The Turkish-Khotanese Wordlist Revisited

by

R. E. EMMERICK and A. RÓNA-TAS[1]

Hamburg/Budapest

Introductory remarks

Among the many important manuscripts acquired by Paul Pelliot in Dunhuang is a scroll now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale[2] in Paris under the signature P 2892. The recto of the scroll contains part of a copy of Hsüan-tsang's translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra which he completed on 28 November AD 663. The copyist was Wang Ho-ho, who is known to have copied other Buddhist manuscripts during the ninth century. Two texts in Brahmi script were subsequently added on the verso of the scroll but they are not accompanied by a colophon or dated in any way. They are written in one of the varieties of cursive Brahmi script used for writing many texts and documents in the Late Khotanese language. The Brahmi texts must have been copied later than the ninth century, but they can be otherwise dated only on palaeographical grounds. As however no detailed study of the cursive Brahmi script has yet been made, it is premature to attempt to date them precisely. All that can reasonably be asserted is that they are unlikely to be earlier than the tenth century.

The first 165 lines of manuscript P 2892 contain part of the text of a Khotanese version of a medical work known as the Siddhasāra. The beginning of the scroll is broken off so that line 1 will not originally have been the first line. Line 1 of the extant portion of the manuscript in fact begins in the middle of Siddhasāra 1.25.

1 An earlier version of this paper was read at the 32nd PIAC meeting in Oslo in 1989.

2 We are grateful to Mme Hélène Vetch for providing detailed information concerning the Chinese text.

However, we cannot be sure that the scribe had copied the text from the very beginning. Certainly he did not finish copying it. For no apparent reason after the first word in line 166 he gave up copying the text in the middle of Siddhasāra 2.32 and began copying the so-called Turkish-Khotanese wordlist.[3] Whether this is complete or not we do not know since he stopped in the middle of line 185 with plenty of lines ruled ready for more text. He may however have intended to continue using the scroll by copying portion of a different text.

The Turkish-Khotanese wordlist was first made known by Sir Harold W. Bailey in his article 'A Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary' published in *BSOAS*, XI.2, 1944, 290–296. The same author also published a transliteration of the text in his *Khotanese texts III*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 81–82. This was reprinted with corrections in his *Khotanese texts I–III*, Cambridge 1969 and without further corrections again in 1980. Bailey also published the text in facsimile as plate I accompanying his article 'Taklamakan miscellany' in *BSOAS*, XXXVI.2, 1973, 224–227. This article contains on pp. 224 and 227 some additional remarks concerning the text and further isolated comments can be found scattered throughout Bailey's works. His most recent observations can be found in his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge 1979.

Two studies of the wordlist have been published by Turcologists, the more important of these being E. Hovdhaugen's article 'Turkish words in Khotanese' in *NTS*, XXIV, 1971, 163–209. G. Clauson's study 'The Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary re-edited', published in *İslâm tetkikleri enstitüsü dergisi*, V, 1973, 37–45, was made only after the appearance of his work *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972. Clauson had largely discounted[4] the importance of the wordlist in his *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962 and did not return to it until after Hovdhaugen had convincingly demonstrated its importance.

3 In Bailey's editions of the text the lines are incorrectly numbered 165–184 instead of 166–185. He corrected the numbering in *BSOAS*, XXXVI.2, 1973, 224 and the correct numbering is adopted here.

4 Cf. especially p. 123, where he wrote concerning the wordlist and the Turkish words contained in other Khotanese documents that 'it is doubtful whether they can supply any very useful information on the niceties of Turkish phonetics'.

This was unfortunate as the wordlist was the only important source of evidence for Old Turkish available to Clauson that was not systematically exploited for his dictionary.

The Turkish-Khotanese wordlist is a unique document of exceptional importance for Turcological studies for a number of reasons. It cannot be later than the tenth century and provides valuable evidence for the kind of Old Turkish spoken in the kingdom of Khotan. We are fortunate in having evidence from Kāšgarī (= K.) concerning the variety of Old Turkish spoken in nearby Kashgar in the eleventh century, but whereas his material is written in Arabic script the Turkish-Khotanese wordlist is written in the same type of Indian Brahmi script as used for writing Khotanese. In the same script and dating likewise from the tenth century we have also a limited amount of material in Chinese and Tibetan. Comparative use of all this material enables us to establish with considerable assurance the phonological systems of the languages concerned.

Bailey suggested (1944: 290) that the Turkish-Khotanese wordlist may have been the jottings of a Khotanese learning Turkish, and Clauson (1973: 37) followed him without mentioning the view put forward by Hovdhaugen (1971: 166) that the author may have been motivated by some practical purpose such as military instruction since the wordlist does not contain only basic vocabulary but some highly technical terms concerned with archery and the equipment for a horse. We should however bear in mind that the scribe was not the author and that he may have copied only selected items of interest to him just as he copied only a portion of the Siddhasāra so that the small wordlist we have may have been only a portion of a larger work. Support for Hovdhaugen's hypothesis is provided by the fact that the other item copied by the scribe, namely portion of a medical text, is also highly technical.

Transliteration of the text

Khotanese glosses are printed in italics. The interlinear glosses, written in smaller script, are here printed italic in smaller type and are placed below the same words as in the manuscript. The apostrophe is used as is usual in Khotanese studies to represent the

subscript hook. It is placed after the transliteration of the vowel mark(s) attached to an akṣara.

P 2892

166 [1] kyeśä . *hūlaihä: hame* . ttupī . *hṻlaihä: hīvī*[2] *bāṇą*
167 *hame* . kūrṅālūkä . | *byihą dṻnai hame* . yasīkä . *ṇveysdyä hame*
168 kapäha':kä . *hūlaihä: hīvī tturakä hame* . yihä':rähā':kä . *hūlai-*
169 *hä: mūṇūkä hame* . kyeśä yūkī . *paraiṣkhārä*[3] *baṃdaṃ*[4] *hame* . |
170 baha':rai . *dṻnä hīvī thaṃnä hame* . saḍī . *brṛṇä hame* . ttuttasī[5]
171 | | yūgṵna . ttṇä . ttīysgṇä . yaihä': . ahä':ysī . sakalärdrrūkä
172 īḍaihä: . adrṛmä . yapī . e'mäysīhä: kąmūlädrrūhä:[6] . kālṵnä
173 ttākā . ttīḍī . ūttuhä: . kiraihä: . kūdäsähą':nä . tterkākä
174 tteha':kä . ūlṵnä . keysä . ttāḍai . tto'mau' . aḍṇä . ttulṵṇä
174b *skai* *gahe* *rahā* *chaskāṃ* *ttāra* *haṃdrrāṃgä* *gīsana*
175 kaśī . kapa'kä . kīräpīkä . yṭttä[7] karäkä . yūrṻmä kärakä . ị'ṅä .
175b *brraukalä* *tciṃmūlä* *hą̄ne* *jastā* *śīyä tceṃ* *halaśāṃ*
176 yṻṅakä . ttīśättahä': . aysaihä: . yiṅakä . kasai'hä: . ehị':nä .
176b *vatcä* *ysīmä* *haskä*
177 auvūä'rūhä:[8] . sąṅäraikä . cattäkīrä . yṭḍädī . cattā . ūvūnä[9] . arthä[10]
177b *vahaiysä* *śakye* *sarba*
178 ärttä āyai . ę'ṅä . ttimäha':kä . cīkṭnä . yarṇä . e'śṵnä .
178b *namūsthāṃ* *phattanai*
179 käḍai[11] . bīḍakä . äya . yūysī . būhä:sakä . kākuysä . są-
180 ṅäräsahä: . yąnä . ārttą̄nä yūysä . ttīysä . bauhṻ':nä . yāda
181 bakañākä . ehau':cakä . aupäka . yūrakä . bahai':rä . ttirakä
182 au'ttä . sūva'cā . karnai . bīdī . bauhą':nä . yūmūrä . karähā':kä[12]
183 sarkäñakä . bahä':räsähä: . au'ysä ettī . auysąnä . yūrägakä . ī-
184 ḍäpacākä . ą̄ṅācä . bau'hū':rä . yąnättai . kausärai . e'yä . bai'kị-
185 nä . ttau'śä . sapäha:kä

Apparatus

166] 1 The line actually begins with the word *drraubha* (from the Siddhasāra) followed by punctuation and a decorative symbol.
2 *hī* written below the line. A caret above the line between *hä:* and *vī* marks its position.
169] 3 The MS. has a deleted syllable here.
4 There is a small anusvāra (*ṃ*) below a deleted *au*-vowel mark above *da*.

170] 5 There is a small mark between *ttu* and *tta*.
172] 6 M. Maggi has convinced us that *kąmūlädrrūhä:* is actually to be read here rather than *kąmūlädrrūhi*, which we had proposed to emend to the palaeographically scarcely distinguishable *kąmūlädrrūhä:*. See the commentary below.
175] 7 The vowel mark over the *tt* of *yṭttä* appears to be deleted or made over something else so that the reading is uncertain.
177] 8 *vūä'* is written as a single akṣara.
9 *ūvū* is written as a single akṣara.
10 *arthä* appears to have been deleted.
179] 11 The *ḍ* of *käḍai* is uncertain: see the commentary below.
182] 12 Due to lack of space at the end of the line, the two dots of *hä':* are written higher than usual and *kä* below them.

Commentary

[1] 166: *kyeśä* /kēš/ 'quiver'; K. *keš*.
Gloss: *hūlaihä: hame* 'it is the quiver'.

The Khotanese word *hūlaihä:* occurs in this spelling only in this wordlist. According to Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. *hūḍaga-* (misprint for *hūḍaiga-*?) it is a dialectal form of a word spelled *hūḍaiga-* in some other texts. Since the meaning 'quiver' does not suit the context in those texts, Bailey subsumes both words under a nebulous meaning 'covering'. On the evidence of the wordlist *hūlaihä:* should mean 'quiver' whereas the contexts in which *hūḍaiga-* occurs indicate that it designates some kind of material. Bailey quotes from P 2925 *āṣkyau jsa habaḍai hūḍaiga śu-kyaina*, which he renders 'a covering filled with tears, a handkerchief', but it would seem much more likely that *āṣkyau jsa habaḍai* belongs with the preceding words *haudvī va tcaimaña* 'both eyes' and that *hūḍaiga* describes *śukyaina*. As for *śu-kyaina* it appears to be a Chinese loanword designating some textile product. In other passages too, *hūḍaiga-* appears to designate a kind of material. For a discussion of the meaning of *hūḍaiga-* see Hiroshi Kumamoto (1982: 239ff.). The origin of *hūlaihä:* is unknown.

[2] 166: *ttupī* /tüpi/ 'its bottom'; K. *tūp*.
Gloss: *ḫūlaihä: hīvī bāṇą hame* 'it is the bottom of the quiver'.

[3] 167: *kūrṅālūkä* /qurŋoluq/; K. *quruγluq* 'bow case' and *kēš quruγluq* 'quiver and bow case'.
Gloss: *byihą dūnai hame* 'it is a hunting bow'.

Bailey (1961: 148; 1973: 224; 1979: 309)–followed only by Clauson (1973: 39)–treats this as a unique word meaning 'covering' in an attempt to make the Khotanese agree with the Turkish. Earlier (1944: 291) he had correctly regarded it as a variant spelling of *byahā-* (Old Khotanese *bihā-)* 'hunting'. K. has *quruγluq* 'bow case' with the remark that for this word the Oγuz and the Qifčaq use *qurman*. These words as well as the word *yasiq* are translated in K. by the Arabic word *miqwas*. *quruγluq* and *qurman* are both derived from *qur* 'belt' (cf. Doerfer 1967: III, 438, where also *quršaq*) whereas *yasiq* is a derivative from *ya* 'bow' (cf. [4] below). It seems probable that *qurŋoluq* (perhaps a variant of *quroŋluq*) is also a derivative of *qur* 'belt'. Perhaps it denoted a type of quiver suspended on the belt or else *qurŋoluq* denoted something used to fasten the quiver to the belt. In the Pentaglott Dictionary this is called *sayadaq quri* (I, 1122), in Manchu *aksargan* 'Lederkoppel, an dem Köcher und Bogenschuh befestigt sind, Wehrgehänge'. (Manchu *aksargan*, Mongolian *aqsaryan* both derive from Mongolian *aqsarya-* 'to suspend from a belt'. Note that the 'quiver' is in Mongolian *qorumsaya* and that *qoor* is 'the part of a quiver where the tips of the arrows are placed'. Mongolian *qorumsaya* was borrowed by Late Uighur as *quramsay*: on the other hand it is likely that Mongolian *qorumsaya* and *qoor* are early loans from Turkish.

[4] 167: *yasīkä* /yasiq/; K. *yasiq* 'bow case'.
Gloss: *ṇveysdyä hame* 'it is *ṇveysdyä*'.

The Khotanese word *ṇveysdyä* is otherwise unattested. An arbitrary etymology is offered by Bailey (1979: 121). The Turkish word is a derivative of *ya* 'bow'.

[5] 168: *kapäha':kä* /qapγaq/ 'cover of the quiver'; K. *qapγaq*.
Gloss: *hūlaihä: hīvī tturakä hame* 'it is the mouth of the quiver'.

Bailey originally (1944: 291) interpreted *tturakä* here correctly as 'mouth', but later (1960: 33; 1961: 148; 1973: 224; 1979: 132) regarded it as a word of different origin meaning 'covering' occurring in this passage only. He has been followed only by Clauson (1973: 39). In his *Dict.* s.v. *tturra-* 'mouth' Bailey actually cites *ttūrakä* 'mouth' from another text.

[6] 168: *yihä':rähā':kä* /yiγirγoq/.
Gloss: *hūlaihä: mūṇūkä hame* 'it is the *mūṇūkä* (of) the quiver'.

Neither the Turkish word *yihä':rähā':kä* nor the Khotanese word *mūṇūkä* is otherwise attested. Hence, the meaning and origin of the words are unknown. Bailey's etymological speculations (1979: 335) are without support.

Consideration should be given to the possibility that the Khotanese gloss belongs not to *yihä':rähā':kä* but to the following item, which actually has *kyeśä*, which we know to correspond to *hūlaihä:*. In this case *mūṇūkä* would gloss *yūkī*, which of course does not get us any further.

[7] 169: *kyeśä yūkī* /keš yüki/ 'the load of the quiver'; K. *yük* 'load'.
Gloss: *paraiṣkhārä baṃdaṃ hame* 'it is the fastening (of) the equipment'.

Bailey (1944: 291) suggested that Turkish *yūkī* here could be either *yük* 'load' or *yök* 'feather'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 206) and Clauson (1973: 42) regard it as *yük* 'load', which Clauson assumes developed the meaning 'strap'. Since 'feather' is actually *yüg* it can be excluded here.

At first Bailey (1944: 291) interpreted the Khotanese gloss to mean 'it is the fastening(?) of the receptacle' – so Hovdhaugen (1971: 206) and Clauson (1973: 39) – but later (1979: 269) he rendered it as '(it) is the fastening of the equipment'. The later translation is preferable since in Buddhist Sanskrit *pariṣkāra* denotes any kind of equipment as does *parikkhāra* in Pali. The form *paraiṣkhāra* is a back-formation from Prakrit *parikkhāra*.

Note that this gloss appears to belong to *baha':rai* [8].

[8] 170: *baha':rai* /baγari/ 'a wide leather strap for suspending the quiver from the belt'.
Gloss: *dṷnä hīvī thaṃnä hame* 'it is the *thaṃnä* or the bow'.

The Khotanese word *thaṃnä* is attested only here. The meaning 'stretching part' proposed by Bailey (1979: 148) is based merely on an arbitrary etymology he suggested earlier (1973: 224). If the gloss has been misplaced, it may belong to [10] below.

In the Pentaglott Dictionary (I, 1122) we find *sayadaq bayi*. *sayadaq* is the Late Uighur word (here from Mongolian) for the quiver. *sayadaq bayi* is the equivalent of Manchu *ončo ümiyesün* 'breiter Gürtel, d.i. das Lederkoppel, an dem der Köcher hängt' (Hauer), Mongolian *örgen büsi* 'a wide belt' (Lessing). In fact this fastens the quiver to the belt, which suggests that the real gloss on *baha':rai* is what precedes, namely *paraiṣkhārä baṃdaṃ hame* 'it is the fastening (of) the equipment'.

[9] 170: *saḍī* /sali/ 'small leather of felt pieces stuck into the quiver to hold the arrows in place'.
Gloss: *brrāṇä hame* 'it is *brrāṇä*'.

On *sal* Hovdhaugen (1971: 196) commented: 'Osman *sal* "inner, middle, flattish part of each arm of an archery bow" (Redhouse), "Handgriff des Bogens" (Rad. IV,343), Turkm. *sāl* "dugi"'. Since item [8] has nothing to do with the bow, Hovdhaugen's suggestion is hardly acceptable. In the Pentaglott Dictionary I, 1121 *salasi* is found rendering Manchu *siku* 'in den Köcher gestopfte Leder- und Filzstücke, welche die Pfeile festhalten' (Hauer), Mongolian *obodu* 'sockets of leather or felt for the arrows in a quiver' (Lessing). The morphological structure of the Late Uighur word of the Pentaglott Dictionary is not quite clear, but it may be of the same origin as *sali*, being the participle with the suffix *-asi* (cf. *tutasi* [10]?) from a verb *sal-* (cf. Mongolian *salaji* 'thongs of a crupper loop').

Originally (1944: 291) Bailey left Khotanese *brrāṇä* unexplained as a unique word, but in his *Dict.* s.v. *brrāṃna-* he explains it as 'carrier' on the strength of an etymological connection with *bar-* 'to carry'. This appears to be quite arbitrary.

If as has been suggested above some of the glosses have been displaced, it may be possible to account for *brrāṇä* as a miswriting of *byāṇä* 'bridle' since *by* is sometimes miswritten *brr*. The gloss would then belong to [11].

[10] 170: *ttuttasī* /tutasi/ 'the handle of the bow'.

The Turkish word *ttuttasī* is not otherwise known. Bailey (1944: 291) suggested it meant 'handle' and derived it from *tut-* 'to grasp'. In the Pentaglott Dictionary (I, 1098) *tutyuci* is used to render Manchu *meiren* 'Seite des Bogengriffes' (Hauer), Mongolian *bariγul* 'handle'. On the suffix *-asi* see [9].

The Khotanese gloss may have been *dṷnä hīvī thaṃnä hame* 'it is the *thaṃnä* of the bow' [8].

[11] 171: *γūgṷna* /yügün/ 'bridle'; K. *γügün*.

The gloss on *γūgṷna* may have been misplaced: see on [9] above.

[12] 171: *ttīṇä* /tin/ 'halter'; K. *tīn*.

Old Turkish *tin* may mean 'halter' rather than 'bridle' according to Clauson (1972: 512).

[13] 171: *ttīysgīṇä* /tizgin/ 'bridle'; K. *tīn tizgin* 'halter and bridle'.

[14] 171: *yaihä':* /yiγ/ 'bridle-bit'; K. *γügün γīgi* 'bit of the bridle'.

Bailey (1944: 291) suggested *γig* 'bridle-bit', following Brockelmann's reading (1928) of Kāšgarī's item. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 204) both *γiγ* and *γig* are possible. The word was a hapax in Kāšgarī. Clauson (1972: 910; 1973: 39) read *γé:g* because he supposed connection with *γé:-* (ibid. 869) 'to eat'. Dankoff–Kelly read *γīk*. *γiγ* may be connected with **γig-* 'to press' as in *γigi* 'dense'.

[15] 171: *ahä':γsī* /aγzi/ 'its mouth'; K. *aγzi'*.

Reference is presumably to the mouth of the horse's bit [14] as understood by Bailey (1944: 291) and Hovdhaugen

(1971: 179–180) and not to the horse's mouth as apparently implied by Clauson (1973: 39): 'his mouth'.

[16] 171: *sakalädrrūkä* /saqaldruq/ 'sub-mental strap on the harness'; K. *saqalduruq* 'name for the thread woven from silk which is attached to caps in order to fasten the cap underneath the chin so that it does not fall off'.

Bailey (1944: 291; 1979: 170) regarded *sakalädrrūkä* as being a Turkish word *sakalä* 'beard' glossed by a Khotanese word *drrūkä* 'hair'. His analysis has remained unchallenged despite the fact that the manuscript contains no punctuation or other indication that a gloss should be sought here. Moreover, in the case of the other glosses that are not interlinear, the formulation with *hame* 'it is' occurs. The term *saqalduruq* is explained by Radloff (1911: IV.246) as 'der Riemen am Pferdezaume, der unterhalb des Kinnes liegt'. It occurs in the Pentaglott Dictionary I, 1137.

[17] 172: *īḍaihä:* /iliγ/ 'attachment (to the harness)'.

Bailey (1944: 291) suggested with hesitation that *īḍaihä:* could be interpreted either as *ilik* 'marrow of bones' or as *ilig* 'hand'. On phonetic grounds Hovdhaugen (1971: 191) preferred *ilik* 'marrow of bones' and he was followed in this without comment by Clauson (1973: 39). However, now that it has become clear that the context did not change at [16] to parts of the body but continued to list equipment of the horse, neither 'marrow of the bones' nor 'hand' is appropriate to the context. There can be little doubt that *īḍaihä:* represents /iliγ/ 'attachment', cf. *ilig* 'attachment' in Clauson's dictionary (1972: 142).

[18] 172: *adrṛimä* /adrim/ 'saddle pad'; K. *aδrim*.

Bailey (1944; 291) proposed with hesitation *aδrïm* 'felt saddle-cloth' following Brockelmann's edition of Kāšgarī. Hovdhaugen (1971: 179) accepted this while pointing out that *aδrïm* means more accurately 'saddle pad'. Clauson accepted the identification but interpreted the reading as *eḍrim* (1972: 66) or *eḍrem* (1973: 39) because he connected it with *eḍer* 'saddle'. Dankoff–Kelly adopted Clauson's reading in their edition, but Brockelmann's reading is preferable. The word may belong etymologically to *adïr-* 'to separate' (for which see Clauson 1972: 66), the *aδrïm* being that which separates horseback and saddle.

[19] 172: *yapī* /yapi/ 'saddle blanket'; K. *yapi* (Čigil dialect).

The final *i* is not here the 3 sg. suffix as suggested by Bailey (1944: 291 *'yap-i* "its woollen rags"') but the deverbal suffix *-i*. A wide range of related words is quoted by Clauson (1972: 873).

[20] 172: *e'mäysīhä:* /emziγ/ 'the extremity of a saddlebow'; K. *emzüg*.

Bailey (1944: 291) quoted Ottoman *ämzik* 'breast', which has been followed by Hovdhaugen (1971: 189) and Clauson (1973: 39). The meaning is however unsuited to the context, which continues to be the equipment of a horse.

Note that K. originally had *emzig*, which was later corrected to *emzüg*.

[21] 172: *kāṃūlädrrūhä:* /kömüldrüγ/ 'the breast-girth on the saddle'; K. *kömüldürük*.

Bailey (1944: 291) read here *kāṃūlä drrūysi*, seeing in *kāṃūlä* the Turkish word *köŋül* 'breast' and in *drrūysi*, a Khotanese gloss on *kāṃūlä*. His explanation of *kāṃūlä* has been generally accepted. However, no Khotanese word *drrūysi* is attested, and the etymological explanation he offered in 1979: 169 is quite arbitrary. Moreover, as in the case of [16] above, the manuscript lends no support to the idea that the word should be divided. At first we were inclined to propose reading *kāṃūlädrrūysi* by a slight emendation as **kāṃūlädrrūhä:*, which can readily be explained in a manner appropriate to the context. Subsequently, M. Maggi convinced us that the manuscript actually has *kāṃūlädrrūhä:* so that it is not necessary even to emend the text. *kömüldürük* is attested in the Pentaglott Dictionary I, 1140.

For Hovdhaugen (1971: 193) the identification of *kāṃūlä* as *köŋül* caused difficulty because the change of *-ŋ-* to *-m-* is of later date. Clauson (1973: 42) pointed out that

kömüldürük is as early as the eleventh century (cf. his dictionary 1972: 722–723). Perhaps there was a dissimilation caused by the preceding or following velar consonant.

[22] 172: *kālṳ̄nä* /qolun/; K. *qolan* '(saddle) girth'.

The identification of *kālṳ̄nä* with Turkish *qolan, qolun* 'girth strap', first proposed by Bailey (1944: 291), has been generally accepted. He was also followed in assuming that the following word *ttākā* is a Khotanese gloss on *kālṳ̄nä*. However, the manuscript lends no support for this idea, and no such Khotanese word is attested. The manuscript does not actually guarantee that *ttākā* is indeed a separate word from *kālṳ̄nä* as the paper is cut so that the *nä* of *kālṳ̄nä* is not quite complete and no punctuation mark is in fact visible.

[23] 173: *ttākā* /toqo/ 'belt buckle'; K. *toqu*.

This word has hitherto been regarded as a Khotanese gloss on [22], but there is no evidence for that assumption: see on [22] above. Bailey's etymological speculations (1979: 125) concerning *ttākā* are groundless. There is no difficulty about explaining the word as Turkish: see Clauson's dictionary (1972: 466) s.v. *toku:* 'buckle'. Note especially in the Codex Cumanicus *toya* 'Schnalle; Ring am Zaumzeug' and *toqa* in the Pentaglott Dictionary I, 1152.

[24] 173: *ttīḍī* /tili/ 'its tongue'; K. *til*.

Bailey (1944: 291) correctly explained *ttīḍī* as *til-i* 'its tongue' without accounting for 'its'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 200) suggested that it may rather be identical with Kāšgarī's *tili* 'thong (which ties the head to an arrow)'. However, since *ttākā* is a belt buckle with a tongue, *ttīḍī* is clearly 'its (= the belt buckle's) tongue'.

[25] 173: *ūttuhä:* /utuγ/ 'a broad strap on the left side of the saddle'; cf. K. *utγun* 'a broad strap on the saddle from the left side; the ring of the girth is attached to it and fastened with a tongue'.

According to Bailey (1944: 292) *ūttuhä:* is *ottuq* 'flint (for kindling fire)'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 203) objected that this should be *otluq*. He noted that the word may be read as *utuγ* or *ütüg*. Clauson (1973: 39) read *ütüg* 'flat iron', assuming that it had here the special meaning 'a hot iron for singeing horses' (1973: 42). This word is well attested, but it does not suit the context.

[26] 173: *kiraihä:* /qiriγ/ 'selvage (of the saddle)'; K. *qiryaq* 'the selvages of a garment'.

Bailey (1944: 292) quoted *qïraq* 'whetstone', but Hovdhaugen (1971: 194) pointed out difficulties with regard to both semantics and transcription. He suggested *qïrïγ* 'edge, border', although he did not regard the problem of the semantics as settled thereby. According to Clauson (1973: 42–43) it 'could hardly represent anything except *(kırığ), a deverbal noun from (kır-) "to scrape". It could mean a curry-comb or other implement used for grooming horses'. Kāšgarī's *qïryaq* developed from **qïrïγaq*, a suffixed form of *qïrïγ*.

[27] 173: *kūdäsähq̄':nä* /qudisγon/ 'crupper strap'; K. *quduzγun*.

Bailey (1944: 292) quoted *quisqan, qosqan* 'crupper' from Bang (*Túrán*, 1918, 307 n. 36). Hovdhaugen (1971: 194–195) ruled out Bailey's proposal on phonetic grounds. He himself read *quδïsïγon* but could offer no explanation. Clauson (1973: 43) considered *-s-* to be 'due to an error of hearing or memory' and identified it as *quduryun* 'crupper strap'. Dankof–Kelly (1982–1985: I, 13, 31) pointed out that Kāšgarī's item should be read as *quduzγun* and referred to *kūdäsähq̄':nä*. Interesting are the Kirghiz forms *kuzuskan* and *kuskun* cited by Almássy (1901: 114). *kuzuskan* reflects a form in which the original *-d-* did not become *-y-*, but was preserved as *-z-* while the original *-z-* by assimilation became *-s-* before *-k-*. The basic word was **qudur* 'tail of the horse or other animal'. In most languages we find *qudruq* or a development from it. Chuvash *xüre* goes back to an earlier *quγruγ* < *qudruq* and thus in the cluster *-dr-* the *-d-* did not become *-r-*. The special development of the *-d-* before *-r-* can be observed in several languages.

[28] 173: *tterkākä* /terkök/ 'saddle strap'; cf. K. *terkü* [*terkö*?].

Bailey (1944: 292) hesitated between *türγaq* 'nail, claw' and *taryaq* 'comb'. On account of the phonetic problems Hovdhaugen (1971: 200) considered the word to be unidentified. Clauson (1973: 40, 43) read rather *türgek* 'package'. The final *-k*, which appears only here, is the diminutive suffix. Note that Dankoff – Kelly read Kāšgarī's gloss as *tergü*.

[29] 174: *tteha':kä* /teγäk/ 'incision on arrow'.
Gloss 174a: *skai*.

Bailey (1944: 292) identified *tteha':kä* with Teleut *teγāk* 'fish-hook', but for semantic and phonetic reasons Hovdhaugen (1971: 200) preferred comparison with Teleut *tāk*, which in Shor means according to Radloff (1911: 1016) 'der Kerb am Ende des Pfeiles, an dem man ihn gegen die Sehne drückt'. Since the following items concern the arrow, it is likely that *tteha':kä* belongs to the same semantic sphere so that Hovdhaugen's suggestion is to be preferred to Clauson's proposal (1973: 40, 43) to see here *tügek* 'a wooden ring on the end of a cord with which loads are fastened'.

With this item begins a series of interlinear Khotanese glosses. The Khotanese word *skai* is however attested only here, and the etymology proposed by Bailey (1979: 430) is unsupported.

[30] 174: *ūlṳ̄nä* /ulun/ 'arrow shaft'; K. *ulun*.
Gloss 174a: *gahe*.

Bailey's identification (1944: 292) on *ūlṳ̄nä* with *ulun* 'arrow shaft' has been universally accepted. The Khotanese gloss is not as clear as appears at first sight. Bailey (1958: 528) gave the meaning of Khotanese *gahe* as 'shaft of arrow' on the basis of the Turkish *ūlṳ̄nä* and proposed a rather uncertain etymology that he repeated in his dictionary (1979: 81). This *gahe* is equated by him with *gahai*, for which he quotes in his dictionary from the fragment Kha 1.182a1.a1 published by him in transcription in his *Khotanese texts V*, Cambridge 1963, 153–154, and from an obscure text Ch CVI.001, which he published in transcription in his

Khotanese texts II, 1954, 59–61. The latter appears to contain a long and miscellaneous list of gifts, where it is by no means certain that 'one large and one small arrow shaft' are appropriate items. Moreover, whereas in his earlier article (1958: 528) Bailey evidently thought that *gahā* in this text was the plural of *gahai*, in the dictionary he has treated it as a separate word meaning 'covering' (s.v. *gahaā-*). Twice in this text *gahā śa* (which Bailey in the dictionary emends to *gahā śā*) is followed by *gahai śau* (a18, b4–5), which would suggest some connection between the two. In the case of Kha 1.182a1.a1 the phrase *gahai ttu ne khaittä* occurs, which Bailey renders 'the arrow-shaft does not wound him'. This looks plausible although one may still wonder whether it is not rather the arrowhead that should do the wounding. In 1958: 528 Bailey connected this *gahe* with Iranian words meaning 'club' and 'wood' suggesting that the arrow shaft was so named as being made of wood. Later (1967: 76) he appears to have realised that Old Khotanese *ggei'hā-* 'piece of wood' may have something to do with the matter, a suggestion retained in the dictionary. However, a direct connection seems excluded by the fact that Kha 1.182a1 is written in *Old* Khotanese.

[31] 174: *keysä* /kez/ 'arrow notch'; K. *käz*.
Gloss 174a: *rahā* '?'.

The word *kez* appears to have meant not only 'notch of arrow', but also to have denoted a special kind of arrow, cf. *uzun kez* 'long arrow' (= Mongolian *urtu boruγa* 'the whistling arrow') in Pentaglott (1957: 1055) and see Kőhalmi (1956: 116) for Chagatai *kez* (misread as *gez*), Ottoman Turkish *gez* etc.

The Khotanese word *rahā* is attested only here. The etymology offered by Bailey (1979: 360) is unsupported.

[32] 174: *ttāḍai* /toli, töli/ '?'.
Gloss 174a: *chaskāṃ* '?'.

Bailey (1944: 292) compared *ttāḍai* with *talai* 'forehead', a word attested only in Chagatai according to Hovdhaugen (1971: 198), who rejected the comparison on phonetic

grounds. Bailey tried to defend his suggestion by claiming that Turkish *ttāḍai* is an Iranian loanword (1973: 227; 1979: 107, 126), this in spite of his having some difficulty in justifying the spelling with *-ā-* for expected *-ă-*. Clauson (1973: 43) hesitantly suggested *töli* 'its progeny' since *döl* in Ottoman Turkish came to mean 'foetus'.

It is not certain whether this item continues the terms concerning arrows or whether it is the first in the series concerning parts of the body that starts at the latest with [34] 'forehead'. No convincing explanation has been found on either assumption.

A very tentative approach to the problem would be to equate *ttāḍai* with *toli* 'round', assuming that the term may have designated some part of an arrow. *toli* is used only in the phrase *toli tegre* 'all around' (cf. Clauson 1972: 491), but it must originally have been more widely used since it was borrowed into Mongolian as *toli* in the meaning 'mirror', Mongol mirrors being round in shape.

The Khotanese gloss *chaskāṃ* remains obscure. At first Bailey (1944: 292) merely described it as being 'of uncertain meaning', but later (1973: 227; 1979: 107) after studying the Khotanese documents and convincingly establishing the meaning of *chaska-* as 'barley', he proposed to see in the gloss *chaskāṃ* a related word meaning 'forehead'. In his words: 'Hence, *chaska-* "pointed thing", with suffix *-āna-*.' However, the Khotanese suffix *-āna-* is not used in this way (cf. A. Degener, *Khotanische Suffixe*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 83ff.). As a form of *chaska-* 'barley' *chaskāṃ* can only be oblique plural, normally gen.-dat. plural, but it is difficult to see how to account for such a form, and Bailey may well therefore be justified in looking for a related but different word in *chaskāṃ*. However, the only explanation that is formally acceptable would be to see in *chaskāṃ* a compound such as **chaska-dāna-* 'receptacle for holding barley' or **chaska-dānā-* 'barley seed'. The formation would be like *phiysgāna-* 'urinary bladder' (cf. Bailey 1979: 262 s.v.), reduced in Late Khotanese to *phiysgāṃ*, or like *śaśvāna-* 'grain of mustard' < **śaśva-dānā-* (Bailey 1979: 156, 396), reduced in Late Khotanese to *śaśvāṃ*. If then *chaskāṃ* means 'barley seed', it is tempting to reconsider the identification proposed by Clauson with *töl* since this word could also mean 'seed'. Some problems remain since 'barley seed' would not suit either the context of arrows or that of parts of the body. It is perhaps worth considering whether [32] and [33] did not belong to a different context since [33] is also obscure. Another problem raised by this explanation of *chaskāṃ* is how to account for the ending of *ttāḍai*.

[33] 174: *tto'mau'* /tomo (?)/ '?'.
Gloss: *ttāra* '?'.

Bailey's original identification (1944: 292) of *tto'mau'* with *tügmä*, meaning according to him 'top, head', was rejected on phonetic and semantic grounds by Hovdhaugen (1971: 201), who considered the word unidentified. He also pointed out that the vowel *-o-* is not otherwise used for transcribing Turkish words in the list. To this observation must be added the unusual use of two successive subscript hooks without any apparent reason for either of them.

Clauson (1973: 40, 43) was convinced that *tto'mau'* was a scribal error and represented Turkish *töpü* 'top of the head'.

Both Bailey's and Clauson's explanations assume that the context is already parts of the body as indicated by [34], but that is by no means certain on account of the obscurity of [32], which may continue the arrow context or even introduce a different category. No convincing explanation has been offered on any assumption concerning the context.

Attention is here drawn to Kirghiz *tomo* designating 'the root of the horn', which derives from **tom-* 'to cut in a rounded shape' (for which see Clauson 1972: 509). Related words are Tara *tom* 'walzenrund, rund', Chagatai *tomalaq* 'round', and Khazak *tomar* 'stump of a tree, block, thick log'. Assuming that we have here the arrow context, one could speculate further that *tto'mau'* thus represents a *u/o*-derivative of **tom-* in a specialized sense of 'blunt arrowhead'. Blunt arrowheads were used for hunting animals with valuable furs. For the concept reference may be made to U. Kőhalmi (1956: 134), who mentions Manchu *tono* 'Köpfchen, Kügelchen an der Spitze der zum Erlegen der Hasen dienenden Pfeile'. (This

cannot be connected etymologically with *tto'mau'* /tomo/ since it is borrowed from Mongolian *toγono* 'smoke hole in the top of the yurt, the frame covering the opening'.)

The Khotanese gloss *ttāra* is quite ambiguous. Bailey (1944: 292) assumed it meant 'forehead' in the light of [34], which has the same meaning, and this has been accepted ever since. However, as we have seen, it is by no means certain that the parts of the body context begins before [34], and it is not clear why it should begin with two words designating the forehead. Leaving aside the common Khotanese word *ttāra-* 'dark', which might recall *tamu* 'hell' for *tto'mau'*, in Late Khotanese *ttāra* may well stand for *ttaura-* 'wall' (for which see Bailey 1979: 134 s.v.). In his dictionary (1979: 134) Bailey also has an entry for *ttorä* 'peak', but not too much weight should be attached to this as the word occurs only twice (spelled once with *-o-* and once with *-au-*) in a single fragmentary context. It is not certain that it is different from *ttaura-* 'wall'.

[34] 174: *aḍiṇä* /alin/ 'forehead'; K. *alin*.
Gloss 174a: *haṃdrrāṃgä* 'forehead'.

Here we appear to be on firm ground again after two obscure items since both the Turkish and its Khotanese gloss are unproblematic. *haṃdrrāṃgä* is the expected nominative singular to which the regular oblique form is attested three times, twice in bilingual texts guaranteeing the meaning.

[35] 174: *ttulīṇä* /tuluŋ/ 'temple (of the head)'; cf. K. *tuluŋ*.
Gloss 174a: *gīsana* '?'.

Bailey (1944: 292) identified *ttulīṇä* with *tulung* 'braid of hair'. The meaning 'braid of hair' is however only a late development from 'hair on the temples', the original meaning being 'temple' (cf. Clauson 1972: 501). In K. *yügün tunluŋ* is used of a horse's bridle fittings including temple straps.

The Khotanese gloss occurs only here. Bailey (1944: 292) compared *gīsana* with *'gīsai* "rope" and NPers. *gēs* "lock of hair"'. His *gīsai* 'rope' seems to be a mistake since *gīsai* means 'grass' and *gīska* means 'rope' as correctly listed in his dictionary (1979: 84).

[36] 175: *kaśī* /qaši/ 'its eyebrow'; K. *qāš*.
Gloss 175a: *brraukalä* 'eyebrow'.

qaši is attested in the Pentaglott Dictionary I, 1272.

kaśī was correctly identified by Bailey (1944: 292). Khotanese *brraukala-* 'eyebrow' is attested several times (Bailey 1979: 316) and has a well-established Iranian etymology.

There is no justification for Clauson's '**brraukalä** (unknown)' (1973: 40). *brrauhalä* in Hovdhaugen (1971: 194) is merely a misprint.

[37] 175: *kapa'kä* /qapaq/ 'eyelid'; K. *qapaq*.
Gloss 175a: *tciṃmūlä* 'eye-muscle'.

Although the Khotanese gloss *tciṃmūlä* occurs only here its formation is transparent, being a compound of the well-known word *tciṃ* 'eye' and the less well-known word *mūlä* 'muscle'. Since 'eye-muscle' is not necessarily the same as 'eyelid' and since the Khotanese word for 'eyelid' occurs as a gloss to the Turkish /kirpik/ 'eyelash' [38], it looks as though the Turkish counterpart of Khotanese *tciṃmūlä* has in fact dropped out with the result that *hāṇe* has been written below [38] instead of [37]. See Emmerick 1987: 167–168.

[38] 175: *kīräpīkä* /kirpik/ 'eyelash'; K. *kirpik*.
Gloss 175a: *hāṇe* 'eyelids'.

In his original article Bailey (1944: 292) stated that Khotanese *hāṇe* occurs only here, which is presumably the reason why Clauson (1973: 40) has '**hāne** (unknown)'. However, in his dictionary (1979: 477 s.v. *hāṃnā-*) Bailey was able to cite three other occurrences of the word. In two of those the word seems likely to mean 'eyelids' rather than 'eyelashes', which suggests that the gloss may have been displaced. See Emmerick 1987: 167–168 and on [37] above.

[39] 175: *yīttä karäkä* /yit qaraq/ 'pupil of the eye'; K. *īlt qaraq*.
Gloss 175a: *jastā* 'part of the eye'.

Bailey (1944: 292) identified *yīttī* (as he read the word) with Turkish *yiti* 'sharp' and *karäkä* with Turkish *qaraq* 'eyeball', but he was not satisfied by the combination. Bailey's

identifications have been accepted by Hovdhaugen (1971: 193, 205) and Clauson (1973: 40).

Kāšgarī has *ül* 'pupil of the eye' and adds that 'the Oghuz say *üd*'. Basically the word means 'hole, aperture' (Clauson 1972: 36, 652). The vowel is etymologically long and hence a prothetic *y-* would be possible, although it is not yet otherwise attested. The vowels of *yit* and of **yüt* are also not the same. Nevertheless, the pupil of the eye is the 'black part of the eye', which is to be expected here since the following item [40] is the 'white part of the eye'.

Originally Bailey (1944: 292) considered the Khotanese gloss *jastā* to be plural, but in his dictionary (1979: 109) he no longer gives any indication of this idea. There is in fact no justification for it: on the contrary, in the passages in which it occurs in the Siddhasāra it is clearly singular. In Siddhasāra 26.26 we find *khvai hā haryāsye jaste biṃdä śīyi kanā hamāte* ... 'if a white spot (Skt. *sitabinduṃ*) should arise for one on the black (Skt. *kṛṣṇa-*) part (Skt. *-bhāge*) (of the eye) ...' and in Siddhasāra 26.27 *cu tciṃ' hīye śīye jaste biṃdä heṃji kanā hamāte* 'if a red (Skt. *raktaṃ*) spot should arise on (Skt. *-sthaṃ*) the white (Skt. *śukla-*) part (Skt. *bhāga-*) (of the eye) ...'.

[40] 175: *ɣūrūṃä kärakä* /yürüm qaraq/ 'the white of the eye'; K. *ürüŋ qaraq*.
Gloss 175a: *śīyi tceṃ* 'white (of the) eye'.

Hovdhaugen (1971: 206–207) cited the Uighur forms *yürüŋ, ürüŋ* as well as Yakut *ürüŋ*. According to Hovdhaugen the *-m* may be due to dissimilation or to the unstable nature of /ŋ/.

[41] 175: *ṭ'ṇä* /iŋ/ 'slime'; K. *yiŋ*.
Gloss 175a: *halaśāṃ* 'side of the face'.

Bailey's original identification (1944: 292) of *ṭ'ṇä* with Turkish *ying* 'slime' has been universally accepted, although Hovdhaugen (1971: 192) finds the absence of initial *y-* strange.

The Khotanese gloss was read by Bailey (1944: 292) as *halaśā* despite the clear anusvāra above the final akṣara and

this oversight has never been corrected although it makes the explanation of the Khotanese word immediately apparent as a compound of *hala-* 'side' and *śāṃ*, reduced form of *śāma* 'face'. For these items reference can be made to Bailey's dictionary (1979: 470). Although the Khotanese gloss is attested only here, there can be no doubt about its meaning as the constituent elements of the compound are securely attested.

Clauson's comment (1973: 40) '**halaśā** (unknown)' is based on Bailey's original comment 'Khot. only here'. The etymology offered by Bailey (1979: 470 s.v. *halaśā*) is unsupported and now that it can be seen that the underlying assumption concerning its meaning is incorrect, it must be rejected.

The discrepancy in meaning between the Turkish lemma and its Khotanese gloss requires explanation. The Turkish *ṭ'ṇä* is unlikely to have been written for /eŋ/ 'cheek' since this occurs as item [55] and *ṭ-* would be phonetically difficult. However, it does look as though the Khotanese gloss has been written below the wrong word, perhaps because of the graphic and acoustic similarity between the two words. Note too that the Khotanese gloss to [55] almost certainly belongs to [56].

[42] 176: *ɣūṇakä* /yuŋaq/ 'small (?) hair'; K. *yuŋ* 'wool'.
Gloss: *vatcä* 'hair (on the cheeks)'.

Bailey (1944: 292) compared *ɣūṇakä* with Turkish *yüng* and the suffix *-äk*. Hovdhaugen (1971: 206) pointed out that *yüŋäk* is nowhere attested in Old Turkish and was inclined to consider identification with *yuŋaq* 'soapwort', but he was not aware of the meaning of the Khotanese gloss. Clauson (1973: 40, 43) was no doubt correct in accounting for *ɣūṇakä* as *yuŋ* 'wool' or '(camel or goat's) hair' with the diminutive *-aq* suffix. The back vocalism of this word is very old as shown by Mongol *nunggasun* 'wool' < *nung* < Turkic **ñuŋ*.

[43] 176: *ttīśättahä'*: /tiš taɣ/ 'molar tooth; crown of the tooth'; K. *tīš, tāɣ*.
Gloss 176a: *ysīmä* 'teeth'.

Bailey (1944: 292) compared *ttīšättahä':* with *taγ-tiš* from the Ming period Uighur-Chinese dictionary *Hua i γi γü* made known by Ligeti (1966: 257). Hovdhaugen (1971: 201) offered two readings *tištaγ* and *tištäg* and regarded only the first element as certain. The problem not explicitly mentioned by Hovdhaugen and Clauson is that one would expect either *tiš taγi* or *taγ tiš*. The quasi suffix *-täg* 'like' could hardly be expected here. For the use of *tiš* qualifying a following noun we may compare Kāšgarī 497, where we find *tiš at* 'a horse whose blaze is spread over his eyes. This is between the horse called [in Arabic] mubarqi^{c} the one called 'uṣfūr.' (Dankoff – Kelly 1982–1985: II 212).

For the Khotanese gloss *ysīmä* 'teeth' see Bailey's dictionary (1979: 351 s.v.). Note that *ysīmä* is written below *ttīšä°* 'tooth' and may not have been intended to gloss *ttīšättahä':*.

[44] 176: *aysaihä:* /aziγ/ 'canine tooth'; K. *aziγ*.
Gloss: *haskä* 'elephant tusk'.

[45] 176: *yiṅakä* /yiŋaq/ 'cheekbone'; K. *yaŋaq* 'side; cheekbone'.

Bailey identified *yiṅakä* as Turkish *äŋäk* 'jaw', but Hovdhaugen (1971: 205) objected on phonetic grounds. Clauson (1973: 40) adduced Kāšgarī's form *yaŋaq* 'cheekbone', which seems convincing. There the fatha on the first consonant was added by a later hand. For *i* ~ *a* see [56] [66].

[46] 176: *kasai'hä:* /qasiγ/ 'inside of the cheeks'; K. *qasiγ* 'inside of the cheeks, jaws'.

[47] 176: *ehṭ':nä* /eγin/ 'shoulder'; K. *ägin*.

[48] 177: *auvūä'rūhä:* /ovuruγ/ 'vertebra'; K. *owruγ* 'first vertebra of the neck, the more correct form is *oγruγ*'.

According to Clauson (1972: 92–93) the basic meaning of this word is 'backbone'. Concerning the form he comments 'Almost the only stable elements about this word in modern language are the meaning, the initial *o-* and the *-r-*.' The Brahmi transcription indicates a pronunciation /ovuruγ/ though the transcription of the second syllable is unusual. The akṣara consists in the sign for *v* with subscribed *ū* and hook as well as with superscribed *ä*. The superscribed *ä* probably merely delimits the syllable as in *kīräpīkä* for /kirpik/ etc.

[49] 177: *sąṅäraikä* /saŋriq/ 'rump'; K. *sayri* 'hide', Ottoman *sağry* 'rump'.

Bailey (1944: 293) wished to emend to **ąṅäraikä*, which he proposed to identify with *ängräk* 'finger'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 197) regarded the word as unidentified although he tentatively suggested comparing Chagatai *saŋraq* 'der Huf des Rindes'. Clauson (1973: 43) compared *sayraq* 'cup, goblet' and suggested it may here mean 'cranium'.

In view of the semantic difficulties of previous explanations, it is here suggested that *sąnäraikä* may be a derivative of the word *sayri*, which originally meant 'the place between the tail and the anus of the horse, rump', hence the 'hide covering this body part, shagreen (this word through French finally goes back to the Turkic word)'. Kāšgarī has *sayri* 'hide' only, but in some languages the meaning 'rump' has been preserved.

[50] 177: *cattäkīrä* /čatqir/ '?'.

Bailey (1944: 293) suggested **čatqïr* 'joint', not traced elsewhere, from *čatmaq* 'to join, build' with the suffix *-qïr*, and quoted Osmanli *čati* 'joint'. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 187) Bailey's suggestion must be regarded as hypothetical as long as both the word and the derivational suffix are not attested in Old Turkish. Clauson (1973: 43) pointed out that the suffix *-qïr* is a late borrowing from Mongolian and that the Osmanli word is a secondary derivation from *čatiγ*, which had the meaning 'a frame-work; skeleton' and thus can scarcely be connected with our word.

A verb *čat-* 'to join' does in fact exist (Clauson 1972: 402) as does a noun *čat* with the meaning 'joint, any place of joining': Turki *čat* 'the space between the legs' (Jarring 1964: 67; cf. Pentaglott 1299 *čat* = Mongolian *ala* 'joint of the thighs; pubic region'). The suffix is obscure in this case too.

In his dictionary (1979: 406) Bailey proposed to see in *cattäkīrä* a Turkish loanword from Iranian meaning 'rung of

ladder'. *cattäkīrä* he regards as a compound of *cattä-* 'ladder', which he identifies with *cattā* [52], and *kīrä* 'rod', which he sees in the Khotanese hapax legomenon *kīḍā* and in *kīrä*, which is a misspelling of *kṣīrä* 'milk' as shown in Emmerick 1982: 32. Any attempt to explain a Turkish word as an Iranian loanword that depends on Iranian etymological speculations concerning rare words is not likely to convince.

If glosses [51] and [53] are in fact verbs as they appear to be, then [50] and perhaps [52] may be call words for horses.

[51] 177: *yīḍädī* /yildi/ 'descended' (?); K. *il-* 'to come down'.
Gloss 177a: *vahaiysä* 'descend!'.

Bailey (1944: 293) identified *yīḍädī* with Turkish *ildi* 'descended'. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 205) the explanation can hardly be questioned, but the initial *y-* remains difficult to explain. Clauson (1973: 40) appears to have had no difficulty in accepting Bailey's proposal. In fact, the past tense marker poses more of a problem than the initial *y-*. Certainly the Khotanese gloss cannot be a past tense form. Bailey suggested originally (1944: 293) that it was either a noun or the 3 sg. optative of the verb *vahīys-* 'to descend'. In his dictionary (1979: 382) he lists it as a noun only. Formally a noun *vahīysa-* would present no difficulty, but it is not certainly attested. According to Degener (1989: 11) *vahaiysā* in Mañj 6 is more likely to be from *vahīysa-* than to be a Late Khotanese form of *vahīysāmatā-* because *vahaiysā* has a metaphorical meaning, but that seems hardly sufficient justification to look for a different suffix. In the dictionary Bailey quotes for a noun *vahaiysä* also a passage from P 2891 – his reference to II 80·29 is a misprint for III 80·29 – but the passage is obscure. *vahaiysä* is most likely to be a verb and in view of the clearly parallel item in [53] *sarba* 'rise!', it will be a 2 sg. imperative rather than a 3 sg. optative as suggested by Bailey.

[52] 177: *cattā* /čato/ '(?)'.
Gloss 177a: *ṣakye* (?).

Originally Bailey (1944: 293) was unable to give any explanation for *cattā* and *ṣakye*, and none was provided by

Hovdhaugen (1971: 187) or Clauson (1973: 40). In his dictionary, however, Bailey (1979: 406) attributed to *ṣakye* the meaning 'ladder'. Bailey's idea is that *ṣakye*, which occurs only here in Khotanese, is etymologically related to the word *būṣṣätā-* 'ladder', whose meaning is securely attested, and that the meaning of *ṣakye* can be confirmed by seeing in the Turkish *cattā* a word meaning 'ladder' that is attested by Uighur *šatu* 'ladder'. This word has been discussed in detail by Doerfer (1967: III 316–318) and more briefly by Clauson (1972: 867). Both conclude that it is a loanword from an unknown source. However, none of the known data supports the existence of a form *čatu* or *čato*. Thus, in the Qutadγu Bilig (original AD 1069) there is a sentence (quoted by Clauson 1972: 867) *šatu kördüm ellig anıŋ baγnası* 'I saw a ladder with fifty rungs': one would expect *čatu* here rather than *šatu* if such a word existed.

It should be noted that if Bailey is right in deriving *ṣakye* from **šatukā-*, then *ṣakye* ought to be formally plural although it may have been a plurale tantum. Against Bailey's etymology of *ṣakye* from **śritu-kā-* via **šatukā-* the following formal objections can be raised: neither *ṣakye* nor *būṣṣätā-*, which Bailey considers to be related, shows any evidence of a *u*-stem, and *ṣakye* shows no trace of the radical *i*-vowel required. All that *būṣṣäta-* and *ṣakye* have in common is the one letter *ṣ* and the mere *possibility* that they have the same meaning. However, the proposed meaning 'ladder' for [52] does appear to suit [51] 'descend!' and [53] 'rise!'.

In almost all Turkic languages the general word for 'stirrup' was *üzeŋ(g)ü* or its corresponding form e.g. Chuvash *yărana* (cf. Clauson 1972: 289), but special types of stirrups are called occasionally 'ladder' e.g. *basqič* 'ladder' from *bas-* 'to press, step on etc.' was borrowed as a Tatar loanword into Chuvash as *puskăč* meaning 'stirrup'. Thus it cannot entirely be excluded that in *čato* the *č-* is a substitution for *š-*, its original meaning is 'ladder' and that here we have a secondary meaning 'a kind of stirrup'. Nevertheless, it seems impossible to suppose a Turkish derivative of this *čato* resulting in the *čatqïr* occurring in [50].

In view of the uncertainties surrounding this gloss, anoth-

er possibility may be worth consideration. The Hungarian word for 'foal' is *csikó* (= *čikō* < *čitkō*) from the call word *čit* for foals and the diminutive suffix *-kō*. *čat* as an onomatopoeic word is present in Kāšgarī but not as a call word for horses. In Turkish such calling words are found as *čo* 'urging on a horse', *čo:g čo:g* 'calling word (calf)' (Jarring 1964: 74, cf. also Jarring 1941: 49).

There is another Turkish word that could formally be brought into the discussion, namely the Eastern Turki word *čat* 'the space between the legs; place where two rivers unite' (Jarring 1964: 67). However, it is difficult to see its semantic relevance.

[53] 177: *ūvūnä* /ün/ 'rise!' (?).
Gloss 177a: *sarba* 'rise!'.

Bailey (1944: 293) identified *ūvūnä* as *ön* 'rise'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 203) preferred the reading *ön*, Clauson (1973: 40) *ün*. The meaning 'rise' is well attested for Turkish *ün-* (Clauson 1972: 169). The initial vowel is written in an unexpected way as a single akṣara *ūvū*. There does exist a verb *uvun-* meaning 'to crush, to break (into small pieces), to wring (hands)', which is also used passively. However, it does not appear to suit the present context.

The Khotanese gloss *sarba* was identified by Bailey (1944: 293) as 2 sg. imperative or 3 sg. optative of the common verb *sarb-* 'to rise'. The form is certainly 2 sg. imperative, cf. on [51] above.

[54] 178: *ärttä āyai* /art oyi/ 'the hollow of the nape'; K. *art* 'nape', *ōy* 'ravine'.
Gloss 178a: *namūsthāṃ* (?).

Neither the Turkish nor the Khotanese was identified by Bailey in 1944: 293. Hovdhaugen (1971: 181) thought that *ärttä* should render /ïrt/, although he admitted that no such word is attested in Turkish. In the manuscript *ärttä* is preceded by a deleted word *arthä*, which according to Hovdhaugen could represent /art/ 'back, rear', but he rightly pointed out that if this is what the scribe intended it would

be hard to explain why he deleted *arthä* and replaced it by *ärttä*. Clauson (1973: 40) convincingly proposed /art oyi/ 'the hollow in the nape of the neck' referring to the Turkish material assembled in his dictionary (1972: 200, 265–266). Assuming that the Khotanese word, which occurs only here, had the same meaning, Bailey proposed (1979: 173) an etymology for it.

[55] 178: *ę'ṅä* /eŋ/ 'cheek'; K. *äŋ*.
Gloss: *phattanai* 'palate'.

ę'ṅä was compared by Bailey (1944: 293) with Turkish *äŋ* 'face, complexion'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 191) could not find the word in Kāšgarī, but it was quoted by Clauson (1972: 166). The Turkic word denoted in Karakhanid Turkish the complexion, which can be said to have a colour as in *qizïl eŋ* 'red cheeks', but in Ottoman and Chagatai it had the meaning 'cheekbone'. There is a great deal of contamination among the following words: *en* 'breadth', *eŋ* 'cheek(bone)', *yan* 'side', *yana* 'side', *yaŋaq* 'cheekbone, side, jaw, the side post of the door'. Thus e.g. *iŋek* is 'jawbone' in Yellow Uighur, 'jaw, cheekbone, chin' in Turkish. Thus *eŋ* may here denote 'cheek(bone)' or 'jawbone'.

Bailey (1944: 293) quoted the Khotanese gloss as *phatanai* commenting that *ta* was not clear. Only in his dictionary (1979: 259) does he confirm that the manuscript certainly does not have *ta* but *tta*. The problem is that **phatanai* would be expected as the *Old* Khotanese form of Late Khotanese *phaṃnai* 'palate'. The Late Khotanese form is securely attested being guaranteed by two bilingual texts. An Old Khotanese **phatanai* would relate to *phaṃnai* as does Old Khotanese *hvatana-* to Late Khotanese *hvaṃna-* 'Khotanese'. We do not however expect an Old Khotanese form in this text, which is characterised by Late Khotanese forms, and in any case we would expect **phatanai*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that *phattanai* here is not 'palate' even though this would also mean that the gloss has been misplaced from [55]. It can be explained only as a 'hyper-Khotanism', an attempt to write a 'correct' form.

[56] 178: *ttimäha':kä* /timγaq/ 'throat'; K. *tamγaq* 'so the Turks, the Oghuz and Kipchak say *tamaq* "throat, larynx"'; Turkish *tamγaq* 'palate'.

Bailey originally (1944: 293) read *ttīmäha':kä*, which is the form quoted by Hovdhaugen (1971: 200) and Clauson (1973: 40). However, already in the first edition of his *Khotanese texts III* (1956: 81) he printed *ttimäha':kä* On *i* ~ *a* see [45] [66].

[57] 178: *cīkṇä* /čikin/ 'upper shoulder'; Ottoman *čigin* (Redhouse 1968: 254 s.v. *çiğin*).

Bailey (1944: 293) quoted *čikin* 'part between neck and shoulders'. Clauson (1972: 415) preferred the reading *čigin* because of the Ottoman data, but the Ottoman *-g-* is secondary.

[58] 178: *yarṇä* /yarin/ 'shoulder blade'; K. *yarin*.

[59] 178: *e'śṇä* /ešün/ 'the point of the shoulder'; K. *öšün* 'shoulder blade'.

Bailey's comparison (1944: 293) with 'Altai *özün* "collarbone"' is basically correct. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 190) the word is not attested elsewhere, but Kāšgarī's item is cited in his dictionary by Clauson (1972: 263). The pronunciation *ešün* for *öšün* may indicate an earlier form.

[60] 179: *käḍai* /qari/ 'foreleg, upper arm'; K. *qari*.

Bailey reads *käḍai* here without hesitation (1944: 293; 1956: 81) and identified it with a query as *qïl-ï* 'its hair'. Because of the semantic difficulty Hovdhaugen (1971: 192) suggests that *käḍai* may be miswritten for *kāḍai*, which he would then explain as *qol-ï* 'its arm'. Clauson (1973: 41) retains *käḍai* but accepts Hovdhaugen's explanation as *qol-ï* 'its arm' without comment. The first akṣara *kä* is quite clear but the *ḍ*, if it is *ḍ*, is made over something else. The reading must be considered highly uncertain. The reading *kärai* cannot be excluded.

[61] 179: *bīḍakä* /biläk/ 'wrist, forearm'; K. *biläk*.

[62] 179: *äya* /aya/ 'palm of the hand (?)'; K. *aya*.

Originally Bailey (1944: 293) read here *iya*, but later corrected it to *äya* (1956: 81). His identification of *äya* as *aya* 'palm of the hand' was followed by Hovdhaugen (1971: 182) and Clauson (1973: 41). The exact meaning is of some importance since if this word occurs here in the meaning of the 'palm of the hand' it presumably designates a part of the human body. In Ottoman *aya* means also 'sole of the foot'. It is accordingly possible that *aya* could also be used to designate the flat lower part of the extremities of an animal.

[63] 179: *yūysī* /yüzi/ 'its (sur)face'; K. *yūz*.

Bailey (1944: 293) quoted *yüz-i* 'its face', which was accepted by Hovdhaugen (1971: 207) and Clauson (1973: 41). It is more probable that the word was intended to indicate the surface of the palm or sole etc.

[64] 179: *būhä:sakä* /büγsäk/ 'upper chest'; K. *bügsäk*.

In his first edition of the text in *Khotanese texts III* Bailey (1956: 81) corrected his original reading *būhä:sakä* (1944: 293) to *būysäsakä*. Later he returned to his original reading (1973: 224), which is certainly correct.

Bailey explained *būhä:sakä* as *boγaz*, *boγuz* 'throat' with suffix *-aq* (1944: 293). Hovdhaugen (1971: 187) gave good reasons for rejecting this explanation and proposed to identify it with Kāšgarī's *büksäk* as he read it. Clauson (1973: 41) quoted Kāšgarī's item as *bökseg* as in his dictionary (1972: 329).

Kāšgarī's item was incorrectly read *bökseg* (so Dankoff–Kelly) on the basis of an erroneous reading of the Mongolian *bögse* 'backside, buttock' as *bökse*. Mongolian *bögse* was reborrowed into Chagatai and some Kipchak languages as *bökse*. In Mongolian in syllable final position there is no phonological opposition of /k/ and /g/. Because of this and also because of the effect of the following *-s-* [g] may have become [k] in Chagatai and the other languages, but this is a secondary feature.

[65] 179: *kākuysä* /köküz/ 'breast'; K. *köküz* (Dankoff–Kelly *kögüz*).

The problem of the voicing of the *-k-* in this word is difficult to solve, but the Brahmi spelling *kākuysä* here can only represent *-k-*. The language of the Uighurs of Turfan has forms with *-g-* as well as forms with *-k-* (Malov 1961: 131). In the Fergana valley the word has *-k-* (Sadvakasov 1970: 203) as also in Yellow Uighur (Malov 1957: 68). In other modern languages we find *-g-* or its developments (e.g. Turkmenian *gövüs* < *kögüz*), cf. Clauson (1972: 714).

[66] 179–180: *sąṅäräsahä:* /saŋarsaγ/ 'the hindquarters of a horse where a second rider sits'; K. *siŋarsuq*.

Bailey (1944: 293) tentatively compared *singir* 'sinew', but Hovdhaugen (1971: 197) considered the word unidentified. Clauson (1972: 841; 1973: 41) drew attention to Kāšgarī's item. This word is of particular importance as being a terminus technicus from horsekeeping. On *i* ~ *a* see [45] [56].

[67] 180: *yąnä* /yan/ 'socket or tips of the hipbone': K. *yān* (only this meaning, not 'side').

[68] 180: *ārttąnä yūysä* /orton yüz/ 'the middle (sur)face'; K. *ortu, yüz*.

Bailey (1944: 293) explained *ārttąnä yūysä* as *orton yüz* meaning 'middle of the face'. This was accepted by Hovdhaugen (1971: 181) and Clauson (1973: 41), but *orton* must be a qualifier since *n*-formations are always adjectives, as in Kirghiz *orton kol* 'the middle finger'. Thus the phrase should be rendered 'the middle face' or 'the middle surface'.

[69] 180: *ttīysä* 'knee'; K. *tīz*.

[70] 180: *bauhū':nä* /boγun/ 'knuckle'; K. *boγun, boγum*.

Bailey (1944: 293) adduced *buγun* 'finger-joint', which Hovdhaugen (1971: 184) did not find in the sources. Bailey's quotation is from Brockelmann's edition of Kāšgarī (1928: 42 'Gelenk am Finger oder am Rohr'; *buγun* = *buγïm*). Hovdhaugen quoted the Kāšgarī item with the correct reading

boγun etc. According to Dankoff–Kelly a later hand corrected (K. 201) the *kesre* to *damma*, i.e. *boγin* to *boγun* (more likely vice versa). [Read *bögün*?]).

[71] 180: *yāda* /yoda/ 'thigh'; Yellow Uighur, New Uighur *yota*, Turki *yote, yöte*.

Bailey (1944: 293) explained *yāda* as *yoda* 'upper part of the thigh'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 204) interpreted it as having an interdental spirant and remarked that although it is not in Kāšgarī it is found from the Qutadγu Bilig onwards. It is not however included in Arat's index to the Qutadγu Bilig and Clauson (1972: 886) does not cite the Qutadγu Bilig in this connection. Moreover, Hovdhaugen quoted only Radlov (1911: III 439), but in fact in column 440 we find Uighur *yoda* or *yota*. Since the word is written also in Uighur script the transcription of the *-d-* is uncertain. Clauson (1973: 41) explains *yāda* as *yota*, which is of course etymologically correct, but the Brahmi spelling indicates /yoda/.

[72] 181: *bakañākä* /baqañoq/ 'the frog in the horse's hoof'; K. *BAQ'Y(N)AQ* 'the space between the two sides of a cloven hoof or one of the two sides of a cloven hoof', *BAQ'Y(N)UQ* 'the frog of a horse's hoof'.

Bailey (1944: 293) adduced *'baqanuq* "flesh in hoof", *baqañaq* "hoof"'. In the case of the second word he was misled by Brockelmann. In fact there are two words in Kāšgarī *baqay(n)aq* 'the space between the two sides of the cloven hoof or one of the two sides of the cloven hoof' and *baqay(n)uq* 'the frog of the horse's hoof'. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 183) *baqañaq* would be the 'frog in a horse's foot' and the *baqañuq* 'at tırnaklarının ortasındaki tümsecik et parçası' quoting B. Atalay (1940–1943: III 177). But the *tümsecik et parçasi* (protruding piece of flesh) is the 'frog' and it is accordingly difficult to understand why Hovdhaugen suggests seeing here 'the navicular bone or the basilar process'. In his dictionary Clauson (1972: 316) considers the two words to be the same and explains *bakañākä* here as *baqa:ñak* (1973: 41), which is surely a mistake since long *ā* always renders [o]. According to Hovdhaugen it is a

derivative from a form **baqañ* attested as *baqai* 'anklebone' in many Turkic languages, but this seems unlikely. Clauson's etymology (1972: 316) from *baqa* 'frog' quoting the similar English denomination is convincing, but the suffix remains problematical. The suffix quoted by Clauson is *-ñaq* (for which see also [85]). The other form in Kāšgarī, *baqay(n)aq*, has this suffix. Where these words occur in Kāšgarī the neighbouring words all have <*y*> as the third consonantal letter, so that one would expect that this was originally intented, *-n-* being added to indicate either that the word was pronounced in the language of the copyist with *-n-* or else it represented the [ñ]. Since the Brahmi transcription has [ñ], the second explanation, tentatively suggested by Hovdhaugen, is clearly preferable.

[73] 181: *ehau':cakä* /eγöčäk/ '?'.

Bailey (1944: 293) explained *ehau':cakä* as *ökče* 'heel', which Hovdhaugen (1971: 189) rejected on phonetic grounds considering the word unidentified. Clauson (1973: 43) suggested that *ehau':cakä* is 'a muddle of (küjek), "a lock of hair"'.

It may tentatively be proposed to interpret *ehau':cakä as eγö(n)čäk*, a derivative of *egin* 'shoulder'.

[74] 181: *aupäka* /öpkä/ 'lung'; K. *öpkä, öwkä.*

[75] 181: *yürakä* /yüräk/ 'heart'; K. *yüräk.*

[76] 181: *bahai':rä* /baγir/ 'liver'; K. *bayir.*

[77] 181: *ttirakä* /tilaq/ 'clitoris'; K. *tilaq.*

[78] 182: *au'ttä* /öt/ 'gall bladder'; K. *öt.*

[79] 182: *sūva'cā* /suv(a)čo(?)/ '?'.

Bailey (1944: 293) suggested seeing in *sūva'cā* a word meaning 'bladder' and deriving it from Turkish *suv* 'water' with *ču*-suffix. Hovdhaugen (1971: 198) found the suggestion plausible but concluded that 'the word must be regarded as not identified'. His opinion was shared by Clauson (1973: 43).

The phonetic significance of the hook under the second akṣara is obscure.

[80] 182: *karnai* /qarni/ 'its belly'; K. *qarin.*

[81] 182: *bīdī* /bidi/ 'its face(?)'; cf. Uighur *bet* or cf. Turki *bijek*, Khotan-Turki *bijik* 'nipple, female breast'?

Bailey (1944: 294) explained *bīdī* as *bit-i* 'its face'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 185) considered the *-d-* to represent an interdental spirant while Clauson (1973: 41) interpreted *bīdī* as /béti:/.

A word meaning 'face' seems out of place here between [80] 'its belly' and [82] 'caecum'. Turki *bidʒɛk* 'nipple, nipples (except sheep and goat)' and Khotan-Turki *bidʒik* '(female) breast' (Jarring 1964: 54) would provide a more suitable meaning, but the words appear to be children's language.

bet 'face' is also used to mean 'surface'. Clauson (1972: 296), but the preceding word already has a possessive suffix so that *bīdī* could not mean 'its surface' in the sense of the surface of the belly.

[82] 182: *bauhą':nä* /böγän/ 'caecum'; K. *bögün.*

Bailey (1944: 294) proposed to see in *bauhą':nä* Turkish *boγun* 'joint, limb', but, as Hovdhaugen (1971: 184) pointed out, that word is already represented in a correct transcription in [70] above and the *-ą-* cannot render an *-u-*. Hovdhaugen considered the word unidentified. Clauson (1973: 41) adopted Bailey's explanation though he has the Kāšgarī item in his dictionary (1972: 328), where he read *büken*, describing it as VU i.e. having its 'V(ocalization) U(ncertain)'. Dankoff – Kelly vocalized the word as *bögün.*

[83] 182: *yūmūrä* /yumur/ 'caecum of an animal'; K. *yumur.*

Bailey (1944: 294) compared this word with **yumur* 'fist' referring to Ottoman *yumruq* and Chuvash *šămăr*. Hovdhaugen (1971: 206) accepted Bailey's suggestion whereas Clauson (1973: 41) referred to *yumur* 'bowels'. For *yumur* 'bowels' cf. Hungarian *gyomor* 'stomach' < Turkish *ǰumur.*

[84] 182: *karähā':kä* /käryök/ 'paunch (?)'; K. *kärgük* 'something like the third stomach (sheep)'. [Read *qaryoq*?].

Bailey (1944: 294) quoted *kergük* 'rennet-bag (of sheep)' and his explanation was adopted by both Hovdhaugen (1971: 183) and Clauson (1973: 41).

[85] 183: *sarkäñakä* /sarqañaq/ 'third stomach'; K. *SAR.QIY(N)Q* 'third stomach of a ruminant, the form with *nun* is a variant, as in Arabic *mizab, minzab, misar, minsar*', cf. [72] above.

Bailey (1944: 294) originally read *sarkäñakä* and compared it with Turkish *sarqanïq, sarqayïq* 'rennet-bag'. In his *Khotanese texts III* he misprinted *sarkäñakä* as *sarkāñakä* (1956: 82). Hovdhaugen (1971: 197) followed Bailey but added a reference to *sarqïnaq* in Rahmeti Arat 1936: 53 (41^{10} = T. II Y. 43 r10). In his dictionary (1972: 849) Clauson transcribed the Kāšgarī items as *sarkıyuk* and *sarkınuk* and in this he was followed by Dankoff – Kelly although in the last syllable there is no vocalization.

[86] 183: *bahä':räsähä:* /bayirsoy/ 'entrails'; K. *bayirsuq*.

[87] 183: *au'ysä ettī* /öz eti/ 'internal flesh (?)'; K. *üz* 'grease', but *öz* 'the heart and what is inside the belly".

Bailey misprinted the final akṣara of *au'ysä* as *ysa* in his original edition (1944: 294) and as *yä* in his *Khotanese texts III* (1956: 82). He corrected the reading in 1973: 224.

Clauson (1973: 41) could not decide between *öz eti* 'internal flesh' and *üz eti* 'fat flesh', but only *öz* is possible here.

[88] 183: *auysṇä* /özän/ 'internal part'; Uighur *özen*.

Bailey (1944: 294) compared *özän* 'breast and belly'. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 181–182) the meaning of *özän* must be rather 'marrow'. Clauson (1973: 41) gave the meaning as 'the centre, or interior (of something)', which certainly suits the Uighur passage he quotes from Müller's edition (1911: 44 l. 32) as *'lınxuanıŋ özenindin* "from the heart of the lotus"'.

[89] 183: *yūrägakä* /yürgäk/ '?'.

No explanation was offered by Bailey (1944: 294). Hovdhaugen (1971: 206) suggested it could be a 'misspelling for *yüräk* "heart"'. Clauson (1973: 41, 43–44) tentatively suggested *oryaq* 'sickle' with prothetic *y-* i.e. *yoryaq*, as in [40] and elsewhere. However, *ū* cannot render [o]. Cf. [75].

[90] 183: *īḍäpacākä* /ilpačoq, ilpäčök/ '?'.

Bailey (1944: 294) compared *yälpazä* 'bellows'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 191) could not locate the source of Bailey's *yälpazä*, but it is from Radlov (1911: III 356). Clauson (1973: 41, 43–44) suggested **yélpiçük* 'winnowing fan', a deverbal noun from *yélpi-* 'to fan'.

[91] 184: *ḡñācä* /öŋöč/ 'larynx'; cf. Uighur *öŋüč* 'larynx', Kirghiz *öŋöč* 'gullet'.

[92] 184: *bau'hū':rä* /böyür/ 'kidney'; K. *bögür*.

Bailey (1944: 294) compared *buyur* 'spittle', but Hovdhaugen (1971: 184) pointed out that the word is confined to the modern languages and was semantically inapposite. Clauson (1973: 41) correctly identified it as *bögür* 'kidney' referring to his dictionary (1972: 328), where early attestations are provided.

[93] 184: *yąnättai* /yän eti/ 'flesh'; K. *et yēn* 'body flesh'.

Bailey (1944: 294) merely referred to *ettī* [87]. Hovdhaugen (1971: 204) suggested *yan äti* 'flesh of the flank', but regarded the identification as doubtful because he was unable to find an attestation of it. Clauson (1973: 41) followed Hovdhaugen with hesitation. For /yän/ he referred to his dictionary (1972: 940), where he quotes *ya:n* 'the heads of the hip-bones' from Kāšgarī. In fact, Kāšgarī has *et yin* or *et yen* 'body (and) flesh'. The word is written with *kesre*, which may be read as [i] or [e].

[94] 184: *kausärai* /kösri/ 'side of the chest'; K. *kösri*.

Bailey (1944: 294) explained *kausärai* as *küsri* 'sides of the breast'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 194) preferred the reading *kösri*

and referred to Kāšgarī. Clauson (1971: 751; 1973: 41) and, following him Dankoff–Kelly, read in Kāšgarī *küsri* 'rib-cage', which has now to be corrected.

[95] 184: *e'yä* /ey/ 'rib' (?); cf. K. *eyegü* 'rib (of animal)' (?).

Bailey (1944: 294) tentatively compared *äyägü, üyäg* 'rib'. According to Hovdhaugen (1971: 190) the best correspondence is found in Modern Turkish *eye*, for which he gave no source, but cf. *Türkiye'de Halk Agzından Derleme Sözlügü*, Ankara 1963– s.v. *eye* 'kaburga kemigi'. Clauson (1973: 44) quite plausibly suggested that *gü* may have been accidentally omitted after *e'yä*, in which case **e'yägü* would represent Kāšgarī's *eyegü*.

[96] 184: *bai'kįnä* /biqin/ 'hip'; K. *biqin*.

[97] 185: *ttau'šä* /töš/ "sternum, breast bone". K. *tōš*.

[98] 185: *sapäha:kä* /sapγaq/ 'waist'; K. *sapγaq*.

Bailey (1944: 294) commented *'saqaq* chin?'. Hovdhaugen (1971: 197) regarded the word as unidentified since he could not account for /p/. Clauson (1973: 44) commented: 'The inclusion of (sapğa:k) in the list is important, because the only other occurrence is in Kāşgarī's **Dīwān**, in the manuscript of which it is misspelt **başğ:ak**. This mistake was corrected for the first time in ED 786'.

Conclusions

(*a*) *vocalism*

The writing system can distinguish open and closed labial vowels but not between front and back vowels or between long and short vowels. The Brahmi script did indicate long vowels, but in Late Khotanese the old distinction of vowel length had given way to a distinction of vowel quality.

After a closed labial /u/ or /ü/ the following labial is always closed: *yügün* [11], *utuγ* [25], *tulun* [35], *yürüm* [40], *yumur* [83]. After open labials or after non-labials the following labial may be either open or closed. It is open in ten cases: *yiγirγoq* [6], *toqo* [23], *qudisyon* [27], *terkök* [28], *tomo* [33], *čato* [52], *orton* [68], *kerγök* [84], *baγirsoq* [86], *öŋöč* [91]; but closed in seven cases: *saqaldruq* [16], *kömüldrük* [21], *qolun* [22], *ešün* [59], *köküz* [65], *boγun* [70], *böyür* [92]. From this it can be concluded that the opposition open labials : closed labials in non-initial syllables had disappeared after closed labials but not yet after open labials and non-labials. With the exception of *karähā':kä* [84] there appears to be no indication of an opposition between open and closed *e*. In initial syllables we always find *e* but in non-initial syllables always open *ä*. This is in clear contrast to the Turkish written in Northern Brahmi.

(*b*) *consonantism*

The transcription distinguishes between voiced and unvoiced gutturals. There is, however, no difference between unvoiced guttural stops in front and in back vocalic words, as they are all written with <k>. It is interesting that practically no difference is made between voiced gutturals according to the front and back vocalic environment. In three words *-g-* in front vocalic words is written <*g*> (*yügün* [11], *tizgi* [13], and *yürgäk*? [89]) but in eleven cases [14, 17, 20, 21, 29, 47, 64, 73, 82, 84, 92] it is written <h:>, which is also used to render the gutturals in back vocalic words. The colon indicates voicelessness. The analysis shows that Hovdhaugen (1971: 175) was right when he wrote: 'There are also reasons to assume that the front (post-palatal) allophone at least to a certain extent was a fricative rather than a plosive'. It confirms also a brief remark made by Hamilton (1977: 509), who pointed out that in the Turkish language of Khotan the difference between the gutturals in front and back vocalic words seems to be absent since it is not reflected in the Uighur texts.

The Khotanese letter <d> denoted a dental fricative and the <t> a voiced dental. Hence the Turkish unvoiced dental stop /t/ is written with the double <tt> as in Khotanese. It is difficult to determine what is reflected by the use of Khotanese Brahmi <d>. In words like *qudisyo* [27] (compare the Kirghiz data from Almássy) it may indicate a fricative as in the cluster *-dr-*, in *saqaldruq* [16], *adrim* [18], *kümüldrüγ* [21], but this is unlikely in the case of *yoda* [71] because the word has an etymological *-t-*. This is one of the problems with *bidi* [81], which has also an etymological *-t-* if it

means 'its face'. It does not seem possible to conclude anything more than that the Khotanese letter <d> *may* indicate the fricative nature of the Turkish dental phoneme /d/.

In two cases the transcription shows clear palatal *ñ* as in *baqañoq* [72] and *sarqañaq* [85]. These transcriptions may enable us to account for the strange writing in Kāšgarī with <*ya*> and a dot above (i.e. *nun*). However these are the last remnants of the old palatal /ñ/ which had long ago begun to disappear.

Another interesting feature of our text concerns the nasals. Hamilton (1977) has pointed to the instability of the nasals in the languages around Khotan. Though it is difficult to accept all his conclusions concerning details, it is instructive to see that in our text there are a few words with a nasal velar stop where Kāšgarī has an oral one. Note in this connection especially *qurŋoluq* [3] (Kāšgarī *quruγluq*), *saŋriq* [49] (Kāšgarī *saγri*). It is probably significant that in both cases *ŋ* occurs in the neighbourhood of [r].

(c) *Hovdhaugen's conclusions*

Basically Hovdhaugen's conclusions have stood up to examination, but in some cases they need reformulating. **(1)** Whereas he concluded that the words came from a *ñ*-dialect (!) of Old Turkish, it would be more precise to say that they come from a dialect where the last remnants of the *-ñ-* are to be observed as they are in the language of Kashgar a hundred or so years later. **(2)** Whereas according to Hovdhaugen the dialect of our text distinguished between [o, ö] and [u, ü] both in initial and non-initial position, a more precise formulation would be that the opposition between open and closed labials was preserved in all positions except where they were preceded by a closed labial. **(3)** According to Hovdhaugen intervocalic [γ] and [g] were most probably fricatives in Old Turkish, but it would appear to be more accurate to say that in the Turkish language of Khotan the phonetic difference between the voiced gutturals in front and back vocalic words was in the process of disappearing. **(4)** Hovdhaugen thought that the transcription used in this text is much more consistent than that used in other Brahmi texts. Certainly it is very consistent, but so is the transcription used in the other texts when it is closely analyzed.

(d) *Purpose of the text*

It is important to note that the list contains the terms for the smaller details and not the greater units. Thus the general words for 'saddle', 'bow', and 'arrow' are missing, although much technical vocabulary from these semantic spheres is included. Similarly, the words for such basic parts of the body as 'head', 'mouth', 'ears' etc. are missing. The military officer who compiled this text cannot have been a beginner learning Turkish. It is known that the queens in the royal family of Khotan came from the Turkish Shahi dynasty. Our text may well have been compiled by or for a high Khotanese officer with a good knowledge of Turkish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almássy, György.: 'Kara-kirgiz nyelvészeti jegyzetek', *Keleti Szemle*, 2, 1901, 108–122.

Arat, R. R.: *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII*, APAW 1936, Nr. 12.

Arat, R. R.: *Kutadgu Bilig III, Indeks*, Istanbul 1979.

Atalay, B.: *Divanü Lugat-it-türk Tercumesi*, 3 vols, Ankara 1940–1943.

Bailey, H. W.: 'A Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary', *BSOAS*, XI.2, 1944, 290–296.

Bailey, H. W.: *Khotanese texts III*, Cambridge 1956.

Bailey, H. W.: 'Arya', *BSOAS*, XXI.3, 1958, 522–545.

Bailey, H. W.: 'Arya II', *BSOAS*, XXIII.1, 1960, 13–39.

Bailey, H. W.: *Khotanese texts IV*, Cambridge 1961 (repr. 1979).

Bailey, H. W.: *Khotanese texts VI*, Cambridge 1967.

Bailey, H. W.: *Khotanese texts I–III*, Cambridge 1969 (repr. 1980).

Bailey, H. W.: 'Taklamakan miscellany', *BSOAS*, XXXVI.2, 1973, 224–227 + plates.

Bailey, H. W.: *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge 1979.

Brockelmann, C.: *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-turk*, Budapest–Leipzig 1928.

Clauson, G.: *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

Clauson, G.: 'The Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary re-edited', *İslâm tetkikleri enstitüsü dergisi*, V, 1973, 37–45.

Dankoff, R. and Kelly, J.: *Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects I–III*, (= Sources of the Oriental languages and Literatures 7), Harvard 1982–1985.

Doerfer, G.: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Band III, Wiesbaden 1967.

Emmerick, R. E. and Skjærvø, P. O.: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese I and II* (= Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission Band 12 and Band 18), vols 1–2, Wien 1982 and 1987.

Hamilton, J.: 'Nasales instables en turc khotanais du x^e siècle, BSOAS, XL.3, 1977, 508–521.

Hovdhaugen, E.: 'Turkish words in Khotanese', *NTS*, XXIV, 1971, 163–209.
Jarring, G.: 'Zurufe an Tiere bei den Osttürken' in *Die Welt des Islams. Sonderband. Festschrift Friedrich Giese*, ed. G. Jäschke, Berlin 1941, 46–52.
Jarring, G.: *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary*, Lund 1964.
Kumamoto, Hiroshi: *Khotanese official documents in the tenth century A. D.*, University of Pennsylvania Ph. D. dissertation, Philadelphia 1982.
Ligeti, L.: 'Un vocabulaire sino-ouïgour des Ming. Le Kao-tch'ang houan yi-chou du Bureau des Traducteurs', *AOH*, 19, 1966, 117–119, 257–316.
Malov, S. É.: *Jazk żeltyh ujgurov*, Alma Ata 1957.
Malov, S. É.: *Ujgurskie narečija Sin'czjana*, Moskva 1961.
Müller, F. W. K.: *Uigurica II* (=Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Kl. 1910, 3), Berlin 1911.
Pentaglott = *Xan-i araxa sunja xacin-i xergen qamcixa manju gisun-i buleku bitxe I–III*, Peking 1957.
Rachmati, G. R. (= Rahmeti Arat, Reşid): *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII* (= Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Kl. 1936, 12), Berlin 1936.
Radloff, W.: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Pétersbourg 1911.
Redhouse, J.: *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1968.
Sadvakasov, G.: *Jazyk ujgurov ferganskoj doliny*, Alma Ata 1970.
U.-Kőhalmi, Käthe, 'Der Pfeil bei den innerasiatischen Reiternomaden und ihren Nachbarn', *AOH*, 6, 1956, 109–161.

Alphabetical Word Index to the Text

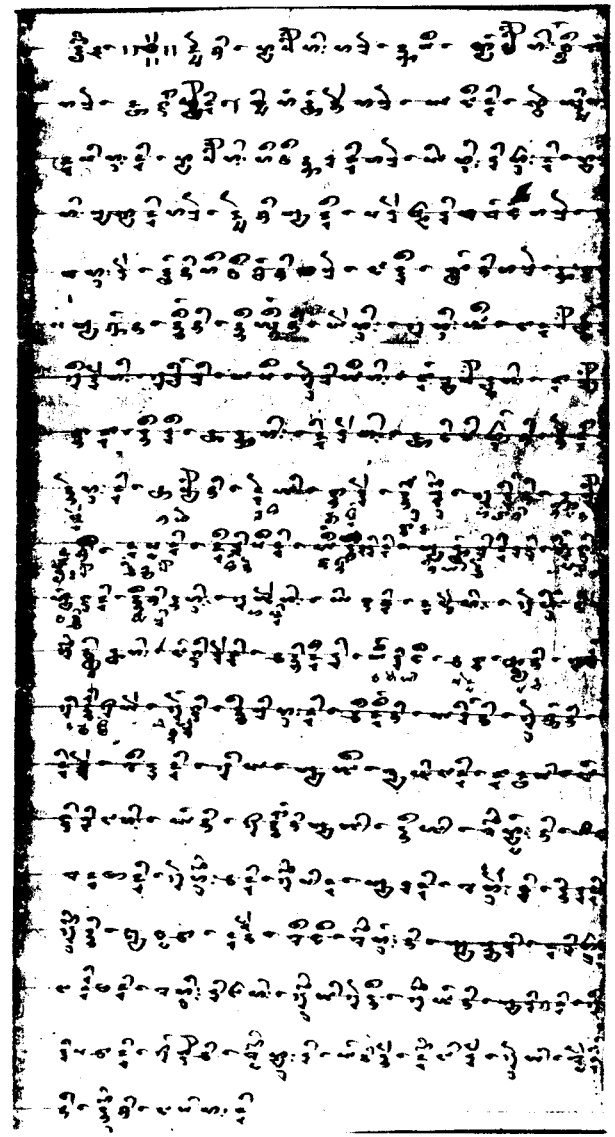
All diacritics and the apostrophe are ignored in alphabetizing. Khotanese words are written in italics.

aḍịnä [34] (174)
adrṛịmä [18] (172)
ahä':ysī [15] (171)
ä̱ṇäcä [91] (184)
ärttä [54] (178)
ārttä̱nä [68] (180)
aupäka [74] (181)
au'ttä [78] (182)
auvūä'rūhä: [48] (177)
au'ysä [87] (183)
auysạnä [88] (183)
äya [62] (179)
āyai [54] (178)
aysaihä: [44] (176)
bahai':rä [76] (181)
baha':rai [8] (170)
bahä':räsähä: [86] (183)
bai'kịnä [96] (184)
bakañäkä [72] (181)
baṃdaṃ [7] (169)
bą̄ṇą [2] (166)
bau'hū:rä [92] (184)
bauhạ':nä [82] (182)
bauhū':nä [70] (180)
bīdī [81] (182)
bīḍakä [61] (179)
brṝṇnä [9] (170)
brraukalä [36] (175b)
būhä:sakä [64] (179)
byihą [3] (167)
cattā [52] (177)
cattäkīrä [50] (177)
chaskāṃ [32] (174b)
cīkịnä [57] (178)
ḍụnä [8] (170)
ḍū̱nai [3] (167)
ehau':cakä [73] (181)
ehị':nä [47] (176)
e'mäysīhä: [20] (172)
ẹ'ṅä [55] (178)
e'śụnä [59] (178)
ettī [87] (183)
e'yä [95] (184)
gahe [30] (174b)
gīsana [35] (174b)
halaśāṃ [41] (175b)
haṃdrrāṃgä [34] (174b)
hame [1] (166); [2] (167); [3] (167); [4] (167); [5] (168); [6] (169); [7] (169); [9] (170)
hą̄ne [38] (175b)
haskä [44] (176b)
hīvī [2] (166); [5] (168); [8] (170)
hūlaihä: [1] (166); [5] (168); [6] (168)
hū̱laihä: [2] 166
īḍaihä: [17] (172)
īḍäpacākä [90] (183)
ị'ṅä [41] (175)
jastā [39] (175b)
kāḍai [60] (179)
kākuysä [65] (179)
kālū̱nä [22] (172)
kạ̄mūlädrrūhä: [21] (172)
kapäha':kä [5] (168)
kapa'kä [37] (175)
karāhā':kä [84] (182)
karäkä [39] (175)
kārakä [40] (175)
karnai [80] (182)
kasai'hä: [46] (176)
kaśī [36] (175)
kausärai [94] (184)
keysä [31] (174)
kiraihä: [26] (173)
kīräpīkä [38] (175)
kūdäsähą̄':nä [27] (173)
kūrṇālūkä [3] (167)
kyeśä [1] (166); [7] (169)
mūṇūkä [6] (168)
namūsthāṃ [54] (178b)
ṇveysdyä [4] (167)
paraiṣkhārä [7] (169)
phattanai [55] (178b)
rahā [31] (174b)
saḍī [9] (170)
sakalädrrūkä [16] (171)
ṣakye [52] (177b)
saṇäraikä [49] (177)
saṇäräsahä: [66] (179)
sapäha:kä [98] (185)
sarba [53] (177b)
sarkäñakä [85] (183)
śīyi [40] (175b)
skai [29] (174b)
sūva'cā [79] (182)
tcem [40] (175b)
tcimmūlä [37] (175b)
thaṃnä [8] (170)
ttāḍai [32] (174)
ttākā [23] (173)
ttāra [33] (174b)
ttau'śä [97] (185)
tteha':kä [29] (174)
tterkākä [28] (173)
ttīḍī [24] (173)
ttimäha':kä [56] (178)
ttịnä [12] (171)
ttirakä [77] (181)
ttīśättahä': [43] (176)
ttīysä [69] (180)
ttīysgịnä [13] (171)
tto'mau' [33] (174)
ttulụ̄nä [35] (174)
ttupī [2] (166)
tturakä [5] (168)
ttuttasī [10] (170)
ūlụ̄nä [30] (174)
ūttuhä: [25] (173)
ūvūnä [53] (177)
vahaiysä [51] (177b)
vatcä [42] (176b)
yāda [71] (180)
yai'hä [14] (171)
yạnä [67] (180)
yạnättai [93] (184)
yapī [19] (172)
yarịnä [58] (178)
yasīkä [4] (167)
yīḍādī [51] (177)
yihä':rähä':kä [6] (168)
yiṅakä [45] (176)
yīttä [39] (175)
yśīmä [43] (176b)
yūgụna [11] (171)
yūkī [7] (169)
yūmūrä [83] (182)
yūṇakä [42] (176)
yūrägakä [89] (183)
yūrakä [75] (181)
yūrụ̄mä [40] (175)
yūysä [68] (180)
yūysī [63] (179)

Alphabetical Index of Turkish Words

ayiz: ayzi 'mouth' [15]
adrim 'saddle pad' [18]
alin 'forehead' [34]
art 'nape' [54]
aya 'palm' of the hand (?) [62]
aziy 'canine tooth' [44]
bayari 'a wide leather strap for suspending the quiver from the belt' [8]
bayir 'liver' [76]
bayirsoy 'entrails' [86]
baqañoq 'the frog of the horse's hoof' [72]
bidi '? [its surface ?]' [81]
bilāk 'wrist, forearm' [61]
kösri 'side of the chest' [94]
orton 'middle [adj.]' [68]
ovuruy 'vertebra' [48]
oy- 'hole' [54]
öŋöč 'larynx' [91]
öpke 'lung' [74]
öt 'gall bladder' [78]
öz 'the heart and what is inside the belly' [87]
özän 'internal part' [88]
qapaq 'eyelid' [37]
qapyaq 'cover of the quiver [5]
qaraq 'eyeball' [39, 40]
qari 'foreleg, upper arm' [60]
teyāk 'incision on an arrow' [29]
terkök 'saddle strap' [28]
til- 'tongue of the buckle' [24]
tilaq 'clitoris' [77]
tin 'halter' [12]
tiš 'tooth' [43]
tiz 'knee' [69]
tizgin 'bridle' [13]
toli/töli '?' [32]
tomo '?' [33]
toqo 'belt buckle' [23]
töš 'sternum, breast bone' [97]
tulun 'temple' [35]
tutasi 'the handle of

biqin 'hip' [96]
boyun 'knuckle' [70]
böyän 'caecum' [82]
böyür 'kidney' [92]
büysek 'upper chest' [64]
čato 'ladder (?)' [52]
čatqir '?' [50]
čikin 'upper shoulder' [57]
eyin 'shoulder' [47]
eyöček '?' [73]
emziy 'the extremity of the saddlebow' [20]
eŋ 'cheek' [55]
ešün 'the point of the shoulder' [59]
et- 'flesh' [87, 93]
ey 'rib ?' [95]
iliy 'attachment [to the harness]' [17]
ilpačoq, ilpäčök '?' [90]
iŋ 'slime' [41]
käryök 'paunch (?)' [84]
keš 'quiver' [1, 7]
kez 'arrow shaft' [31]
kirpik 'eyelash' [38]
köküz 'breast' [65]
kömüldrüy 'breast strap' [21]
qarin: qarni 'belly' [80]
qaš- 'eyebrow' [36]
qasiy 'inside of the cheeks' [46]
qiriy 'selvage [of the saddle]' [26]
qolun '[saddle] girth' [22]
qudisyon 'crupper strap' [27]
quryoluq 'bow case' [3]
sali 'small leather or felt pieces stuck into the quiver to fix the arrows' [9]
sayarsaq 'the hindquarters of a horse where a second rider sits' [66]
sayriq 'rump' [49]
sapyaq 'waist' [98]
saqaldruq 'sub-mental strap on the harness' [16]
sarqañaq 'third stomach' [85]
suv(a)čo '?' [79]
tay in: tiš tay 'molar tooth, crown of the tooth' [43]
timyaq 'throat' [56]
the bow' [10]
tüp- 'bottom' [2]
ulun 'arrow shaft' [30]
utuy 'a broad strap on the left side of the saddle' [25]
ün 'rise! (?)' [53]
yan 'the socket or tips of the hipbone' [67]
yapi 'saddle blanket' [19]
yarin 'shoulderblade' [58]
yasiq 'bow case' [4]
yän 'body' [93]
yiyiryoq '?' [6]
yig 'bit [of the bridle]' [14]
yildi 'descended (?)' [51]
yiŋyaq 'cheekbone' [45]
yit 'pupil of the eye' [39]
yoda 'thigh' [71]
yumur 'caecum of an animal' [83]
yuŋaq 'small hair' [42]
yügün 'bridle' [11]
yük- 'load' [7]
yüräk 'heart' [75]
yürgek '?' [89]
yürüm 'white' [40]
yüz- '(sur)face' [63, 68]



P 2892 By courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.