suhoj' (AltQK), *kuru* 'suhoj, pustoj, pusto' (AltTK), *quru* 'suhoj, pustoj, toščij', *quruq* 'suhoj, pustoj, skupoj', *xuruġ* 'suhoj, pustoj, ni s čem' (Khak), *quru* 'trocken, leer, mager' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *quru* 'trocken, leer, mager', *quruġ* 'trocken, leer' (KhakShR), *gurgah* 'dry' (FY), *kurug* 'pustoj, polyj, golodnyj, ni s čem' (Tuv), *quruġ* 'pustoj, nezapolnennyj, ni s čem (vernut'sja)' (Tof); ***Y*** *kuruŋ* (u B. *kūruŋ*) 'suhoj, sušnjak, lesnoe požarišče' (Y).

2 *kovrok* < **kov*(*ï*), **kog*(*ï*) 'empty, hollow' with suffs +(*A*)*r*-(*O*)*k*, see *kovuk* 'empty, hollow', *kovga*, *kova* 'bucket', *koguš*, *koba*, *kova*, *kopa*, *koga* 'kamiš, trostnik', see **korom**: **OT** *kobi* 'empty, non-existent, non-present' (RTIrk), *qowï* 'malchanceux, malheureux, vide creux' (UHamTouHou), *qowi*, *qovi* 'hollow (tree), unlucky', *qowuq*, *qovuq* 'hollow' (AK); **MT** cf. *qovra* 'Halm, Stroh, Unkraut (im Korn)', *quv aġač* 'a hollow tree' (LCC); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xăvăl* 'duplo, bort'' (Chuv), *xura*: *xïtă xura* 'nazv. žestkih krupnyh rastenij vrode »pileš tărlă korăk«' (ChuvA, s.v. *xïtă* + ? **kovrag*); ***NW*** *ku* 'vysohšyj, suhoj', *ku*, *kua agač* 'suhostoj', *kuïk* 'puzyr', voldyr'', *kuïš* 'duplo, polost'' (Tat), *kušak* 'derevo, orešnik, kustarnik' (TatD1), *qara qura* 'stebel' visohšej travy', *qura ǰiläge* 'malina' (TatD2), *qïu* 'vysohšij, suhoj', *qïu aġas* 'vysohšee derevo, suhostoj' (Bashk), *qu* 'vysohšij, poželtevšij' (SibTat), *kū* 'suhoj, vysohšij' (Kirg), *qu* 'hitrij, lovkij', *qu aġaš* 'suhoe derevo', *quïs* 'pustota, duplo' (KazB), *kuv* 'suhoj, vysohšij' (Kklp), *kuvïs* 'polyj', *uvïk* 'duplo (dereva)' (Nog), *kuvuš* 'vydoblennyj, pustoj, kružka', *kovuš* 'kubok, bokal, čaša' (KarT), *kuvus* 'polyj, pustoj, kružka, kubok', *kovus* 'kubok, bokal, čaša' (KarH), *quvuš* 'pustoj, duplo dereva, pečera, bokal', *qovuš* 'pustoj, polyj, bokal, kovš' (KarC), *quv* 'puh', *quv töšek* 'perina', *quvuš* 'polost', pustota, duplo' (Kum), *quvuš* 'duplo (dereva, zuba, i. t. p.)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gov* 'trut iz hlopka ili sredceviny gnilogo dereva' (AzD), *kovuk* 'cavity, hollow, a hollow place, hole' (Tt), ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *quv* 'hitrij, lukavyj' (Uzb), *quv* 'hitrij, lukavyj' (MUyg), *quvaq* 'pustoj' (MUygS-C, Kšg, Turf); ***NE*** *kū* 'goloe, suhostojnoe derevo bez kory, suhaja trava, trut', *kobï* 'log, loščina' (Alt), *qū* 'ein vertrockneter Baum' (AltR), *kugïs* 'pustoj'

(AltTK), *kobrak* ‘dudka iz stvola zontičnogo rastenija’ (AltQK), *kobï* ‘loščina’, *kovuk* ‘ložbina’ (AltTK), *kobrak* ‘most, sostojaščij iz odnogo brevna’, *apšak kobrak* ‘rusjanka (*Angelica sylvestris*), *ačik kobrak*, *su kobrak* ‘bolotnaja rusjanka’, *kobrak čalaš* ‘djateĺ malenkij’ (AltV), *xūlġan*, *xūlġun* ‘suhostoj posle lesnogo požara’, *xovu* ‘step, stepnoj’ (Tuv), *hobul* ‘paz, želob’, *qurug hovug ay* ‘fevraĺ’, *kuvrag* ‘zasohšij, vysohšij’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kubus-* ‘častica nsil. prepozitivnaja, prisoedinjaetsja k nek-rym slovam, načinajuščimsja so sloga »ku« = »kubus-kurānax« <soveršenno pustoj, soveršenno pusto>’ (YS).

Mo *ġobi* ‘Gobi, semidesert, the Gobi’, *čöl ġobi* ‘desert’, *ġobil* ‘cavity, hole, pit, hollow, groove, depression’, *qobur* ‘scarce, sparse, rare, insufficient, lack, want’, *qobuġur* ‘concave’ (L).

E/T Two different T words have to be mentioned in connection with the etymology of the H word. The first is *kurug* ‘dry’, which is a dev nominal fr the verb *kurï-*, *kuru-* ‘to be or become dry’ with the suff *-(X)g* (see Erdal (1991: 194–195), where the word under discussion is also dealt with). The adj became a substantive through such constructions as *kurug ot* ‘dry grass, vegetation’. It is less probable that the word developed fr a form *kurgak* with the suff *-gAk* (Erdal 1991: 391–396; see e.g Bashk *korgak* ‘suhoj, zasušlivyj’): **kurugak* > **kurgak* (> Bashk *korgak*) > **kurak* > **kurag* (> Chuv *χura*) ⟶ H **kuraγ* > **kuraɣ* > **kurū* > *kōrō*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 801–802) compared the word with Mo *kaguray*, *kuguray* ‘dry’.

The other word would be **kowrak* fr *kovï*, *kowï* ‘empty’. The latter changed fr *kowï* through *kow* to *kū*, and even *ku*. Fr *kowï* with the den verbal suff *+(A)r-* (Erdal 1991: 492–507) > **kowïr-* and then with the dev *-(O)k*, the noun **kowïrok* > WOT **kowrog*. The loss of the final *-g* occurred in a few T lgs and forms like *kowra*, *kura* etc. evolved. Semantic changes are possible fr ‘hollow’ to ‘dry’ in one direction and to ‘plant with a hollow stalk’ in another. According to Eren (1982: 38), Chuv *kurăk* ‘grass’ does not belong here. In any case, this word of unknown origin in Chuv (see Fedotov 1996/1: 311–312) was either front-vocalic (something like **körik*) or it is a late lw.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 160) compared the H word with T *kuruk* ‘hollow, dry’ (sic!). Gombocz, using the Alt dict by Verbickij (1884), reconstructed a T **kowrag* (1912b: 99–100). According to Benkő, the copied form could be **kuβraγ*, **koβraγ*, **kūraγ* or **kōraγ* (1967–1984/2: 578). Ligeti (1986: 63, 310–311) reconstructed a form **koβrak*. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 801). The main argument in favour of a prototype like *kowrag* is the length of the first syllable of the H word. This would have evolved fr a diphthong *-ou-*. Another possibility would be that the length of the first syllable is due to an assimilation to the second. In this case, the word could be a copy of a T form like *kurug*. The recent H dial data do not support this possibility. The question, however, is of a semantic nature. If the original meaning was ‘dry stalk’,

the first possibility is the correct one; if the primary meaning was 'hollow stalk', it is the second. The H dial data all refer to a dry stalk or other dry part of a plant, e.g. of maize, of sunflower or to huts or a fence constructed of *kóró*. In H, a skinny, scraggy person is said to be *száraz mint a kóró* 'dry as *kóró*' (Bárdosi 2003: 189). Further, a H curse goes: *Száradjon ki mint a kóró* 'May [he / she] dry up like a *kóró*'. This supports the first etymology, the copying of *kurug*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160; Gombocz 1912b: 99–100; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 578; Eren 1982: 38; Ligeti 1986: 63, 310–311; Erdal 1991: 194–195, 391–396, 492–507; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 801; Fedotov 1996/1: 311–312; Bárdosi 2003: 189; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 801–802.

KOROM [korom] 'soot' | 1211 PN *Corom* [korom], 1235 GN *Cormosbach* [korm-oš båh], c1405 *coron* [koron] | *korom* < **kurum* ← WOT **kurum* | EOT *kurun*, MT *kurum* 'soot'.

OT *qurun* 'the trace of smoke that sticks to a wall', *qurunčï* 'felt that is blackened from smoke in a tent or other', *qurunluġ ev* 'a house blackened with soot' (AK); **MT** *qurum* 'Russ' (LCC), *qurum* 'bacada hâsil olan is birikintisi' (AAHI); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xărăm* 'saža, kopoť' (Chuv); ***NW*** *korïm* 'saža, kopoť' (Tat), *qorom* 'saža, kopoť' (Bashk), *kurum* 'kopoť, saža (gl. obr. v vode, v kotoroj promyto čto-l. silʹno zakoptivšeesja, napr. kusok vojloka)' (Kirg), *qŭrïm* 'soot, something blackened with smoke', *qŭrïm kiïz* 'shabby (smoke-blackened) thick felt (of a yurt)' (Kaz), *qŭrïmküye* 'kopoť' (KazB), *qurïm* 'kopoť, staraja rvanoja košma' (Kklp), *kurïm* 'saža, kopoť' (Nog), *qurum* 'stroj, uklad, saža' (CrTat), *qurum* 'saža' (KarC), *qurum* 'saža, kopoť' (Kum), *qurum* 'saža, kopoť' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gurum* 'saža, kopoť' (Tkm), *ġurum* 'saža, nagar, pautina' (Az), *kurum* 'soot' (Tt), *kurum* 'saža, nagar, kopoť' (Gag); ***Kh*** *ġurun* 'Funke' (Kh); ***SE*** *qurum* 'saža, kopoť' (Uzb), *qurum* 'soot, the black deposit of smoke' (TurkiSh), *qurum* 'kopoť, saža' (MUyg), *qŭro* 'saža' (MUygTurfM), *qorïm*, *qurïm* 'saža' (YUygM); ***NE*** *xurun* 'saža' (Khak), *qurun* 'der Russ' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *xurunčï* 'zakopčennyj vojlok, zakopčenaja stena' (KhakB), *xur* 'saža' (KhakD, Blagova 2000: 170); ***Y*** *kurum*, *kuruŋ* 'suhoj, suhoj lesʹ, sušnjak, vygoreloe mesto', *kuruńuk* 'saža pečnaja, saža v trube kamina' (Y).

Mo *xurmš* 'alte, zerrissene und von Rauch schwarze Filzlappen' (Kalm ← Kirg *kormušu* id.), *sira kuramči* 'starij vojlok' (BurKhamnigan, Blagova 2000: 170), see KhakB, OT *kurunčï* (AK) above.

E/T Both *kurum* and *kurun* are clearly dev nouns with the suffs -(*X*)*m* and -*Xn* (on which see Erdal (1991: 290–308)). However, the verbal base is unclear. Hitherto, two verbs have been mentioned. According to Clauson (1972: 661), the stem is *kur-* 'to put in order, to establish' with the idea that soot is something that establishes itself on a wall etc. This is based on the meaning given by Kashgari. According to Räsänen (1969: 304), the stem is **kūr-* 'trocknen', which is reflected in *kurï-* 'to be or become dry'. Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 169–170) cites verbs fr Tat like *kor-* 'zanaveši-

vat′; to curtain' (< **kur-*). In Kaz and Kklp, *kurïm* is also 'černyj, staryj, podgorelyj vojlok; black, old, burnt felt'. According to her, this would be the original meaning, and the meaning 'soot' may be secondary. It is true that we find connections with 'old, black felt' in many places of Turcia. See Kaz, Kirg, Kklp and Tkm *gara gurum* 'prokoptivšeesja vojločnoe pokrytie kibitki', also cited by Levitskaja, and see AK, Kalm and BurKhamnigan above. This is, however, only apparently so. In nomadic circumstances, the fire burns in the yurt and soot sticks to the felt. Felt becomes old and ugly because of the soot. The fact that H just has the meaning 'soot' shows that this is the primary meaning. For soot adhering to the wall and the chimney, see Kashgari's examples, Y and *xurunčï* in KhakB. The key can be found in Y, where we find *kurum*, *kuruŋ*. It carries the senses 'dry, a dry forest, a dried place, a place which is burnt out'. Further, *kurum* can mean 'rečki, tekuščija meždu gorami, na kotoryh les′ vygorel; small rivers which flow between mountains on which the forest is burnt out' (Pekarskij 1917–1930/1: 1253). The verb *kurï-* 'to dry out' may also have had the meaning 'to burn out', however Y *kūr-* only means 'sohnut′, vysyhat′', and Dlg just denotes *kūr-*, *kur-* 'trocken werden'. The semantic change was 'to dry, dry out' < 'to become dry by fire'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 827–828) compared the word with Mo *kirbusun* 'smell of signed hair or wool'.

E/H The H word was tied to the T one by Vámbéry (1870: 160–161), and this was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 100), Ligeti (1931–1934: 337), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 579; 1993–1997/2: 801) and Ligeti (1986: 203) without any elucidation on the T background.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 160–161; Gombocz 1912b: 100; Pekarskij 1917–1930/1: 1253; Ligeti 1931–1934: 337; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 579; Räsänen 1969: 304; Clauson 1972: 661; Ligeti 1986: 203; Erdal 1991: 290–308; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 801; Blagova 2000: 169–170; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 827–828.

KOS [koš] 'ram' | 1061/[1257]/1374 ? PN *Kosdy* [koš-di], c1395 *coʒ* [koš], a1402 *cos* [koš] | *koš* < **koč* ⟵ WOT **koč* | EOT *koč* 'ram'.

OT ? PN *Qočluġ* 'nom de femme' (UHamTouHou), *qoč* 'ram ("In the Og dial its root form is 'qočŋār <QUJNKA'R>'" [K changed to G by later hand (three dots in brown ink) Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 257])', *qočŋār* 'ram' (AK); **MT** ? cf. PN *Qoč* (UCiv), *qočġar* 'ram' (ABF), *qočqar* 'ram' (AGul), *qoč* 'koç' (AHMA), *qoč* 'plemennoj baran' (AIM), *qoč* 'enenmemiş erkek koyun' (AIMI), *qoč* 'ram', *qočqar* 'ram, male sheep' (AKD), *qočqar* 'baraban' (ANehF), *qočqar* 'bélier de montagne ou autre' (AChag), *xočqar* 'baran', *qoč* 'baran', *qočqar* 'baran' (AChagMA), *qočqar* 'Widder' (AChagR), *qočqar* 'a ram, usually a wild ram, or a domesticated one' (AChagSC), *qoč*, *qočqar* 'qoč' (AChagŠS), *qočqar* 'Widder, Held' (AChagŠSK), *qočqar* 'Widder' (LCC), *qoč*, *qočqar* 'koç' (AAH), cf. *qabaq*: *qoč qabaq oldu* 'boynuzsuz' (AAHI), *qočqar* 'baran' (ABul), *qočqar* 'bélier' (ADur), *qoč*, *qočqar* 'Widder' (AHou), *qočqar* 'Widder' (AKav), *qočqar* 'koç' (ATuhA), ? *qočï* 'pastuh' (AmD), *qoč* 'erkek, yigit' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kučkar* 'dial. baran, ulitka' (Tat), *qusqar* 'ulitka, (ili

»qusqar täkä«) plemennoj baran' (Bashk), *qucqar* 'kozel, baran' (SibTat), *qocqar* 'Widder' (SibTatBR), *kočkor* 'baran-proizvoditeľ, (o čeloveke) vožak, smeľčak', *kuča* 'jagnenok-sosunok' (Kirg ← Mo), *qošqar* 'baran-proizvoditeľ' (KazB), *qoš* 'vozglas, kotorym uspokaivajut ovec vo vremja doenija', *qošaqan* 'jagnenok', *qošqar* 'baran-proizvoditeľ' (Kklp), *koškar* 'baran-proizvoditeľ' (Nog), *qočqar* 'baran' (CrTat), *koč* 'Widder' (CrTatR), *kočkar*, *kočxar*, *koškar* 'baran' (KarT), *kockar* 'baran' (KarH), *qoč*, *qočqar* 'baran', *qočqïr* 'kozel' (KarC), *qočqar* 'baran' (Kum), *qočxar* 'baran, baran-proizvoditeľ' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *goč* 'baran-proizvoditeľ, tur, gornyj kavkazskij kozel', *gočgar* redko 'molodoj baran-proizvoditeľ' (Tkm), *ġočġačaq* 'jagnenok, rodivšijsja zimoj' (TkmD), *ġoč* 'baran' (Az), *koç* 'ram, a brave man' (Tt), *koč* 'baran, kaban, hrjak' (Gag), *ġuč*, *ġōč*, *ġoč* 'Hammel' (Khor), *ġoč* 'Widder' (SOg); ***Kh*** *ġoč* 'Schafbock mit grossen Hörnern, Widder' (Kh ← Az); ***SE*** *goč* 'dobryj molodec', *gōč* 'hrabyj, molodec' (UzbD, Blagova 2000: 87), *qŭčqår* 'baran, baran-proizvoditeľ, zabijaka' (Uzb), *qočqay*, *qočqa·* 'ram' (TurkiJ), *qočqay* 'baran' (TurkiLN), *qošqar* 'Widder, Schafbock' (TurkiTR), *qočqar* 'baran, baran-proizvoditeľ' (MUyg), *qoškor*, *qošqur*, *koškor* 'baran' (Sal), *qožġar* 'baran (s bolʹšimi rogami)', *qužġar* 'baran-samec (s bolʹšimi rogami)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kočkor* 'dikij kamennyj baran' (Alt), *kučka* 'baran samec' (AltQK), *kočkor* 'baran' (AltTK), *xuča* 'baran' (Khak ← Mo), *xosxar* 'kozel' (KhakB), *koškar* 'baran-proizvoditeľ' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *qučan* 'ram, uncastrated lamb' (L).

E/T The word *koč* belongs to the basic T vocabulary. It must have had a final vowel **kočă* (see Mo *kuča*). It may be of onomatopoeic origin (see Kklp). The second item in AK is unclear. Dankoff–Kelly read <QUJNKA̲'R̲> as *kočnār*, which is improbable. Clauson (1972: 592) read *kočŋār*. The item in AK is either a scribal error, or this is a case of a suff *+ŋAr*. This may have been preserved in this word, and later it became *+gAr* and *+kAr* after *r*. It may be related to OT *+gA*, *+gAč* and *+gAn*, all these suffs denoting living subjects (on which, see Erdal 1991: 83–90).

E/H The word was identified as being of T origin by Vámbéry (1870: 161). This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 100), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 585; 1993–1997/2: 804–805) and Ligeti (1986: 56, 282–283). According to the H authors, the *-š* in place of T *-č* is an OH dial feature. This is doubtful. It may rather reflect an AH *č* > *š* change; see **besenyő**, **bors**, **borsó**, **késik**, **kőris** etc. and further § 5.6.3, 6.2.4.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 161; Gombocz 1912b: 100; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 539–541; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 585; Räsänen 1969: 274; Clauson 1972: 592; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 257; Ligeti 1986: 56, 282–283; Erdal 1991: 83–90; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 804–805; Blagova 2000: 87; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 711–712.

KOZMA [kozmå] 'burn' | 17th c. *kozmától* [kozmā-tōl], 1753 *kozmásítsad* [kozmā-šītšåd], dial *koszma* [kosmå] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/1: 1199) | *kozmå* < **kosmā* < **kas-maγ* ← WOT **kasmaγ* | MT *kasmak* < **kas-* 'to form a thin layer' {with suff *-mAk*}.

OT *qasmaq* ‘jus figé, gratin, pourriture d’une plaie’ (AChag), *qasmaq* ‘Brandbildung am Kesselboden’ (AChagŠSK), *qasmaq*, *qazmaq* ‘ateşin çokluğundan kabın dibinde yapışan yemek artığı’ (ATuhA), *qazmïq* ‘pişerken kabın dibine yapışan yemek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xïsma* ‘penka, plenka (na toplenom moloke), prigar, nagar, kambij, sok derevy s kambiem’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *kasmak* ‘poskrebki (napr. kaši), nakip′ nagar, korka’ (Tat), *qasmaq* ‘plenka, pojavljajuščajsja pri kopjačenii snjatogo moloka’ (TatD1), *qaθmaq* ‘plenka, lep, moločnye korki, rodimaja perhot (na temeni mladenca)’ (Bashk), *qaθmaq* ‘plenka na kislom moloke’ (BashkD), *qasmaq* ‘ryb′ja češuja’ (SibTat), *qaspaq* ‘nakip′ ot moloka na dne posudy’ (KazB), *qaspaq* ‘dregs at the bottom of a kettle of milk’ (Kaz), *qaspaq* ‘čast′ prigorevšej pišči (pritavšej ko dnu kotla), osadok prikipevšego moloka (na dne kotla)’ (Kklp), *kaspak* ‘prigar (osadok na dne kastrjuli ili kotla, obrazujuščijsja pri varke plova, kaši)’ (Nog), *qasnaq* ‘perhot, osadok (na stenkah kuhonnoj posudy)’ (Kum), *qasmaq* ‘prigar, nakip′, cypki’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gasnak* ‘cypki’ (Tkm), *ġasmax* ‘sborki, skladki (na plat′e)’ (AzD, Mándoky 1972b: 402), *kazımık*, *kazımak*, *kazmık* ‘süt mahallebi ve yemek pişerken tencerenin dibinde yanan, yapışkan kısmı’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *qåsmåq* ‘strup’ (Uzb), *qasnoġlan-* ‘pokrytsja podrumanivšejsja korkoj’ (Uzb, Blagova 1997: 330), *qasmaq* ‘scrapings of a cooking pot’ (TurkiSh), *qasmaq*, *qismaq* ‘prigar (osadok moloka, ostajuščijsja na dne posudy posle kipjačenija)’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Mándoky (1972b: 398–403), the word is a der fr a verb **kas-* ‘to form the outer layer of something, to get incrusted with, to burn on etc.’ He cites Tkm *gas-* ‘skladivat′ skladki (pri šite)’, which would have a similar original meaning. According to Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 331), the word belongs to *kas* ‘kora; bark’ and *kas-* ‘očiščat′ šeluhu, koru’ ← ‘skresti, sdirat′, vykolupyvat′; to clean skin, bark’ ← ‘to scratch, to tear off’. This verb has been preserved in the Tuba-kiži dial of Alt as *kas-* ‘gryzt′ (orehi)’ (AltTK), in Shor and the Sagay dial of the Khak lg as *xas-* ‘gryzt′ (orehi, semečki)’ (Khak), and in Tof as *ka″s-* ‘ščelkat′, gryzt′ orehi’ (Tof). See also Tuv *kazï-* ‘ščelkat′ (orehi)’ (Tuv) and Tel *kaza-* ‘aushülsen, abhülsen’ (AltTelR). There is no doubt that *kasmak* has the basic meaning ‘thin skin, bark, thin layer etc.’ See such meanings as ‘scales of fish’ (SibTat) and ‘cambium’ (Chuv). Meanings like ‘dregs’ or ‘burnt crust in a melting pot’ are secondary. As to the der, Mándoky refers to Gabain (1950: 73, §120), where such abstract dev nouns are cited as *ukmak* ‘Verstand’ fr *uk-* ‘verstehen’. Levitskaja refers to Sevortjan (1966: 303), where we find *-mag* / *-mäk* < **-mAk*, according to whom this is a case of a grammaticalized infinitive marker. According to Erdal (1991: 110), there existed a suff *-mAk*, well known, e.g., in *bašmak* ‘slipper, low shoe’, but it is otherwise a rare den suff. It is, however, not very probable that *kasmak* is a der fr *kas* ‘bark’. *kasmak* may be similar in der to *kaymak* ‘a thin skin which forms on the surface of milk, cream’, or *tokïmak* ‘club, mallet’. The first is fr *kay-* ‘glide on something’ (cf. Tel, Alt, Sag, Koib, CC, Tt,

Az *qay-* ‘skolzat′; ausgleiten, gleiten’ in Radloff (1893–1911/2: 3)), and the second is fr *tokï-* ‘to hit’. The relationship between the infinitive marker and this suff is very probable.

E/H An earlier and unacceptable comparison with SibTat *kos* ‘die glühende Kohle’ made by Vámbéry (1914: 183–184) was rejected by the H research. According to Benkő’s earlier opinion (1967–1984/2: 599), the word is of unknown origin. Mándoky’s suggestion (1972a, 1972b) is convincing. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with it, but Benkő (1993–1997/2: 881) accepted Mándoky’s idea. For the H *-o-*, see **bojtorján**, **boszorkány**, **oroszlán**. Final /A/ is not very frequent in this position, but see **csipa**, **csúnya**, **dara**, **eke** and **kelengye**. One would expect /Ō/. There does exist a H dial word *koszmó* ‘the scraped dirt on the outer layer of the pig’s skin after it has been singed’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 505). This word came under the influence of the H word *kosz* [kos] ‘dirt’. But it also has dial forms such as *kaszmó*. This may have been the earlier form of *kozma* in H. The weakening of *-s-* before *-m-* is a H development. In some dials, the *-s-* is preserved (see *koszma* above).

◆ Radloff 1893–1911/2: 3; Szinnyei 1893–1901/1: 1199; Vámbéry 1914: 183–184; Gabain 1950: 73; Sevortjan 1966: 303; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 599; Mándoky 1972a: 299–303; Mándoky 1972b: 398–403; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 505; Erdal 1991: 110; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 881; Blagova 1997: 330–331.

KÖDMÖN [ködmön] ‘frock, sheepskin waistcoat’ | 1239 ? GN *cudmend* [küdmend] (Fehértói 2004: 228), 1317 PN *Kudmenus* [küdmen-üš], p1416/1466 *kọdmen ruhát* [ködmen ruhāt], 1518 *kwdmwn* [ködmön] | *ködmön*, *ködmen* < **kedmen* ← WOT **kädmän* < **käd-* {with suff *-mAn*} | EOT *käd-* ‘to put on, to wear (clothing)’.

OT *kedim* ‘dress’ (RMKöl W:4), *käd-* ‘vêtir’: *täk egil kä*(*d*)*ti* (UHamTouHou), *ked-*: *munča arïġ ton kedmišin* ‘his wearing so clean a garment’ (MI 714), *käd-* ‘to put on a garment’ (AK), *käd-* ‘ankleiden’ (BI 20), *kädim* ‘Anzug’ (BD 38); **MT** *keḏ-*, *key-*, *kit-*, *kiy-* ‘giymek’ (UYAB), *käy-*, *key-* ‘to put on, to wear’ (AGul), *käd-*, *käy-* ‘giymek’ (AHMA), *qäy-* ‘odet′sja, nadet′ (na sebja)’ (AHŠF), *key-*: *keymeg* ‘plat′e’ (AIM), ? *kiy-*: *kigü* ‘giyim’ (AIMI), ? *keyik* ‘felt cap, felt cloak’ (AKD), *käḏ-* ‘to put on, to wear’ (AKor), *qäy-* ‘odet′sja, nadet′ (na sebja)’ (ANehF), *käḏ-*, *käy-*, *kez-* (sic!) ‘to put on’ (ARbg), *käẓ-*, *kiy-* ‘odevat′’, *kiydük* ‘odejanie’ (ATef), *keḏ-*, *key-* ‘giymek’ (AYC), *key-* ‘vêtir’ (AChag), *kiy-* ‘nadevat′’ (AChagMA), *key-* ‘to put on, to wear’ (AChagSC), *key-*: *giyir-* ‘sich ankleiden’, *key-*: *geyiš* ‘geyim, örtü, perde, yorġan; Kleid’ (AChagŠSK), *käy-*, *kiy-* ‘(Kleider) anziehen’ (LCC), *key-*: *käydi* ‘geydi’, *key-*: *käyäsi* ‘giyesi, elbise’ (AAH), *käy-* ‘włożyć na siebie, ubrać się’ (ABul), *qäy-* ‘sich anziehen’ (AHou), *käy-*, *kiy-* ‘anziehen’ (AKav), *key-* ‘giymek’ (AMGhU), *key-* ‘giymek’ (ATuhA), *kiy-*, *k‘iy-* ‘s’habiller, vêtir’ (AmTr), *kiy-*: *kiydir-* ‘to induce somebody to put on (a dress), to have (a dress) put on’ (AmCh), *kiy-* ‘vêtir, revêtir’ (AmE), *gey-* ‘takınmak, takmak, giymek, giyinmek’, *key-*: *giyür-* ‘giydirmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kiy-* ‘nadevat′, nadet′, odevat′ (na sebja), nosit′’ (Tat), *key-* ‘nade-

vaťʼ (na sebja), nositʼ' (Bashk), *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ (odeždu, obuvʼ, šapku)' (Kirg), *kǐy-* 'nadevaťʼ, odevaťʼ, odevaťʼsja, pereodetʼ' (KazB), *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ čto-l. (odeždu, obuvʼ, šapku)' (Kklp), *kiy-* 'odevaťʼ, nadevaťʼ (na sebja)' (Nog), *kiy-* 'odevaťʼ, nadevaťʼ' (CrTat), *kiy-* 'odeťʼ, nadeťʼ' (KarT), *kiy-* 'odeťʼ, nadeťʼ' (KarH), *kiy-* 'odeťʼ, nadeťʼ' (KarC), *giy-* 'nadevaťʼ (na sebja)' (Kum), *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ čto, nositʼ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gey-* 'odevaťʼsja, nadevaťʼ (na sebja), obuvaťʼsja' (Tkm), *ǵey-* 'odevaťʼ, nadevaťʼ na sebja, nositʼ (odeždu)' (Az), *giy-* 'to wear, to put on, to resent' (Tt), *gey-* 'giymek' (TtD), *gī-* 'nadevaťʼ, odevaťʼ, obuvaťʼ' (Gag), *gay-*, *gäy-*, *giy-*, *gedir-*, *gēdir-*, *geydir-*, *gidir-*, *gīdir-* 'anziehen' (Khor), *gegirt-* 'anziehen, aufsetzen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *käd-* 'sich anziehen' (Kh); ***SE*** *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ (na sebja)' (Uzb), *ki-*, *kiy-*, *kei-*, *key-* 'to put on, to clothe, to be dressed, to dress, to wear' (TurkiJ), *kī-* 'to put on (clothes), to wear' (TurkiSh), *key-* 'nadevaťʼ, odevaťʼsja' (TurkiLN), *käy-* 'anziehen, sich anziehen, ein Kleid anlegen' (TurkiTR), *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ (na sebja), odevaťʼsja, nositʼ odeždu' (MUyg), *kiy-*, *kʼi-*, *kīy-*, *kī-* 'odevaťʼ, nositʼ' (Sal), *kez-* 'odevaťʼ, nadevaťʼ' (YUyg); ***NE*** *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ (odeždu, obuvʼ, šapku)' (Alt), *kī-* 'anziehen, aufsetzen (einen Hut)' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *kiy-* 'nadeťʼ, nadevaťʼ na sebja' (AltQK), *kiy-* 'nadevaťʼ, odevaťʼ' (AltTK), *kis-* 'nadevaťʼ čto-l.' (Khak), *kes-* 'anziehen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *käs-* 'anziehen', *kī-* 'anziehen, aufsetzen (einen Hut)' (KhakShR), *gǐz-* 'to dress' (FY), *ket-* 'nadevaťʼ (o sebja)' (Tuv), *kät-* 'sich ankleiden, anziehen, sich verhüllen' (TuvSR), *kedir-* 'nadevaťʼ, odevaťʼ (kogo-l.)' (Tof); ***Y*** *kät-* 'nadevaťʼ na sebja čto, nositʼ' (Y), *kät-* 'anziehen' (Dlg).

Mo *kedür-* 'to wear a garment over one's shoulders', *kedürge* '(over)coat, raincoat', *keǰim* 'caparison, saddle cloth' (L).

E/T The T word is a dev noun fr the verb *käd-* 'to put on, to wear (clothing)' with the suff *-mAn* (Erdal 1991: 387–389). This suff occurs in a few names of garments, such as *örtmän* 'cover' (Brockelmann 1954: 127), *čäkman* <çacman> 'wollenes Tuch', *čäkmänči* 'Tuchweber' (LCC), *čäkmän* 'der Regenmantel' (ChagR, TtR), *čäkmän* 'weite Hosen' (TtR), *čäkmän* 'plaťja s podkladkoj, der gefütterte Rock' (TurkiTR); see also *čäkmän* (CrTat, AltTK etc.) and metathetic forms, such as *čäpkän* 'stout jacket the sleeves of which are slit, leaving arms free' (Tt < **čäkpän* < *čäkmän*), *dolman*, *dolaman* 'a kind of apron, a kind of jacket, dolman' (Tt → H *dolmány*), *sükmän* 'ein Rock aus Kameeltuch' (AltTobR ← Rus), *sükmän* 'čekmen, armjak iz verbljuž́evo sukna, sermjaga' (SibTat ← Rus), *săkman*, *săxman* 'kaftan' (Chuv ← Rus *sukman* 'sukonnyj kaftan [the first vowel under the influence of *sukno*]' ← T < BulgT **śekmän* < *čäkmän* → Rus *čekmenʹ*; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 798–799). The suff is also used with other verbs, on which see Erdal (1991: 387–389) and **örmény**. The T word **kädmän* did not come up in any of our T sources. It occurs in ORus as *kъdmanъ* and RusD as *kodman* 'women's dress' (Menges 1959: 182; Kiss 1964a: 26;

Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 275), where the second is surely of H origin, but the first may be of T origin. Only the Rus and H data preserved the WOT form.

E/H The word was first connected by Vámbéry (1914: 184) with T *kädim*, while the correct etymology was provided by Németh (1935–1939: 525) and later accepted by Ligeti (1961: 33; 1986: 29) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 603; 1993–1997/2: 813). In a recent paper by Özertural (2005: 65–71), the author points to the semantics of OT *kädil-*, which includes 'to transform into another being, to take the form of another being'. In H, we find the verb *ölt-*, which has the basic meaning 'to put on a dress', but also 'to take a new shape, to take the form of somebody else'; see **illik** and **ölt**. The extension of the metaphorical meaning may show WOT influence.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 184; Németh 1935–1939: 525; Brockelmann 1954: 127; Menges 1959: 182; Ligeti 1961: 33; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 275; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 798–799; Kiss 1964a: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 603; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 12–14; Ligeti 1986: 29; Erdal 1991: 387–389; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 813; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 683; Fehértói 2004: 228; Özertural 2005: 65–71.

KÖKÉNY [kökēń] 'blackthorn, *Prunus spinosa*' | 1184 ? PN *Cucendi* [kükēn-di], 1211 GN *Cucen* [kükēn], 1247 *kevkenyer* [kükēń-ēr], 1577 *kőkenÿ* [kȫkēń], dial *këkény* [këkēń], *käkiny* [käkiń], *kikïny* [kikïń], *kökönye* [kökȫńe], *kökényszilva* [kökēń-silvå] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 532) | *kökēń* < **köken* ⟵ WOT **kökän* | MT *kökän* 'plum' < *kȫk* 'blue' {with suff +*An* or +*gAn*}.

OT –; **MT** *kögem* 'espèce de prune sauvage, en persan, ou en arabe, lacet qu'on met au cou des condamnés' (AChag), ? *küküm* 'starker Baum' (AChagŠSK), ? *kükel* 'Schlehdorn' (LCC), *kökän* 'erik' (AAH), *kökän* 'Pflaume, Pfirsich, Kirsche' (AHou), *gögem*, *gövem*, *güġem* 'bir cins yaban eriği, bir çeşit ekşi dağ eriği', cf. *köken* 'Kavun, karpuz, kabak gibi yere yatan bitkilerin kökünden çıkan dal.' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *küken* 'tern, ternovnik' (Chuv ⟵ Tat); ***NW*** *kügän* 'tern, plod ternovnika' (Tat), *kügän* 'tern, ternovnik' (Bashk), *kögen* 'tern' (Nog), *kokan* 'sliva' (Kum; with palatal *k*-!), *kokan* 'kökényszilva ["köken" plum]' (KumN), *köken* 'kust' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *güġem*, *gögem* 'blue, bluish, sloe, hawthorn, a kind of horsefly' (Tt); ***Kh*** – ; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Os *kakon*, *kokojnæ*, *koko* 'ternovnik' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 568).

E/T The word is a den der fr *kȫk* 'blue' with the suff +*gAn* (Erdal 1991: 85–89), which forms plant names, and with the simplification of the cluster *-kg-* > *k* (cf. **kökgän* > **kökkän* > *kökän*) or with the suff +*An* with the same function. The suffs are present in such H words of T origin as **bojtorján**, **csalán**, **gyertyán**, **gyümölcsény**, **kalokány** and **karakán**. It may also be a dev noun fr *kökä-* 'to be or become blue' and the dev suff *-Xn* (cf. Erdal 1991: 300). The word seems to be restricted to certain Kip lgs. In Chag, OtT and Tt, we find the word **kökäm*, which is a dev noun fr *kökä-*. The Chuv word is of Tat origin. The Kum item has to be interpreted as [kökän]. See more details under **kikerics**.

E/H The word has been considered to be of T origin since Vámbéry (1870: 158). Ligeti (1986: 112–113) stressed that, for chronological reasons, the word cannot be of Cum origin.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 158; Gombocz 1912b: 101–102; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 292; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 568; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 604; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 532; Ligeti 1986: 112–113; Erdal 1991: 85–89, 300; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 813; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 714.

KÖKÖRCSIN 'pulsatilla, meadow anemone, *Pulsatilla*; common marsh marigold, *Caltha palustris*' see **kikerics**.

KÖLCSÖN [kölčön] 'loan' | p1416/1466 *kǫlLǫn* [kölčön], c1456 *kwlchwnado* [kölčön-ådō], p1456 *kwchonosnak* [kŭ̄čön-öšnek] | *kölčön* < **külčen* ← WOT **kölčen* < **köl-* {with suffs *-čA* and +(*X*)*n*} | EOT *kölü-* 'to borrow', *kölüg näŋ* 'something borrowed, loan'.

OT *kölüg näŋ* 'something borrowed' (AK); **MT** *kölemen* 'köle' (AOTt); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kivśen* 'dolg, v dolg' (Chuv ⟶ CherM *küsĕn* 'dolg, zaem, vzaymy, zaimoobrazno'), *kivśen il-* 'zanjat' (vzat' v dolg)', *kivśenle* 'brat' vzaimy, zaimoobrazno', *kivśen par-* 'davat v dolg' (ChuvA), *küśen* 'vzaem = »kivśen«' (ChuvAPškrt); ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *kŏ̄le* 'nezakonnoroždennyj' (Tkm), *kölä* 'rab, nevolnyj', *köle* 'male servant', *kölemen* 'Circassian slave brought up as warrior, Mameluk (in Egypt), corps of military slaves' (Tt), *köle köşlük* 'yoksulluk' (TtD), *köle* 'sluga' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *kölösün* 'pot, isparina, grjaz, trud, vina' (Y ← Mo), *kölöhün* 'Schweiss' (Dlg ← Mo).

Mo *kölüsün, kölesün* 'sweat, perspiration, payment for work, wages, hire, rent, charges, fees, interest, commission', *kölüsüči* 'labourer, journeyman', *kölüre-, kölere-* 'to sweat, perspire' (L).

E/T The Chuv word is isolated. This makes it much more difficult to analyse its morphological structure. Ligeti (1935a: 237; 1977–1979/1: 249) considered the word to go back to a form like *külč* or *külčs* and **külčsn* is the form augmented with an adverbial *-n* ["*az adverbiumi* n- *jellel bővült esete*"]. Ligeti correctly stated that this is a case of an originally adv structure. We have such locutions as *kivśen il-* 'zanjat' (vzat' v dolg); literally, to take (*il-*) as a loan'; *kivśen par-* 'davat' v dolg; literally, to give (*bar-*) as a loan'. In 1986 Ligeti was more cautious, and wrote only that this is a case of a derivation ["*származékával van dolgunk*"] of the hitherto unidentified verb *köl-* 'to borrow' (Ligeti 1986: 45). The Chuv scholars only registered the fact that there is no parallel in the other T lgs (see Egorov 1964: 111; Fedotov 1996/1: 290). Räsänen analysed the word as *küś-ĕn* without any remark (1969: 308).

The T instr suff +(*X*)*n* is present, though not productive, in Chuv. It has been dealt with by Andreev (1957: 27) and Levitskaja (1976: 27). We can find it in a few locutions, such as *allăn par ta uran ut* 'give with your hand, go by your feet'. In Chuv, there is a den adv suff which has the form +(*Ă*)*n*. It was correctly pointed out

by Egorov (1957: 278) and Levitskaja (1976: 114) that this suff is historically the same as the old T instr suff. This function can be found in OT *kïšïn* 'in winter', *ilkin* 'from the beginning' etc. In Chuv, the suff has a full vowel if the base has a full final vowel: *ukśa* 'money' > *ukśan* 'with money (e.g. *ukśan tüle-* 'pay with money')', *śemśe* 'soft' > *śemśen* 'softly (e.g. *śemśen kala-* 'to tell something gently, kindly')' etc. In all other cases, its vowel is a reduced one: *kuněn* 'daily' (< *kun* 'day'), *pěrčěn* '(grain) by grain' (< *pěrčě* 'grain'). If Chuv *kivśen* has this adv suff it had to have a final with a full vowel. Thus we have to suppose a nominal base with a final vowel: **kivśe+An*.

In his paper, Ligeti (1935a: 237; 1977–1979/1: 249) supposed a verb **kül-* (**köl-* in 1986: 45). Though a verb **köl-* or **kölü-* 'to borrow' has not cropped up to date, in AK, as mentioned early on by Ligeti (1935a: 238; 1977–1979/1: 250; 1986: 45), we find *kölüg näŋ* 'something borrowed'. This was read by Brockelmann (1928/1964: 116) as *külüg* 'entliehn', and is now read by Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/1: 300) as *kölük* 'something borrowed'. This has nothing to do with *kölük* (read *kölök*) 'beast of burden' fr *köl-* 'to harness'; as Clauson (1972: 717) is inclined to suppose, "it might have come from (hired) transport animals". I would, for the time being, read *kölüg* as a dev noun with the suff *-(X)g* fr a hitherto unattested verb **köl-* 'to borrow' or 'to give a loan'.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 817) connected the Mo word with the SW T word *köle* 'male servant, bastard' (Tkm *kõle* 'nezakonnoroždennyj', Az *kölä* 'rab, nevolnyj', Tt *köle* 'male servant') and with the EOT title *köl*, *kül*. The title can be passed by here. But to *köle* I can add TtD *köle köşlük* 'yoksulluk', Gag *kölä* 'sluga' and Ott *kölemen*. According to Eren (1999:256) Tt *köle* is of unknown origin and pointed to *kul* 'slave'. In fact Tt has the expression *kul köle ol-* 'to be greatly devoted to' in the sense 'to be the servant of' but perhaps also 'to be deeply indebted', i.e. 'your slave and debtor'. *Köle* was a special kind of slave. Though later the term denoted warprisoners forced to fight, Cirkassian soldiers, Mameluks etc., perhaps originally it denoted a person who became slave because of his, or his master's debt. If this can be substantiated the word may go back to **köl-gä* > *kölä*.

Chuv *kivśen* can be analyzed as *köl-čA-n* where *-čA* is a conv suff (Erdal 2004: 313). The WOT form was **kölčän*. The *-l-* > *-v-* > ø change is the same as in OT *altïn* 'gold' > Chuv *ïvtăn*, *ïltăn*, OT *alkan-* 'to praise' > Chuv *ïvxan-* 'proklinatʹ; to curse (sic!)', *śüś* 'hair' < **śĕvś* < **yulči*, or OT *kïlïč* 'sword' > **kilč* > Chuv *xĕś*. The WOT form **kölčän* is a der fr the verb **köl-* with the conv suff *-čA* and the instr *+(X)n*, which has been lexicalised in this word and used as an adverb, that is **köl-čä+n*. Thus the phonological and morphological analyses can be brought into harmony. WOT **kölčän* was copied by H as **külčän* and regularly became *kölčön* in MH.

Mo contains *kölüsün*, *kölesün* 'sweat, perspiration, payment for work, wages, hire, rent, charges, fees, interest, commission'; see also Literary Oyr *kölösön* 'pot, is-

parina, zaem, dolg, plata; sweat, loan, debt, payment' (Pozdneev 289; cf. Ligeti (1935a: 233; 1977–1979/1: 245) and Krueger (1978–1984/3: 739)). Further, we have *kölüsči* 'labourer, journeyman', *kölüre-*, *kölere-* 'to sweat, perspire'. According to Ligeti, the semantic development was 'sweat' > 'labour' > 'payment'. In all Mo lgs, the words have the basic meaning 'to perspire, to pay, to give money for etc.' The basic idea is 'to give something for something, either for a completed task, or for wares etc., or as a loan'.

The Mo word *kölüsün* is a der with the suff *+sUn*. This is basically a den suff. According to Poppe (1964: 49), it may also be a dev one, as in *nilbusun* 'spittle' fr *nilbu-* 'to spit' or *kögesün* 'foam' fr *köge-* 'to foam, to rise', but this is uncertain. The base may have been **nilbun* 'spittle' (on which see the assimilated form *nilmusun*). In any case, *kölüre-*, *kölere-* (< *kölöre-*) 'to sweat, perspire' is a den der fr a hitherto unattested noun **kölö* with the den suff *+rA-*. This has to be the same noun fr which *kölösün* was derived. The meaning of the basic noun had to be 'sweat, perspiration', but also 'sweat' as a metaphor for 'work' offered to somebody. For examples of the notion that work is associated with sweat see the Bible.

E/H It was Munkácsi (1901a: 190) who first compared the H and the Chuv words. Gombocz (1912b: 103) accepted this. Ligeti (1935a: 233–235; 1977–1979/1: 245–250 and 1986: 45) analysed the origin in detail without providing the final etymon. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 505–506; 1993–1997/2: 814) accepted its T origin and the analysis by Ligeti. When the word was copied, H did not have the vowel *-ö-*, thus it substituted foreign *-ö-* as *-ü-* and later it became more close (see § 5.8.6). In the dials, the H word also has the form *kőcsön* [kȭčön] with the *-l-* disappearing and leaving a lengthened vowel behind, which is a H development (see § 5.8.13).

◆ Munkácsi 1901a: 190; Gombocz 1912b: 103; Brockelmann 1928/1964: 116; Ligeti 1935a: 233–238; Andreev 1957: 27; Egorov 1957: 278; Poppe 1962: 339; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 630–632; Egorov 1964: 111; Poppe 1964: 49; Todaeva 1964: 148; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 505–506; Räsänen 1969: 308; Róna-Tas 1970: 761–765; Clauson 1972: 490, 492, 717; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 274–276; Clark 1975: 155–157; Levitskaja 1976: 27, 114; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 245–250; Krueger 1978–1984/3: 739; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 300; Ligeti 1986: 45; Erdal 1991: 40–44, 104–105, 418–429, 474; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 814; Fedotov 1996/1: 290; Eren 1999: 120–121, 256; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 816–817; Erdal 2004: 313.

KÖLDÖK [köldök] 'the navel; various parts of agricultural and other instruments, around which something turns or rotates or which is in the centre' | c1405 *keldek* [keldek], 1508 *kőldőkőd* [köldök-öd], dial *kődek* [kȭdek] etc. (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 534) | *köldök* < **kildik* < **kindik* ← WOT **kindik* | EOT *kindik* 'the navel' < *kin* {with suff *+tIk*}.

OT *kindik* 'Nabel' (UTTVII 46, No. 37:6,7), *kin*: *kin yïpar* 'musk bag' (AK); **MT** *kindik* 'navel' (ABF), *kin* 'muskus', *kindik* 'pup, pupovina' (AHŠF), *kindik* 'navel' (AKD), *kindik* 'pup, pupovina' (ANehF), *kindik* 'nombril' (AChag), *kindik* 'pupok'

(AChagMA), *kindik* ‘navel’ (AChagSC), *kendik* ‘Nabel, Mitte’ (AChagŠSK), *kindik* ‘Nabel’ (LCC), *kin* ‘misk kokusu’, *kindik* ‘göbek’ (AAH), *kündik* <KNDK> (r: *kindik*) ‘Nabel’ (AHou), *kindäk* ‘Nabel’ (AKav), *kindik*, *köbek* ‘göbek’ (ATuhA), *k‘indik‘* ‘nombril, ventre’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kăvapa* ‘pup’, *kĕntĕk* ‘škvoren, serdečnik (u telegi)’ (Chuv); ***NW*** *kendek* ‘pup, pupok’ (Tat), *kendek* ‘pup, pupok’ (Bashk), *kändik* ‘pupok’ (SibTat), *kindik* ‘pup, pupovina’ (Kirg), *kĭndĭk* ‘navel, umbilicus’ (Kaz), *kindik* ‘pup’ (Kklp), *kindik* ‘pup, pupok, pupovina’ (Nog), *köbek* ‘pup, pupok, pupovina’ (CrTat), *kindik* ‘pup, pupovina, pupok’ (KarT), *kindik* ‘pup, pupovina, pupok’ (KarH), *kindik* ‘pup, pupovina, pupok’ (KarC), *gindik* ‘pup, pupovina, pupok’ (Kum), *ginnik* ‘köldök; navel’ (KumN), *kindik* ‘pup, pupok, pupovina’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gȫbek* ‘pupok, pup, pupovina’ (Tkm), *k´öbek* ‘pup, pupok’ (Az), *göbek* ‘navel’ (Tt), *kindik* ‘insan göbeği’, *künük* ‘göbek’ (TtD), *göbek* ‘pup, pupok, pupovina’ (Gag), *gindiy*, *gindik*, *gindic*, *girniy*, *gindi* ‘Nabel’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *kindük*, *kimdük* ‘Nabel’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kindak*, *kindik* ‘pup, pupok’ (Uzb), *kindik* ‘navel’ (TurkiJ), *kindük* ‘navel’ (TurkiSh), *kindik* ‘pupok’ (MUyg), *kintix*, *kindzix* ‘pupok’ (Sal), *kendek*, *qïndïq* ‘pupok’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *kindik* ‘pup, pupovina’ (Alt), *kin* ‘pup, pupovina’ (RAlt), *kintik* ‘pup’ (AltQK), *kindik* ‘pup’ (AltTK), *kin* ‘muskusnaja železa kabargi, muskusnyj mešok’ (AltL), *kĭn* ‘pup, zasušennaja pupovina (manilas´ v škatulka), crevo, utrova, naslednik’, *kĭndĭk* ‘pup, zasušennaja pupovina (manilas´ v škatulka), crevo, utrova, naslednik’ (Khak), *gindik* ‘navel’ (FY), *xin* ‘pupok, struja (kabargovaja)’, *xindik* ‘pupok, struja (kabargovaja), makuška (golovi)’ (Tuv), *hin* ‘pup, pupok’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kīn* ‘pup, pupok, centr’ (Y), *kīn* ‘Nabel, Zentrum, zentral’ (Dlg).

Mo *küyi*, *küyisün*, *küyilsün* ‘navel, umbilicus, umbilical cord’ (L).

E/T The SW T lgs and Chuv have **kȫ̄päk* while the word *kindik* is also present in some Tt dials and in Khor T. Mo *küyi*, *küyi*(*l*)*sün* may go back to an earlier **kügi*(*l*), which corresponds regularly to a PT **küpi* or *köpi* and whose *-l* is likely to be a Mo suff. Otherwise but unacceptably Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 818–819). Thus *kȫ̄päk* may be a word with the dim suff *+Ak*. Chuv *kavăpa* goes back through the forms **kȫ̄pä* < *kȫ̄päg* to **kȫ̄päk*. Chuv *kĕntĕk* is a lw fr Tat. T **kindik* has been connected with *kīn* ‘musk, musk from the navel of the musk deer (Rus ‘kabarga’), the navel of the musk deer’ (see Blagova 1997: 69). It may be that the final *-k* is a dim suff, as in **kȫ̄päk*. The final *-dik* in *kindik* is hardly the same suff as *+dAk* in *bagïrdak*, which denotes either a dressing that covers the liver (*bagïr*) or a strap which is fastened to the body where the liver is (see *bagïrdak* in Clauson (1972: 319)). Erdal (1991: 105) reinterpreted this as *bagïrda-kï* and supposed that the final *-ï* was felt to be a poss suff and he may be right. But it is more probable that for *bagïrdak* this is a case of a suff *+dAk*, which also appears in *bogurdak* ‘throat, gullet, pharynx’ (AAH) fr *boguz* ‘throat’ and Kaz *keŋirdek* ‘windpipe’, on which see Tekin (1986: 156). The suff in *kindik* is rare, but existed in OT. It occurred in *čöptik* ‘impurity’ < *čöp*

(see **csepű**), *yalïntïk* ‘destitute’ < *yalïŋ*, *koltïk* ‘armpit’ < *kol* ‘arm’ (Erdal 1991: 44). According to Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 68), the rare forms of *kin* with a labial vowel point to an original long *ű*. However, the item *kün yïpar* (Nadeljaev 1969: 327) is based on a misreading by Brockelmann (1928/1964: 117). The correct form *kin yïpar* is to be found in Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/1: 268). Nor does *kündik* exist in AHou; the writing <KNDK> was read by Houtsma as *kündik* for no obvious reason. The correct reading is *kindik*.

E/H The word was considered as a T lw early on by Vámbéry (1870: 161). This was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 103–104), Ligeti (1986: 30, 81, 314) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 567; 1993–1997/2: 814). Ligeti pointed out that OT **-d-* is preserved in the T lws in H after the consonants *l*, *n* and *r*, as in **érdem**, **ildom** and **kender**. The H word can hardly be in H fr Kip, as Benkő (1967–1984/2: 567) supposed. The *n* > *l* change and the labialisation occurred in H. The several meanings in H, such as ‘the name of various parts of agricultural and other instruments around which something turns or rotates or which is in the centre’, also occur in some T lgs, but this may represent an independent semantic change based on the intermediate meaning ‘centre’.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 161; Gombocz 1912b: 103–104; Brockelmann 1928/1964: 117; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 567; Nadeljaev 1969: 327; Clauson 1972: 319; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 534; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 268; Ligeti 1986: 30, 81, 314; Tekin 1986: 156; Erdal 1991: 44, 105; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 814; Blagova 1997: 68–69; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 818–819.

KÖLYÖK [köyök] ‘young of an animal, kid, puppy, lad’ | c1165 PN *chulches* [külk-eš], 1219/1550 PN *Culqed* [külk-ed], 1221 GN *kewlked* [kölk-ed], c1395 *kelk* [kelk], c1560 *kólyŏk hűs* [köl′ök hȭš] | *köyök* < *köl′ök* < **kölek* < **külek* ← WOT **köläk* < **kölčäk* | EOT *köšäk* ‘a young animal’.

OT –; **MT** *köšek* ‘camel colt’ (AKD), *köšäk* or *köšäläk* (both spelt) ‘a one-year-old camel colt’ (AChagSC), *köšek* ‘einjähriges junges Kameel’ (AChagŠSK), *köšäk* ‘deve yavrusu’ (AAH), *köšäk* ‘petit chameau d’un an’, *külük* ‘petit de chien’ (ABul), *köšäk* ‘junges Kameel’ (AHou), *kešek*, *köšek* ‘deve yavrusu’ (ATuhA), *köšek* ‘deve yavrusu’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kolïn* ‘žerebenok’ (Tat), *kolqay*, *kölökiy*, *kölökäy* ‘taj (žerebenok)’ (TatD1), *qolqay*, *kolokay* (sic! i.e. *kölökäy*), *kölkäy* ‘žerebenok’, *kölökäy*, *kölön* ‘žerebenok’ (TatD2), *kolon* ‘žerebenok’ (BashkD), *kölökäy*, *kölkey*, *kölön*, *qolqay*, *kolkas*, *kolokas* ‘žerebenok, laskateľnoe slovo po otnošeniju detjam’ (BashkD2), *kölkäy*, *kölökäy* ‘žerebenok’ (BashkD3), *köšek* ‘verbljužonok’ (Kklp), *köček* ‘verbljužonok’ (KarC); ***SW*** *kȭšek* ‘verbljužonok-sosunok’ (Tkm), *göšäk* ‘verbljužonok’ (Az), *köšey* id. (AzD, Ščerbak 1961: 106), *köçek* ‘camel foal, young of any animal’, *köşek* ‘camel colt’ (Tt), *köşek*, *koşak*, *koşşek*, *köcek*, *köçek*, *körşek*, *köşkek*, *köşseyh*, *köşşek*, *küçek* ‘deve yavrusu’ (TtD), *köšek* ‘verbljužonok’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *köšek*, *küšek* ‘verbljužonok’ (UzbD, Ščerbak 1961: 106), *küšelek* id. (UzbD, Ščerbak 1961: 106); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *gölüge*, *gölige* ‘pup, young dog or cat, sprout, shoot, seedling, bud (of a flower), button, not ripe, immature’ (L).

E/T The following words have to be separated: (1) *köšäk* ‘camel colt’; (2) *kölük* ‘a baggage animal’; (3) *kulun* ‘foal’; and (4) *kulan* ‘wild ass’.

1 *köšäk* ‘camel colt’. The word may be a der with the dim suff *+Ak* fr a hitherto unattested nominal base **kōš* (see TtD *köškäk*). Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 126–127) proposed a simplification fr a supposed **köščäk*, which may be corroborated by KarC *köčäk*, Tt, TtD *köçek*, *köcek*, *küçek* etc., and for which she cites the parallels *botalak*, *taylak* ‘camel foal’ fr Kirg and TurkiJ. Further suffs are *+Ay* (see *köšey* (AzD)); *+lAk*: *köšäläk* (UzbD) above. In some T lgs, *köšäk* is used instead of *bota* or *botalak*. See OT *botu*, *bota* ‘camel colt usually under one year’, *torum* ‘camel colt’ (in the second year). The Mo word for ‘camel colt’ is *botugu*(*n*), *botuga* (one year old) and *torum* (two years old).

2 *kölük* ‘a baggage animal’. This word is a der fr *köl-* ‘to harness, to bind something onto an animal’; see Mo *kölge*(*n*) ‘mount, vehicle’. The form *külük* ‘petit de chien’ (ABul) is perhaps a miswriting for *küčük* (see Clauson 1972: 717).

3 *kulun* ‘foal’. Tat *kolïn*, Bashk *kolon* ‘foal’ belong here, which took on dim suffs (see *kolokay*, *kolkay*) and became front-vocalic *kölökäy*, *kölkäy* etc., because of emotive stress. Tat and Bashk *kölökäy*, *kölkäy* does not pertain to H *kölyök* for chronological and semantic reasons. For further data, see Ščerbak (1961: 90–91) and Blagova (2000: 132–133).

4 *kulan* ‘wild ass’, cf. Mo *kulan*, *külen* ‘wild ass’; see Blagova (2000: 127–128).

The forms with *-l-* in some T dials are interesting. TtD *gölük* ‘eşek yavrusu, at, eşek, beygir, kısrak vb. hayvanları sürüsü, hayvan yavrusu’ (TtD/6: 2146). This word is perhaps the result of a semantic differentiation fr (2) *kölük*; see Tt *gölük* ‘beast of burden (horse, mule etc.)’, TtD *gölük* ‘at, eşek, beygir, katır vb. yük taşıyan ve binilen hayvan’ (TtD/6: 2145).

T *köšük*, *köšäk* may have had the original meaning ‘young of animals’. This can be seen in Mo where this is the sense of *gölige*, *gölüge*. On these grounds, we have to reconstruct WOT **köligă*, *kölügă* with the original meaning ‘young of animals, mainly of dogs, cats’.

But what is the relationship of EOT *köšük* and WOT **kölügă*. Let us put aside the problem of the second vowel. Why do we have *-g*(*ă*) in front of EOT *-k*? This phenomenon is not isolated. Let us see a few other cases:

EOT *ingäk* ‘cow’, WOT **inäγă* (> Chuv *ĕne*), Mo **ünige* > *üniye*; cf. H **ünő**. EOT *siŋäk* ‘mosquito, fly’, WOT **šiŋaγă* (> Chuv *šăna*), Mo *simagul*; cf. H **szúnyog**. EOT *taguk* ‘hen’, WOT **tagukă* > **takuγă* (> **tigukă* > Chuv *čăxă*), Mo **takiga*(*n*) > *takiyan*; cf. H **tyúk** < **tiguk*. EOT *köšük* ‘young of animals’, WOT **kölüγă*, Mo

gölüge; cf. H *kölök*, *kölyök*. These and other data (see Róna-Tas 1971: 389–399) point to the following changes: AT **-VkV* > EOT *-Vk*, WOT *-VgV* > *VγV̆* = Mo *-VgV*.

WOT **kölügă* is absent fr Chuv. As we can see the H reflexes are different. H *kölyök* belongs to the same group as H **tyúk**.

E/H After Vámbéry's erroneous comparison with *käl* 'bald' (1870: 161), the Mo and H words were linked by Bálint (1877: 31), the T words with the Mo items by Gombocz (1904: 548; 1905: 263) and the H word with the T and Mo data by Gombocz (1912b: 104). This was then accepted by the H scholars; see Benkő (1967–1984/2: 608; 1993–1997/2: 815), Ligeti (1986: 17, 81), Clauson (1972: 753) etc. The basic meaning of the word had to be 'young of an animal' which is present in H and Mo, and some T dials.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 161; Bálint 1877: 31; Gombocz 1904: 548; Gombocz 1905: 263; Gombocz 1912b: 104; Ščerbak 1961: 90–91, 106; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 608; Róna-Tas 1971: 389–399; Clauson 1972: 717, 753; Halasi Kun 1975: 163; Ligeti 1986: 17, 81; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 815; Blagova 1997: 126–127; Blagova 2000: 127–128, 132–133; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 717.

KÖLYŰ [köyū] 'pounder, beater, small mortar' | c1395 *keleu* [kelō], p1405 *poſtokwlo* [postō külō], *kwlw* [külū], 1449 *kewlyw* [köl'ū], dial *külü* [külü], *külű* [külū] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 538) | *köyū* < *kelū* < **keliγ* ← WOT **keliγ* < **kel-* 'to strike repeatedly' | MT *keli* 'mortar', Mo **keligen* → MT.

OT –; **MT** *keli* 'Mörserkeule' (LCC), *keli* 'musluk, kurna, dibek gibi şeyler' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kilĕ*, *kil* 'stupa, stupka', *kiv-*, *ki-* 'toloč (bel'e pri stirke)' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kilĕ* 'stupa, stupka (derevjannaja)' (Tat), *kilĕ* 'stupa' (Bashk), *kilä* 'ein grosser Mörser' (SibTatTR), *kelĭ* 'mortar' (Kaz), *keli* 'stupa, stupka' (Kklp), *keli* 'nožnaja stupka (samodel'naja prosoruška)' (Nog), *keli* 'stupa' (CrTat), *keli* 'stupka' (KarC), *keli*, *kelček* 'stupa (dlja tolčenija)' (Kum), *keli* 'stupa, stupka' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *keli* 'bol'šaja derevjannaja stupa' (Uzb), *keli* 'a large mortar (in which rice etc. is pounded)' (TurkiSh); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *kälī* 'derevjannaja stupa, stupka iz čel'nogo brevna' (Y).

E/T According to Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 33), the T word was originally **kelig*, as had been supposed earlier by Ligeti (1986: 297) because of the long final *-ī* of Y. This would go back to a verbal base **keg-* 'to pound, to crush', on which see Y *käp-* 'tolkat' tupym predmetom, tolkat', tolčok dat', popirat'' and Chuv *kiv-*. The form **keg* reconstructed by Levitskaja seems to be a misprint, where perhaps *keb-* was intended. The Chuv word goes back to a form **kel-* with a regular *l* > *v* change (see **kölcsön**) and the Y word *käp-* perhaps pertains to Mo *göbi-*, *gübi-*, as was suggested early on by Ramstedt (1952–1966/2: 148), Räsänen (1969: 306) and Fedotov (1996/1: 290). Levitskaja reconstructed the following chain: *keli* < **kēli* < **kelli* < **kegilig*. Since **kelig* can be safely reconstructed using Y *kälī*, Mo **keligen* and H *kölyü*, the further reconstruction by Levitskaja seems unconvincing. The word must be a dev

noun with the suff -(*X*)*g* (Erdal 1991: 172) fr a hitherto unattested verb **kel-* 'to strike repeatedly, to crush'. The form *keli* would have another suff, namely *-I* (Erdal 1991: 340–341).

E/H Suggesting a wrong T original (Tt *külüŋ*), Vámbéry (1870: 161) was the first to tie the word in question to a T one. The correct etymology was provided early on by Gombocz (1907a: 261; 1912b: 104). This was accepted by Németh (1942a: 7; 1965: 58), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 608–609; 1993–1997/2: 815) and Ligeti (1986: 77, 291). The ethnographic background has been covered by Kisbán (1980b: 448–449), Szolnoky (1980: 299–300) and Paládi-Kovács (2001: 194). The labialisation (see **börtön**, **gyöngy**, **gyümölcs** and **kölyök**) and the palatalisation of the *-l-* are H developments (see **béklyó**, **kölyök** and § 5.6.5, 6.2.8).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 161; Gombocz 1907a: 261; Gombocz 1912b: 104; Németh 1942a: 7; Hauer 1952–1955/2: 428; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 148; Németh 1965: 58; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 608–609; Norman 1967: 184; Räsänen 1969: 306; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 481; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 538; Kisbán 1980b: 448–449; Szolnoky 1980: 299–300; Ligeti 1986: 77, 291, 297; Erdal 1991: 172, 340–341; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 815; Fedotov 1996/1: 290; Blagova 1997: 33; Paládi-Kovács 2001: 194; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 773.

KÖMŐDÖRÖG [kömȭdörög] 'breast strap', **kentreg** [kentreg] *dial* id. | c1380 *kondreg* [köndreg], c1395 *kantrenog* [kentrenög], c1405 *kentreg* [kentreg], *kentereng* [kentereng], c1430 *kentereng* [kentereng], dial *kömődreg* [kömȭdreg], *kömődrög* [kömȭdrög], *köməndörög* [köməndörög], *kentreg* [kentreg], *köndreg* [köndreg], *kentreneg* [kentreneg] (Mándoky 1993: 107–109) | *kentreg* < *köndrög* < *kömdörök* < *köməndörök* ⟵ Cum **kömüldürük* | EOT *kömüldürük* 'breast strap' < **kömül* < *köŋül* {with suff +*dUrXk*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT *kömüldürük* 'breast girth on the saddle' (AK), *kömüldrüγ* 'breast strap' (Khot; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 209, 240); **MT** *kömül-* 'gömülmek' (AHMA), *kömül-* 'pogružat′sja, byt′ zarytym, zakopannym' (AHŠF), *kömül-* 'pogružat′sja, byt′ zarytym, zakopannym' (ANehF), *kömüldürük* 'collier de corail qu'on met au cou du cheval et du chameau' (AChag), *kömüldürük* 'grudnoj remen′' (AChagMA), *kümüldürdük* 'Perlenschnur um den Hals des Pferdes oder Kameels' (AChagŠSK), *kömüldrük* 'Brustriemen' (LCC), *kömüldürük* 'atın göğsündeki kayışların iltisak noktasında yapılan süs' (AAH), *gümüldürük* 'devenin göğsüne bağlanıp ufak çanlarla, katır boncuğu ve saire ile donatılan süs' (AAHI), *kömüldrük* 'Brustriemen' (AHou), *kömüldürük* 'at göğüslüğü' (AMGhU), *gömüldürük* 'palan ve eyer geri gitmesin diye hayvanların göğüslerine geçirilen göğüslük' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kămăl* 'serdce' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kümelderek* 'nagrudnik (sedla)' (Bashk), *kümültrük* 'der Brustriemen der Pferde' (SibTatTR), *kömöldürük*, *ömöldürük* 'nagrudnik (čast′ verhovoj sbrui)' (Kirg), *ömildirik* 'breastplate fastened to the saddle and saddle girth' (Kaz); ***SW*** *gömüldürük* 'bow (of an ox yoke), collar, breast band' (Tt), *gömüldürük* 'madenden

yapılmış kemer tokası' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** cf. *omulduruq* 'konskij nagrudnik (častʹ sbrui dljka verhovoj ezdi)' (MUyg); ***NE*** *köndürge* 'nagrudnik u sedla' (Alt), *kömüldürgä* 'der Brustriemen' (AltTelR), *xöndürge* 'nagrudnik (napr. v uprjažka vola)' (Tuv), *hömündürük* 'nagrudnaja šleja (u sedla)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kömüldürgen* 'breast strap of the harness' (L).

E/T The word is a den der fr *köŋül* 'heart, breast'. This is the position taken by Clauson (1972: 722) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 71–72), among others. On the suff *+dUrXk*, see Erdal (1991: 104–105); Vásáry (2009: 371–391). According to Ramstedt (1935: 239), the T words are of Mo origin, though he also cites "? tü *köŋül* 'Brust'". According to Sevortjan, the *-m-* is due to the influence of T *omrav* 'the front part of the breast', and the Kaz, Kirg and MUyg data would support this. Sevortjan's complicated reasoning on *öŋ*, *öŋmen*, *omuz* and *omrau* is difficult to follow (Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 532, 537 etc.). More to the point, Chuv has *kămăl* 'heart' < **kömül* < *köŋül* and Mo also has *-m-* in this word. The *ŋ* > *m* change is a WOT feature. The loss of *k-* in Kaz and some Kirg dials is the well known phenomenon on which see Pelliot (1944: 73–101) and Halasi Kun (1950: 51–52). The back-vocalism of the MUyg item may be due to the influence of *omuz* 'shoulder'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 718–719) cite Kalm *kömŗg* 'Brustornament (des Pferdes)' but not *kömldrgə* 'Brustriemen des Pferdes) and did not realize the Chuv data.

E/H The H word is present in early sources and in a few dials, mainly those of H Cumania. The word is entered in Benkő (1967–1984/2: 444 and 1993–1997/1: 729) under the dial form *kentreg*. Ligeti (1986: 239) and Benkő considered the word to be of unknown origin. It has been correctly connected with its T origin by Mándoky (1993: 107–109), who dealt with its phonetic and semantic aspects, but did not give its T etymology, only referring to the entry in Clauson (1972). According to Mándoky, the word is of Cum origin. This is highly probable, but it cannot be excluded that not all dial forms go back to the same prototype. Some may have been copied fr different T lgs at different times and later partially converged. The supposed link to the second part of the H word for 'crupper' *farmatring* is erroneous.

◆ Ramstedt 1935: 239; Pelliot 1944: 73–101; Halasi-Kun 1950: 51–52; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 444; Clauson 1972: 722–723; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 532, 537; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 71–72; Ligeti 1986: 239; Erdal 1991: 104–105; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 209, 240; Mándoky 1993: 107–109; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 729; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 718–719; Vásáry 2009: 371–391.

KÖNYV [köńv] 'book' | c1282 PN *Qunves* [küńv-eš], c1372 *kewnuewk* [köńv-ök], 1531 *kőnőuébe* [köńöv-ēbe], dial *kė́nyv*, *könyü* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 544) | *köńv* ~ *köńü* < *köńüɣ* < **küńüɣ* ← WOT **künüɣ* (< Gothic **kunig*, **kunning* ?) → Ancient Sl *kъniga*, Os **kuniga* > *kʹīnyg*, *kinugæ*, *kiwnugæ*.

Of possible T origin, but the etymology of the WOT word is uncertain.

E/T It is accepted by most authors that we are confronted here with a migrating cultural word. In the debate, the Uyg word *kuin* has been cited as a possible T base. This word occurs in the *Säkiz Yükmek* in line 202 and was already identified with its Ch original by the editors, Bang–Gabain–Rachmati (1934: line 202 *kägdägä bitimiś kuin bitig täg* 'Wie ein auf Papier geschriebenes Rollen-buch' (pp. 218, 255; see also Ligeti 1971a: 315), and *bu bitigig bir kuin bitisär*, where Bang–Gabain–Rachmati, and Haneda read *kün* in place of *kuin* (see Ligeti 1971a: 316). The history of the Ch word was reconstructed by Pulleyblank (1991: 166) as EMCh *kwian* > LMCh *kyan* > Yu *kɥɛn* > ModCh 卷 *juan* 'scroll'. Uyg *kuin* has to be read as *kuen* and is a transcription of the LMCh **küän*, or the Early Mandarin form of the Yu word *kɥɛn* [read *küen*]. As Ligeti remarked (1971a: 315), the book scroll is usually *tägzinč* in the Uyg texts. Ligeti also stressed that the Uyg word is not a lw but only a cited foreign word (Ligeti 1986: 49). Munkácsi (1901e: 312) cited Man *kiyan*. Its meaning is 'a paper measure equalling 25 sheets, a quire' (Norman 1967: 253), 'an einer Stelle zusammengeheftetes 25 Bogen papier' (Hauer 1952–1955/2: 590). This Man word is a copy of Ch 乾 *qian*, Yu *kʰjɛn* < LMCh *kɦian* < EMCh *gian*; see Pulleyblank (1991: 249) with several unrelated meanings.

Benkő (1967–1984/2: 614) cited Assyrian *kuniku* 'board, diploma' as a possible source of the migrating cultural word. This idea goes back to Mikkola (1902: 77–78), who cited Schmidt, according to whom Assyrian *kunukku* 'Siegel' is a dim for *kanak* 'Siegel'. Komoróczy (1976: 28–29) pointed out that the Assyrian/Akkadian word goes back to the verb *kanāku* 'to seal' > *kanīku* 'what is sealed' and considered its connection with the Eurasiatic word for 'book' semantically problematic. Benkő recently (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 818) cited Arm *knik'* 'Tafel, Brief, Blatt', MordE *końov* 'Papier' and Sl *kъniga* 'Buch', along with Akkadian *kunuku*, as belonging together but being of unclear origin.

Vondrák (1906) and others suggested that the word is of Grm origin and cited an Icelandic word. In his review on the work of Vondrák, Brückner (1907: 110–111) stressed that the Sl word cannot be connected with Icelandic *kenning* for phonological and semantic reasons.

Several Chuv words have been cited in connection with our entry. Räsänen (1969: 307) cited Chuv *kuńă* 'Stickerei'. We find *kuńă* = *retne* 'rjadno [a kind of coarse cloth], osobyj sposob tkať [a special method of 'weaving']' (ChuvA). Kniezsa (1955: 872) cited a Chuv word *konj* 'a szövet mintás része [decorated part of a textile]', which is *koń* 'prostranstvo, zanjatoe na tkani uzorom [the part of a cloth decorated with patterns]' (ChuvA; the literary form should be *kun´*, but this is absent fr Skvorcov (1982), in which, as a rule, all words which occur in Ašmarin were included). To this we can add Chuv *końălă* 'nazivanie osobogo sposoba tkan´ja sukna [the name of a special method of weaving cloth]' (ChuvA). Chuv *koń* is present in a very restricted

area among the Cher (personal communication, Agyagási). Whatever the relations among the different Chuv words are, they can hardly be connected with the H word.

Chuv *kĕneke* 'kniga' is a Rus lw. On the chronology of the borrowing and the interrelationship of the VKip and Chuv data, see Agyagási (1994), who claims that the Chuv word is a MBulg inheritance, and that MBulg copied it fr MRus (Agyagási 1994: 29–36).

E/H The H word was linked to a reconstructed T word by Munkácsi (1901e: 308–312). Mikkola cleared up a few problems and in two successive papers (1901; 1902) suggested that the Sl, Mord and H words go back to the same unknown source, which he reconstructed as front-vocalic **kwńwŋ*. Ligeti (1986: 49), after having dealt with the T data of Ch origin, pointed out that the origin of the H word has to be sought near the places where the Hungarians lived, and not in Assyrian or Ch. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 818), the word is a *Wanderwort*, and adds "Entl. Spr ungekl, wahrsch ist jedenfalls, daß die sowhl auf *v* wie auf *ű*, *ő* ausl ung End auf eine mit *k* > *γ* endende fremdsprachige Form zurückgehen".

The key problem in the etymology is the front-vocalic character of the H word. This has already been observed by Mikkola. In view of Sl *kъniga* (and Os **kuniga*), the most probable reconstruction of an original is a back-vocalic form **kunig*. Fr the H point of view, we have to reconstruct a form like **künig*. If the nasal was palatal in the original, this could have caused the double form (Sl ← *kuńig* ~ *künig* → H). The Mord *końov* 'bumaga' (first recorded in 1785 as *koniov*; Feoktistov 1971: 47) points to a palatal /ń/ if the Mord word belongs here. It is also possible that the fronting occurred in a T lg, the speakers of which perceived the final *-g* in **kunig* to be front-vocalic and adapted the word as front-vocalic: **kunig* → WOT **künig* → H **künig* > **küńiγ*. Both the *-v* in the literary H and the *-ű* in the Transylvanian dials are H developments fr an earlier ending **-ig*, as Benkő (1993–1997/2: 818) pointed out.

The idea that this **kuńig* may be of Gothic origin is difficult to verify or refute. There is no such word in the known Gothic corpus. But we have a few interesting items: *bôkareis* is the 'scribe', which is Grm *Buch*, originally a tablet made of beech (*Buch*, Eng *book*) and Grm *reissen*, *ritzen* 'to engrave, carve' (Eng *write*), *mêljan* 'write' is Grm *mahlen* 'to paint'. For the action of reading, the Goths had two words, *us-siggwan*, which is *aussingen* in ModGrm. This was the word used for reading aloud. The other word for reading was *ga-kunnan*, where *ga* is the prefix for the perfect and *kunnan* is *können* in ModGrm and *can* in Eng. On the vast literature on the possible origin of Sl **kъniga*, see Trubačev (1974–1995/13: 203–204). According to Trubačev, this is a matter of a cultural word, which more likely came fr the East than the West, but ultimately is of unknown origin. Trubačev cites Mladenov (1909 "Starite germanski elementi v slav. ezici", not seen), according to whom the Sl word is of OGrm origin fr Grm *kunning-*. Since Sl **buky*, ChSl *boukъ* and Rus *bukva* 'letter

(of the alphabet)' are copied fr Gothic *bōka* (see Grm *Buchstabe*) (Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 91–92), it may be that the Slavs and the Bulgars copied a Gothic word for 'book'. This was then spread to the Alans and Hungarians. We have to wait for more research and more data. Until we have new material, we can only state that H *könyv* 'book' is most probably of T origin and that the WOT word pertains to the Sl and Os words, but that the immediate and ultimate origins of the word are as yet obscure.

◆ Munkácsi 1897c: 23; Ásbóth 1900: 478; Mikkola 1901: 112–115; Munkácsi 1901b: 186–198; Munkácsi 1901e: 308–312; Mikkola 1902: 77–78; Brückner 1907: 110–111; Munkácsi 1912: 60, 63; Bang–Gabain–Rachmati 1934: 218, 255; Hauer 1952–1955/2: 590; Kniezsa 1955: 872; Hexendorf 1963: 124–141; Norman 1967: 253; Bazin 1967–1968: 285–286; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 614; Räsänen 1969: 307; Feoktistov 1971: 47; Ligeti 1971a: 315–316; Trubačev 1974–1995/3: 91–92; Trubačev 1974–1995/13: 203–204; Komoróczy 1976: 28–29; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 544; Ligeti 1986: 49; Pulleyblank 1991: 166, 249; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 818; Agyagási 1994: 29–36.

KÖPCÖS [köpcös] 'stumpy, a small, thick man' | 1509 ? PN *Kopchos* [köpčös], c1560 *kópchós* [köpčös], 1762 *köpcsös* [köpčös], 1765 *köpczes* [köpceš], dial *köpcös* [köpcös] 'haughty, proud man' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 545) | *köpcös* < *köpčös* < **köpčō̄* {with suff -(*V*)*š*} < **köpčeγ* ← WOT **köpčäγ* | EOT *köpčäk*, *köpčük* 'saddle cushion' < *köp* 'thick'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *köpük* 'froth' (RTIrk), *köp* 'luxuriant' (UWindgott 19–20; Clauson 1972: 686), *köp* 'thick, dense', *köpčük* 'saddle cushion' (AK); **MT** *köp* 'viel' (UOg), *köp* 'much, many' (AGul), *köp* 'çok' (AHMA), *köb* 'mnogo, ves′ma' (AHŠF), *köp* 'much', *köpčük* 'saddle cloth, blanket' (AKD), *köb* 'mnogo' (AM), *köb* 'mnogo, ves′ma' (ANehF), *köp*: *köpräk* 'the majority' (ARbg), *köp* 'mnogo' (ATef), *köp* 'nombreux' (AChag), *köb* 'mnogo' (AChagB), *köp* 'mnogo' (AChagMA), *köp* 'čok' (AChagŠS), *köp* 'viel' (AChagŠSK), *köp* 'viel, sehr' (LCC), *köp* 'çok, kesîr' (AAH), *köp* 'viel' (AHou), *köp* 'çok' (AMGhU), *köp* 'çok, haylı' (ATuhA), *k'op* 'beaucoup, multitude, nombreux' (AmTr), *köp* 'mnogo' (AmD), *kop* 'many, much' (AmCh), *kop* 'beaucoup' (AmE); *köp* 'çok', *köpčük* 'eyer yastığı' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *küp-* 'razbuhat′, raspuhat′, razduvat′sja, vzduvat′sja, žrat′, lopat′, pit′ bez mery', *küpče-* 'razbuhat′, razduvat′sja', *küpček* 'razdutyj, tolstyj, tučnyj, puhlyj', *küpčĕk* 'dumka, malen′kaja poduška, poduška (čast′ telegi)' (Chuv); ***NW*** *küb-* 'razbuhat′, buhnut′, vzduvat′sja', *küpček* 'sedel′naja poduška, dumka, malen′kaja podušečka' (Tat), *küpsek* 'malen′kaja podušečka, dumka, kožannaja poduška (dlja sedla)' (Bashk), *köpčük* 'podstilka na sedlo (zamenjajuščaja podušku)' (Kirg), *köpšĭk* 'pillow, cushion, pillow of a saddle', *köpey* 'lamb born in the late lambing period' (Kaz), poduška' (KazB), *köpšik* 'poduška' (Kklp), *köpšik* 'stupica, poduška sedla' (Nog), *köpče* 'po bol′še', *köpček* 'koleso telegi, os′' (Kar), *göpčük* 'sedel′naja poduška' (Kum), *köpčök* 'poduška sedla, sedelka, stupica (v kolese)' (Krch-Blk); ***SW*** *güpǰek* 'poduška na sedlo, sedel′naja poduška' (Tkm), *köp* 'puhlost′, vzdu-

tostʹ (života), puhlij, vzdutyj', *köp-* 'puhnutʹ, razduvatʹsja' (Az), *köp* 'Schaum' (AzR), *köpçük* 'minder' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kopčik* 'sedelʹnaja poduška' (Uzb), *köpčük* 'mednye bljaški na sedle, sedelʹnaja poduška' (TurkiLN), *körpɛ*, *kö:pɛ*, *kö.pɛ* 'cushion, couch, pad, matress, coverlet, bedcover' (TurkiJ), *köpčük* 'sedelʹnaja poduška' (MUyg), *köp*, *kep* 'mnogo' (YUyg); ***NE*** *köp-* 'puhnutʹ' (Alt), *köšpök* 'weich nicht fest, zerbrechlich, leicht zerreisbar' (AltR, AltTelR), *köčpek*, *köčpök* 'polnyj, tolstyj' (AltQK), *köp-* 'prinimatʹ, mjatʹ' (AltTK), *köp* 'mnogo', *köp-* 'vzduvatʹsja', *köpsek* 'mjagkij (o poduške), pyšnyj (o hlebe), vypuklyj (o glazah)' (Khak), *köpček* 'kovš' (KhakS), *kövey* 'mnogo, množestvo', *köve-* 'podstilatʹ', *kövenčik* 'podstilka, nastilka, (kusok materii, kotorom nakryvajut stupku pri rušenii prosa), poduška sedla', *kövük* 'pena' (Tuv), *kö˝p*, *kö˝pey*, *kö˝fey* 'mnogo', *kö˝fenʹčik* 'poduška sedla' (Tof); ***Y*** *köp* 'ryhlij, puhlyj, šerstistyj', *köppöx* 'ryhlij, mjagkij' (Y).

Mo *köge-* 'to swell, distend, intumesce, to foam', *köb-*, *köbbü-* 'to rise to the surface, float, drift' (L).

E/T The T word for 'saddle cushion', *köpčäk* or *köpčük*, is derived fr *köp-* 'to swell, to foam' (see *köpük* 'foam') with the dev suff *-čUk* (Erdal 1991: 357). As can be seen fr Az the two words *köp* 'foam' and *köp* 'many, much' belong together and were differentiated by a semantic split. The original meaning was 'something which is swollen, growing'. As can be observed in some lgs, the word *köpčäk* or *köpčük* also carries the sense of 'soft'. In some other lgs, it denotes a part of the wheel, which is or was originally called 'cushion'.

E/H Palló suggested that the H word should be connected with T *köpčä-* 'to put on weight, fatten, to swell, to swell with conceit' with a H suff *-š* (1978a: 480). This was not accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 819), who remarked that the OT origin of the word is improbable, and classified the word as being of unknown origin. The H suff *+(V)š* is a den suff and not a dev one, which was probably the reason why Benkő did not accept Palló's suggestion. Palló did not realise that the Chuv words, cited by her are of Tat origin. However, the basic idea was not wrong. The idea that a stumpy, or small and thick man is like a cushion is not impossible. The (saddle) cushion may have been called **köpcső* in H, and fr this a man like a cushion was called *köpcsös* [köpčöš], which is attested in early documents. This later changed to *köpcös*. Since the basic word **köpcső* 'cushion, saddle cushion' is not yet attested in H, the etymology remains uncertain. In Burgenland (Austria), there is a H GN *Köpcsény* (now Austrian *Kittsee*), *Köpcse* in 1447, which may pertain to our word (Kiss 1988/1: 793).

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/2: 615; Clauson 1972: 686; Palló 1978a: 480; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 545; Kiss 1988/1: 793; Erdal 1991: 357; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 819; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 839–841.

KÖPEC [köpec] *dial* 'a kind of Hungarian sheepdog, **komondor**' | dial 1861 *köpec* [köpec], see also Benkő (1967–1984/2: 615) | *köpec* < **köpečke* < **köpekče* < **köpek* {with suff +*čA*} ← WOT **köpäk* | MT *köpäk* 'dog'.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *köpäk* 'sobaka' (AIM), *köpäk* 'chien de grande taille qui garde les troupeaux, chien en général' (AChag), *köpäk* 'it' (AChagŠS), *köpäk* 'çok tüylü bir köpek' (AAH), *köpäk* 'it nev'inin iri ve tüylü nevi' (AAHI), *köpäk* 'chien très-velu' (ABul), *köpük* 'chien très velu' (ADur), *köpäk it* 'Hirtenhund, grosser Hund' (AHou); ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kübäk* 'sobaka' (Bashk), *köpek* 'nebol'šoj sobaka' (Kklp), *kopek* 'sobaka' (CrTat), *köpe*, *köpek* 'sobaka' (KarC), ? *göben it* 'dvornjažka, dvorovaja sobaka' (Kum); ***SW*** *köpek* 'kobel', pes' (Tkm), *göbäk* 'pes' (Az), *köpek* 'dog, a vile man, dog's canine' (Tt), *köpek* 'sobaka, pes' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T–E/H The H word occurs once in the Volume 6 of the H journal *Magyar Nyelvészet* (1861: 373) as a dial word in Transylvania used among the Seklers. It was then copied and cited in other sources. Its meaning is given as 'Komondor; Bauerhund, Schäferhund'. Though it was placed fr there in the first Hungarian Dialectal Dictionary compiled by Szinnyei (1893–1901/1: 1210), it was not recorded in the new Hungarian Dialectal Dictionary compiled by B. Lőrinczy, nor is it present in the great dict of the Transylvanian word stock by Szabó T. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 615) considered the word to be of unknown origin. In the Grm edition, he did not enter the word, only dealing with a homophone with the meaning 'pit; Grube' (Benkő 1993–1997/1: 471; 1993–1997/2: 819). It is uncertain whether the GN *Köpec* in Transylvania (see Kiss 1988/1: 794) pertains to the word in question or to the homophone that denotes 'pit'. If the word does or did exist, it may be related to the T word for dog, but the phonetic side is obscure.

◆ Szinnyei 1893–1901/1: 1210; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 615; Kiss 1988/1: 794; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 471; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 819.

KÖPÖNYEG [köpöńeg] 'cloak, gown, overcoat' | 1489 *keopenegeth* [köpeńeg-et], c1494 *kepenyegh* [kepeńeg], p1510 *kepanyekh* [kepeńek], 1533 *kőpőnek* [köpöńek], c1560 *keopeoniegh* [köpöńeg] | *köpöńek* < **kepenek* ← WOT **kepenek* || **köpeny** [köpeń] 'coat' | 1688 *kőpeny* [kȫpeń] (Szabó T. 1975–1995/7: 385) | *köpeń* < *köpeńeg* {by rederivation} | MT **kepenek* 'overcoat'.

OT –; **MT** *kepenek* 'keçeden yağmurluk' (AIMI), *kepenek* 'sorte de vêtement de feutre' (AChag), *kepenek* 'Oberkleid des Hirten und Viehtreibers, Regenmantel', *köpü* 'baumwollener Mantel' (AChagŠSK), *kepenek* 'keçeden yapılan kolsuz çoban yağmurluğu' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kĕpe* 'rubaha, ženskaja rubaha, bele, soročka' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kebenek*, *kemenek*, *kementay* 'kementaj (verhnjaja odežda iz vojloka)' (Kirg), *kebin* 'shroud' (Kaz), *kebenek* 'vojločnyj kaftan' (Kaz, Blagova 1997: 48–49), *gebenek*

‘(vojločnaja) nakidka s kapjušonom (obyčno pastuš′ja odežda)’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kepen*, *köpün* ‘savan’ (Tkm), *kebenek* ‘vojločnaja burka pastuha’ (Tkm, Blagova 1997: 48–49), *kepenek* ‘coarse cape or cloak worn by shepherds’ (Tt), *kepe* ‘ceket, keçi derisiden yapılmış kolsuz yağmurluk, gömlek, eski keçe parçası, paçavra, cübbe’, *kebe*, *kebenek* ‘yünden örülmüş kalın kilim, kaba kumaştan yapılmış ceket, palto, aba’ (TtD), *käpänäk* ‘Regenmantel, Wintermantel der Janitscharen’, *köpänäk* ‘ein Kapot aus Wollenstoff’ (TtR); ***Kh*** *kepänäk* ‘wollener Umhang’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kapanak*, *kebanak* ‘čekmen′, vojločnyj halat ili halat na vojločnoj podkladke (verhnjaja odežda čabanov v nepogodu)’ (Uzb), *kepĕnek ton* ‘kaftan iz raznocvetnogo vojloka’ (MUygDKašg); ***NE*** *kögenek* ‘palt′e, rubaška’ (Khak), *xevenek* ‘(folkl.) vojločnaja kurtka, kurma, nakidka’ (Tuv ⟵ Mo); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kebeneg* ‘felt rain coat or cloak, raincoat’ (L), *kemnĕg* ‘Filzrock, Filzmantel’ (Kalm).

Os Iron *geben* ‘savan’, Digor *gebena* ‘korotkaja verhnjaja odežda iz grubogo materiala’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 517).

E/T According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 582), the word cannot be analysed and may come fr a Central Asiatic lg which disappeared. The word has been connected with *kebe* ‘very thick kind of felt, short felt jacket, blanket made of such felt’ (Tt) by Räsänen (1969: 244, 254). This word also occurs in the Tt dials as *kepe* to denote both the material and the raincoat made of it. The suff has been covered by Sevortjan (1966: 225–227), and this der was accepted by Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 49). However, the suff dealt with by Sevortjan is a dev one: *gelenek* ‘custom’ fr *gel-* ‘to come’, *verenek* ‘gift, present’ fr *ver-* ‘to give’. Deny (1955: 221–225) considered the form with a labial vowel, *köpänäk*, as primary and derived it fr the word *köpän* ‘deve çulu, kıldan dokunmuş çul, kaba yünden yapılmış giş giysi, yama da yamal giysi, paçavra, eski bez, çucuk bezi, kundak bezi’ (TtD). Whether we have to depart fr *köpen* or *käpen* is uncertain. Os *geben*, *gebena* reflects a T **geben* < *kepen*. The two words surely belong together. *köpen* may be due to a labialisation caused by the labial *-p-*, or if *-ö-* is the original, then *-e-* may be due to assimilation. However, since *-e-* is present everywhere in T and Mo, *-e-* has to be very early, if not primary. Deny is right when he considers the word to be a den form with the suff +(*A*)*k*, as in *koz* ‘walnut’ > *kozak* ‘cone of a coniferous tree’ (Tt), *baldïr* ‘calf (leg)’ > *baldïrak* ‘lower part of the leg of the trousers’ (Tt, cf. Sevortjan 1966: 167). The forms *köpen* or *käpen* have to be dev nouns with the suff *-Xn* (Erdal 1991: 300–308) fr a verb *köpe-* or *käp-*, which seems to be absent fr most of the T lgs, but is represented in Mo as *köbe-* ‘to tack, baste (in sewing)’, where it looks like a late copy of a T **köpe-* or **käpe-*. This verb may be the base of Chuv *kĕpe* ‘shirt’, in which the reduced vowel is non-labial in the Chuv dials (< **kepeg* < **kepe-*). Kalm *kemnĕg* is secondary, either a copy of Kirg or the result of an inner assimilation. Mo *kebeneg* is a late lw fr T. However,

Mo *köbeŋ*, *köbüŋ* ‘cotton, cotton yarn’ may pertain to *köbe-*. In any case, the KazD forms *kementey*, *kebentey* are lws fr Mo *köbüngtey*, as was correctly pointed out by Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 49). On the other hand, Kaz *kebindik* ‘cloth for a shroud’ may pertain to T *käbin* ‘shroud, cerement’. As we see, the T words for different materials and coats made of them are not always of a clear morphological structure. This may be due to their character as migrating cultural words. The idea of Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 839–840), that the word would pertain to T *köpe*, Mo *köge* ‘coat of mail’ is not convincing, because the basic meaning of the word *köpe* is ‘ring’. The coat of mail was made of metal rings. The link to Ar <KFN> ‘to wrap’ (see *kafan* ‘shroud, winding sheet’) → Pe *kafan* id. is improbable. The Ar word is among the terms for burial customs.

E/H The labialisation of the vowels and the weakening of the final *-k* are H developments. The form *köpeńek* was felt to be a pl and the form *köpeń* was back-formed fr it. The word was regarded as a T lw by Gombocz (1912b: 105), Németh (1921: 25–26), Ligeti (1986: 89, 194, 318) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 616; 1993–1997/2: 819). Németh considered the word of Cum or Pech origin because of the final *-g*, but this is unfounded. The final *-g* is a H development, as shown by other data with H final *-k*. Even if *-g* were of T origin in H, this would still not necessarily point to a Kip (Pech or Cum) origin. Of course nothing excludes a Cum or Pech origin either. In the case of a later Cum origin, we would, however, expect **kebeneg*. H *köpeny* ‘coat’ is a rederivation, but not fr the time of the H neologist movement, as claimed by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 819), but earlier, as shown by the Transylvanian data fr 1688. The word *köpenek* occurs in the sources relatively late and in principle may even be of Ott origin. It is not dealt with by Kakuk (1973). An argument in favour of the pre-Ott origin of the word is that it is distributed in all dials.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 105; Németh 1921: 25–26; Ligeti 1935a: 209, 213; Deny 1955: 221–225; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 517; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 582–583; Sevortjan 1966: 167, 225–227; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 616; Räsänen 1969: 244, 254; Szabó T. 1975–1995/7: 385; Ligeti 1986: 89, 194, 318; Erdal 1991: 300–308; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 819; Blagova 1997: 48–49; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 839–840.

KÖPŰ [köpū̃] ‘churn, beehive, anything with a hollow part in which something can be fitted in, a trough, tray for channelling water, the same used as a small bridge (the latter in Translyvania)’ | c1405 *kwpwlw* [küpü-lü], p1550 *kepwÿe* [kepü-ye], 1559 *köpö* [köpö], dial *kepü* [kepü], *köpő* [köpõ̃], *küpü* [küpü] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 548–549) | *köpū̃* < *küpū̃* < **küpüɣ* ← WOT **küpüɣ* < **küpük* < **küpik* < **küp* {with suff *+Ik*} | EOT *küp* ‘an earthenware jug or jar’, T *küp*, *küpü*.

OT *küp* ‘jug (for beer)’ (RTD 10), *küp* ‘an earthenware jug or jar’ (AK), *küp* ‘Topf’ (B 21:31); **MT** *küp* ‘Lehmgefäß, Vorratsgefäß, Krug’ (UCiv), *küp* ‘pişmiş topraktan büyük, karnı geniş ve ağzı dar kap’ (AIMI), *küp* ‘large vessel, jar’ (AKD), *küb* ‘kub, bolʹšoj kuvšin, čaša, sosud, mera’ (ANehF), *küp* ‘küp’ (ATefA), *küp* ‘vase de

terre' (AChag), *köbin* 'korzina bez ručki', *küp* 'glinjanyj kuvšin, kuvšin', *qupqa tola su* 'polnyj kuvšin vody' (AChagMA), *köpü* 'Butterfass zum Gebrauche für Buttermilch' (AChagŠSK), *küp* 'bugünkü manasında' (AAH), *küp*: *küpčük* 'küpecik, çömlek, küçük küp' (AAHI), *küp* 'Krug' (AHou), *küp kuzusu* 'küçük küp, küpecik', *küpčük*, *küpejik*, *küpejük* 'kavanoz, ufak küp' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *kĕpśe* 'polyj stebel′ rastenija, nazvanie s″edobnogo rastenija, stvol (ruž′ja, stupica kolesa)' (Chuv), *kepśĕ*, *kĕpček*, *küpček*, *küpčĕk*, *küpśek*, *küček* 'stupica' (Chuv, Fedotov 1996/1: 276); ***NW*** *göbe* 'pahtalka, kaduška dlja ručnoj maslobojki', *köpšä* 'dulo, stvol (napr. orudija), trubčatyj stebel′, truba, trubka' (Tat), *köp* 'oboločka, kapsula, obšivka', *köbö* 'sosud (iz pologo stvola dereva vysotoj okolo metra)', *köpsek* 'stupica', *köpše* 'stebel′' (Bashk), *göbű̄* 'köpü (nagyobb fajta) [a large type of churn]' (BashkP), *göbö* 'derevjannyj sosud, bolšoj kožannyj sosud dlja kumisa', *köbö* 'kadka, maslobojka', *köbäk* = *köpšäk* 'truba' (BashkD2), *köbösek* 'maslobojka malen′kogo razmera' (BashkD3), *köbe* 'pahtalka, maslobojka' (SibTat), *küp* '(južn.) ručnaja derevjannaja maslobojka cilindričeskoj formu, bol′šoj kožanyj burdjuk dlja kumysa' (Kirg), *kübĭ* 'kaduška, čan, bočka, kube' (KazB), *gübi* 'vysokij derevjannyj sosud dlja sbivanija masla' (Kklp), *küp* 'čehol', *kübi* 'pahtalka, ručnaja maslobojka' (Nog), *kubu* 'pahtalka (ustrojstvo dlja vzbivanija masla)' (CrTat), *küp* 'bol′šoj kuvšin dlja vodu, zaryvaemyj v zemlju' (KarC); ***SW*** *güpi*, *küpi*, *küfi* 'dlinnyj sosud dlja sbivanija masla iz prostokvaši' (TkmD), *küp* 'bol′šoj glinjanyj kuvšin, korčaga, priklad', *küpä* 'krinka, goršok, prisosnaja banka' (Az), *küp* 'water jar' (Tt), *küp* 'bol′šoj glinjanyj kuvšin (goršok)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kub* 'maslobojka', *kuva* 'glinjanyj sosud' (Uzb), *köp* 'water butt (a big crock)' (TurkiJ), *küp* 'kub (sosud)' (MUyg), *qop* 'bol′šoj butyl′' (YUygM); ***NE*** *küp* 'posuda dlja moloka vysokoj cilindričeskij formu, (ženskr.) kadka, kaduška' (Alt), *küpčik* 'mednaja posuda, svoim vidom napominajuščija vedro s rasširennim dnom' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Mo ? *göbi-* 'to hit repeatedly, to shake out dust by beating' (L); see also **kölyű**.

E/T The word *küp* seems to be a simplex and denoted a jar or jug made of earthenware or wood, which served either as a container for liquids or as a churn. In some T lgs, the meaning simply became 'churn'. It may be an old Ir lw; see Pe *kūp* 'a large water jar'. Even the Mo word *göbi-* may have Ir connections; see Pahl *kōb-*, *kōftan-* 'to beat, pound, crash' (MacKenzie 1986: 51). However, the special meaning 'churn' is of T origin and it is possible that this is a case of two, originally different words. Some forms with dim suffs like **köpčäk* can be found as well. In some cases, we find a final vowel. This may be an old trait, but also perhaps a special device for avoiding monosyllabism. Perhaps the Bashk item *göbű̄* with a long final goes back to a form **küpüg*; see also BashkD *köbäk*.

E/H The H word is a copy of a WOT **küpüγ*, which itself has to go back to a form **küpük* < **küpik*. The word was formed with the dim suff *+Ik* fr *kūp* (Erdal 1991: 40–44). *-ö-* is a H development. This presupposes a PT **küpik*.

The H word has a wide range of meanings, which all go back to a basic one: 'a long thing which is hollowed out, a container'. The H word was connected with the T item by Vámbéry (1870: 162), and this was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 105). Ligeti (1986: 317–318) and Benkő did not refute it (1967–1984/2: 616; 1993–1997/2: 820).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 162; Gombocz 1912b: 105; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 616; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 548–549; Kisbán 1980a: 302–303; Ligeti 1986: 317–318; MacKenzie 1986: 51; Erdal 1991: 40–44; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 820; Fedotov 1996/1: 276; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 558.

KŐRIS [kōriš] 'ash tree, *Fraxinus sp.*' | 1055 GN *keurif tue* [keüriš tō], 1086 GN *kyris* [küriš], 1171 GN *keurus* [kürüš], 1193 *keuref bocor* [keürüš bokor], 1270 *kwerus-fa* [kürüš fa] | *kōriš* < **kūriš* < **kewrič* ← WOT **kevrič* < **kebrič* | T *küyrič* 'ash tree'.

OT *küvrik* <KWRYK> 'a thorny tree' (AK, first syllable unvocalized, read hitherto as *kevrik*, but see Kirg); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *kavăraś*, *kavrăś*, *kavărś*, *karăś* 'jasen′' (Chuv); ***NW*** *koričagač* 'jasen′' (Tat, cf. *korič* 'stal′' < *kurč* 'tough, hard, steel' < *kurč temür*), *koros agas* 'jasen′' (Bashk, cf. *koros* 'stal′'), *küyrök* 'čiliga [H borsófa; Lat. *Caragana frutescens*]' (Kirg), *küyriš* 'jasen′', *küyreviš* 'kustarnik' (Nog), *kürüč* <kyrytsch> *agač*, *kryuč* 'jasen′' (CrTat, Köppen 1888–1889/1: 588), *güyrüč* 'jasen′' (Kum), *kürüč* 'jasen′' (Krch), *küyrüč* 'jasen′, klen [Lat. *Acer*]' (Blk); ***SW*** *k'öyrüš agajï* 'jasen′' (RAz), *g'öyrüš* 'jasen′' (AzS), *kürüč*, 'bir çeşit sert ağaç', *küvrüč* 'dayanıklı ve uzun boylu bir çeşit ağaç' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *küirüs* (Literary Kalm, Pozdneev, Ligeti 1986: 309; cf. Krueger 1978–1984/3: 756 *küyirüs*), *xüyrs* 'kőris [ashtree]' (KhalK), *kūrüs* 'Esche, Eschenholz' (Kalm ← Kip).

Os *kærz*, *kærzæ* 'jasen′' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 587).

E/T Further data in Köppen (1888–1889/1: 588) include: "Tatarisch im Kaukasus: *Georjusch* [read: *görüš*], Kasikumükisch: *Gejrjusch* [read: *geyrüš*]". It must first be stated that the Kalm item is a late T lw, after the Kalmucks moved to the Volga, as was correctly pointed out by Ramstedt (1935: 250), who also cited the Chuv and H data. Thus there is no Old "Altaic" correspondence as was supposed by Abaev (1958–1989/1: 587). The T dial words *kürüč*, *küvrüč*, as correctly observed by Bläsing (2002: 9), were noted among the immigrant Karachay-Balkars. According to Ligeti (1986: 308), the Tat and Bashk data pertain to the word under discussion, but this is not the case (see Róna-Tas 1982c: 105; 2004: 422–425). Tat *korič* and Bashk *koros* carry the sense of 'steel', but their original meaning was 'hard'. The words were frequently used as an attributive with words denoting 'iron', such as *kurc temür* 'steel'. Later, the attributive 'hard' became an independent noun that meant 'steel'. As early as CC, *kurč* had the meaning 'steel'. "Hard" as a qualifier of tree names is present in many

lgs. In the TtD, we find "sert ağaç" or "dayanıklı ağaç", that is 'hard tree'. This means that the Tat and Bashk data denoted 'hard tree' and the attributive words *korïč*, and *koros*, resp, have nothing to do with the word under discussion. However, we do find the word in the Volga–Kama area. In the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä*, published by Usmanov and Ivanics (2002: 58, 59), we find an interesting passage. The text itself was written in the 17th c. Chinggis Khan gives different trees as presents to the different leaders of the tribes. The text runs: *säniŋ agajïŋ … bolsun* 'your tree will be …' All the trees listed, with the exception of the santal tree of high prestige, are trees which grow in the region. Among them, we find the 'ash tree' in the form *kübrüč*, *küyrü*, *kürüč* in the different MSS. This was later substituted by folk etymology with the sense of 'steel'. According to Räsänen (1969: 245), the word under discussion has to be connected with *käb-rä-k* 'zerbrechlich', as perhaps Lat *fraxinus* is with *frangere* 'zerbrechen'. This is a misunderstanding. Lat *fraxinus* pertains to IE *b^herHŕ*'- 'birch' (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 531–532), and is related to Rus *beresta*. A semantic shift 'birch' → 'ash tree' occurred.

The Chuv triphthong in *kavăraś* goes back to a *-äwü-* < *-äbü-* change, thus we have to reconstruct a form like **käbürüč* or **käbrüč*. Levitskaja correctly pointed out that Kip *üy* corresponds to Chuv (and Og) *-äb-* (Blagova 1997: 152). See OT *äb* 'house' ~ Kip *üy*. Thus, on the one hand, we have a WOT **käbrüč* and an OKip **küyrüč*, on the other hand. Considering these reconstructions, H may have copied a form like **kävrüš* < **käbrüč*. Az *göyrüš* is a Kip lw. In H, a copied **kevrüš* became *kőriš* through **keürüš*. Bläsing (2002: 12) supposed that the different H data show different forms being copied, but these differences are due to orth and not phonology. Dybo reconstructed (1996: 11) a PA *k'ewir*, which has no foundation. There is no suff *+č* which could be used in this case. A suff *+č* has a dim, endearing function and occurs only with terms of relationship, see Erdal (1991: 44–47). The comparison with Tu *xiβagda* is unacceptable fr a phonological point of view. According to Abaev (1958–1989/1: 587–588), Os *kærz*, *kærzæ* 'jasen'' is fr a Chuv-type T lg. More importantly, the Os sibilant reflects a T sibilant like **kävrüš* or *kävriš*. A T *č* would be reflected as *c*; see *burč* 'pepper' → Os *burc*, *burcæ* (see **bors**).

E/H The H word was tied to the T one early on by Gombocz (1912b: 105–106), and this has been accepted by all H authorities. It is important to note that the ash tree is and was present only in the North to the Caucasus, in the Crimea and in the South of Ukraine – but is absent fr the South Russian steppe. The presence of the T name in Os and H is also of historical importance, because it shows the region where the T lws may have been copied (see Róna-Tas 2004: 422–425; 2005c: 205–213; 2005d).

◆ Köppen 1888–1889/1: 588; Gombocz 1912b: 105–106; Ramstedt 1935: 250; Moór 1951a: 120; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 587–588; Eilers–Mayrhofer 1962: 80; Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 61, 142; Csapody–Csapody–Rott 1966: 193–198; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 518; Räsänen 1969: 245, 311; Krueger 1978–1984/3: 756; Róna-Tas

1982c: 105; Ligeti 1986: 308–309; Erdal 1991: 44–47; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 820; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 531–532; Dybo 1996: 11; Blagova 1997: 152; Eren 1999: 157; Bläsing 2002: 8–21; Usmanov–Ivanics 2002: 58–59; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 786–787; Róna-Tas 2004: 422–425; Róna-Tas 2005c: 205–213; Róna-Tas 2005d.

KŐRŐ [kɔ̄rɔ̄] *arch*, *dial* 'mellow, powdery, crumbly, rotten, mouldy' | 1828 *kőrő* [kɔ̄rɔ̄], dial *kőrő* [kɔ̄rɔ̄], *körhö* [körhö] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 554) | *kɔ̄rɔ̄* < **kevreγ* ← WOT **kävräγ* < **kävräk* | EOT *kävräk* 'fragile' < *kävrä-* 'to become weak' {with suff -(*O*)*k*}.

OT *kävräk* 'brittle, fragile' (UWarnke, UHtPek, Erdal 1991: 236), *käwräk näŋ* 'any plant shrub such as the castor oil plant' (AK); **MT** *käv-*, cf. *kävälän-* 'to grow weak' (ARbg), ? *kävräk* 'bras, omoplate, coque du coton' (AChag), *kev-*, cf. *ġavšaq* 'yumušaq, mülayim, boš; weich, sanft, leer' (AChagŠSK), *kävrük* [read *kävräk*] 'gevrek' (AAH), *kävräk* 'biscuit de mer' (ABul), *kewrek* 'broken' ("Rumi" in AChagSC); **NT** ***Chuv*** **kavra* (Chuv ⟶ Cher *kaura* 'lomkij, hrupkij'), *kavray-* 'istlevaťˊ, tleťˊ' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *köyrä-* 'zagoratˊsja, tleťˊ, kuritˊsja' (Tat), *köyräk* 'suhoj, vysušennyj, podgorelnyj' (TatD1), *köyrä-* 'goreťˊ, tleťˊ, sohnutˊ' (Bashk), *köyrä-* 'podžaritˊsja, zatverdetˊ', *köyräk* 'podžaristyj, zatverdevšij, hrupkij, lomkij' (SibTat), *küyräk* 'schwach, mürbe, zerbrechlich' (SibTatTR), *küyrö-* 'razrušatˊsja', *küyrök* 'čiliga (kustarnik)' (Kirg), *küyrök* 'verlegen, morsch (Waare)' (KazR), *küyrek* 'not durable', *küyre-* 'to go to ruin, to collapse, to become worthless' (Kaz), *kebir* 'solončak' (Kklp); ***SW*** *kövrek* 'ryhlij, rassipčatyj' (Az), *kövrek* 'fragile, frail' (AzE), *gevrek* 'crisp, brittle, friable, crisp cake' (Tt), *gevrek* 'hrupkij, lomkij' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kuvrak* 'hrustjaščij (o svežih fruktah, ovoščah)' (Uzb); ***NE*** *kübür* 'ryhlij, gadkij, plohoj' (AltL), *kū̄räk* 'spröde' (AltTelR), *kibrek* 'hrupkij, lomkij' (Khak), *käbräk* 'spröde, zerbrechlich' (KhakShR), *kibräk* 'zerbrechlich' (KhakSR, KhakQbR), *kevir-* 'obsušivatˊ, podsušivatˊ' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *kebere-*, *kebire-* 'to wear out, break down', *kebereg*, *keberig* 'brittle, fragile, frail, flimsy, not solid, not durable' (L).

E/T The noun *kävräk* has the basic meaning 'fragile, crisp, brittle', and hence 'rotted, crumbling', but also 'dry, dried (mostly of wood)' with the sense of 'not living, going to rot'. It is derived fr *kävrä-* 'to become weak' (see Mo *kebere-*, *kebire-*), which was suffixed by -(*O*)*k*. It has to be separated fr such words as Kaz *kep-* 'to dry, to dry up, to get dry' (as claimed by Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 7–9). On the relationship of *käv-* 'to weaken' and *käv-* 'to chew cud etc.', see **kérődzik**.

E/H The H word is present in the dials and is only relatively recently recorded in writing. It was tied to T words by Vámbéry early on (1870: 162). Its T origin was accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 106), Ligeti (1935a: 213; 1960: 299; 1961: 34; 1986: 63), Németh (1962: 215, 218) and Benkő (1967–1984/2: 620; 1993–1997/2: 821). The word was erroneously linked to **kérődzik** by Németh (1962), on which see above. A con-

nection with the H word *görhö*, *görhe* 'a kind of biscuit made fr maize etc.' is uncertain, and in any case a late inner H development.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 162; Gombocz 1912b: 106; Ligeti 1935a: 213; Ligeti 1960: 299; Ligeti 1961: 34; Németh 1962: 211–218; Németh 1962a: 30–36; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 620; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 7–9; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 554; Ligeti 1986: 63; Erdal 1991: 236, 535–536; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 821; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 645–646.

KÖRTVÉLY [körtvēy] 'pear, *Pyrus communis*' | 1055 *kurtuel fa* [kürtvēl få], 1233 GN *Körtviles völgy* [kürtvil-eš völď], 1252 GN *kortuelyes* [körtvēľ-eš], 1577 *kőrtőlý* [körtöl-i] | *körtvēľ* < **kërtveli* < **kertβeli* < (**kertmeli* < **kertmeliɣ*) ← WOT **kertweliɣ* or **kertmeliɣ* | T *kertmelik* < *kertme* {with suff +*lXk*} || **körte** [körte] id. | 1496–1499 ? *kirtwe* [kirtve], 1783 *körtöke* [körtö-ke], 1784 PN *Körte* [körte], 1816 *körté* [körtē] | *körte* < *körtve* < *körtvēľ* | MT *kärtmä* 'pear', T **kärtmälik* 'pear tree'.

OT –; **MT** *kertme* 'Birne' (LCC), *kärtmä* 'elma', see also in *kärtmä almasï* (AAH), *kärtmä* 'Birne' (AHou); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kertpe* 'gruša' (Nog), *kertme* 'sort gruši' (CrTat), *g´ert´m´a* 'gruša (plod)' (KarT), *g´ertme* 'gruša (plod)' (KarH), *gertme* 'gruša (lesnaja)' (Kum), *kertme* 'gruša' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kertme* 'armut' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *kedmen* 'körte [pear]' (KhalK), *kedmn̥* 'Birne' (KalmR).

Os *kærdo*, *kærttu* 'gruša' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 584).

Cauc Darg *qjart*, Lak *qjort*, Archin *xert*, Ing *qor* (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 584).

E/T The T word looks like a lw which is distributed only in the lgs of Southeast Europe. The TtD item must have come fr immigrants to Anatolia. Ligeti was surely right (1986: 292) when he stressed that this does not mean that it is a Kip word. On the contrary, it only entered those Kip lgs whose speakers moved to SE Europe. It could have been copied fr other T lgs which left the area. Nevertheless, the T word seems to be of non-T origin. The Mo word seems to be a late and rare lw fr a T *kärtmä*. Os is a T borrowing, but it may be that in the region the word came fr one of the Cauc lgs. The Os form may be an inner simplification fr *kärtmä*, but the H word, as we shall see below, points to a form **kärtvä* and the Os word may be a development of a form **kertev*, **kerteu̯* > *kærdo*, *kærttu*.

E/H The H word *körte* 'pear' is very new. Our first data come fr the 18th and 19th c.s. This seems to exclude the possibility that H copied a form **körtve* and the final *-l´* is a H suff, as claimed by Benkő (1953b: 20) and also accepted by Ligeti (1986: 292). In any case, we have to consider a form **kärtmälik* (> **kärtmälig* > **kärtwäliɣ* > **kärwäli* > *kärtväl´*) as a starting point. Though I have not found this der in the sources, we have OT *almalïk*, *yemišlik*, *čačaklik* etc. in all places where the fruit trees or plants grow (see Erdal 1991: 127). Hence, **kärtmälik* must first have denoted the place where pears grew, and later the tree itself which gave the fruit *kärtmä*. This occurred, because the pear was usually not cultivated in yards or gardens. It

is typically a tree which grows in uncultivated places. The question is where and when the *CCm* > *CCw* > *CCv* change occurred. According to Ligeti (1986: 292), the denasalisation came about in T, on which see Nog *kertpe*. This could be corroborated by the Os, which also points to a denasalised form. On the other hand, in non-initial position in H, FUgr *-m-* became *-w-*, a denasalised bilabial, and later *-v-*, a labiodental fricative sound. Compare H *név* 'name' (acc *nevet*) < **newə* < PUgr **nime* (> Vog, Osty *nem* etc.), H *nyelv* 'tongue' (acc *nyelvet*) < **n´elwə* < PFUgr **n´älmä* (> Vog *n´ilmä*, Osty *n´älem* etc.); see Hajdú (1966: 100) and § 5.6.2 below. Since we do not know the chronology of FUgr *m* > *w*, only that it did not occur in the other two Ugr lgs, and that it was already a non-nasal bilabial sound in OH, we have to leave open the question of where the *m* > *w* change took place. The word was connected with the T word by Vámbéry (1882a: 222) and its T origin was also accepted by Gombocz (1912b: 106–107) and Ligeti (1986: 292). Benkő has seen difficulties in the fact that the prototype of H *körtvély* cannot be found in any T lg. He accepted the T origin with some doubts (1967–1984/2: 621–622; 1977: 54; 1993–1997/2: 822). Until now, all H authors have seen a H suff in the *-l´*.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 222; Gombocz 1912b: 106–107; Benkő 1953b: 20; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 584; Hajdú 1966: 100; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 621–622; Benkő 1977: 54; Ligeti 1986: 292; Erdal 1991: 127; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 822; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 699–700.

KÖSZÖN [kösön] 'to greet, to thank' | p1316 ? PN *Kesevnov* [keseün-ō], p1372/c1448 *kewʒenne* [kösön-nē], *kewʒewnuala* [kösön vålå] 'to greet', 1486 'to thank', 1575 'to due to somebody / something' | *kösön-* < **küsen-* ⟵ WOT **küsän-* | EOT *küsän-* 'to wish' < *küsä-* 'to wish, to desire' {with suff *-(X)n-*} < *kṻ* {with suff *+sA-*}.

OT *küse-* 'souhaiter, desirer, avoir envie', *küsenčig* 'desirable' (UHamTouHou), *küsen-* 'to wish something for oneself' (UBuddhUig I:362, Erdal 1991: 607), *küse-* 'to desire' (AK), *küse-* 'wünschen' (BA 1, BE 45); **MT** *küse-* 'arzu etmek' (UYAB), PN *Kösünči* (UCiv, to read *Küsünči*, see Tuv below), *küsä-* 'želať, žaždať' (AHŠF), *küsä-* 'to desire, to wish', *küsät-* 'to cause to desire/wish, to excite desires' (AKor), *küsä-* 'želať' (AM), *küse-* 'arzu etmek' (AYC), *küsemek* 'Wunsch', *küsen-* 'wünschen' (LCC), *küsädi* 'iyilik yapmakta ona mümasil olmak istedi' (AAH), *kösä-* [read *küsä-*]: *kösedi ana* 'gıpta etti, candan özledi' (AAHI), *küsä-* 'wünschen' (AHou), *k'usan-* 'soupirer, convoiter' (AmTr), *köse-* [read *küse-*] 'gıpta etmek, imrenmek, yarsımak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kösän-* 'poproščajničať, kljančiť, rassprašivať, rassprosiť, razuznať' (Tat), *köθä-* 'želať, hoteť', ? *köθän-* 'priveredničať, byť razborčivym v ede' (Bashk), *kösä-* 'želať, hoteť' (SibTat), *küsö-* 'želať, hoteť' (Kirg), *küse-* 'ispytyvať želanie dostičʹ čego-l., stremiťsja k čemu-l.' (Kklp), *küse-* 'želať, siľno hoteť čego-l.' (Nog), *k'us'an'-* 'toskovať, žaždať' (KarT), *kisen-* 'žaždať, strastno želať' (KarH), *küsen-* 'skučať, soskučiťsja' (KarC), *küse-* '(očeń) hoteť čego, (očeń) želať (napr. kogo-l. videť), toskovať po komu-čemu' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *küyθe-* 'želať, hoteť,

skučat′, toskovat′, tomit′sja' (Tkm), *küse-*, *küsen-* 'beğenmek, imrenmek' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kusa-* 'želat′, hotet′' (Uzb); ***NE*** *küze-* 'želat′' (AltTK), *küzen-* 'predveščat′' (Khak), *küzen-* 'vorožit′, predveščat′ nečast′e' (KhakB), *kü˝ze-* 'želat′, hotet′, greziť, mečtat′', *küzenčig* 'želaemyj, želannyj' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *küse-* 'to wish, desire, long for, crave, to be inclined to, to strive after, to beg, to solicit', *küsel* 'wish', *küsüg* 'wish' (L).

E/T According to Erdal, it may remain an open question whether *küsä-* is a der fr **kü* with the rare desiderative suff *+sA-* (Erdal 1991: 525–531, and n. 149), as was suggested by Tezcan (1982: 289). Tezcan cites Tkm *küy* 'Phantasievorstellung, Wunschbild, Gedanke', Kirg *kӱlö-* 'brünstig werden', and remarks that a connection with *kӱ* 'Ruhm' is less certain. Erdal points out that the base is not attested as such in OT (1991: n. 528). However, if *ävsä-* means 'to long for one's home' or *suvsa-* 'to long for water, to be thirsty', *küsä-* may have had the original sense 'to long for fame, any good thing' and thus may be a der fr OT *kӱ* 'rumour, fame, reputation'. Tkm *küy* denotes 'mysl, duma, i.e. thought'. This is a clear semantic development and the same as OT *kӱ* 'fame, rumour'. The original and basic meaning was 'memory', hence 'what is in the collective memory, fame' and 'what is in the individual memory, thought' belong together. Fr the basic noun *kӱ* > Tkm *küy* > Tkm *küyse-* 'želat′, hotet′, skučat′, toskovat′, tomit′sja' may be 'to wish that things should be according to our thoughts, to desire'. In Kirg, we find *kӱ* 'slava, izvestnost′', the same as in OT. Kirg *kӱlö-* has four meanings: (1) 'nastraivat′ (muzikalnyj instrument)' (to OT *küg*, Kirg *kӱ* 'melody'); (2) '(o samkach nekotoryh životnyh) byt′ v ohote, želat′ samca'; (3) 'brat′ naizgotovku'; and (4) 'podzadorivat′, vyzyvat′ želanie, ohoty'. The first does not belong here, but the last three are all connected with the basic sense 'to desire'. It is less probable that this word can be linked to *küd-* 'to wait, wait on, to attend to (guests or sheep)' or *küs-* 'to be angry'. The suff *-(X)n-* in *küsän-* has a medial function (see Erdal 1991: 585–632; on *küsän-* see p. 607). This der already occurs in OT. Its semantic changes in the MT and NT lgs can all be accounted for. All basically mean 'to desire, to wish something good, to say a good wish, to tell one's fortune, to beg for etc.' The word is not a Mo lw in CC, as Poppe thought (1962: 336); see also Schönig (2000: 132).

E/H The H word was first tied to the T word by Vámbéry (1914: 185). It was not dealt with by Gombocz (1912b) or Ligeti (1986), which means that neither of them accepted its T origin. Németh (1942b: 292–293), however, considered the H word a copy of T *küsän-*. Benkő, following Gombocz and Ligeti's leads, did not accept the T origin of the word, but mentioned that the question needs further investigation (Benkő 1967–1984/2: 624). Palló argued for the T origin (1982: 137–138), which was then accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 824). The semantic change 'to wish something good' > 'to greet' is an inner H development. Somewhat more complicated is the

origin of the meaning ‘to thank’. It may have developed, as pointed out by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 624), fr the reciprocal greeting; see *köszönöm* ‘I thank (somebody) for (something, with acc)’, *köszönök* ‘I greet (somebody, with dat)’.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 185; Németh 1942b: 292–293; Poppe 1962: 336; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 624; Palló 1982: 137–138; Tezcan 1982: 289; Erdal 1991: 525–531, 585–632, n. 149, 528; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 824; Schönig 2000: 132; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 829–830.

KUN ‘the Cuman ethnic group in Hungary’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *Cundí* [kun-dī], 1297 PN *Kun* [kun], 1527 *kwn* [kun], 1553 GN *kún* [kūn] | *kun* < **kūn* < **kuwan* ⟵ WOT **kuwan* < **kuwa* {with suff +(*A*)*n*} | EOT *kuwa* ‘pale, pale yellow’.

OT *quba* ‘jaune pâle, blond, nom de personne’ (UHamTouHou), *quba* ‘between chestnut and yellow (of a horse)’ (AK), *Qun* ‘name of a people’ (ABiruni, *973–1048), *Qun* ‘name of a people’ (AŠarafazzāman Ṭāhir, 1120), *Qun* ‘name of a people’ (Syriac Map, s1150), *Qun* ‘name of a people’ (AAufi 1231); **MT** *quv* ‘bleich, blass, falb’, *qun* ‘Kraft, Macht’ (LCC), *quba* ‘toprak rengi’ (AAH); **NT** ***Chuv*** **xuva* (Chuv ⟶ Cher *uva* ‘buryj, svetlo-buryj (o korove)’, Räsänen 1920: 234, see also Blagova 2000: 96); ***NW*** *koba* ‘bledno-buryj (o masti životnyh)’, *kua*[1] = *koba*, *kua*[2]: *kua agač* ‘suhostoj, suhoe (vysohšie) derevo’ (Tat), *quwa* ‘buryj’ (TatD1), *qoba* ‘svetlo-buryj, svetlo-koričnevyj, palevnyj (o masti)’, *qïu* ‘vysohšij, suhoj’, *qïua* = *qïu* (Bashk), *qoba*: *qoba qaθ* ‘»qïr qaδï«, dikij gus′’ (BashkD1), *quba* ‘palevyj’ (BashkD3), *qu* ‘svetlo-želtyj’, *quba* ‘blednyj’, *qïu* ‘svetlo-seryj’ (SibTat), *quba* ‘želtyj, poželtevšij ot znoja’ (SibTatB), *qoba* ‘svetloželtyj (o životnyj)’ (SibTatT), *kū* ‘belyj, blednyj, belo-želtyj’, *kuba* ‘belyj, blednyj, pepel′nogo cveta’, *kubaŋ* ‘svetlo-želtyj’ (Kirg), *qu* ‘swan, pale, dried up, withered’, *qŭba* ‘pale yellow colour, light yellow hide (of a cow)’ (Kaz), *qŭba* ‘blednyj, pepel′nyj, blondin, buryj’ (KazB), *quw* ‘belyj, sedoj, blednyj (napr. o lice), želtyj (napr. o trave)’, *quba* ‘blednyj, blondin’ (Kklp), *kuv* ‘lebed′, belyj, sedoj, suhojhšij’, *kuba* ‘bagrovyj, buryj (o masti korovy)’ (Nog), *kubar-* ‘provalivat′sja ubyvat′, blednet′’ (KarT), *kubar* ‘blednyj, tusklyj’ (KarH), *qubar-*, *quvar-* ‘blednet′, smuščat′sja’ (KarC), *quv* ‘lebed′, belyj (kak lebed′)’, *quba* ‘serovatyj, svetlo-želtyj, bledno-buryj (o masti konov, velov)’ (Kum), *quba* ‘palevyj (s temnym ottenkom), bledno-buryj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *guba* ‘zolotistyj (o cvete gusej i verbljudov)’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kuv*: *rangi kuv učdi* ‘on sil′no poblednel’ (Uzb, Blagova 2000: 98), *qu tölkö* ‘bledno-želtaja lisa’ (TurkiLN); ***NE*** *kuba* ‘blednyj, blednoželtyj’ (Alt), *qū* ‘bleich, gelblich, gelbbraun, fahl’ (AltR), *kuva* ‘goluboj, golyj’ (AltTK), *quba* ‘bleich, weissgrau’, *qū* ‘bleich, gelblich, gelbbraun, fahl’ (AltTelR), *xuba* ‘blednyj, blednoželtyj’, *xū* ‘belyj, blednyj, golyj’ (Khak), *qū* ‘bleich, gelblich, gelbbraun, fahl’ (KhakQchR, KhakSR), *quba* ‘bleich, weissgrau’ (KhakShR), *xuva*, *xuvala*, *kuvala* ‘solovyj (o masti lošadi)’ (Tuv), *quba* ‘bleich, weissgrau’ (TuvSR), *qū* ‘belesnyj, blednyj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *kuba* ‘lebed′ klikun, Lat. *Cygnus musicus*, *Cygnus Bewickii*’, *aragas kuba* ‘želtyj lebed′’, *kubaġay* ‘blednyj, belokuryj, blondin’ (Y), *kubarkaj*, *kubargaj* ‘blass’ (DlgS).

Mo *ġuua*, *ġoua*, *ġuva* 'beautiful, pretty, charming, elegant, stately, portly', *quva*, *qova*, *qoua*, *quuva*, *uquwa*, *qua*, *quġa* 'light yellow, chestnut, bay, sallow, pale', cf. *quba*(*n*) 'amber, pale, yellow', Ch 琥珀 *hupo* 'amber' (EMCh *xɔ-phaijk*), Ch 鵠 *hú* 'swan' (EMCh *ɣawk*), MMo *qo'a* 'schön (von weisser Hautfarbe), bei Frauennamen', *qo'aqčin* 'grauweisslich (femin.)', *qo'ay* 'weisslich, grau', ? MMo SH *qubi* 'hellbraunes Pferd' (Haenisch 1939: 69), 'dun' (de Rachewiltz 2004: 27) etc., MMo *qoaluq* 'beautiful' (AKD 261, 202C:28).

E/T H *kun* is the name of the Cumans who settled in Hungary (on the details see below). It also occurs in Muslim sources. According to Biruni: "[t]he Sixth Climate begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, *Qūn*, Khirkhiz, Kimäk (spelt Kumak) and Toghuzoghuz, and [in it lie] the Turkoman country, Fārāb, the country of the Khazar and the northern [part] of their sea" (see Minorsky 1937: 284). 'Aufi (writing about 1231) mentions a T tribe MRQH [read *firqa* 'tribe'] which is (also) called *Kun* and which was attacked by the Kay (see Pelliot 1920: 135; Minorsky 1937: 284). The name *Kun* also occurs in conjunction with Kay in the Syriac map, described by Migana [*Manchester Guardian*, 19th May 1933] and compiled towards 1150 (see Minorsky 1937: 284). According to Minorsky's earlier opinion (1937: 285), there can be no doubt that the *Kun* are identical with the *Kuri*, also written as *Furi* in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (§ 14.1). The Kuri is a tribe which is part of the Khirkhiz, but lives east of them (Minorsky 1937: 97). Minorsky later (1937a) changed his mind (on this see Németh 1942c: 177) because in a source written around 1120 by Šarafazzāman Ṭāhir, the Kun and Kuri/Furi peoples are clearly distinguished. There can hardly be any doubt that the ethnonym *Kun* occurred in some sources which are neither H, nor depend on H sources, though it must be noted that the occurrence of this ethnic name was very limited. As to its etymology, two main positions can be distinguished. According to the overwhelming majority of the authors, *Kun* has the same meaning, and/or belongs together, in one or the other way, with the other names of the Cumans, while a few scholars claim that the name *Kun* has or originally had nothing in common with the name *Kuman*.

Without delving into the history of the question, fr Bang–Marquart (1914) and Pelliot (1920) to Golden (2005: 269, *Kun+man* > *Kuman*) and others, with an extremely long bibliography, I join those who claim that the etymology of the ethnonym *Kun* reflects the same concept as the other names of the Cumans, namely it had the meaning 'pale, yellowish' and can be grouped among those rare ethnonyms where an etymology can be determined. Following a paper written by Németh in 1942, Györffy, in the 1990 re-edition of his paper written in 1948, provides an excellent overview of the earlier literature and the sources fr Marquart to Minorsky (see also Golden 1992: 270–277). These are the names which denote the Cumans: Grm **Fahl* (< *Vallani*, *Valben*, *Valwen*, *Valwin*, *Valbin*, *Valewen*, *Walewen*, *Valwein*, *Fal-*

wen, *Balwen*, *Balawen*, *Falones*, *Valani*, *Phalangi*), Lat *Pallidi*, *Flavi*, Arm *Xarteš*, Sl *Polovci* (Rus *Polovci*, Pol *Plauci*, *Plawci*, Czech *Plavci*, Slvk → H *Palóc*) (see all data in Györffy 1990: 201–202 and in the earlier literature). In many sources, these names figure as equivalents. For example, in "*Commani qui dicuntur Capchat, a Teutonicis vero dicuntur Valani*" (Rubruk) and in the *Floridi Horti ordinis Præmonstratensis* in the year 1227: "*Eodem anno Boricius quartus de maioribus Chunorum, quos Theutonici Walwein vocant…*" (both in Györffy 1990: 204). Grm *fahl*, Lat *pallidus*, *flavus*, Arm *xarteš*, Sl *polovoj* all have the meaning 'pale, yellowish etc.'

Those opinions which claim that the ethnonyms Cun (Kun) and Cuman have the same meaning can be divided into two groups. According to one view, the name can be derived fr *kuba* 'pale' (on which see the data above) with the den suff *+(A)n* hence *kuba+n* > **kuban* > *kuman* with the regressive nasalisation well-known in T. According to the other position, we have to use the base *ku*, *kuv* 'pale' (also see above) as a starting point and the suff is *+mAn*, as in *Türkmän*, *Karaman* (for both opinions, see Németh 1942c: 171 who considered the second view as less probable). The form *Kuban* occurs among the *Kumandi* (< **Kumanlï*) in the form *kubandï* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, see *Iz Sibiri* 1989: 92), later *kuvandïh* 'kumandincy' (AltQK). In this dial, a secondary *m* > *b* > *v* can be observed: *kubak* 'pesok' < *kumak*, cf. also *tevir*, *temir* 'železo' (see also AltL *kubak*, *kuv*, *kum*; *tebir*, *tevir*, *temir*). But normally we find **-ban* > *-man*, as in *taban* 'podošva' > *taman*.

The question whether the ethnonym *Kuman* has to be derived fr *kuba+n* or *ku+man* is relevant because it will cast light on the etymology of *Kun*. The relationship between *ku* and *kuba* is not quite clear. Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 98) mentions that most authors put the two forms together without clearing up their relationship, and it was only Menges (1979: 75) who supposed that *kū* is a contracted form of *kuba*. This is hardly possible. According to Levitskaja, the forms *kū* and *kuv*, which only occur in the NW and SibT lgs, may be of Mo origin. If this is true, and if *Kuman* consists of *ku+man*, then we have to exclude the T origin of that ethnonym, and then also reject the T etymology of *Kun* fr *ku*.

As a next step, we have to separate some secondary similarities. The word for 'swan' in OT is *kugu*, which changed into *kuv* and *ku* in many lgs (see Clauson 1972: 609; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 533–534; Levitskaja (Blagova 2000: 101)). In some of them, it became homophonous with *ku* 'pale' and *ku* 'light-coloured, the colour of the swan'. Levitskaja may be correct in noting that Y *kuba* 'swan' does not pertain to *kugu*, but to *kuba* 'pale, whitish'. In many T lgs, the full name of the swan is *ak kugu* etc., which points to the fact that *kugu* did not have the original meaning of a colour, and is perhaps of onomatopoeic origin. Mo *kun*, *kuŋ* 'swan' also belongs to the onomatopoeic type of this name. It is interesting that the Ch word for 'swan' 鵠 *hú* (EMCh **ɣawk*) is perhaps of a similar onomatopoeic origin. Levitskaja correctly

pointed to the fact (Blagova 2000: 95) that in some T lgs the word for 'dry etc.' has been mixed up with the word under discussion. This word has the form *kuv*, *kū*, as in Kirg *kū tala* 'soveršenno bezžiznenaja pustynja', Kklp *kuv dala* id., Khak *xuba čazï* 'sedaja step', also Y *kū* in *kū kumax* 'sypučij pesok'. This T word is the same as Mo *gobi* 'semidesert, the Gobi' (see **kóró**). The notions 'to be dry', 'the colour of the dry plant' is sometimes interchanged with the words in question. The name for 'amber' is 琥珀 *hupo* (EMCh *xɔ-phaijk*) in Ch and Mo *kuba*(*n*) 'amber, pale, yellow' can hardly be separated fr it, even if one or both are fr a third lg. Amber and the colour amber may also have been conflated in some cases with the word under discussion. Even if we put aside the words for 'swan', 'dry' and 'amber', the relationship of the rest has to be cleared up.

Mo *go-a*, *ko-a*, frequent in the MMo sources and figuring in several names, such as *Alan-ko'a*, *Barkuǰin-ko'a*, *Chaka'an-ko'a* etc. in the SH, has the meaning 'beautiful etc.' and cannot be separated fr Mo *ko-a*, *kuva* etc. with the meaning 'light yellow, pale'. The whitish skin or light yellow countenance was considered beautiful (see e.g. as a semantic parallel Eng *fair*). All Mo data go back to a form **kowa*. Behind the usual transcription <'> of MMo *ko'a*, we have to suppose a type of glide whose phonetic character was influenced by the adjacent vowels. This was an actual segment and not a hiatus, not a "nothing". It likely was a guttural or laryngeal continuant, on which see Miller (2002: 179–205). The Mo word for 'ten million' in the several literary transcriptions is *biiu-a*, *bsiu-a* and *ǰiu-a*. The different initials correspond to different initials in the Tib dial forms of Written Tib *bye-ba*, but the rendering <-iua> reflects Spoken Tib *-i-wa*. In the ModMo lgs, we find the rendering of literary *koa* as *xua* in Khal, *xo* in Kalm and *xuā* in Bur. Phonologically, Kalm has a long *ō*, whereas phonetically Khal contains [$u^{u}a$], and Bur [$u^{u}ā$]. See also Ord *xō*. This means that MMo *kowa* either changed to **kuwa* in some of the Mo lgs (Khal, Bur), while it changed fr **kowa* to *kō* > *xō* in others (Kalm, Ord), or we have to suppose an early **kowa* ~ **kuwa* alteration with neither one being earlier than the other. Now we have two possibilities. According to the first, Mo *kowa* corresponds to an AT **kowa*, which was preserved in MChuv **χuva*, as shown by Cher *uva* (see above), but disappeared in ModChuv. Chuv **χuva* likely does not go back to **kuwa* because *-u-* was reduced early and we would then expect **χova*. AT **kowa* either became **kuwa* in OT or we also have to suppose a **kowa* ~ **kuwa* alteration here. We may assume that the form *kuwa* was continued in some dials as *kuba* (see also Y *kuba* 'swan'), in other lgs as *kuv*, and in still others as *kū*. The double forms are present in many T lgs (see the data above). Thus T *kuv* < **kuwa* > *kuba* can be reconstructed. If this is correct, then we can reconstruct *kuba*+*n* > *kuban* > *kuman* with the rare coll suff +(*A*)*n*, which is present in *oglan* (< *ogul*), *ärän* (< *är*) on which see Erdal (1991: 91–92), and at the same time we can reconstruct **kuwan* > *kūn*. In this case, *Kuman* and *Kūn* would be

the same ethnonym realised in different T lgs. The spirantisation of the labial stop *-b-* in the T lgs is a well-known phenomenon, but the change of a bilabial spirant *-w-* to a stop is problematic. In general, a *w* : *b* opposition in the intervocalic position cannot be reconstructed either for OT or for AT.

One solution would be to reconstruct a form **kuba* for AT, which changed to *kowa* very early in some lgs, as in Chuv, while in some lgs it was also preserved as *kuba*. In this way, we have Mo **kowa* ← (MT, NT *kuv*, *kū* <) OT **kowa* < AT **kuba* > OT *kuba*. This would mean that once again the Mo form corresponds to the Chuv form. The dial difference of OT *kuba* and *kowa* may then have been represented by the forms *kuba*, *kuv* and *kū* in the T lgs. *Kuman* would result fr the nasalisation of the form with the coll suff +(*A*)*n*: *kuban* > *kuman*, while *Kun* would be the product of the change in the original form *kowa*+(*A*)*n* > *kowan* > *kūn*, or *kuwa*+*n* > *kūn*. We also find a similar distribution of sound change in some cases where the OT intervocalic *-d-* became *-y-* earlier in some words than in other ones.

In conclusion, it is entirely clear that the ethnonyms *Kuman* and *Kūn* are of the same etymological origin. They denote the people with light, pale colour, which most probably refers to their skin, and not their hair or the colour of their horses. Györffy's idea (1990: 218–219) that *Kun* is a T or H rendering of the ethnonym Hun cannot be accepted.

E/H First, we have to look at the chronology of the data on the H name of the Cumans. In this case, we have to distinguish the data of our sources fr the items to which the sources refer. This distinction was not clearly made by Györffy, who otherwise collected almost all the pertinent material. In the Lat sources on Hungary, the ethnonym had the Latinized form *Cunus* (pl *Cuni*). In the earliest extant chronicle written by Anonymous around 1200, we find *Cumanus*. In later H Chronicles, we find *Cunus*, *Cuni* etc., as in the chronicle of Simon de Kéza written between 1282–1285 and in the later ones (on these chronicles, see Róna-Tas 1999: 58–59). It remains an open question whether the forms *Cun*, *Cunus*, *Cuni* etc., which occur in the chronicles fr the 13th c. on, but refer to events fr the 11th and 12th c.s, were already present in the Original Chronicle, but did not remain to us. It is not impossible that the name *Cun* etc. is a substitution by the later compilers for another name, e.g. *Cuman*. In the H documents, the earliest data may be a PN fr 1138, *Cundi* [kun-di], but it is uncertain that this belongs here. The H suff +*di* may have been added to the ethnonym, but there may be other explanations for this form. The first sure item is fr 1201, where a certain "Buus *Cunus* sine heredibus" is mentioned in a diploma (see Györffy 1990: 214). The next one is fr 1297 "Stephani dicti *Kun*" (see Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 555).

The Cumans, who appear in the Rus sources around 1055, suffered their first great defeat at the hands of the Mongols in 1223 at the River Khalkha. In the fol-

lowing years, their contacts with western countries, among them, the Kingdom of Hungary, became more and more intensive. Some of them were baptised in 1227, and H priests or priests working in Hungary took part in their early conversion. In 1239, the Cumans suffered another great defeat by the Mongols and, in March of 1239, a large group of them entered Hungary and were granted asylum at their request. Learning of the further advance of the Mongols, and because of the murder of their leader Küten, the Cumans left Hungary in the spring of 1241. In the same year, the Mongols invaded Hungary, defeated the H army and devastated a great part of it. King Béla IV took flight to an island in the Adriatic Sea. In 1242, learning of the death of Ögödey, the Mongols withdrew fr Hungary. Late in 1245, the H king invited the Cumans to return to Hungary, and they settled in Central Hungary, which later became Cumania Major and Minor (Nagykunság and Kiskunság, resp). The Cumans spoke their T lg until the 16th c., when they began slowly to give it up, but preserved much of their ethnic identity.

According to Györffy, the name *Kun* was originally the name of all nomadic people of the East, and was only later used to denote the Cumans (see Györffy 1990). This was based on Németh's earlier idea (1930: 141, citing Vámbéry 1882: 43) that the ethnonym is a H rendering of the ethnonym *Hun*. This is phonetically impossible. The H lg had a *h-* in the initial position, and all H Lat sources call the Huns *Huni* etc. In the same sources, where fr the 13th c. on the name *Cuni* occurs, we also find *Hun*, *Huni* etc.

The next question which we have to answer is whether *Kun* is a self-denomination. This is not very likely. For a group of people, it is self-evident that they are the way they are. In the case of the Cumans, the special colour of their countenance was unusual only for non-Cumans. The ethnonym *Kun* could also not be of H origin, because the word has no H etymology. A reasonable solution is that the name *Kun* was used by a non-Cum T group of people, who used the name 'the pale ones, those with a whitish countenance'. These may have been either the Bulgars or the Khazars. Since the basic word **kowa* can be found in Chuv, I suggest that the name *Kun* was the BulgT or Khaz name of the Cumans, and entered the H lg through them. Györffy may have been right to suppose that the name was known to the Hungarians earlier than the 13th c., but further investigations have to be made. In any case, the name was familiar to Muslim authors fr the beginning of the 11th c. on (see Biruni above). The H name of the Cumans appeared in the middle of the 11th c., when they occupied the place of the Khazars and the Pechenegs. The name may have been copied fr the lg of one of the two peoples. But there are also other possibilities. Abul Hamid Al-Garnati, coming fr the Volga Bulgars, visited Hungary in 1150. When he spoke to the Hungarians about the Cumans, he may have used the name which was used for them by the Volga Bulgars. This means that the VBulg name of the Cumans could

have come through early contacts of the Hungarians with the Volga region. This is, however, less probable.

◆ Vámbéry 1882: 43; Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 555; Bang–Marquart 1914: 64–70; Pelliot 1920: 125–128, 135; Räsänen 1920: 234; Németh 1930: 141; Minorsky 1937: 97, 284–285; Haenisch 1939: 69; Németh 1941–1943: 95–109; Németh 1942c: 166–178; Czeglédy 1949: 49; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 533–534; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 667; Clauson 1972: 609; Menges 1979: 75; Ligeti 1986: 118–119, 267; Radloff 1989: 92; Györffy 1990: 201–202, 204, 214, 218–219; Erdal 1991: 91–92; Golden 1992: 270–277; Mándoky 1993: 20; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 845–846; Róna-Tas 1999: 58–59; Blagova 2000: 95–96, 98, 101; Miller 2002: 179–205; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 695; de Rachewiltz 2004: 27; Golden 2005: 269.

KUVASZ [kuvås] 'a kind of dog, a Hungarian breed of sheepdog' | 1511 *kwazok* [kuvåz-ok], c1560 *kwŭaz* [kuvåz], 1622 *kuvas* [kuvås], dial *guvaz* [guvåz], *kumasz* [kumås] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 674) | *kuvås* < *kuwaz* ← Cum **kowaz* | EOT *kovuz* 'chasing (a demonic stroke)' < *kov-* 'to follow, pursue, chase (also of a dog chasing game)' {with suff -(*X*)*z*}.

OT *qovït-* 'being chased' (UMaitr 5r5–6), *kov-* 'to chase': *it keyikni qovdï* 'the dog chased the game', *qovuč* 'the trace of a demonic stroke'. One who is struck with it is treated by dashing cold water in his face, then saying *qovuč qovuč*. Afterward, he is fumigated with rue and aloes. I think it comes from their expression *qač qač* meaning 'run, flee, O jinni', *qovaz* [read as *qovuz* but written QUVZ] a variant of *qovuč*. Oghuz dialect. Thus *yēl qovaz bitigi* 'a charm against demonic stroke' (AK); **MT** *qov-* 'to drive away' (AGul), *qov-* 'ardından gitmek' (AHMA), *quv-* 'gnaťˊ, prognaťˊ, otognaťˊ, presledovaťˊ' (AHŠF), *quv-* 'gnaťˊ, presledovaťˊ' (ATef), *qov-* 'poursuivre, chasser' (AChag), *qav-* 'vygonjaťˊ, gnaťˊ' (AChagB), *qav-* (sic!), *qavla-* 'to pursue, to drive away' (AChagSC), *xuv-* 'jagen' (LCC), *qovdi* 'kovdu, takip etti', *qubas* 'bir nevi köpek' (AAH), *qubaṣ* 'espèce de chiens, chien de berger (?)' (ABul), *qav-*, *qov-* 'kovmak' (AMGhU), *qov-* 'kovmak, kovalamak' (ATuhA), *xuv-* 'poursuivre, pourchasser' (AmTr), *qov-*: *xova* 'pogonja, presledovanie', *quv-* 'gnaťˊ' (AmD), *xuv-*: *xuvala-* 'to run after, to pursue, to chase, to persecute' (AmCh), *qoġ-*, *qov-* 'takibetmek, izlemek, kovalamak, koşturmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *xu-* 'gnaťˊ, pogonjaťˊ' (Chuv); *xăv-*, *xua-*, *xu-*, *xăvala-*, *xuala-* 'gnaťˊ, progonjaťˊ, gnaťˊsja, presledovaťˊ, ohotiťˊsja' (ChuvA, Fedotov 1996/2: 315); ***NW*** *ku-* 'gonjaťˊ, gnaťˊ, presledovaťˊ kogo-čto-l.' (Tat), *qïu-* 'gnaťˊ gonjaťˊ, presledovaťˊ, priderživaťˊsja' (Bashk), *qū-*, *qub-* 'presledovaťˊ, gnaťˊ, gnaťˊsja', cf. *kūr*, *kubar* 'on budet presledovaťˊ', *kubala-* 'gnaťˊsja', *Kuvagïš* 'praroditeľˊ sobak, duh-pokroviteľˊ sobak' (Kirg), *qu-* 'pognaťˊsja, gnaťˊ, gonjaťˊ, pogonjaťˊ, otgonjaťˊ' (KazB), *quw-* 'gnaťˊ, presledovaťˊ' (Kklp), *kuv-* 'gnaťˊ, progonjaťˊ, otgonjaťˊ' (Nog), *quv-* 'gnaťˊ, progonjaťˊ, gnaťˊsja, dogonjaťˊ' (CrTat), *kuv-* 'gnaťˊ, gnaťˊsja, presledovaťˊ' (KarT), *kuv-* 'gnaťˊ, gnaťˊsja, presledovaťˊ' (KarH), *quv-* 'gnaťˊsja, gnaťˊ, vygonjaťˊ, progonjaťˊ' (KarC), *quv-* 'gnaťˊsja, presledovaťˊ, gnaťˊ, otstranjaťˊ' (Kum), *quv-* 'gnaťˊ kogo-čto, gnaťˊsja za kem-čem, dobivaťˊsja čego' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kov-* 'gnaťˊ,

izgonjaťˊ, otstranjaťˊ, ugonjaťˊ' (Tkm), *ġov-* 'gnaťˊ, prognaťˊ' (Az), *kov-* (*koġ-*) 'to expel or expulse, to send or drive away, to dismiss' (Tt), *kov-* 'yürütmek, koşturmak, sürmek' (TtD), *ġow-* 'verjagen, vertreiben' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *quv-* 'gnaťsja, presledovaťˊ, gonjaťˊ, gnaťˊ' (Uzb), *qoġla-* 'to pursue, to follow' (TurkiJ), *qoglï-*, *kuvlï-* 'gnaťˊ' (MUyg), *kov^{u}-* 'gnaťˊ, presledovaťˊ' (Sal), *qourt-* 'progonjaťˊ, gnaťˊ, proučiťˊ, bit, udarjaťˊ (naprimer sobaku)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kū-* 'sledovaťˊ, presledovaťˊ' (Alt), *qū-* 'verfolgen, Jemandem nachlaufen, folgen, auf einer Fährte gehen' (AltR), *koγ-* 'verfolgen, folgen' (AltLR), *qū-* 'verfolgen, Jemandem nachlaufen, folgen, auf einer Fährte gehen' (AltTelR), *xoġ-* (*xō-*) 'sledovaťˊ za kem-l., vyjazaťsja za kem-l., ne otstavaťˊ ot kogo-l.' (Khak), *koγ-* 'verfolgen, folgen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *qoġ-* 'idti sledom, gnaťsja, stekaťˊ po naružnoj stenke sosuda (o vylivaemoj židkosti)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The verb *kov-* already had the special sense 'to chase an animal' in OT. The vocalism changed fr *-o-* to *-u-* on the influence of the final *-v* and the vowel lengthening is due to the disappearance of the final *-v*. It may be that the forms with *-g* are older, but also that the *-g* is a replacement for *-v* in the intervocalic position. Perhaps Erdal is not right when he supposes that the form *kavït-* is either an error or a misprint in Suv 620,20–21 (Erdal 1991: 777), because forms with *-a-* can also be found in AK (*kavuč*, corrected to *kovuč*) and in Chag, though they may also be scribal errors. In certain Kip dials, the *-v* has been changed to, or alternates with, *-b-* (see **kun**). It is of special importance that the aorist of *kū-* in Kirg is *kūr* and *kubar* in free alternation. Though I have no morphological or etymological explanation for the origin of the Kirg name *Kuvagïš*, the mythical ancestor and protecting deity of dogs, it may somehow have been tied to the word under discussion. Fr the verb *kov-* with the suff *-(X)z* (Erdal 1991: 323–327), a noun *kovaz* > *kuvaz*, a name of a hunting dog, was formed, which has only been found hitherto in the form *kubas* in AAH and ABul. The /a/ in the second syllable is unusual, but see AK *kovaz*, which is an amulet (magic writing) that *chases* away the demonic stroke in *yel kovaz bitigi* 'a charm against demonic stroke'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 560–561) compared Mo *guyu-* 'to ask' with our word, which is for semantic and phonological reasons unacceptable. The word has nothing to do with *kuba* 'pale', as recently supposed by Rybatzki (2004: 158). On *kuba* see **kun**.

E/H It was Németh (1942b: 293) who first connected the two MKip words with the H. Ligeti accepted the T origin of the word without going into detail (1986: 278). According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 688–689), the T origin is possible, but has phonetic problems and the limited presence of the noun in T also makes the T etymology uncertain. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 856) still regarded it as uncertain, but also saw it as more probable. The older H forms show a final *-z*. It is interesting that there is a H dial form *guvaz* fr Cumania Minor which denotes 'wolf'. The form with *-m-* may point to a form *kumaz*. Both may be independent borrowings fr Cum dials.

◆ Szarvas 1887: 321; Munkácsi 1893b: 343–344; Németh 1942b: 293; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 688–689; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 674; Ligeti 1986: 278; Erdal 1991: 323–327, 777; Golden 1991: 53; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 856; Fedotov 1996/2: 315; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 560–561; Rybatzki 2004: 158.

KÜLLŐ[1] [küllõ] 'laughing bird, *Picus viridis*' | c1405 *kulw* [külü] 'merops', 1553 *kůllő* [küllõ] 'woodpecker', dial *killő* [killõ], *küllü* [küllü] '*Picus viridis*, *Garrulus grandalius*, *Jynx torquilla*, woodpecker, *Acrocephalus* etc.' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 675–676) | *küllõ* < **külleγ* ← WOT **külüläγ* < **külgüläk* | EOT *külgü* 'laughter' {with suff *+lAk*} < *kül-* 'to laugh'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *kül-* 'to laugh, to smile', *külgü* 'laughter', *külgü*, *kültgü* 'apoplexy' (AK); **MT** *kül-* 'lachen' (UOg), *kül-* 'gülmek' (UYAB), *kül-* 'rire' (UHy), ? cf. PN *Külüg* (UCiv), *kül-* 'gülmek' (AHMA), *kül-* 'smejaťsja, ulybaťsja' (AHŠF), *gül-* 'smejaťsja', *kül-*: *gülgü* 'smeh' (AIM), *kül-* 'gülmek', *külkü* 'gülme, ansızın kapıp götürmek' (AIMI), *kül-*: *külgil* 'laugh!' (AKD), *kül-* 'to laugh' (AKor), *kül-* 'smejaťsja' (AM), *kül-* 'smejaťsja, ulybaťsja' (ANehF), *külgü* 'laughter' (ARbg), *kül-* 'smejaťsja', *kül-*: *külütgü* 'smešnoj, suetnyj' (ATef), *kül-* 'gülmek' (AYC), *külgü* 'rire, sourire, riant, souriant' (AChag), *külgü* 'smeh' (AChagB), *kül-*: *qatïg küldi* 'silno smejalsja' (AChagMA), *gülgü* (spelt) 'a laugh, laughing' (AChagSC), *gülgü* 'Lachen, das Lächeln' (AChagŠSK), *kül-* 'lachen', *kültkün* 'Gelächter' (LCC), *küldi* 'güldü' (AAH), *kül-* 'śmiać się' (ABul), *kül-* 'rire' (ADur), *kül-* 'lachen' (AHou), *kül-* 'lachen' (AKav), *kül-* 'gülmek' (ATuhA), *k'ul-* 'rire': *k'ultk'u* 'ris (moqueur), risée, raillerie' (AmTr), *kül-* 'rire' (AmE), *kül-*: *güleġen* 'daima gülen, çok gülen' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kulă* 'smeh, ulybka, usmeška, posmešišče' (Chuv), *kulä*, *kolä*, *kul*, *kolu* 'smeh' (ChuvA), *kulă* 'smeh, ulybka, usmeška, posmešišče', *kulay* 'nazv. pticy pitajuščejsja padalju' (Chuv); ***NW*** *kölkĕ* 'smeh, poteha, smešok, jumor' (Tat), *kölkö* 'smeh, poteta, smešnoj' (Bashk), *külkü* 'das Gelächter, lächerliches Zeug' (SibTatBR), *külkü* 'smeh' (Kirg), *külki* 'smeh' (KazB), *külki* 'smeh, hohot' (Kklp), *külki* 'smeh, hohot, nasmeška' (Nog), *kul'k'u* 'smeh' (CrTat), *k'ul't'k'u*, *kil'tki* 'smeh, šutka' (KarT), *kil'tki* 'smeh, šutka' (KarH), *kül'tkü*, *kül'tki* 'smeh' (KarC), *külkü* 'smeh, smešok' (Kum), *külkü* 'smeh, hohot' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *gül-* 'smejaťsja, vysmeivaťkogo-l.', *gülki* 'smeh, posmešušče' (Tkm), *ǵül-* 'smejaťsja, rassmejaťsja, nasmehaťsja' (Az), *gül-* 'to laugh, to amuse oneself, to make merry' (Tt), *gül-* 'smejaťsja, nasmejaťsja' (Gag), *gil-*, *gül-* 'lachen' (Khor), *gil-* 'lachen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *kül-*, *kil-* 'lachen' (Kh); ***SE*** *kul-* 'smejaťsja, vysmeivaťʼ' (Uzb), *kulgu* 'laughter' (TurkiJ), *külki* 'laughable' (TurkiSh), *külke*, *külkö*, *külkü* 'smeh' (TurkiLN), *külkü* 'das Gelächter, lächerliches Zeug' (TurkiTR), *külkä* 'smeh, smešok, posmešišče' (MUyg), *külgü* 'smeh' (MUigHotM), *kul-*, *kuli-*, *kulli-* 'smejaťsja' (Sal), *kul-* 'smejaťsja' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kül-* 'smejaťsja' (Alt), *külkü* 'das Gelächter, lächerliches Zeug' (AltR), *külgŭ* 'das Lachen' (AltLR),

külkü ‘smeh, ulybka’ (AltQK), *külkü* ‘das Gelächter, lächerliches Zeug’ (AltTelR), *külki-* ‘ulybka, smeh’ (Khak), *külkü* ‘das Gelächter, lächerliches Zeug’ (KhakQbR), *külkü* ‘smeh, smešnyj veščˇ’ (KhakSR), *gül-* ‘to laugh’ (FY); ***Y*** *kül-* ‘smejaťsja, hohotaťˇ’ (Y).

E/T Until now, it is only in Chuv that a name of a bird connected with the verb *kül-* ‘to laugh’ could be found. Erdal (1991: 89–91) collected a handful of bird names with the suff *+lAk*, which can be expanded with such words as Mo *yabalag* ‘a kind of small bird resembling the owl’ (→ many T lgs, see AK *yapakulak* ‘owl’ to *kulkak* ‘ear’), *turlag* ‘rook (Lat. *Corvus corone*)’ and see H **keselyű**. A bird name **külgüläk* (fr *külgü* ‘laughter’ < *kül-* ‘to laugh’) would be categorised as an onomatopoeic bird name. The bird makes a sound similar to that of laughter. As a parallel, see American Eng *laughing gull* ‘a small, black-headed gull of New World coastlines, Lat. *Larus atricilla*, having a laugh-like cry’ (Webster), Grm *Lachmöwe* ‘Möwenart der Küste u. Binnenwässer, *Larus ridibundus* (Wahrig)’.

E/H The H word has been connected with various T bird names (see e.g. *käklik* in Munkácsi 1911–1912c: 356), but none of these are acceptable. The word has also been associated with H **kölyű**, dial *küllő* ‘churn’, under the supposition that the bird gives a sound similar to churning (Benkő 1967–1984/2: 608–609). According to Horpácsi (1973: 453), the word is an inner H development of onomatopoeic character. This was accepted by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 857). The H word denotes very different birds and it is unclear which of them is the original. However, Országh translated the H name *zöld küllő* [green *küllő*] as ‘laughing bird’ (Lat. *Picus virida*; see Országh–Futász–Kövecses 2002: 875) and this was based on an ornithological work. In any case, there can be no doubt that the word is of onomatopoeic in nature. Chuv *kulay* goes back to a **külgäy* which seems to be a word formed with a dim *+Ay* fr *külgi*. We can, however, not exclude that *kulay* should be analysed as *kulay* < **külälä-ay* < **külälä*γ*-ay* < **külälä*k*-ay* < **külgälä*k*-ay*. In any case, the Chuv word denotes a kind of bird which eats carrion and makes a sound like laughter. The only question is whether the onomatopoeic origin of the H word could be fixed to any particular lg, in our case to T or to H. Onomatopoeic bird names can also be copied. However, until we have a perfect match in some T lgs, the T origin of the word remains open.

◆ Munkácsi 1911–1912c: 356; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 608–609; Horpácsi 1973: 453; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 99–100; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 675–676; Erdal 1991: 89–91; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 857; Országh–Futász–Kövecses 2002: 875.

KÜLLŐ² [küllō̆] ‘a fish living at the bottom of the river, gudgeon, *Gobio fluviatilis*’ | *fenékjáró küllő* [fenēkyārō küllō̆] ‘*Gobio gobio*’ | *küllō̆* < **küllig* < **kölliγ* < **köliliγ* < **kölig*(*e*)*liγ* ← WOT **köligäliγ* | EOT *köligä* ‘shadow’, *köliglig yer* ‘a shaded place’.

Of debated T etymology.

OT *kölik* ‘ombre’ (UHamTouHou), *kölik* ‘shadow’, *kölige* ‘deep shadow’, *köliklig yer* ‘a shaded place’ (AK), *kölö-* ‘beschatten’ (BD 38); **MT** *kölgä* ‘shadow’ (AGul), *kölgä*, *köligä* ‘gölge’ (AHMA), *kölkä*, *kölike*, *kölätkä* ‘ten′’ (AHŠF), *kölige* ‘shadow, shade’ (AKD), *kölikälik* ‘overshadowing’ (AKor), *kölike* ‘ten′’ (ANehF), *kölägä* ‘shadow, shelter (against the sun)’ (ARbg), *köläkä*, *kölkä* ‘ten′’ (ATef), *kölägä*, *kölege* ‘ombre’ (AChag), *kölege* ‘ten′’ (AChagMA), *kölägä* ‘shadow’ (AChagSC), *kölege* ‘Schatten’ (LCC), *kölgäy* ‘kölge (sic!), hayal’ (AAH), *kelik* ‘atın başına konulan gölgelik’ (AAHI), *kölgäy* ‘ombre’ (ABul), *kölgä* (? *gölgä*) ‘ombre’ (ADur), *köläk*, *kölägä* ‘Schatten’ (AHou), *kölgäy* ‘Schatten’ (AKav), *kölek*, *köletke*, *töletke* ‘gölge’ (ATuhA), *k‘olga*, *k‘olgay* ‘ombre’ (AmTr), *gölge*: *gölge sal-* ‘gölge etmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *külägä* ‘ten′, sen′, svetoten′’ (Tat), *külänkä*, *külätkä* ‘ten′, sen′, tenistoe mesto’ (TatD1), *külägä* ‘ten′’ (Bashk), *külätkĕ*, *küläytkĕ*, *küläŋkĕ*, *kükägä* ‘ten′’ (SibTat), *kölökö* ‘ten′, hudoj, nemoščnyj, ten′ odna’ (Kirg), *köleŋke* ‘ten′, zatemnennyj, tenevoj’ (KazB), *köleŋke* ‘ten′, opara’ (Kklp), *köletki* ‘ten′, sen′’ (Nog), *kol’ge*, *koletke* ‘ten′, siluet’ (CrTat), *k’ol’ag’a* ‘ten′’ (KarT), *kelege* ‘ten′’ (KarH), *kölege*, *köletke*, *köl’aga* ‘ten′, tenistoe mesto’ (KarC), *gölentgi* ‘ten′, prizrak’ (Kum), *goletki* ‘árnyék [shade, shadow]’ (KumN), *kölekke* (karač.) ‘ten′, prizrak, zaščita’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *kölege* ‘ten′, sen′, holodok’ (Tkm), *gölǵä* ‘ten′, tenevoj’ (Az), *gölge* ‘shadow, shade, shading (of a drawing), a shady place’ (Tt), *kölekge* ‘gölge’ (TtD), *gölgä* ‘ten′, tenevoj’ (Gag), *kölgä*, *kölǵä*, *kilgä*, *körgä* ‘Schatten’ (Khor), *kulgä* ‘Schatten’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *kölgä* ‘Schatten’ (Kh); ***SE*** *kolaga* ‘ten′, prizrak’ (Uzb), *kulagah* ‘shade, shadow’ (TurkiSh), *kölögö*, *kölögöč* ‘ten′’ (TurkiLN), *köläŋki* ‘der Schatten’ (TurkiTR), *köläŋkä* ‘ten′, sen′, tenistoe mesto, siluet’ (MUyg), *kölängä* ‘ten′’ (MUygTurfM), *külägeš* ‘ten′’ (MUygAksM), *kul’eke* ‘ten′ (proiznositsja i: »kuĺexke«)’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *kölötki* ‘ten′, tenistoe mesto’ (Alt), *kölötkö* ‘ten′’ (AltTK), *kölek* ‘ten′’ (Khak), *köletki* ‘ten′ čeloveka’ (KhakB), *kölätki* ‘der Schatten’ (KhakQbR), *köläk* ‘der Schatten’, *kölätki* ‘der Schatten’ (KhakSR, KhakShR), *xölege* ‘ten′’ (Tuv), *hölege* ‘ten′, otraženie’ (Tof); ***Y*** *külük* ‘ten′, sen′, prizrak, obraz, portret’ (Y), *külük* ‘Schatten’ (Dlg).

Mo ? *külemǰi* ‘subterranean room or cave, basement’, cf. *kösige*(*n*) ‘curtain, blind, canopy’, *kösi-* ‘to overcast (in sewing)’ (L).

E/T The basic verb is *köli-* ‘to be shady or shaded’. The nouns *kölik* and *köligä* both ‘shade, shadow’ were formed fr this verb with the suffs -(*O*)*k* and *-gA*, resp (see Erdal 1991: 239, 378). The meaning was extended to a shady place. The verb *köli-* has to be connected with OT *köši-* ‘to obstruct the light’, *köšigä* ‘slight shade’, *köšik* ‘screen, curtain’. *köšiklig* in *köšiklig yer* ‘a shaded place’ (AK) is the same as *köliklig yer*. This is a very early example of the lambdacism in T (on the details, see Róna-Tas 1970: 494–496). In Mo, we find *kösi-* ‘to overcast (in sewing)’, perhaps also ‘to block, prop up’, but this may only be a homophonous verb. *kösigen* ‘curtain’ seems to be a T lw in Mo.

The fish hiding in the shady places of the river may have the name **köliklig* or *köligälig* (*balïk*) 'shady fish'.

E/H The H word has not been etymologically treated by the H scholars until now. It does not occur in Benkő (1967–1984; 1993–1997). It is fixed in many bilingual dicts, such as in Országh–Futász–Kövecses (2002: 875), *fenékjáró küllő* 'gudgeon, *Gubio fluviatilis*'; in Halász (1983: 254), *fenékjáró küllő* 'Gründling, Grundel, Grimpe', and in the monolingual dict, *küllő*³ 'a márnához hasonló, főleg feneken élő apró édesvízi pontyféle halak neme [a carp-like small sweetwater fish, similar to barbel, which lives mostly at the bottom of rivers] (*Gubio*)' (Pusztai 2003: 779). The change 'shady fish, or shadow fish' < 'shady' could only have occurred in T. Until we find a similar fish name in T, the etymology remains uncertain.

◆ Róna-Tas 1970: 494–496; Halász 1983: 254; Erdal 1991: 239, 378; Országh–Futász–Kövecses 2002: 875; Pusztai 2003: 779; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 538–539.

KÜLLŐ³ [küllõ] 'spoke (of a wheel)' | 1211 ? PN *Kuleh* [küleɣ], 1305/1342 ? GN *kulud* [külü-d], c1395 *keuew* [kewõ], c1405 *kive* [kive], 1528–1529 *kylew* [külõ], 1662/1853 *küllőit* [küllõ-it], dial *kivlő* [kivlõ], *kévő* [kēvõ], *kivlő* [kivlõ], *küvő* [küvõ], *kéve* [kēve] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 675) | *küllő* < **külõ* < **küvõ* < **küvey* ⟵ WOT **küväy* < **küɣäy* | EOT *kügä* 'spoke (of a wheel)', T *kägäy* id.

Of debated T origin.

OT *kügelig* or *kögelig* <KWK'LYK> 'with spokes' (UMaitrII 5a9, Geng 1980: 111, cf. Tekin 1985: 237); **MT** *kaġay* 'rayon de la roue' (AChag, with *kef* but *gain* fr Vámbéry 1867: 325), *kegey* 'Rädersprossen' (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *kigi*, *kigäy* 'spica' (Tat), *kägäy* 'spicy (kolesa)' (SibTatB), *kegey* (južn.) 'spica (kolesa)' (Kirg), *kegey* 'spoke of a wheel' (Kaz), *kegey* 'spica (kolesa)' (Kklp), *kegey* 'spica (kolesa)' (Nog), *kegey* 'spica (kolesa)' (CrTat), *gegey* 'spica' (Kum), *kegey* 'spica (kolesa)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *käye* 'spica, tigir iinče tayağï' (RTkmAB, Németh 1965: 56), *keye*, *keyye*, *kiye* 'spica kolesa' (TtD, Blagova 1997: 17), *gövlek* 'kağnı tekerleğinin ortasında dönen ağak [r: ağaç]', *gövelek* 'araba tekerleğinin ortasında dingil başının takıldığı ağaç başlık' (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *kegay* 'spica (kolesa), radius' (Uzb), *kiyäy* 'spica kolesa' (UzbD, Blagova 1997: 17), *gügü*, *gügä* 'spica (kolesa)' (MUyg), *gügü*, *gügä* 'spoke', *gügüsün* 'literary form of *gügä*' (MUygE), *gügüsün* 'wheel spoke' (MUygTY), *kügüsün* 'der Radstab, die Radflege' (TurkiTR); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *kegesün* 'spoke of a wheel' (L), Khal *xigēs*(*en*) 'küllő [spoke (of wheel)]' (Kara 1998: 571 **kigesü*, **kegesün*) < **kigegesün*.

E/T TtD *gövlek* and *gövelek* may rather pertain to *göbek* 'navel'. The Hami version of the *Maitrisimit* (II 5a9) includes the expression *miŋ kügälig tilgän* 'wheel with a thousand spokes'. In his edition, Geng has *kügälig*, which reflects the facsimile with <kwk'lyk>. Tekin's (1985: 237) transliteration is <kyk'lyk>, where the first

<y> is surely a misprint. Geng translated it into MUyg as *gügüsünlik*, i.e. 'the spoked'. This is the same as the item in MUygE. This *gügüsün* is a Mo lw, and reflects Mo *kügüsün*. See the TurkiTR and MUyg data cited above. The form with a labial vowel is also present in the TtD item *gövelek* < **kögälik* with the suff *+lXk*. Levitskaja (Blagova 1997: 17) cites dial data fr Tt, such as *keye*, *keyye*, *kiye*, which all go back to **kägä*, while a cited Uzb dial *kiyäy* is a secondary form fr *kigäy*. Levitskaja attempted to reconstruct a verb *käg-* and a dev suff *-gAy*, which is not very convincing (cf. TtD *ğeğmeč* 'palka', *gege-* 'sryvať plody s dereva palkoj s krjučkom na konce'). At present, all that can safely be said is that the morphological structure of the word is not clear. Either we use *kügä-* or **kögä-* as a starting point with *-y* as a suff, not productive in OT, or a nominal form **kögä*. In this case, the suff would be *+gAy* (Erdal 1991: 165–166) and **kögägäy* (see Mo) was later simplified to *kögäy*.

Hitch called my attention (personal communication) to the fact that the T word may be connected with an IE word cognate to, but not identical with, Toch A *kukäl*, Toch B *kokale* [kogale] 'cart'. Adams (1999: 200) reconstructed PToch **kuk*(*ä*)*le*. The PIE form is **k*^{w}*uk*^{w}*lo* fr **k*$^{w}_{e}$*k*^{w}*lo*. This apparently matches Gr *kúklos* 'circle, wheel'. These and similar words go back to PIE **k*^{w}*el-* 'revolve' and by reduplication **k*^{w}*ek*^{w}*el-*. According to Adams, the Toch and Gr words are closely related to, but phonologically distinct fr, **k*^{w}*ek*^{w}*ló-*, which lies behind Skrt *cakrá-* 'circle, wheel', Eng *wheel* and many other words. Avestan *čaxra-* 'wheel', MPe *čhr*, Mazandarani *čal* 'Rad' etc. are also pertinent here (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 521–522). The copying fr Toch would be semantically possible if the word had the meaning 'spoked wheel, wheel with spokes' and the meaning 'spoke' was a secondary change in T. This is not impossible.

E/H The H word was first considered to be of T origin by Eren (1944a: 228–229), who compared the H word with the Chag data. He considered a H form **küvöl´* as primary, which was a copy of a T *käväy*, with the final *-y* changed into *-l´* as in **karvaly** and **torontál**. Then there would have been metathesis *külöv* > *külő* and gemination *küllő*. Németh (1965: 55–58) started out fr a form *kägäy* and pointed to the dial forms. According to him, the earliest H data point to a form *ke'ő*. The *-l-* appeared as a H *Hiatustilger*. This was then accepted by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 690–691). Later, Benkő supposed a T form like **kügälük* (1993–1997/2: 857), which is, according to him, however, not attested in the T sources. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word.

There are several possible explanations for the long *-ll-* in the word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 690–691), the earlier H form had to be **kevey* and a H change *-v-* > *-l-* > *-ll-* occurred. This can be corroborated by the H dial data. Eren's idea (see above) is less probable. The notion that we had to see a T abstract noun **kügälik*, as suggested by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 857), is phonetically possible (T *kü/ögälik* >

**kü/ögälig* ⟶ **kügeliɣ* > **küɣeliɣ* > **küvelō* > **kūlō* > *küllō*). In this case, however, we have to suppose the suff *+lXk*. This would only be morphologically possible if we suppose that *kügälik* had the meaning ‘that thing with spokes, i.e. the wheel’. According to Hitch, we perhaps should read *kügälik tilgän* in *Maitrisimit* and consider it as a hend, i.e. *kügälik* itself may have had the meaning ‘wheel’. Semantically, this would then be a perfect match. In this case, we have to assume that the T word is a copy of Toch B *kokale* [kogale] ⟶ **kögel*, and fr T **kögäl* > **kögällik* > *kögälik* ‘wheel with spokes’, and *kögä* has been secondarily derived. This is rather unlikely, because *miŋ kügälig* / *kögälig tilgän* ‘a wheel with a thousand spokes’ is a well-known Buddhist expression.

For a more possible solution, we have to start out fr the Hami MS of the *Maitrisimit*. We have to presume that the adj form *kügälig* ‘that with spokes’ was abstracted fr *kügälig tilgän* ‘wheel with [thousand] spokes’ and used as a noun first with the meaning ‘wheel with spokes’ and later simply as ‘spoke’. This would be phonetically and morphologically a perfect match, but we need some further corroborating data to be sure.

◆ Vámbéry 1867: 325; Eren 1944a: 228–229; Abaffy 1955: 213–218; Németh 1965: 55–58; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 690–691; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 675; Geng 1980: 111; Ş. Tekin 1985: 237; Erdal 1991: 165–166; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 521–522; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 857; Blagova 1997: 17; Kara 1998: 571; Adams 1999: 200; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 802–803.