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Newly Identified Chinese Loan-words in Dīvānü Luġat-it-Türk

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In the articles published in CAJ, I presented some phonetic correspondences between Sino-Turkic and Ancient Chinese with approximately 50 newly identified Sino-Turkic in Uighur: The phonetic developments of the Ancient Chinese final *t*, final *ng*, and initial fricatives and affricatives in Sino-Turkic.

In this paper, I would like to present about 50 newly identified Chinese loan-words in Middle Turkic, focusing on Divanü Lûgat-it Türk which is the famous Middle Turkic dictionary written in 1072 by Mahmūd el-Kāšġarï.

Recently, in his etymological dictionary, the late turcologist G. Clauson dealted with Chinese loan-words in Old and Middle Turkic, including Dīvānü Luġāt-it-Türk, making use of the reasearches made by former Scholars. Actually, his theories on Chinese loan-words in Old and Middle Turkic can largely be accepted except a few etymologies. However, an eminent Turkish turcologist S. Tezcan (1978: 319–320) argued that some western scholars engaging in turcology were prejudiced, considering Turkic tribes barbarians and so were trying to demonstrate original Turkic words as Chinese loan-words, if they could not be identified with Indo-Germanic languages. However, when we remember that both the Korean and Japanese languages which are Chinese neighbors have Chinese loan-words for over 60% of their nouns, it is not surprising but rather to be expected that Turkic, a Chinese neighbor, had certain amounts of Chinese loan-words in the old period, numbers of which are relatively quite less than those of Korean and Japanese.

Chinese Sino-Turkic words presented in this article, though no so many in number, would be additional to those of G. Clauson's

dictionary. The following are newly identified Chinese loan-words occuring in Mahmūd el-Kašğarī's dictionary.[1]

(1) MK (32) *ang* "the name of a bird whose fat is used for medicinal purposes". Clauson stated in his etymological dictionary p. 165 that this word was possibly a Chinese loan-word. However, he didn't give any Chinese form.

/ Chin. ACh. *ʔi̯ang* 鴦 > M. *iang*, C. *iōng* "hen of mandarin duck" (symbol of conjugal fidelity" (Kangxi., Karl. 210), Sino-Ko. *ang* id.

(2) MK (52) *ar* "chestnut-colored, bay", in the phrases *ar näng* "auburn or bay color" and *ar böri* "Hyena". Also the word *ar* occurs in the compound word *arsal* (MK 65), in the phrase *arsal sač* "Chestnut hair". Clauson stated in his dictionary, p. 238 that the word *arsal* might be *arsil*, and *sal* or *sïl* was a denominal suffix. However, we can not find the denominal suffix (-sal) or (-sil) in Old and Middle Turkic. In my opinion, the word *arsal* should be a compound word and the word *sal* probably is a Chinese loan-word.

/ Chin. A Ch. *ʔi̯et* 黠 > M. *ie*ˀ, C. *ǐt*. "discolored" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *ar* id.

(3) MK *en* "earmark" in the verb *enä-* (557) "to earmark" < * *en-ä-* . cf. Kipch = *en* "an earmark on sheep".

/ Chin. ACh. *ên* 印 > *M. yin*, C. *yên*, Sin-Jap. *in* "an official seal, a stamp; to seal; to print; a mark" (Kangxi., Giles 13282), Sino-Ko. *in* id.

(4) MK (30, 162) *īr* "shame".

/ Chin. ACh. *ńźi̯ĕt* 愶 "be shamed" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *ir* id. According to Kangxi, this word has two kinds of pronunciation; ACh. *niɜk* and *ńźi̯ĕt*. Of these two, the latter is for both Sino-Turkic and Sino-Korea.

(5) MK (34) *or* (? *ur*) "between sorrel and bay (horse)". cf. Tel. *or* "greyish", Kzk. *or* "dark reddy brown" (VWTD 1047), Yak. *or žagïl* 'černopegiy' (VEWT 364). cf. Mo. *orug* „weisses Pferd mit schwarzem Rücken" (KWb. 288).

1 The Chinese loan-words which occur in the texts belonging to the previous periods are excluded from the following lists.

/ Chin. ACh. *·i̯uət* 黜 "black with strips, faded, stained" (Kangxi., Giles 13 023), Sino-Ko. *ur* id.

(6) MK (36) *oy* "dun, ash-colored (horse)". cf. Kipch. *oy* "ash-colored", Khak., Tuv. *oy* "dun".

/ Chin. ACh. *ʕʲwi* 黟 > M. *uei*, C. *uai* "yellow" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *wi* id.

(7) MK (35) *uγ* (? *ōγ*) "a tent rib, wooden strut forming part of the framework of a tent of the *yurt* type". AH, Chag. *uγ* id., Kipch. *uγ* "one of the beams of a tent which are fixed in its roof", Osm. *huγ* "cabin, hut". Räsänen (VEWT: 510) gave the Shor form *ū* meaning "house" for the word *uγ*. However, in my opinion, the word *ū* might be another Chinese loan-word; ACh. *ʕi̯u* 宇 > M. *ü*, C. *ü*, Sino-Jap. *u* "vault of a roof, eaves, shelter, house, the universe" (Karl. 1317; Giles 13 540), Sino-Ko. *u* "house, roof, canopy of heaven, the universe".

/ Chin. ACh. *ʌ̊ak* 幄 > M. *uoˀ*, *uˀ*, C. *k* "tent" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *ok* "a wooden tent".

(8) MK (535) *be* "mare".

/ Chin. ACh. *ʌ̊pi̯ʷɐi* 騑 > M. *fei*, C. *fei*, Sino-Jap. *hi*(*pi*) "the outer horses of four driven abreast; an extra horse fastened to the axle with long traces" (Kangxi., Giles 3478), Sino-Ko. *pi* id.

(9) MK (234) *boxsoq*, *boγsoq* "manacle, fetter" < ∗ *boqsoq* · MK (402) *boxsoqlan-* "to be manacled". Dankoff (1985: 76) read this word *boxsuq* ~ *boǧsuq*.

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *fök* 縛 > M. *fo*, *po*, C. *fok*, Sino-Jap. *baku*, *haku* "bind, tie up" (Kangxi., Giles 3634), Sino-Ko. *pak* id., and ACh. *śi̯ʷok* 束 > M. *suˀ*, C. *tʻśʰuk*, Sino-Jap. *soku* "faggot, bundle" (Karl. 909), Sino-Ko. *sok* id. cf. *fök-śi̯ʷok* 縛束 "to bind as a prisoner or a bale" (Giles p. 453).

(10) MK (550) *boxtay* ~ *boxtuy* "a bale of clothing".

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *bʰi̯uk* 袱 > M. *ʌ̊fu*, C. *fuk* "wrapper" (Karl. 46), Sino-Ko. *bok* id., and ACh. *dʰâiˀ* 袋 > M. *tai*, C. *toi*, Sino-Jap. *tai* "bag, sack, pocket, envelop" (Karl. 960), Sino-Ko. *tay* id.

In Uighur (USp. 3, 4–5) the word *boγ* occurs in the Hend. *boγ böz* "bale of cloth". This word also occurs in MK (498), i.e, *boγ*

"wrapper, package, bundle". Cf. MK (572) *boγla-* "to pack", MK (434) *boγlat-* "to order someone to tie up". On the other hand the word *boγ* appears in Mongolian in the form *boγo*. Doerfer (TMEN II: 342), who considers this word Turkic, maintains that the Mongolian word was borrowed from urtü. **boγă*. In my opinion, the Mongolian word was borrowed from Old Turkic and the form *boγo* might result from Paragoge. Cf. Chin. *p'uk* "wrestler" / Sino-Ko. *bok* / Sino-Trk. *bökä* / Sino-Mo. *bökö*. Another derived form of this word is *boqča*, i.e. Chag. *boqča* „Rolle, Koffer, Packsack", Kirg. *boqša* „Beutel, Sack" (VWDT 1647), etc. cf. Mo. *boġča* id. < Trk.

(11) MK (168) *bök* "corner, the corner post of a house". Clauson (EDT 324) and Dankoff (1985: 83) read this word *bük*.

/ Chin. ACh. *bʿi̯uk* 栿 "a girder to strengthen a beam" (Kangxi., Giles 3692), Sino-Ko. *bok* "the beam of a house".

(12) MK (545) *bökä* "a venomous snake". Generally, the two words *böke* "snake" and *bökä* "warrior" were confused and considered as one word. However, these two words are fully separate words without any semantic connection. On the other hand, Turkic form *bökä* is a result of final vowel addition, i.e., paragoge, like the words *bökä* "warrior", *tügä* "calf on second year".

/ Chin. ACh. *pʿi̯uk* 蝮 > M. *ˌfu*, C. *fuk* "venomous snake" (Giles 3716, Karl. 53), Sino-Ko. *bok* id.

(13) MK (545) *bökä* "warrior, wrestler" in the title *Bökä Bodrač*. This word occurs also in Küli Čor Inscript (ETY I: 138) in the previous period of MK. This word is also attested in KB: 2354, etc. As for the reading of the word, Radloff (VWTD 1693) proposed the form *bökä* for the word occurring in Chagatay. Malov (1951: 373) and Clauson (EDT 324) adopted Raloff's reading. However, H. N. Orkun (ETY IV: 37) read the word *bükä*. On the other hand, this word was borrowed into the Mongolian language, e.g. H 17 *boko* "Held, Ringer, Athlet", MA 123 *bökä* "strong, powerful", Ko. 1241 "fort, robuste; lutteur, athlète", KWb. 55 *bökö* "Kämpfer, Ringer, hart", Luv. *böx* "strong; wresttler, athlete", etc. This word also passed into Manchu-Tungus through Mongolian, i.e. Evk. *buku, buru* "strong", Sol. *buxu* id., Ma. *buku* id. cf. Urdu *bauka* (See, TMEN II: 351). It is not convincing that S. Çagatay (1960 79) related this word to the word *bögü* meaning "sage, mag-

ic".[2] cf. Chag. *bökä* "a strong man, wrestler", Kirg. *bökö* id. < Mo., Osm. *bükä* id. Tuv. *mögä* id., etc. cf. Mo. *böke* "wrestler" (KWb. 55) *böx* id. (Lessing 126).

/ Chin. ACh. *pᶜuk* 撲 > M. *ᵓpᶜu*, C. *pᶜok.*, Sino-Jap. *boku* "to beat, strike, knock against" (Karl. 760), Sino-Ko. *pok* "to wrestle, strike".

(14) MK (206, 605) *čadan* "scorpion". cf. KB *čadan* id., IM, Chag. *čayan* id., Trkm. *čayān* id., Kzk. *šayan* id. Mo. *čaya* "Insekt" (KWb. 420).

/ Chin. ACh. compounded of ACh. *tsᶜi̯eᴰ* 蠆 "scorpion" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *ča* and ACh. *ʔʂan* 豻 "reptiles without feet" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *tan* id.

(15) MK (513 *čal* "of a mixed black and white colour, grey-haired". cf. KB (1098) *čal* "grey", Chag. *čal* "of a beard, containing both black and white", Trkm. *čāl* "grey, grey-haired", Kzk., Shor *šal* id. This word occurs in Mongolian, i.e. Kalm. *tsal* „weißhaarig, weißmähnig, weißfarbig" (KWb. 420). This word was borrowed into non-Altaic languages from Turkic, e.g. Pers. *čāl* "grey-mixed", Rus. *čalïy* "grey, grey-mixed", etc. (See TMEN II: 31). On the other hand, Ramstedt (KWb. 420) compared this word to Tungus *čālbān* „Birke" and proposed the form ∗*ča* as the root of the word *čal.* Poppe (1960: 97) supported Ramstedt's theory comparing the word to Mo. *čayi-* „weiß werden" and *časun* „Schnee" < ∗*čā-l-sun*, as well as Evk., Lam. *čālbān.* However, this is unconvincing. For the meaning of the word *čal* in Turkic is not white but usually grey or the like. In my opinion, this word might be a Chinese loanword. cf. Rus. чалый (Vasm. 3:301) id. < Trk.

/ Chin. ACh. *ʑat* (?) 黜 "grey" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *tal* id.

(16) MK (551) *čalγay* "goose-feather, the front feathers of a bird".

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *tsat* 鶵 "a water bird, with a long bill and plunge of a lark, common in Chekiang, the feather's various colors of a bird" (Kangxi., Giles 130, Karl. 1152), Sino-Ko. *čar* ~ *čal* id., and ACh. *kaiᴰ* 髺 > M. *kie*, C. *kāi*, Sino-Jap. *kai* "top-knot, the front feathers of a bird" (Kangxi., Karl. 363), Sino-Ko. *kay* id.

2 For the etymology of the word *bögü*, the article of the author "On the Turkic shamanic word *bögü*" was presented at the 33rd PIAC in Budapest.

(17) MK (609) *čangšu* "a short tunic".

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *ɟśᶜiang* 裮 > M. *ʈʂᶜang*, C. *śᶜōng* "to throw a cloak or other garment loosely over the body" (Giles 435), Sino-Ko. *čhang* "not girdle one's garment", and ACh. *ᶜźi̯u* 裦 > M. *ʂuˀ*, C. *ʂüᶻ* "coarse clothes of camel's hair etc." (Giles 10089), Sino-Ko. *su* "a man's outer coat, overcoat, coarse clothing".

(18) MK (513) *čäk* "a woven cotten fabric with a striped pattern".

/ Chin. ACh. *tśi̯ək* 織 > M. *ʈʂï*, C. *śi̯ək* "to weave; a woven fabric" (Kangxi., Karl. 1223, Giles 1812), Sino-Ko. *čik* id.

(19) MK (162) *čär* "heaviness, illness". cf. MK (240) *čärlig* in the phrase *közi čärlig* "a weak-sighted person", MK (388) *čärlän-* "to be sick", MK (435) *čärlät-* "to made a person ill".

/ Chin. ACh. *dzᶜi̯ĕt* 疾 > M. *ʈsi*, C. *tsɐt* "disease, grief" (Kangxi., Karl. 1049), Sino-Ko. *čir* id.

(20) MK (162) *čär* "time". cf. MK (162) *čärlik* < * *čär-lik* in the sentence *bu čärlikdä käl* "come at this time" (*-lik* is a denominal suffix). cf. Uig. *sir* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *tsiet* 節 > M. *ʈsie*, C. *tsīt* "section of time, divisions of the year" (Kängxi., Karl. 1048), Sino-Ko. *čɜr* id.

(21) MK (496) *čäy* "an iron nail". cf. Kirg. *čege* id., Uzb. *čega*, Osm. *čivi* id., etc. Dankoff (1984: 211) transcribes this word *čiž*.

/ Chin. ACh. *ʈieng* 釘 > M. *ting*, C. *ting*, *teng*, Sino-Jap. *tei* "an iron nail" (Karl. 999), Sino-Ko. *čɜng* id.

(22) MK (162–163) *čïr* "fat".

/ Chin. ACh. *ʈᶜi̯ĕt* 肶 "fat" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *čir* id.

(23) MK (162) *čür* "advantage, profit" in the Hend. *čür asïy*.

/ Chin. ACh. *tsᶜi̯ʷät* (?) 贼 "to profit", Sino-Ko. *čər id.*

(24) MK (551, 316, etc.) *kïryuy*, *qaryuy* "sparrow-hawk". Chag. *kïryu* "the name of a hunting bird of the same kind as a falcon but smaller, sparrow-hawk", Kom. *koryuy* "nightingale". cf. Mo. (Kow.) *kiryuy* "petit épervier, petit gerfaut". See Doerfer TMEN III: 14661.

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *kiʷet* 鴂 "a kind of hawk; the tailor-bird which is said to sing at the equinoxes, and which is classed as an owl" (Kangxi., Giles 3228), Sino-Ko. *kyɜr* id., and ACh. *kjʷeiᵓ* 鵙 "cuckoo" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *kuy* (*kui*) id.

G. Clauson stated in his dictionary EDT, p. 655 that the form of Chagatay *koryuy* was an inexplicable error. However, now we can understand why the Chagatay form has a rounded vowel in the first syllable, from the Ancient Chinese and Sino-Korean forms.

(25) MK (551) *korday* "pelican". Clauson (EDT 649) suggested "pelican" as the original meaning of the word, while Dankoff (1984: 275) gave "swan" for it.

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *kiu̯ɐt* 鶡 "eagle-fisher" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *kuəl* id., and ACh. *dˁiei* 鵜 "pelican" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *čəy* (< *tyəy*) id.

(26) MK (514) *man* in the phrase *man känd* "a ruined town near Kašgar".

/ Chin. ACh. *ˌmiu̯ang* 亡 > M. *uang*, C. *mong* "disappear, be lost, die, go away, destroyed", Sino-Jap. *bō* (*bau*), *mō* (*mau*) id. (Karl. 1299), Sino-Ko. *mang* id.

(27) MK (13, 230) *mur* in the compound word *čaγmur* "turnip". Clauson's suggestion in his dictionary, p. xlv that the word *mur* perhaps is a deverbal suffix is not agreeable. For, we can not find the verb *čağ-* which has a semantic connection with the word *čaγ-mur* in Turkic so far. In my opinion, the word *čaγmur* is a compound word, consisting of two nouns, i.e. čaγ and mur. As for the word *čaγ*, the origin of the word is not certain, although being considered a Chinese loan-word. However, the second word *mur* should probably be borrowed from Chinese.

/ Chin. ACh. *miu̯ət* 芴 "an edible tuber with thick leaves and woody stem" (Kangxi., Giles 12778), Sino-Ko. *mur* "turnip".

(28) MK (210–211) *sïndo* "scissors, shears" (Oğuz dialect).

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *ˌsiɨän* 剪 > M. *tsien*, C. *tsīn*, Sino-Jap. *sen* "cut, shear, shears, scissors" (Karl. 1077), Sino-Ko. *čən* id., and ACh. *ˌtâu* 刀 > M. *tau*, C. *tou*, Sino-Jap. *tō* (*tau*) "knife, sword, blade" (Karl. 975), Sino-Ko. *to* id.

(29) MK (537) *ša* "a pati-coloured bird resembling the heron".

/ Chin. ACh. *śie* 鷥 "egret" (Kangxi.), Sino-Jap. *si* id., Sino-Ko. *sa* id.

(30) MK (84) *tal* "paste" in the compound word *ardutal* "depilatory paste".

/ Chin. ACh. *tât* 饠 "a clear soup with wheat flakes in it", Sino-Ko. *tal* id.

It is interesting that this word does not occur in the Chinese dictionary Kangxi but in Sino-Korean dictionary.

(31) MK (600) *tang* "building".

/ Chin. ACh. *ⱺd^{c}âng* 堂 > M. *t^{c}ang*, C. *t^{c}ong*, Sino-Jap. *dō* (*dau*) "a hall, a palace" (Karl. 972), Sino-Ko. *tang* "a hall, a house".

(32) MK (600) *tang* "a sieve" (Arğu dialect).

/ Chin. ACh. *ⱺí^{c}ⱺiang^{ɔ}* 抬 "put in order, arrange" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *thang* "to refine, to sieve".

(33) MK (240) *taxčäk* "a kind of Chinese silk".

/ Chin compounded of ACh. *ⱺíśiak* 緆 "raw silk" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *čak* id., and ACh. *d^{c}iek* (?) 縖 "raw silk" (Kangxi.).

The word ACh. *d^{c}iek* 綍 is not found in Sino-Korean dictionaries. It also does not occur in the main vocabulary listing of the Kangxi dictionary, but it does occur as a synonym of the word ACh. *ⱺíśiak*.

(34) MK (210) *taxto* "raw silk before it is spun". Clauson stated that this word was obviously a loan-word from an unidentifiable language, cf. MK (240) *taxčäk* "a kind of Chinese silk". Clauson (EDT 467) and Dankoff (1985: 182) read this word *taxtu*.

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *ⱺíśiak* 縖 "raw silk" (Kangxi), Sino-Ko. *čak* id., and Ach. *tsiäu* (?) 綃 "row silk", Sino-Ko. *čho* id.

(35) MK (514) *taylang* in the Hend. *taylang er* "an elegant young man with a graceful figure, a clear complexion, and clean clothes", *taylang yigit* "a fastidious elegant youth". Dankoff's view in his book (1985: 182) that this word was derived from the word *tay* "colt" is not convincing.

/ Chin. compounded of ACh. *t^{c}âi^{ɔ}* 太 > M. *t^{c}ai*, C. *t^{c}āi*, Sino-Jap. *tai*, *ta* "very great, supreme, eminent, extreme" (Karl. 963), Sino-Ko. *thay* id., and ACh. *ⱺlâng* 郎 > M. *lang*, C. *long*, Sino-Jap. *rō* (*rau*) "a term of respect; a gentleman (used only to young men)" (Giles 6777, Karl. 514), Sino-Ko. *rang* (*lang*) id. cf. Sino-Ko. *thay-rang* 太郎 "an elegant youngman".

(36) MK (168) *täk* "silent, quiet" (Oğuz dialect). Chag. *tek* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *tik* 寂 > M. *chi*, C. *tsik*, Sino-Jap. *seki, shoku* "still, quiet, solidatary" (Kangxi., Giles 931), Sino-Ko. *čək* id.

(37) MK (167) *toq* in the two phrases *toq er* "a man who has no hair on his head" and *toq yïlqï* "a hornless animal". MK (236) *toqluq* "baldness, of a man; hornlessness, of an animal" < **toq–luq*.

/ Chin. ACh. *tʰuk* 禿 > M. *ʇʰu*, C. *tʰuk*, Sino-Jap. *toku* "bald, bare" (Kangxi., Karl. 1131), Sino-Ko. *tok* id.

(38) MK (600) *tong* "frozen"; (614) *tong-* "to be frozen hard". cf. Chag., CC *tong-* id., Osm. *don-* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *ʇung* 凍 > M. *tung*, C. *tung*, Sino-Jap. *tō* (*tou*) "to freeze" (Karl. 1146, Giles 12250), Sino-Ko. *tong* id.

(39) MK (505) *toy* "potter's clay" in the phrase *toy äšič* "a clay pot".

/ Chin. ACh. *ʇdʰâu* 陶 > M. *tʰau*, C. *tʰou*, Sino-Jap. *dō* (*dau*) "earthenware; pottery, kiln", Sino-Ko. *to* id.

(40) MK (503) *ton* (? *tun*) "first born". cf. Alt., Tel. *tun* id. (R III 1439), Khak. *tun* id., Tuv. *dun* id. (EDT 513).

/ ACh. *ʇdʰuɔn* 暾 "the sun appearing above the horizon, first rising sun" (Kangxi., Giles 12230, Karl. 1143), Sino-Ko. *ton* "first rising sun".

On the other hand, in my opinion, the title *tonyokok* which appears in the Orkhon Inscription is a compound word, consisting of *ton* and *yokok*. In the Chinese source Hsin T'ang-shu, the title *yokok* occurs, which is probably of Chinese origin. From this, we can assume that the name *tonyokok* consists of two words. The occurrence of the word *ton* which was used together with the title *čor*, i. e. *ton čor*, in the Chinese T'ang-shu, supports my view.

(41) MK (546) *tügä* "a calf in second year". cf. Osm. *düvä* "heifer", AZ. *düge, düye* id., Trkm. *tüvä* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *dʰuk* 犢 > M. *ʇuʰ*, C. *tuk* "calf", Sino-Jap. *toku* id., Sino-Ko. *tok* id.

(42) MK (503–504) *xon* "ungraceful", in the sentence *xon xara išlama* "do not act harshly". Clauson (EDT 631) and Dankoff (1985: 207) read this word *xun*.

/ Chin. ACh. *ruɔnˀ* 恩 > M. *xun*, C. *uɐn* "shame; to disgrace; trouble, grief" (Karl. 115), Sino-Jap. *kon* id., Sino-Ko. *hon* id.

(43) MK (515) *yaq* "distant" in the phrase *yaq yuq qadaš*.

/ Chin. ACh. *ɟiak* 遙 > M. *iau*ˀ, *üe*ˀ, *üo*ˀ, C. *iōk* "distant" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *yak* id.

(44) MK (602) *yeng* "sleeve (of a garment)". Chag., Kom. *yäng* id., Trkm. *yeng* id., Chuv. *śanɜ* id., Yak. *siex* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *ᶜ·ɟʷɛn* 褊 > M. *üan*, C. *īn* "sleeve of a garment" (Kangxi, Karl. 1340), Sino-Ko. *yɜn* id.

(45) MK (506) *yuq* "residues of food in a pot". MK (446) *yuq yaq* id.

/ Chin. ACh. *liek* 醳 "dregs of milk" (Kangxi.), Sino-Ko. *yɜk* id.

(46) MK (635) *zanbï* "locust".

/ Chin. compounded of *shan* (< ACh. *dzᶜienᵓ*) 蟬 "cicada or broad locust" (Kangxi., Giles 349), Sino-Ko. *sɜn* id., and ACh. *pjʷɐiᵓ* 蜚 "cock-roach, locust" (Kangxi., Giles 3473), Sino-Ko. *bi* "locust; cock-roach".

ABBREVIATIONS

ACh. Ancient Chinese.
C. Canton dialect.
Chin. Chinese.
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