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WEST OLD TURKIC
TURKIC LOANWORDS IN HUNGARIAN

Part II:
Lexicon »L–Z«, Conclusions, Apparatus

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

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Chapter Four

Lexicon »L–Z«

L

lék ‘a hole in the ice (for fishing)’ see **vék**.

M

MEGGYŐZ ‘to convince (somebody)’ see **győz**.

MEGKÍJCSEDIK ‘to become felty (of the hair of dogs)’ see **kíjc**.

MEGŐRÜL ‘to become mad’ see **őrül**.

MÓNÁR KÖD [mōnār köd] *dial* ‘dry summer fog, rainbow’ | Cum dial mid-20th c. *ma*(*o*)*nar köd* [maonār köd], *molnárköd* [molnār köd] | *mōnār köd* < *mōnār* {comp with *köd* ‘mist, fog’} < **munar* ← Cum **munar* | T *munar* id. < EOT *bun-*, *mun-* ‘to be mentally disturbed’ {with suff -(*A*)*r*}.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *monar* ‘mgla, marevo, miraž’ (Tat), *monar* ‘mgla, dymka, tuman, inej’ (Bashk), *monar* ‘modovaja rosa’ (BashkD2), *monar* ‘mgla, zarnica’ (BashkD3), *munar* ‘suhoj tuman, vrednyj rastenijam’ (Tenišev 2001: 35), *munar* ‘legkaja mgla, mutnaja belizna vozduha, dymka, belesoe marevo’, *munarïk* id., *munar-* ‘pokryvat′sja legkoj dymkoj’ (Kirg), *mŭnar* ‘mirage, haze, sultry air, mist, fog in hot weather’ (Kaz), *munar* ‘mgla, miraž’ (Kklp), *munar* ‘mgla, marevo, *folkl.* nazvanie gromadnogo dereva’ (Nog); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Representatives of the possible T etymon for the H word are attested in the NW branch of the T lgs.

Before discussing the etymon for the H word, we have to separate T **bun-* ‘to be mentally deranged or disturbed, to be senile’ fr T **buŋ* > **muŋ* ‘grief, sorrow’ (see **bú**). Poppe (1960: 35, 71, 154) compared Mo *muŋkak* ‘stupidity’ with T *buŋ* ‘Unglück’, which is semantically unacceptable. Clauson distinguished the two bases *bun-* (1972: 348) and *buŋ* (347) together with their ders: *mungul* (768) and *mungān*, fr the former, *muŋuk-*, *muŋkar-* (769) and *muŋlug* (348), fr the latter.

Tenišev (2001: 35–36) thought that T *munar* ‘mirage, haze, etc.’ may go back to a copied form **mănār* ← Mo, but this explanation raises phonetic difficulties, and cannot be explained by the influence of Mo *uniyar*. The T words reflect an older form **munar*, which, if it is of T origin, may derive fr **bunar*. Mo has *maniyar*, *manang*, *manan* ‘mist, steam, fog’, Khal *manaŋ* ‘köd [fog]’ (KhalK), Kalm *manār* ‘Nebel, dampferfüllte Luft’ (< *maniyar*, Ramstedt 1935: 255, also *tuńār*), Bur *manar* ‘tumannost′’, Ord *mana*, *manāri* ‘léger brouillard’, etc. Further, we have Mo *uniyar* ‘mist, haze, vapour’ (L), Khal *uniar* ‘(magashegyi kékes) páraköd [mist, bluish on high peaks]’ (KhalK), Kalm *uńār* ‘Sonnenrauch, Nebel’ (Ramstedt 1935: 449), Bur *unyār* ‘mgla, dymka, marevo (vesnoju), Ord *unār*, *unāri* ‘vapeurs qui sous l’action du soleil montent du sol, léger brouillard’. The Mo word was borrowed into Shor

ïnar ‘marevo’ (Verbickij 1884: 457) and Y *unār* ‘marevo, suhoj tuman’. One cannot exclude the possibility that Mo *maniyar* and *uniyar* are somehow related. The first may be the winter fog or mist, the second that of the summer. Perhaps that *mana uniyar* became *maniyar*, but it is also possible that the structure is *mana*+**iyar*, and **una*+**iyar*. This needs further investigation. Phonetically, *maniyar* cannot be the source of T *munar*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 955) reconstructed PT **bunar* ‘mist’ and mentioned some Kip words under this heading. They added that the T word can hardly have been borrowed fr Mo because of the vocalism. Their PMo reconstruction is **maŋ-* ‘fog, dark, to dawn’. Besides these forms, they also mentioned PTu **meŋ-*, **muŋ-* ‘mist, darkness, cool, sombre’, which, all together with a Kor word, would go back to PA **múŋna*, but this reconstruction seems to be unlikely.

More likely, T **bunar* has an internal T etymology. In the T lgs, there are data which point to an old verbal stem **bun-* ‘to be or get confused, to be or get mentally disturbed’. This may be connected with EOT *bu* ‘steam’, which appears in *bus* ‘mist, fog’ and *bug* ‘steam’ (see **búsz**). That is an antonym for EOT *ayaz* ‘bright, cloudless (weather)’ ~ WOT **ayar* (> Chuv *uyar*). With the suff +(*X*)*n- bu* formed *bun-* ‘having an unclear mind, somebody’s mind being confused’ > ‘being feeble-minded, being senile’.

The T verb *bun-* ‘being senile, feeble-minded, losing control of oneself, going fighting mad’ is represented in most T periods and lgs. See e.g.:

OT *mun-*: *azmïš munmïš tärs azaġ nomlaġlar* ‘-false (Hend) preachers who have gone astray’ (MMIII 29,3-4, Clauson‘s translation is better than Le Coq’s), *äsrük kiši täg tänä muna yorïyurlar* ‘so irren sie wie betrunkene Menschen umher’ (UTTVI 215), *qarï är mundï* ‘the old man (etc.) was senile’ (AK), *mun-* ‘to be/get senile’ (AQB); MT *mun-* ‘bunamak’ (UY), *monu-* (r: *munu-*) ‘to grow old’ (AGul), *mün-* (r: *mun-*) ‘delirmek’, which are synonymous with *delü ol-*, i.e. ‘to be possessed by evil spirits, mad’ (AIMI), *mun-* ‘to become senile’ (ARbg), *mun-* ‘bunamak’ (AYC), Tkm *bun-* ‘to be senile’ (AAH), *muna-* ‘bunamak, çok ihtiyarlıktan yaptığını bilmemek, bir şeye aklı ermemek’ (AAHI). On the ders of *bun-* (*mun-*), see *munuk* ‘mentally confused’ (Clauson 1972: 768; Erdal 1991: 231; cf. also in the binominal *azok munuk* ‘a runaway, stray’). Cf. also *munduz* ‘senile, feeble-minded’ (ARbg; Clauson 1972: 768), which may, according to Erdal (1991: 323–324), derive fr ? **mun-dur-*(*u*)*z*; cf. also *muntur-* ‘to make somebody mad’, which is a hapax in MM III (see Clauson 1972: 768; Erdal 1991: 802), *munduz* ‘skvernyj, zlonamerennyj’ (ATef), *munduz* (mundus) ‘(einfältig), unschuldig’ (LCCG); NT *mun-* ‘sil′no staret′, odrjahlet′’ (TkmD), *buna-* ‘to enter upon dotage, to become an imbecile’ (Tt), *bunak* ‘second childhood, dotard’ (Tt), *bun-*, *bulsu-*, *bulsur-*, *buna-*, *bundur-*, *bunuk-* ‘beğenmemek, azımsamak, küçümsemek’ (TtD), *bun-* ‘byt′ nedovol′nym, ustavat′ s dorogi’, *bunak* ‘slaboumnyj, vpavšij v

detstvo (o starikah)' (Gag), *munu-* 'to grow old' (MUygTY), *munu-* 'staretʹ, drjahletʹ' (Khak), *mïnï-* id. (TuvD), *mun-* 'plutatʹ, bluždatʹ, zabluždatʹsja, zabluditʹsja, zaplutatʹsja, sbivatʹsja s puti' (Y), *mun-* 'in Verlegenheit geraten' (Dlg). Sal *munax* 'nerazumnyj' is of Mo origin (← Mo *muŋkag* 'stupidity, ignorance, stupid, ignorant'; see also Tenišev (2001: 35)).

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 953), PT **bun-* 'to become mad, foolish, mad, crazy, to become old, senile' can be compared with PMo **mun-* 'to become mad, ignorance, shame', PTu **moŋ-nV-* 'stupid, inconvenient'. These reconstructed forms may go back, according to them, to PA **mánu* 'wrong, mad, uneasy'.

Nasilov (in Dybo 2003: 83–86) reconstructed a nomen-verbum **buŋ* 'pečalʹ, nužda' ~ **buŋ-* 'pečalitʹsja, nuždatʹsja', and mentioned that uncertainty exists as to the relation between this word (and its ders) and another word family which has appeared since the OT period as *bun-*, *mun-* 'to be senile'.

The word family *bun-*, *mun-* 'to be senile' has clear parallels in Mo. See *munu-*, *muna-* 'to become weak or feeble-minded' (L), *muna-* id. (KhalK), *mun*^{a}- 'dumm sein, blödsinnig sein' (Kalm), *munu-* 'devenir stupid', *munuk* 'stupide' (Ord) etc. These words and Mo *muŋkag* 'stupidity' belong together.

Turning back to **bunur* > *munur* 'mist, fog', this has to be a der fr *bun-*, *mun-* with a suff -(*A*)*r*, which is the same as or homophonous with the aorist. The aorist of *mun-* is *munar* (AK).

E/H The word *mónár* in the expression *mónár köd* ("mōnār" mist, fog) has been contaminated with the H word of Sl origin *molnár* 'miller', the latter having such dial and spoken forms as *mónár*. It was Mándoky (1983: 391–392) who wrote about the T origin of the word and correctly identified the origin of this dial word in Greater Cumania. The word is not noted in the new H dial dict of B. Lőrinczy and absent fr Ligeti (1986) and Benkő (1967–1984; 1993–1997). For unknown reasons the word is not treated in Mándoky (1993), and the 1983 short paper is also missing in the bibliography compiled by Mándoky, though eight of his works are noted.

◆ Verbickij 1884: 457; Ramstedt 1935: 255, 449; Poppe 1960: 35, 71, 154; Clauson 1972: 347–348, 768–769; Mándoky 1983: 391–392; Erdal 1991: 231, 323–324, 802; Tenišev 2001: 35–36; Dybo 2003: 83–86; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 953, 955.

Ny

NYÖGÉR [ńögēr], **nyőgér** [ńȫ̄gēr] ‘the name of a group of military people in Hungary, the Cuman bodyguard to the Hungarian king’ | 1285 *neugarios* [neügar-ios], 1287 *Neugeri*(*is*) [neüger-i-is], c1320 *Niugaere* [ńügēr-e], 1390 GN *newger* [ńögēr], 1432 GN *neger* [ńegēr] | *ńögēr* < **nöger* ⟵ Cum **nögär* | MT *nögär* < *nökär* ⟵ Mo *nöker* ‘comrade, member of the retinue of a military leader’.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *nökär* ‘bodyguard’ in lines 270-272: *urušgudun song Oguz kagannung čärigikä nökärlärikä il-künikä andag ulug ölüg bargu tüsdi* ‘Nach dem Kampf fiel dem Heer, der Umgebung und dem Volke des Oguz Kagan so viel tote Beute in die Hände…’ (UOg), *nökür* ‘camarade’ (UHy), *nükär* ‘sługa, towarzysz, drużyna’ (AHŠ), *nükär* ‘sluga, nuker’ (AHŠF), *nükär* ‘sluga, nüker’ (ANehF), *nöker* ‘ami, compagnon, conseiller, serviteur’ (AChag), *nökär* ‘Gehülfe, Gefährte, Klient, Diener, Soldat, Beamte’ (AChagR), *nüker* ‘čāker, mulāzim’ (AChagŠS), *nuker* (r: *nüker*) ‘Dienstbote, Soldat, bewaffneter Reitknecht’ (AChagZ), *nögär* (noga[r]) ‘Genosse, Kamerad’ (LCCI), *nöger* ‘hizmetçi, asker’ (AAHI), *nökär* ‘towarzysz, camarade, compagnon’ (ADur), *nükär* ‘soratnik, drug, nuker’ (ATuh), *nöger* ‘arkadaş’ (ATuhA), *nȫ̄gā̄r* ‘arkadaş’ (ATuhA), *nogar* ‘compagne’ (AmE), *nöker* ‘maiyet memuru, hizmetçi’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** cf. *kĕrneker* ‘(ust.) družka ženiha (na svaďbe)’ (Chuv), *neker*, *nüker* ‘družka pri ženihe’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *nögär* ‘tovarišč ženiha (soprovažajuščij ego v dom nevesty), (ist.) telohranitel’ hana, hanskij telohranitel’’ (Bashk), *nügär* ‘endäšü formasï; forma obraščenija; kiyäü yegete; družka; xannïŋ, alïpnïŋ köräštäse, xezmätčese; soratnik, sluga hana, bogatyrja’, *nüŋär* ‘kiyäü yegete; družka’ (SibTat), *nökör* (v ėpose) ‘sluga ėpičeskogo bogatyrja, hana, feodala, otrok (knjaževskij), svita ženy ili dočeri ėpičeskogo bogatyrja, hana, feodala’ (Kirg), *nöger* ‘(hist.) suite, retinue, court servant’ (Kaz), *nöker* ‘pridvornyj sluga, svita, približennyj’ (KazB), *nögör* ‘der Diener, Gefährte’ (KazR), *nöker* ‘(*fol’k.*) vojsko, otrok (knjaževskij), voin, družinnik v byvšem Hivinskom hanstve (*postupavšij v družinu so svoim oružiem i lošad’ju*)’ (Kklp), *neger* ‘sluga’ (KarT), *nėger* ‘oruženosec, područnyj, rabotnik’ (KarH), *nägär* ‘der Gefährte, der Arbeiter’ (KarLR), *nöger* ‘naparnik, partner, kompan’on, soobščnik, součastnik, drug, tovarišč, poputčik, sojudnik’ (KrchBlk), *nöger* ‘Genosse, Kamerad’ (KrchP), *nöger*, *nögör* ‘Genosse, Kamerad’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *nöker* ust. ‘nuker, družnik (*člen voennoj družiny, postupivšij na službu k hanu so svoim oružiem i lošad’ju*), (razg.) svita, *Noker* (imja sobstv. mužskoe)’ (Tkm), *nökär* ‘sluga, prislužnik’ (Az), *nökär* ‘nuker’ (RAz), *nuker* ‘*lrnd.* servant, manservant’ (Tt; according to Redhouse it is of Pe origin), *nöker* ‘kadınların ortağı’ (TtDA), *nökär* ‘Pferdeknecht’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *nọ̈kär* ‘Diener’ (Kh ⟵ Az *nökär*), *nọ̄kär* ‘Stallknecht’ (KhT); ***SE*** *nököy*

'druz′ja, svita' (TurkiL), *nökär* '(*ust.*) sluga' (MUyg), *nöhür* 'tovarišč, kompan′on', cf. *nöxör'ʒin* 'drug' (Sal), *nöker* 'drug, tovarišč' (YUyg), *nöker*, *nüker* 'tovarišč, drug' (YUygM); ***NE*** *nökör* 'tovarišč' (AltL), *nökör* 'der Gefährte' (AltLR), *nökör* 'tovarišč' (AltQK), *nökör* 'drug, tovarišč', *önökör* 'drug' (AltTK), *nökör* 'der Gefährte' (AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *nökür* 'friend, comrade, companion, husband' (L).

E/T The H word was copied fr Cum, as already pointed out by some earlier researchers. After Németh (1953b), the etymology of the T word was discussed exhaustively by Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 521–526). The T word is of Mo origin (cf. also Ščerbak 1997: 207). The MMo forms, which were copied by the Cumans, could have had the phonetic shape **nöker* and the internal change *-k-* > *-g-* is due to the well-known Kip change in which the intervocalic *-k-* regularly develops into *-g-*. As correctly shown by Egorov (1964: 108), the Chuv word forms *kĕrnekersem*; *kĕrnükersem* are comps extended with the pl suff +*sem*. The first constituent is *kĕr* < **kĕrü* < **küdegü* 'son-in-law' (cf. **gügyü**). The element *neker*, *nüker* is of Mo origin. The Mo word also appeared as a lw in Rus as *núker* 'telohranitel′, sluga' (see Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 89). In Eastern MMo, the vowel in the second syllable was a rounded *-ö-*. According to Ligeti (1962: 147) and Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 521), Mo *nöker* has the same base as LMo *nögüge*, MMo *nököge* 'the other side' and the primary meaning of the word was 'the other (person)'. This etymology was rejected by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 968). On the basis of the Sl semantic parallel, Rus *drugoj* 'the other (person)' < *drug* 'friend', they assumed that the original meaning of the word was 'friend, relative', a group of them being called *družina*. The reconstructed PMo form is **nökör* 'friend', which may – according to them – together with PTu **neku* 'younger relative (sister / brother)' go back to PA **nekʻV* 'friend, relative'. The suggestions that the word is of Pe origin are unacceptable. See some of the opinions in Németh (1953b: 18–19).

E/H The T etymology of the H term used in the Middle Ages was first suggested by Németh (1953b). The *nyögér*s formed an independent ethnic or military group in 13th-c. Hungary. The term *nyögér* was well-known in MH and was also preserved as a GN. The original Mo word was borrowed into the H lg via Cum mediation. Ligeti (1962: 147) pointed out that the Mo word *nökör* was used in the SH generally in the sense of 'friend', but it may also have the meaning 'enemy'. The word often comes up as a term. In the terminology of early Mo nomadic feudalism, *nökör* meant 'free man, who gave military service beside the head of a clan'. This function can be compared with that of the Sl *družinnik*. The institution of the *nökör* appeared among the Cumans (*nöger*) as well, and it also occurred in Hungary via Cum mediation (*nyögér*, *nyőgér*). According to Ligeti (1986: 110, 236), the Cum word *nögär* first occurred in H in the form *nyögér* and *nyőgér* is secondary. The immediate source of the Cum word is Mo *nökör* 'comrade'.

◆ Bang–Rachmati 1932: 18-19; Németh 1953b: 1–23; Ligeti 1962: 147; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 521–526; Egorov 1964: 108; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 89; Räsänen 1969: 354–355; Györffy 1983: 470; Ligeti 1986: 110, 236, 253, 411–412, 541, 543; Kiss 1988/2: 263; Fedotov 1996/1: 282; Ščerbak 1997: 207; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 968.

O, Ó

ÓCSÁROL ‘to disparage’ see **olcsó**

OCSÚ [očū] ‘chaff, husks, winnowings, tailings, refuse of grain’ | 1211 ? PN *Ociu* [oču], p1416/c1450 *OLoit* [očō-it] | *očū* < **učū* < **učoų* < **učoγ* ⟵ WOT **učoγ* < **učog* | EOT **učok* ‘something that flies’ < *uč-* ‘to fly’ {with suff -(*O*)*k*}.

OT *učoq* ‘chaff, winnowings’ [see **E/T**] (RMTon 8), *uč-* ‘to die’ (RMKT), *uč-* ‘to fly’ (RTIrk 61), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (UTTI 215), *uč-* ‘to fly’ (UXuanzangIndex), *uč-* ‘to fly, fly away (luck), fall (off a horse)’, *quš učdï* ‘the bird flew’, *anïg qutï učdï* ‘his luck flew away’ (AK), *uč-* (of birds) ‘to fly’ (AQB); **MT** *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (UOg), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (UY), *uč-* ‘voler, s’envoler’ (UHyS), *uč-* ‘to fly’ (AGul), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (AHMA), *uč-* ‘latać’ (AHŠ), *uč-* ‘letaŕ’ (AHŠF), *ūč-* ‘letaŕ’ (AIM), *učmak* ‘kuşun havada yüzmesi’ (AIMI), *uč-* (-ǰ) ‘letaŕ’ (AM), *uç-* ‘uçmak’ (ANeh), *uč-* ‘letaŕ’ (ANehF), *uč-* ‘letaŕ’ (ATef), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (AYC), *uč-* ‘voler en l’air’ (AChag), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (AChagAb), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (AChagAbA), *učuk* ‘letajuščij’ (AChagB), *uč-* ‘letaŕ, otletaŕ’ (AChagBud), *uč-* ‘to fly’ (AChagG), *učuq* ‘der Flug (des Vogels)’ (AChagR), *uč-* ‘to fly’ (AChagS), *učuġ*, *učuq* ‘fever spots, (metaph.) a mole (or stye ?) which grows in the eye’, *uč-* ‘to fly, to quiver, twitch, to perish’ (ChagSC), *uǰuġ* ‘Hitzbläschen, Gerstenkorn’ (AChagŠSK), *uč-* ‘fliegen, davonfliegen’ (AChagZ), *učux* ‘Spreu’, *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (LCCG), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (LCCI), *uç-* ‘uçmak’ (AAH), *učuk* ‘sar’a hastalığı, uçuğu tutmak’ (AAHI), *uč-* ‘latać’ (ABul), *uč-* ‘fliegen’, *učuq* ‘Entzündung’ (AHou), *uč-* (-š) ‘repül; fliegen’ (AKav), *uč-* ‘letaŕ’ (ATuh), *uč-* ‘uçmak’ (ATuhA), *uč-* ‘voler’ (AmTr), *uč-* ‘letet́, uletet́’ (AmD), *uč-* ‘to fly (away)’ (AmCh), *uč-* (once *uš-*) is noted with metaph. meanings (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *věś-* ‘letat́, letet́, vzdymat́sja, klubit́sja, (*peren.*) nestiś, mčat́sja, letet́, razvevat́sja, isčezat́’, *věśev* ‘vozduhoplavanie, polet, letnyj, vozduhoplavateĺnyj, letateĺnyj’ (Chuv), *věś-* ‘letat́, hvalit́sja, hvastat́, bystri itti (ehat́), isčeznut́’ (ChuvA), *věś-* ‘fliegen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *očïk* ‘mjakina’, *oč-* ‘letat́, letet́, rejat́, uletučivat́sja, uletučit́sja (prevraščajaś v par, v gaz), (peren.) mčat́sja, nestiś (kak na kryĺjah), (peren.) ulyvat́, ulyt́ (o deńgah), (peren.) sletat́, sletet́ (s mesta, s raboty)’ (Tat), *oč-* ‘repülni; fliegen’ (TatB), *očoq* ‘bala yonï, košlarda; pušok, u ptic’ (TatD1), *os-* ‘yïgïlu; padat́, upast́’, *oś-* ‘yïgïlu; padat́, upast́’ (TatD2), *očoq* ‘die Spreu (das was beim Worfeln fortfliegt)’ (TatR), *osoq* ‘ne nalitoj (o zerne), (peren.) poverhnostnyj, legkovesnyj’, *os-* ‘letat́, letet́, parit́, mčat́sja, nestiś, letet́, padat́, uletučivat́sja, isparjat́sja, (peren.) sletet́ (byt́ uvolennym s raboty)’ (Bashk), *ŏs-* ‘repülni’ (BashkP), *ocïk* ‘kandala, klop, ašlïk jilgärgändä yïragrak očïp töškän ǰiŋel orlïklar; melkie zerna, otletajuščie v storonu pri vejanii; sidek kuïgïnïŋ yalkïnsïnuvï; cistit́, *oc-* ‘oču; letat́; šayaru; šalit́, ozorničat́, balovat́sja’ (SibTat), *uc-*, *ŏč-*

‘letat′’ (SibTatBD), *uc-* ‘fliegen’, ? *udzuk* ‘ein Blasenleiden (bei dem der Mensch nicht urinieren kann), der Tripper’ (SibTatBR), *uc-* ‘fliegen’ (SibTatTR), *učuk* ‘puzyr′ki na gubah (napr. pri lihoradke)’, (točnee *kurgak učuk*) ‘tuberkulez legkih, čahotka’, *uč-* ‘letat′, letet′, (peren.) (tol′ko o detjah) umeret′, stirat′sja, vycvetat′ (o kraskah), sohnut′, želtet′, hužnut′ (*o rastenijah*)’ (Kirg), *ŭš-* ‘to fly’ (Kaz), *ŭšïq* ‘pryšč, malarija’, *ŭš-* ‘letat′, letet′, podnjat′sja v vozduh, proletet′’ (KazB), *ušïq* ‘puzyr′ki, pojavljajuščiesja na gubah pri lihoradke ili povyšennoj temperature’, *uš-* ‘letat′, sletat′ (*padat′*)’ (Kklp), *uš-* ‘letat′, rejat′, uletučivat′sja (napr. prevraščajas′ v par), mčat′sja, nestis′, kak na kryl′jah’ (Nog), *uč-* ‘letat′, letet′’, *učuv* = *učuš* ‘polet, let’ (CrTat), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (CrTatR), *uč-* ‘letat′, vyletat′, padat′, upast′, obrušit′sja, bystro begat′’ (KarT, KarC), *uc-* ‘letat′’ (KarH), *uč-* ‘letat′, letet′’ (Kum), *učuq* ‘šeluha, pustye zerna (kukuruzy, pšenici i t. p., kotorye otletajut pri vejanii)’, *uč-* ‘letat′, katat′sja, (peren.) propadat′, isčezat′, (peren.) nabrasyvat′sja, nakidyvat′sja, obrušivat′sja na kogo-čto., (peren.) krast′, vorovat′, tancevat′’ (KrchBlk), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (KrchP), *uc-* ‘fliegen’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *uč-* ‘letat′, letet′, vzletat′, kačat′sja, raskačivat′sja, padat′ s vysoty, poletet′ vniz, sorvat′sja’, *učuk* ‘syp′, puzyr′ki (na gubah)’ (Tkm), *učug* ‘voldyri ili syp′ na gubah (ot prostudy), ognevica’, *uč-* ‘letat′, parit′, uletučivat′sja, ruhnut′, rušit′sja, obrušit′sja, razvalit′sja’ (Az), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (AzR), *uç-* ‘to fly, to rise (in the air), to evaporate, to fall (from a great height), fade away, to disappear, etc.’, *uçuk* ‘cold sore, herpes’ (Tt), *uç-* ‘yüksek bir yerden boşluğa atılmak, düşmek’ (TtD), *uč-* ‘fliegen’, *učuq* ‘die Hitzbläschen, die sich auf den Lippen bilden (von Fiebern, Hitze)’ (TtR), *uč-* ‘letet′, letat′’ (Gag), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *učuq* ‘Bläschenausschlag, Gerstenkorn’, *uč-*: *ụ̄da uč-* ‘aus dem Schlaf auffahren, erwachen’, *učurtur-* ‘fliegen lassen’ (Kh), *učur-*, *učurtur-* ‘eilen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *uč-* ‘letat′, letet′, otbivat′sja, otkalyvat′sja, otskakivat′, drožat′, podergivat′sja, soblaznjat′sja, poddavat′sja (čemu-l.), podpadat′ (pod č′e-l. vlijanie i t.p.)’, *učuq* ‘syp′, puzyr′ki (na gubah ot prostudy)’ (Uzb), *uč-* ‘to fly, to go out (about fire)’ (TurkiJ), *öch-* ‘to fly’ (TurkiSh), *uč-*, *uš-* ‘letat′ (o vetre, o pticah)’ (TurkiL), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (TurkiTR), *učuq, učuġ* ‘pryščik, lihoradočnaja syp′ (na gubah)’, *uč-* ‘letat, vzletat′, kačat′sja (na kačeljah)’ (MUyg), *učuq* ‘syp′ na gubah (lihoradka), sinie pjatna po telu pri zaraženie krovi ili pri narušenii krovoobraščenija’, *uč-* ‘letat′, uvlekat′sja, ustremljat′sja’ (MUygBN), *uç-*, *uʃ-*, *u̇č-*, *üç-* ‘letat′’ (Sal), *uš-*, *uš′-*, *u̇š-* ‘voler’ (SalK), *uč-*, *uš-*, *üč-* ‘letat′’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *uč-* ‘letat′, vsporhnut′’ (Alt), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *uč-*, *uš-* ‘letet′’ (AltL), *uč-*, *üč-* ‘letat′, letet′’ (AltQK), *uč-* ‘letat′, bystro mčat′sja’, *üč-* ‘letat′’ (AltTK), *učux* ‘ohvost′e’, *učux-* ‘letat′, vsporhnut′’ (Khak), *uč-* ‘fliegen’ (KhakShR), *uc-* ‘fliegen’ (ChulR), *uš-* ‘to fly’ (FY), *uš-* ‘letat′, letet′, padat′, (peren.) napivat′sja do besčuvstvija (do poteri soznanija), (peren.) umeret′, skončat′sja’ (Tuv), *u″š-* ‘letet′, letat′, padat′ (o čem-l., stojaščem vertikal′no – napr. o stolbe, dereve)’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T It is possible that the T etymon for the H word first appeared in the very debated line 8 of RMTon. As Berta (1995: 315–316; 2004c: 48–49) suggested, line 8 of the inscription reads: *keyik yeyü tabïšgan yeyü olorur ärdimiz bodun bogzï tok ärdi yagïmïz tägrä učuk täg ärdi biz ?g ärdimiz* '(we settled down) living on wild game and hares. The throats of the *bodun* were satisfied. Our enemies were all around us like the chaff. We were ?'. The reading and interpretation of the word written as <WčwK> is debated. On the earlier readings and translations, see Tekin (1994: 30–31), Berta (1995: 315–316) and Rybatzki (1997: 87, n. 237). In the literature, one can find the following controversial opinions: Erdal (1991: 252) did not rule out the reading *očok* with the meaning 'fireplace', but – accepting Giraud's explanation (1961: 54, 60) – he thought that the reading and translation as *učuk* 'flown away' seems to be more satisfactory. Tekin (1994: 30; 1995: 212–213) changed his earlier attempts and read *očok* 'fire-place' in this passage. Berta (1995: 315–316) suggested the reading *učok* and preferred the interpretation 'chaff'. Rybatzki (1997: 46, 87) accepted Clauson's explanation (1972: 23), giving the reading *učuk* with the interpretation 'a flock of birds'. Ultimately, *učuk täg ärdi* can only be understood properly if the expression *biz ?g ärdimiz* could be clearly read. However, the place is seriously damaged.

The T etymon is attested in the CC as *učux* 'Spreu', and see also TatR *očok* 'die Spreu (das was beim Worfeln fortfliegt)', KrchBlk *učuk* 'šeluha, pustye zerna (kukuruzy, pšenščij i t. p., kotorye otletajut pri vejanii)', Khak *učux* 'ohvostʹe'. The following words – despite Clauson's hesitation (1972: 22) – also belong here: *učuk* 'pryšč na gubah, jazvočka, pojavljajuščajasja na glazu' (AChagB), *ušïk* 'puzyrʹki, pojavljajuščiesja na gubah pri lihoradke *ili* povyšennoj temperature', *ušïk tarï* 'pustye zerna (*napr. prosa*)' (Kklp), *učuk* 'sypʹ, puzyrʹki (*na gubah*)' (Tkm), *učuk* 'die Hitzbläschen, die sich auf den Lippen bilden (von Fiebern, Hitze)' (TtR), *učuk* 'Bläschenausschlag, Gerstenkorn' (Kh), *učug*, *učuk* 'fever spots, (metaph.) a mole (or stye?) which grows in the eye' (ChagSC). On the semantics, see Kh 'Gerstenkorn', H *árpa* 'stye' < **árpa** 'barley', cf. Lat *hordeolum* 'stye' < *hordeum* 'barley'. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 138–139), Räsänen (1969: 509) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 615–616) offered no etymology for *učuk* 'stye'. AltTK *učuk* 'suhožilie' is another word.

The T etymon for the H word is a dev nominal with the suff -(*O*)*k* (Erdal 1991: 224–261) fr *uč-* 'to fly' (see also Chuv *vĕś-*). The latter was copied into CherH *vïs-*, cf. Fedotov (1996/1: 119).

On the verbal base with the meaning 'to fly (off)', see Clauson (1972: 19) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 612–613). As rightly pointed out by Clauson, the verb *uč-* has various meanings, "basically (of a bird) 'to fly', with various metaph. extensions. The oldest is, as an honorific of a superior, 'to die'; others are 'to go with great speed; to disappear; to twitch; (of colours) to fade'..." The comparison in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1483) between PT **uč-* 'to fly' and PTu *(*x*)*uča-* 'to stumble' is both

phonetically and semantically unacceptable. The separation of the words for 'stye' and 'chaff' (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1176) is highly problematic, the reconstruction of another verb **učˇ-* is unfounded.

E/H The H word was first considered to be of T origin by Vámbéry (1870: 123). Gombocz (1907a: 308) pointed out, however, that one can only find adequate data for the T etymology of the H word in Chag. Gombocz (1912b: 108) later reluctantly considered the H word to be of T origin. Vámbéry (1914: 192) and then Rásonyi (1941–1943: 293–295) argued in favour of the T etymology of the H word. Bárczi (1941: 221) considered the H word as being of dubious and debated origin. According to Ligeti (1959: 456–457), the T etymon *učuk*, a dev nominal der, had the original meaning 'fliegend' and the present sense of 'chaff, empty seed, which flies away during winnowing' may be secondary. This latter meaning is present in Tat and Bashk. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1066) considered the H word as an OT lw which was borrowed with the phonetic shape **učuy*. According to Ligeti (1986: 57, 58), there is no need to think that the internal H *-cs-* obviously shows the CT origin of the word. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1054) accepted Ligeti's opinion and thought that the H word *ocsú* may be of OChuv origin.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 123; Gombocz 1907a: 308; Gombocz 1912b: 108; Vámbéry 1914: 192; Bárczi 1941: 221; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 293–295; Ligeti 1959: 456–457; Giraud 1961: 54, 60; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 138–139; Egorov 1964: 53; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1066; Räsänen 1969: 509; Clauson 1972: 19, 22–23; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 612–613, 615–616; Ligeti 1986: 57–58, 79, 195, 200, 280, 287, 530; Erdal 1991: 224–261; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1054; Tekin 1994: 30–31; Berta 1995: 315–316; Tekin 1995: 212–213; Fedotov 1996/1: 119; Rybatzki 1997: 46, 87; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1176, 1483; Berta 2004c: 48–49.

OK [ok] 'cause, reason' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Okudi* [oku-di], p1372/c1448 *ocual* [ok-vål] 'thoughtfulness, explaining, pretext, occasion' | *ok* < **uk* ← WOT **uk* 'mind, understanding' || **okos** [okoš] 'wise' | 1138/1329 PN *okus* [okuš], p1372/c1448 *okofon* [okošon], *vkoffagbalol* [ukoš-šāg-bålol] | *okoš* < *ok* {with suff +(*V*)*š*} || **oktalan** [oktålån] 'unwise, brute' | p1372/c1448 *oktalan* [oktålån] 'unwise', p1416/1466 'unreasonable' | *oktålån* < *ok* {with suff +*tÅlÅn*} || **oktat** [oktåt] 'to teach' | *oktåt-* < *ok-* {with suff *-tAt-*} < **uk-* ← WOT **uk-* | EOT *uk-* 'to understand'.

OT *ukuš*: *ärk ukušlug ärip* 'having power and intelligence' (UHochzeit 13, Erdal 1991: 271), *ux-* 'verstehen' (UM I 18:4), *uk-ul-* 'to be understood' (UBT I, III, Erdal 1991: 681), *uq-* 'verstehen' (UUII 7:7), *uq-* 'to understand' (UXuanzangIndex), *uq-* 'verstehen, einsehen', *uqmadïn* 'ohne zu verstehen' (UTTIII 42), *uqtur-* 'erläutern, verstehen lassen' (UTTVI 148), *uq-* 'understand', *ol är īšin uqdï* 'that man understood his business' (AK), *uquš* 'intelligence'. An intelligent person is called: *uqūšlug̈ kiši* (AK), *uq-* 'to understand', *ukug* 'understanding, intellect' (AQB), *uq-* 'verstehen' (BO 1); **MT** *uqg̈uluq tüzün bir är* 'ein verständiger und edler Mann' (UOg), *uq-* 'anlamak', *uquš* 'anlayış, akıl' (UY), *uq-* 'savoir, comprendre', *uqgučï* 'sage' (UHy), *uqušlug̈* 'in-

telligent' (ABF), *uk-* 'anlamak' (AHMA), *uq-* 'rozumieć, pojmować, uwaać, słyszeć', *uqušlug* 'rozumny, rozumiejący, pojętny' (AHŠ), *uq-* 'ponimatʹ, smotretʹ, slušatʹ vnimatelʹno' (AHŠF), *uq-* 'znatʹ, ponimatʹ' (AIM), *uq-* 'bilmek ve anlamak' (AIMI), *uq-* 'to understand' (AKor), *uq-* 'ponimatʹ, smotretʹ, slušatʹ vnimatelʹno' (ANehF), *uq-* 'to understand' (ARbg), *uq-* 'vnimatʹ, ponimatʹ' , *uquš* 'razum' (ATef), *uq-* 'anlamak', *uquš* 'anlayış, akıl' (AYC), *uq-* 'ponimatʹ' (AChagBud), *uq-* 'anlamak, idrâk etmek' (AAH), *oqu-* (r: *uqu-*) 'ponimatʹ, razumetʹ' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *oq-* 'aŋlau; ponimatʹ; išetü; slyšatʹ', *uq-* 'išetü; slyšatʹ' (SibTat), *uq-* 'slyšatʹ, uslyšatʹ' (SibTatBD), *uk-* 'slušatʹ, vnimatʹ, slyšatʹ', *ugū* 'slušanie, ponimanie, postiženie' (Kirg), *uq-* 'hören' (KirgR), *ŭġïn-* 'to understand' (Kaz), *ŭq-* 'soobražatʹ, urazumetʹ, ponjatʹ', *ŭġŭv* 'ponimanie' (KazB), *uq-* 'hören' (KazR), *uq-* 'vnikatʹ v suščnostʹ *čego-l.*, ponimatʹ, usvaivatʹ', *uġïv* 'vosprijatie, ponimanie, usvoenie' (Kklp); ***SW*** *ukīp* 'sposobnostʹ, umenie' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *uq-* 'ponimatʹ, razumetʹ, bratʹ v tolk, razobratʹsja', *uquv* 'ponimanie, soobraziteľnostʹ, sposobnostʹ, talant' (Uzb), *uq-*, *ux-*, *oq-* 'to understand, to realize, to learn, to find out' (TurkiJ), *uq-* 'to understand, to comprehend, to take in' (TurkiSh), *uq-* 'hören' (TurkiTR), *uq-*, (dial.) *ux-* 'postigatʹ, ponimatʹ, soznavatʹ', *uquš* 'soznanie, ponjatie, ponimanie' (MUyg), *uxučï* 'učaščijsja' (Sal), *oxu-*, *oxø-*, *øxa-* 'lire, étudier' [Pot. *uxu-*] (SalK); ***NE*** *uk-* 'slušatʹ, slyšatʹ' (Alt), *uq-* 'hören' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *uk-* 'slyšatʹ' (AltL), *uk* 'um' (? ← Mo *ug*), *uk-* 'slušatʹ, slyšatʹ' (AltQK), *uk-* 'slyšatʹ, uslyšatʹ, poslušatʹ, uznatʹ' (AltTK), *ux-* '(*dial.*) slušatʹ, slyšatʹ kogo-čto-l., ponimatʹ kogo-čto-l.' (Khak), *uq-* 'hören' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *uqa-* 'to understand, know, comprehend, realize' (L), *uqaġan* 'intellect, mind, intelligence, reason, consciousness, meaning, substance, essence, way, means, branch of knowledge, discipline, science (chiefly in compounds)', *uqal* 'understanding' (L) etc., ? *ug* 'base, stump, root, basis, origin, beginning, extraction' (L).

E/T The base of the supposed T etymon for the H word may be tied to T *uk-* 'to understand (something Acc.)', which is documented as of the OT period (Clauson 1972: 77–78). Clauson has also discussed some ders of the base (cf. *ukït-* (81), *uktur-* (82), *ukug* (83), *ukul-* (85), *ukun-* (87), *uksā-* (95), *ukuš* (96) etc.) and pointed out that the verb *uk-* often comes up in the bi-verb with *bil-* 'to know' (see also Erdal 1991: 656). The original bisyllabic structure of the verb can be shown in the caus form *ukït-* (see Clauson 1972: 81; Erdal 1991: 790–791), although it also has the caus *uktur-* (see Clauson 1972: 82; Erdal 1991: 812). Besides *uk-* 'ponimatʹ, razumetʹ, slušatʹ, slyšatʹ', Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 584–585) also mentions the noun *uk* 'die Meinung, Bedeutung, das Verständnis', cited by Radloff fr the AQB (Radloff 1893–1911/1: 1605). This item, as already remarked by Ligeti, needs verification. In the AQB, we find *yime yakšï aymïš bu türk buyrukï / körür köz yarukï ogul kïz okï* "The Buyruk of the Turks spoke well when he said: Verily son and daughter are the light of one's seeing eyes" (Arat 1972–1979: 133/1163; Dankoff 1983: 77). Here *okï* is the imperative of *okï-* 'to

call out'. The second place, quoted by Radloff fr the Herat MS of the AQB, is in line 4256 *ugïnča kamugka özüŋ edgü kïl* (Arat 1972–1979: 428/4256; Dankoff 1983: 178) 'Do good to all of them as far as you are able'. Here we have *u-gïnča* the gerund of *u-* 'to know'. Thus this **uk* in Radloff turned out to be a ghost word. The word *uk* 'mind' appeared in the Kumandi dial of Alt, the text runs: *savïr kapta kulak tъok* / *Tastar kižide uk tъok* 'Na ohotnič́ej sumke uškov net / U Tastarov uma net' (Baskakov 1972: 143, 1. lines 7–8). Baskakov adds Mo *ug* to *uk* III 'um' in the word list (p. 261). Mo *ug* means 'base, root, origin'. If the translation by Baskakov is correct, *uk* cannot be compared with Mo *ug*. The text is a mocking song about a hunter. It is possible to translate the text as 'Tastar-man has no roots', i.e. he has no known origin, his father or his ancestors are not known or are regarded as unacceptable to the society. In fact, in the Kū-kiži dial of Alt we find *uk* 'sem′ja, pokolenie, rod, proishoždenie', *uktug* 'horošego proishoždenia' (Baskakov 1985: 216). This means that hitherto no nominal form **uk* has been found; we only have the verb *uk-*. The verb *uk-* may be a simplex, but also a der fr *u-* 'to know, to be capable' with the dev suff *-(X)k-* (Erdal 1991: 645, the verb in question not dealt with); see *uz* 'master', *ugan* 'mighty', *un-* 'to be successful' (Erdal 1991: 325, 383, 622 and Index).

The OT verb *uk-* < PT **ukV-* was copied by Mo (see Clauson 1972: 77; Ščerbak 1997: 167). The T and Mo words were considered by some scholars as related "Altaic" lexemes. On the earlier literature, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 585). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1490–1491), the T and Mo forms, including PJpn and PTu reconstructions, reflect a PA base **úkʻu-* 'to understand, look into'.

E/H The basic problem is that H *ok* is a noun. According to Vámbéry (1870: 166), the H words *ok* 'cause, reason' and *okos* 'wise' are of T origin. Gombocz (1907a: 308) also considered these words to be of T origin, however he thought that some of their T correspondences need further verification. Gombocz (1912b: 108, 148, 173) later reconstructed an OChuv nomen-verbum **uk*, **uk-*. This was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 222) and Horger (1942b: 161). According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1069–1070), the base for the word-family of the H noun *ok* 'reason, understanding' is a T lw. The H verb *okik-* 'to understand' could have occurred secondarily as the verbal counterpart of the H noun *ok*. One cannot rule out, however, that the T verb *uk-* 'to understand' was also copied into the H lg. In this case, the word could have had the character of a nomen-verbum and H *oktat-* 'to teach' can be connected with the H verbal base. According to Palló (1982: 143), H *oktat-* 'to teach' may be related to the H verb *ok-*, which is only known in its ders and is a borrowed form fr T *uk-* 'to understand'. Ligeti (1986: 264–265) considered H *ok* to be an older lw fr T, although its data only appeared in the 14th c. He stressed that the borrowed T nominal could serve in H as the base of the nominal forms (*okos* 'clever', *oktalan* 'unwise') and also verbal forms (*okoz-* 'to cause', *okul-* 'to be edified'). He pointed out that it is disturbing that one

cannot find the nominal counterpart of the H noun in the T lgs. The T verb *uk-* is widespread in the sources, and it has the clear Mo counterpart *uka-* 'to know'. Ligeti did not accept the assumption of the existence of nomen-verbums in T, and stressed that the H verb cannot be the source for the H noun *ok*. He wondered whether the nominal base is the result of the restructuring of a dev der. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1055–1056) accepted Ligeti's arguments and changed his own earlier opinion. He considered that the copied member of the H word-family was a verb **uk-* and the noun *ok* occurred in H due to an internal H development. The H word *okos* 'wise' is a der of the H noun *ok* to which the adj suff +(*V*)*š* was added.

Most probably, H copied the verb **uk-* > **ok-*. The verb *okik-* was documented relatively late (1616). It is the H verb *ok-* embedded in the *-ik-* conjugation (see § 6.6), but we find *oktat-*, the fact form of *ok-* with the suff *-tAt-*, as early as a1416/c1450 in the *Codex of Vienna*. We cannot rule out that H also copied the noun, though it did not crop up in Turcia. It may have been present in Mo. In chap 4, § 140, line 3902 of the SH, we read about Belgütey: *Kahan ilügey-iyen ǰa'uba*, *Belgütey uka otču* 'The Kha'an bit his lower lip. Belgütey understood' (de Rachewiltz 1972: 60; 2004: 62). If the word is not an abbreviated form of *ukā* < *ukaga*(*n*), then the noun could at least be found in Mo.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 166; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 1605; Gombocz 1907a: 308; Gombocz 1912b: 108, 148, 173; Ligeti 1935a: 230–231; Bárczi 1941: 222; Horger 1942b: 161; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1069–1070; Räsänen 1969: 511–512; Baskakov 1972: 143, 261; Clauson 1972: 77–78, 81–83, 85, 87, 95–96; de Rachewiltz 1972: 60; Arat 1972–1979: 133, 428; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 584–585; Palló 1982: 143; Dankoff 1983: 77, 178; Baskakov 1985: 216; Ligeti 1986: 82, 185, 253, 264–265, 280; Erdal 1991: 271, 325, 383, 622, 645, 656, 681, 790–791, 812; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1055–1056; Ščerbak 1997: 167; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1490–1491; de Rachewiltz 2004: 62.

ÓL [ōl] 'sty, cattle pen, sheepfold' | 1192/1374/1425 GN *oulus* [oul-uš], 1208/1359 GN *yuhol* [yuh-ōl], 1211 GN *Bureuohul* [bureu-oɣul], 1297 *luoul* [lū-oul], c1395 *vl* [ūl] 'stabulum' | **ōl* < *oɣul* < **aɣul* ⟵ WOT **aɣul* | EOT *agïl* 'cattle pen, sheepfold'.

OT *aġïlïm on yïlqïm san°sïz ärdi* 'I had ten pens and innumerable livestock' (RM-Süj 5), *aġïlïŋtā yïlqī̈ŋ bolzūn* 'may you get livestock in your pens' (RTIrk 47), *aġïl* 'sheepfold' [In AK, it is written that 'sheep's dung' is among the Og *aġïl* because of the close connection between the two. Kashgari's "etymological explanation" is of course false], another occurence is spelt as *aġī̈l*: *aġī̈ldā oġlāq tuġsā* 'when a kid is born in the pen' (AK); **MT** *aġïl* 'zakut dlja baranov' (AIM), *aġıl* 'ağıl' (AIMI), *aġïl* 'zagon dlja skota' (ATef), *aġïl* 'cercle autour de la lune, parc pour le moutons pendant la nuit', *awul* 'campement, village de nomades' (AChag), *aġïl* 'krug luny, dvor, ograda', *awli* = *aġïl* 'dvor' (AChagBud), *aġil* 'Zaun, Umzäunung, Hof, Hürde, Hof um Sonne und Mond' (AChagR), *aġıl* 'a halo round the moon, enclosure', [*awul* (spelt) 'a place in which nomadic tribes collect and settle down' no doubt an 18th-

c., non-Chag word (cf. Clauson 1972: 83)] (AChagSC), *aġïl* ‘mandra, tavar ve koyun sürüsi toplanup yuvarlak duvardaki halde etrafına çekilen muhavvata xatire havlı’ (AChagŠS), *aġïl* ‘Viehhof, um eine Schafherde gezogene Mauer, Hof’, *ayïl* ‘Mondscheibe’, *aul* ‘ein Wohnort des Ilatstammes, Dorf’, *oltaš* ‘Nachbar’ (AChagŠSK), *agïl* ‘Hof, Hürde, Einhägung, Viehhof’ (AChagZ), *aġïl* ‘koyun sürüsünün toplu olarak durduğu halde etrafına çekilen hatire’ (AAH), *agul*: *aguldaš* ‘Aulgenosse, Nachbar’ (AHou), *aġïl*, *aġul* ‘sheepfold’, in all periods ‘halo’ in *ay aġïlï* (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *auïl* ‘derevnja, selo, aul, derevenskij, sel′skij’ (Tat), *awïl* ‘uram; ulica’ (TatD1), *awïl* ‘uram; ulica’ (TatD2), *auïl* ‘falu; Dorf’ (TatB), *aul* ‘Dorf’ (TatKR), *auïl* ‘selo, selenie, derevnja, sel′skij, derevenskij’ (Bashk), *åwul* ‘falu [village]’ (BashkP), *ayïl*, *aul* ‘auïl; derevnja’ (SibTat), *avïl*, *aŭïl* ‘aul; derevnja’ (SibTatBD), *aul* ‘Aul, Jurten, die an einer Stelle zusammenstehen’ (SibTatTR), *agïl* ‘skotnyj dvor, pomeščenie dlja skota’ [possibly a lw] (Kirg), *ail* ‘Dorf, Aul’ (KirgR), *auïl* ‘group of yurts, nomad’s camp’ (Kaz), *auïl* ‘aul; derevnja, selenie, selo, hutor’ (KazB), *aul* ‘Aul, Jurten, die an einer Stelle zusammenstehen (der Aul bildet stets eine soziale Einheit, die von einer Person abhängt, nach deren Namen sie auch genannt wird, die Jurten von Leuten, die von einander vollkommen unabhängig sind, gelten als besondere Aule, wie nach sie auch bei einander aufgestellt sein mögen)’ (KazR), *aŭïl* ‘aul; selo, derevnja’ (Kklp), *avïl* ‘aul, derevnja, selo, aul′nyj, derevenskij, sel′skij’ (Nog), *avul* ‘aul’ (CrTat), *aul* ‘Aul, Jurten, die an einer Stelle zusammenstehen’ (CrTatR), *avul* ‘stan, lager, svita, soprovoždajuščie lica’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *avul* ‘ulica, kvartal, aul, selo, selenie’ (Kum), *awul* ‘aul, selo’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *āgïl* ‘zagon, ovčarnja, venec, oreol’ (Tkm), *avul*, *aġïl* ‘selo’, *aġïl* ‘zagon, skotnyj dvor’, *aul* ‘aul, selenie (v Dagestane i Srednej Azii)’ (Az), *aġïl* ‘konjušnja, pomoščenie iz kamyša, postroennoe v zimov′e dlja ovec, zagon dlja skota’ (AzD), *aġïl* ‘Hürde, Einzäunung für Schafe’ (AzR), *ağıl* ‘sheepfold, halo’ (Tt), *ayal*, *agıla*, *ağul* ‘gece, kırda yatırılan koyun sürüsünü korumak için yapılan çitle çevrili yer, açık ağıl’ (TtD), *aġ* (*qoyun aġï*), *aġïl* ‘Hürde, Einzäunung für Schafe’ (TtR), *aul* ‘skotnyj dvor, zagon (dlja skota), ovčarnja, zabor, izgorod′’ (Gag), *agïl* ‘Viehhürde, Umzäunung’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *agïl* ‘Viehhürde, Schafstall’ [← Az *agïl*, the expected Kh form could be *(*h*)*ā*^{a}*gul*] (Kh), *āgul* ‘Siebrahmen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *åvul* ‘aul, aul′nyj’ (← Rus), *åġïl* ‘hlev, korovnik, saraj dlja skota’ (Uzb), *aghil* ‘a cattle shed, enclosure for cattle’ (TurkiSh), *aġïl* ‘Hürde, Einzäunung für Schafe’, *eġil* ‘Viehstall’ (TurkiTR), *aġil* (dial.), *eġil* ‘hlev, konjušnja, skotnyj dvor’, *awul* ‘aul’ (MUyg), *aġïl*, *āġïl* ‘selenie, selo’, *āgïł* ‘selenie’ (Sal), *āgə̂l*, *aĝə̂l* ‘village’ [Pot. *agïl* (*aul*) ‘village, peuple’] (SalK), *aġïł* ‘dvor, selenie’, *āġïł* ‘dvor’ (YUyg), *aġïl* ‘dvor vnutri zagorodi i okolo nee, selenie’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ayïl* ‘dom (sem′ja), jurta, derevnja, selenie’ (Alt), *ail* ‘Jurte, Filzzelt’ (AltR), *ayïl* ‘ail, derevnja, dom’ (AltL), *ayïl* ‘dom, selo, derevnja, naselennyj punkt, selenie’ (AltQK), *ayïl* ‘dom, jurta, aul, stojbišče’ (AltTK), *ail* ‘Dorf, Aul’ (AltTelR), *āl* ‘selenie, naselennyj punkt, derevnja, (*obl.*)

ulus, sel′skij' (Khak), *āl* 'polukočevoe hakasskoe selenie' (KhakB), *āl* 'Dorf, Jurtengruppe' (KhakQR, KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *aġïl* 'Dorf' (ChulR), *āl* 'village' (FY), *āl* 'selenie, aul, dom' (Tuv), *āl* 'selenie, stojbišče' (Tof); ***Y*** *ïal* 'dvor, žiloj dom, žil′e, dom s naseleniem i imuščestvom, otdel′naja sem′ja, hozjajstvo, žitel′, žiteli, sosed, sosedi, sosedstvo, aul, selenie, derevnja' (Y), *yal* 'Siedlung, fremdes Haus, Nachbarhaus, Bewohner' (Dlg).

Mo *ayil* 'family, household, homestead, neighbour[hood], settlement, group of tents, village' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word T *agïl*, originally denoted 'an enclosure for livestock, cattle pen, sheepfold', thence 'a settlement or group of tents associated with such an enclosure' and finally 'group of people living in an *agïl*'. According to Clauson (1972: 83), it is a simplex. If it is not a lw in T, it may be a der with an original initial long vowel (PT **āgïlV*), but the etymology of this reconstructed word is not transparent. Doerfer (1985: 125) considered T *āgïl* 'Siedlung' to be a der fr T *āg-* 'emporragen' (< **pāg-*, cf. Kh *hāga*). The data for the T word have been collected by Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 65–66, s.v. *avul*, 83–85, s.v. *āġïl*) and see also Tenišev (2001: 492–493, 522–523). Erdal (1991) did not mention the T word *agïl* among the ders of the verb *ag-* 'to rise'. Sevortjan and Tenišev have separated the T words *avïl*, *agïl* 'settlement' and *agïl* 'sheepfold' fr each other. Other authorities (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 82–84; Räsänen 1969: 8; Clauson 1972: 83, etc.) have pointed out that these T words are interrelated. The T word appears – besides other lgs (see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 82–84) – as an early lw in Mo and Rus. Some of the T lgs show the re-borrowed forms *awul* fr Rus (e.g. SibTat, KazR) while others show *ayil*, *ayïl* fr Mo (e.g. Alt, AltL, AltTel, SibTat). Ščerbak (1997: 94–95) listed the Mo word *ayil* 'aul' among the OT lws of Mo. The etymological connection between T *agïl*, Mo *ayil*, on the one hand, and Tu *agi* 'bewohnter Platz, Absteigeplatz', on the other, supposed by Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 140) is not clear. His suggestion that these words go back to a verbal root **ag-* (cf. Tu *ag-* 'absteigen') was refuted by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 84). In fact, the basic meaning of Tu **agī* is 'taiga, otkrytoe pustinnoe mesto, step′', perhaps tied to *aguu* 'vast, huge'. On the other hand, the Mo form was borrowed by some Tu dials (*ail* 'Nachbar, Dorf'), on which see Doerfer (1985: 125). The original meaning of the T word was 'enclosure for livestock'.

The comparison of the T and Mo words with Kitań *wali* 'tribal subdivision' is not acceptable. It is 瓦 *wa* < LMCh *ŋwa:* < EMCh *ŋwaj*, *ŋwä:* + 里 *li* < LMCh, EMCh *li* (the latter for the Ch mile). On its use in detail, see Wittfogel–Feng (1949: Index). Man *falga* 'village' has been connected with T *agïl* and also with H *falu* 'village' and even with T *balïk* and Mo *balgasun* (see Menges 1953a: 76; Räsänen 1955: 5–6; Collinder 1955: 147). The Man word has the meaning 'a clan, a tribe, all the people living on one street, office, a group, a clump' also a measure word for building quantifier: Man

gašan falga ‘okolotok, časť selenija, obščina’. Most likely, it pertains to Man *fali-* ‘to tie, bind, to conclude (a treaty or agreement)’, but the Man word is isolated as no comparable words exist in other Tu lgs.

Despite Fedotov’s opinion (1996/2: 497), the Chuv word *yal* ‘selenie’ cannot be interrelated with T *agïl*. It may go back, however, to T *ēl* ‘a political unit’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 121–122). Fedotov’s separation of Chuv *yal* into two entries with the meanings ‘selenie’ and ‘obščestvo’ is unfounded.

Chuv *uyăl* ‘podpruga’ goes back to another word which is documented as of MT:

MT *ail* ‘Bauchriemen’ (AChagR), *ail*, *ayl* ‘Bauchgurt, Gürtel’ (LCC), *āyïl* ‘podpruga, pojas, kušak’ (ATuh), *ayïl* ‘semer kolanı’ (ATuhA); NT *Chuv* dial *uyăl* ‘podbrjušnik, podpruga’ (Chuv); *NW ayïl* ‘podpruga (u sedelki, sedla)’ (Tat), *ayïl* ‘podpruga, prjažka, bljaha (remnja), (dial.) pojas, pojasok, kušak’ (Bashk), *ayïl* ‘tüšlek, podbrjušnik’ (SibTat), *ayïl* ‘podpruga’ (SibTatBD), *ayïl* ‘kol′co podprugi’ (Kirg), *ayïl* ‘saddle girth’ (Kaz), *ail* ‘Bauchgurt des Pferdes’ (KazR), *ayïl* ‘podpruga’ (Kklp), *ayïl* ‘podpruga’ (Nog), *ayïl* ‘podpruga’ (Kum), *ayïl* ‘podpruga’ (KrchBlk); *SW āyïl* ‘podpruga’ (TkmD, Tenišev 2001: 551); *SE ayil* ‘podpruga’ (Uzb).

E/H The H word was already considered to be of T origin by Vámbéry (1870: 166), but his opinion was based on data which do not belong here. Later, he (1882a: 621) corrected his earlier comparison. According to Gombocz (1912b: 108–109), H *ól* goes back to OChuv **agïl*. Ligeti (1935a: 230) and Bárczi (1941: 222) considered H *ól* to come fr an old T borrowing. According to Benkő (1953a: 54), it is neutral fr the H point of view whether the T word was **agïl* or **agul* because after the disappearance of certain H spirants (*γ*, *χ*, *v*, *y*, *h*) the V+V segments that evolved thus became diphthongs, which H later preserved or developed into monophthongs. Later, Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1072–1073; 1993–1997/2: 1057) presumed OT **agul* had been copied. Ligeti (1980: 231) reconstructed the development of the H word in the following way: *agïl* > *agul* > *oγul* (*ohul*) > *ól* [ōl]. Later, he (1986: 67) added that the intervocalic T consonant of the copied word was certainly a spirant [γ]; see *ohul* at the top of this entry. H *akol* ‘sheepfold, pen’ is a Sl lw (**o-kolъ*); mutual influence in the past is possible.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 166; Vámbéry 1882a: 621; Gombocz 1912b: 108–109; Fehér 1926–1932: 388; Ligeti 1935a: 230; Ramstedt 1935: 25; Bárczi 1941: 222; Wittfogel–Feng 1949: Index; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 140; Benkő 1953a: 54; Menges 1953a: 76; Collinder 1955: 147; Räsänen 1955: 5–6; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 82–84; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1072–1073; Räsänen 1969: 8; Szabadfalvi 1970: 158; Clauson 1972: 83, 121–122; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 65–66, 83–85; Ligeti 1980: 231; Doerfer 1985: 125; Ligeti 1986: 67, 86, 186, 195, 202, 278, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1057; Fedotov 1996/2: 497; Ščerbak 1997: 94–95; Tatarincev 2000–2004/1: 35–36; Tenišev 2001: 492–493, 522–523, 551; Starostin–Dybo-Mudrak 2003: 276–277.

OLCSÓ [olčō] ‘cheap’ | 1528 *olčonak* [olčō-nåk], 1557 *ocoban* [ōčō-ban] | *olčō* < *ōčō* {with unorg *l*} < **učaų* < **učaγ* ← WOT **učaγ* < **učag* || **ócsárol** ‘to disparage’ |

p1416/1466 *meg olʟarlatot* [meg olčārl-åtott], c1456 *ocharuan* [ōčār-vān], 1566 *ólczárllya* [olčārl-yå], *olcsárol* [olčārol], 1588 *ochyarollyak* [ōčārol-yāk] | *ōčārol-* ~ *olčārol-* < *olčō* ~ *ōčō* {with suff +*ĀrOl-*} | EOT **učak* 'what is light, cheap' < *uč-* 'to fly' > *učuz* 'cheap'.

For data on *uč-*, see **ocsú**.

OT *učuz* 'easy': *yuyqa ärikli topolġalï učuz ärmiš*, *yinǰgä äriklig üzgäli učuz* 'It is easy to let pierce what is thin and what is thin one can easily tear, they say' (RMTon 13), *učuz yenik* 'wertlos (Hend.)' (MTTII A:44), *učuz yenik* 'geringwertig (Hend.)' (UUII 86:35), *učuz* 'verächtlich' (UUII 86:36), *učuz* 'leicht' (UTTVI 278), *učuz* 'leicht' (UTTVII 27:13), *učuz* 'elend' (UUIV 680:31), *učuz* 'easy' (UXuanzangIndex), *učuz nāŋ* 'something cheap'. And a 'despicable' person is called *učuz*, *učuzluq* 'cheapness' in prices (AK), *učuz* means 'cheap' in: *isizlik učuz ol anï kïldačï* / *yavuz iš učuz ol isiz boldačï* / *kayu neng učuz bolsa yerde yatur* 'Wickedness on the other hand is cheap, and to do evil is easy. If a material is cheap, it is put on the floor' (AQB, Dankoff 1983: 68, line 901), *učuzla-* 'verachten': *učuzlaguluq* (ucuslahulūq – u cu sla hu lū q) (BE 9); **MT** *učuz* 'ucuz, değersiz' (UY), *učuz* (?) 'cheap' (ABF), *učuz* 'ucuz' (AHMA), *učuz* 'tani', *učuzluq* 'taniość' (AHŠ), *učuz* 'deševyj' (AHŠF), *ūčūz* (-ǰ-) 'deševyj' (AIM), *učuz* 'pahası aşağı olan' (AIMI), *učuz* (? -ǰ-) 'cheap' (AKD), *učuz* 'lowly, humble' (AKor), *učuz* 'ucuz' (ANeh), *učuz* 'deševyj' (ANehF), *učuzlïq* 'low prices' (ARbg), *učuz* 'posramlennyj', *učuzluq* 'deševizna, oblegčenie' (ATef), *učuz* 'ucuz, değersiz' (AYC), *uǰuz* 'à bon marché' (AChag), *učuz* 'deševyj' (AChagBud), *učuz* 'billig' (AChagR), *uǰuz* 'cheap' (AChagSC), *uǰuz* 'ehven, erzan' (AChagŠS), *uǰuz* 'wohlfeil' (AChagZ), *učuz* 'schlecht, wertlos' (LCCI), *učuz* 'ucuz', *čüz bol-* (r: *čuz bol-*) / *učuz bol-* 'kolay, ucuz olmak, kolaylaşmak' (AAH), *uǰuz et-* 'fiyatını indirmek' (AAHI), *uč̣uz* (*uǰuz*) 'à bon marché' (ADur), *učuz* 'billig' (AHou), *učuz* 'easy', *učuzluq* 'ease' (AMGh), *ušuz* 'deševyj, nedorogoj' (ATuh), *učuz* (-š-) 'ucuz' (ATuhA), *učuz*, *učuž* 'cheap' (AmCh), *uǰuz* 'ucuz', *uǰuz tut-* 'aşağı görmek, değer vermek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *očsïz* 'deševyj, dostupnyj po cene, deševo, nedorogo' (Tat), *očozlo* 'arzanlï, očsïz; deševyj, nedorogoj', *očïzlï* 'arzanlï, očsïz; deševyj, nedorogoj' (TatD1), *otsïz* 'očsïz, arzan; deševyj' (TatD2), *oǰoz* 'olcsó; billig' (TatB), *očoz*, *očsoz* 'wertlos, billig' (TatKR), *oshoδ* 'deševyj, deševo' (Bashk), *oshïz* 'olcsó [cheap]' (BashkP), *udžuz* 'deševyj, nedorogoj' (CrTat), *učuz*, *uǰuz* 'billig' (CrTatR), *učuz* 'deševyj' (KarT), *ucuz* 'deševyj' (KarH), *udžuz*, *udžïz* 'deševyj' (KarSh), *učsuz* 'billig' (KarTR), *uǰuz* 'billig' (KarCR), *učuz* 'deševyj, deševo' (Kum), *učuz* 'billig' (KumN), *učuz* 'deševyj, deševo, (peren.) neporjadočnyj, nizkij' (KrchBlk), *učuz* 'billig, wohlfeil' (KrchP), *ucuz* 'billig, wohlfeil' (BlkP); ***SW*** *uǰ̄ïz* 'deševyj, deševo' (Tkm), *uǰuz* 'deševyj' (TkmD), *uǰuz* 'deševyj, deševo' (Az), *uǰuz* 'billig' (AzR), *ucuz* 'cheap, low-priced' (Tt), *uǰuz* 'billig' (TtR), *uǰuz* 'deševyj, deševo' (Gag), *uǰuz* 'billig' (Khor), *huǰuz* 'billig' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The base of the T etymon for the H word may be the same as that of the H word **ocsú**. The latter is a copied form of T **učog* (< *učok*) and preserved the meaning 'chaff, empty seed which flies away during winnowing'; the H word *olcsó* with a H internal unorganic *l* may go back to a WOT lexeme which was formed fr the same verb (*uč-*) with the WOT dev nominal suff *-Ak*. On the semantic side, one can assume the change 'chaff' > 'worthless' > 'cheap'.

Clauson (1972: 32) erroneously considered the word *učuz* as a simplex. On the T data for *učuz*, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 567–568) and Tenišev (2001: 339). The T word does not have a generally accepted etymology. On various earlier proposals, see Sevortjan and Tenišev. For the T word *učuz*, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1035) offered the unacceptable explanation that the word was a dev nominal der fr PT **ōču-* 'thin, light, easy, worthless, youngest, to diminish', which has adventurous A parallels. T *učuz* presents an exact semantic parallel to H *olcsó*, but with another morphology. The dev nominal der with the suff *-(X)z* fr T *uč-* 'to fly (off)' (on the suff see Erdal 1991: 324) shows the same semantic change: 'something flown' > 'something worthless' > 'cheap'.

The word *ajïz* 'schwach, untauglich' attested in some T lgs, is a lw fr Ar (see Räsänen 1969: 4) and has nothing to do with T *učuz*. Three different words have been connected with H *olcsó*, but none of them can possibly be the proper etymon. T *ušak* 'crushed, broken up small' is a der of *uvša-* 'to crash' and this verb goes back to *uv-*, *u-* 'to crush'. Räsänen (1969: 16) linked H *olcsó* to T *alčak* 'leutselig, niedrig, schlecht'. Clauson (1972: 129) considered *alčak* 'gentle, mild, humble' > 'low (in stature or character), base, vile' to be prima facie a dev form that goes back to *alča-*, but as he stated, this verb only occurs in Tt. Thus, Clauson proposed to derive *alčak* fr **altčak* as a better solution, but, as he mentioned, this etymology depends on the question of whether *alt* 'the bottom, lower surface' is an ancient word (cf. Clauson 1972: 130). In any case, *alčak* comes fr **al* 'the lower or the frontal part', as correctly stated by Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 143–144). Finally, *ašak* has the meaning 'the lower part of a mountain, low, humble, etc.' and cannot possibly be related to H *olcsó*.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 166–167), the H words *olcsó* and *ócsárol-* may be of T origin. Gombocz (1907a: 308) has demonstrated that the H word *olcsó* cannot be equated with T *uǰuz* because of phonetic problems. Horger (1924: 131–132) considered the H word as an internal H development fr *alsó* 'situated below', which is a member of the word-family *al* 'below'. He supposed that the word *alsó* > *olsó* could have the meaning 'not expensive' and that it had undergone a phonetic change *-ls-* > *-lcs-*. Munkácsi (1928: 87) explained the H word as a lw fr T *alčak* 'niedrig, schlecht'. Fokos (1932: 112–114) considered H *olcsó* as a T lw fr *ušak* 'klein, kleinkörnig, fein zerteilt'. There are, however, phonetic and semantic problems with the latter ety-

mologies. Fokos (1932: 112–114) also mentioned the possibility that the H word *olcsó* may be related to **ocsú**. Bárczi (1941: 223) considered the H word to be of debated origin. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1074) did not reject the T etymology of the H word, however he claimed that it is of uncertain origin. According to him, it may have two sources: (1) T **ušag* 'small, tiny' or (2) T **alčag* 'low-grade'. However, he added that there are phonetic and semantic problems with both explanations. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1058) later changed his opinion and considered *olcsó* to be of plausible T origin. According to him, there are two convincing possibilities: (1) The T etymon may be **ušak* (< T **uša-*, **uvša-* 'zertrümmert werden, in Brüche gehen'). In this case, see **bölcső** and **apró**. (2) The T etymon may be a der fr T **uč-* 'fliegen'; cf. **ocsú**. The H word *olcsó* cannot go back to T *učuz*, *uǰuz* due to serious phonetic problems. In addition, he rejected the link with T **alčak* 'schlecht'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention the word in question.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 166–167; Gombocz 1907a: 308; Horger 1924: 131–132; Munkácsi 1928: 87; Fokos 1932: 112–114; Bárczi 1941: 223; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1065, 1074; Räsänen 1969: 4, 16; Clauson 1972: 32, 129, 130; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 143–144, 567–568; Dankoff 1983: 68; Erdal 1991: 324, 391; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1058; Tenišev 2001: 339; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1035.

OLLÓ[1] [ollō] 'kid (of a goat)', **olló**[2] 'scissors' | c1395 *olo*, *ollow* [ollō, ollou] 'capriolus, forpex' | *ollō* < **oγlou̯* < **oγlaγ* ← WOT **oγlaγ* < **oglak* | EOT *oglak* 'kid, young goat' < *ogul* 'offspring, child' {with suff *+Ak*}.

OT *ogul* 'child, offspring, son, the young of an animal' (RTIrk), *oġul* 'Kind' (UHeilk I:108), *oġlan* 'Kind' (UHeilk I:103), *oġlak* 'Zicklein' (UUsp 55 10), *oġlāq* 'kid', *oġlāq ay* 'month of the kid' this is the first month of spring (cf. *oġul* 'son'), 'a boy other than a son' may also be called *oġul*. The pl is *oġlān* (This is irregular; according to the rule the pl should be *oġullār*) (AK), *oġlaq* 'kid, the constellation Capricorn' (AQB), *ogul* (ohol) 'Sohn, Kind' (BD 20), *ogul* (ūgul – ū gu l) 'Sohn, Kind' (BF 3); **MT** *oġul* 'Sohn' (UOg), *oġul* 'oğul' (UY), *ogul* 'fils, garçon' (UHy), *oġul* 'Sohn, Prinz' (UCivAd 01:4), *Oġul* PN (UCivSa 23:17), *oġul* 'son' (ABF), *oġul* 'son, child, boy', *oġlan* 'son, child, youth' (AGul), *oġlan* 'çocuk, yavru', *oġul* 'çocuk evlad' (AHMA), *oġlaq* 'jagnię' (AHŠ), *oġlaq* 'jagnenok', *oġul* 'syn, malʹčik' (AHŠF), *oġlaġ* 'kozlenok, sozvezdie Kozeroga' (AIM), *oġlāq* 'keçi yavrusu' (AIMI), *oġlaq* 'kid, young billy goat' (AKD), *oġul* 'son' (AKor), *oġul* 'syn' (AM), *oglak* 'oğlak' (ANeh), *oġlaq* 'jagnenok', *oġul* 'syn, malʹčik' (ANehF), *oġlaq* 'kid, Capricorn' (ARbg), *oġul* 'syn', *oġlan* 'ditja, rebenok' (ATef), *oġul* 'oğul' (AYC), *oġlaġ* 'chevreau de quatre mois' (AChag), *oġlaq* 'kozerog' (AChagBud), *oglaq* 'kozlenok' (AChagMA), *oġulaq*, *oġlaq* 'Zicklein' (AChagR), *oġlaq*, *oġlaġ* 'a kid four months old, Capricorn' (AChagSC), *oġlaq* 'keçi yavrusu, küçük hayvan' (AChagŠS), *oglak* 'das Junge von Ziegen, Rehen' (AChagZ), *ulax* 'Zicklein', *oġul*, *ovul* 'Sohn', *oġlan* 'Kind und junger Mensch (beider Geschlechter), Gehilfe, Diener' (LCCG), *oġolaq* (ogolach) 'Zicklein', *oġul* 'Sohn',

oġlan ‘Kind und junger Mensch (beider Geschlechter), Gehilfe, Diener’ (LCCI), *oġlaq* ‘keçi yavrusu’, *ovlaq* ‘ceylan yavrusu’ (AAH), *oglaq* ‘chevreau’ (ABul), *oġlaq* ‘chevreau’ (ADur), *oġalaq* (!) ‘Zicklein’, *oġul* ‘Sohn’, *oġlan*, *ulan* ‘Jungen’ (AHou), **oġul*, *oġlum* ‘fiam; mein Sohn’ (AKav), (Tkm.) *oġlaq* ‘jagnenok’, *āvlaq* id. (ATuh), (Tkm.) *oġlaq* ‘oğlak’, *avlaq* id. (ATuhA), *oġul* ‘fils’ (AmTr), *oġul* ‘son’, *oġlan* ‘youth, boy, officer’s attendant, page’ (AmCh), *oġul* ‘fils’, *oġlan* ‘garçon, enfant’ (AmE), *oġul* ‘erkek evlat’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *ĭvăl* ‘syn, mal′čik, synovnij, (*peren.*) syn’ etc. (Chuv), *ul*, *ulă*, *uvăl* ‘syn’, *ĭvăl*, *ăvăl* ‘ditja mužskogo pola, syn, nazvanie mladših brat′ev muža, za isključeniem pervogo iz nih, kotorogo snoha zovet “ĭvălsem”, tak že nazv. drugih rodstvennikov muža, mološe ego vozrastom’ (ChuvA), *ĭvăl* Szp. id. ‘fiú; Sohn’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ul* ‘syn’, (knižn.) *ugïl* id., *olan* ‘(dial.) ditja, rebenok, malyš’ (Tat), *owïl* ‘ul, ir bala; syn, mal′čik’, *olan* ‘bala; rebenok, mladenec’ (TatD1), *ul* ‘syn’ (TatD2), *ul* ‘bal kortï kükäye; pčelinoe jajco’ (TatD2), *olan* ‘fiú, gyermek; Sohn, Kind’, *ul* ‘fiú; Sohn’ (TatB), *ïlaq* ‘kozlenok, (astr.) Kozerog, (dial.) jagnenok ili kozlenok, rodivšijsja letom’, *uġïl* ‘syn’, *ul* ‘syn, synovnyj’ (Bashk), *ulaq* ‘malay; mal′čik; käjä bätiye; kozlenok’, *ul* ‘syn; bertugannïŋ ulï; plemjannik; onïk; vnuk, vnučka’, *ōul* ‘ul; syn’ (SibTat), *uïl* ‘syn, junoša’, *ūl* ‘syn’, *uvïl* ‘syn, paren′’ (SibTatBD), *ūlaq* ‘ein Knabe’, *ūl* ‘der Sohn, Knabe’ (SibTatBR), *ulak* ‘kozlenok, kozočka (domašnie i dikie) v vozraste do goda, (ėtn.) to že, čto *kökbörü* – kozlodranie (konnoe sostjazanie, učastniki kotorogo verhom na konjah vyryvajut drug u druga tušu kozlenka ili telenka), tuša kozlenka ili telenka, kotoruju derut vo vremja kozlodranija’, *ūl* ‘syn, (redko) rebenok, ditja (nezavisimo ot pola), (peren.) molodec’ – ust. s pritjaž. affiksom 3 l. (*ūlu*) sootvetstvuet famil′nomu okončaniju (Kirg), *ïlaq* ‘kid (goat)’, *laq* ‘kid’, *ŭl* ‘son’ (Kaz), *laq* ‘kozlenok’, *ŭl* ‘syn’ (KazB), *ïlaq* ‘das Zicklein, ein einjühriges Rehkalb’, *laq* ‘das Zicklein’ (KazR), *ïlaq* ‘kozlenok, (*ust.*) kozlodranie (*vid sporta*)’, *uġlan* ‘(*ust.*) junoša’ (Kklp), *ul* ‘syn’ (RKklp), *ulak* ‘kozlenok’, *uvïl* ‘syn, synovnij’ (Nog), *ulaq* ‘kozlenok’, *oġul* ‘mal′čik’ (CrTat), *oglaq* ‘das Zicklein’ (CrTatR), *ulax* ‘kozlenok, molodnjak (u životnyh)’, *uvul* ‘syn’ (KarT), *ulak* ‘kozlenok, molodnjak (u životnyh)’ (KarH), *ulaq* ‘kozlenok’ (KarSh), *oġul*, *oġïl* ‘syn’ (KarC), *ovul*, *uvul* ‘syn’ (KarH), *ulaq* ‘ein neugeborenes Zicklein bis zum ersten Jahre’ (KarCR), *ulaq* ‘kozlenok’ (Kum), *ulaq* ‘kozlenok’, *ul* ‘(ust.) syn’ (KrchBlk), *ulaq* ‘die Zicke’, *ul* ‘Sohn’ (KrchP, BlkN), *ul* ‘Knabe, Kind, Sohn’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *ovlak* ‘kozlenok, Ovlak (imja sobstv. ženskoe)’, *ogul* ‘syn, mal′čik, paren′, parenek, *vhodit v sostav rjada složn. ženskih imen*’ (Tkm), *ovlak*, *oglaq* ‘kozlenok’ (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 404), *oġlag* ‘kozlenok (v vozraste ot 6-ti mesjacev do odnogo goda), (astr.) Kozerog (sozvezdie)’, *oġul* ‘syn, synovnyj’ (Az), *oğlak* ‘kid, kidling (the young of the goat)’, *Oğlak* ‘(astr.) Capricorn’, *oğul* ‘son, swarm of bees’ (Tt), *ovlak*, *ulak* ‘kozlenok’ (TtD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 404), *oğlak* ‘keçinin bir yaşına kadar olan yavrusu’ (TtDA), *oġlaq*, *ōlaq* ‘das Zicklein’, *ōl* ‘der Sohn, ein Knabe, junger Mann’, *oġul* ‘der Sohn, der Knabe, Jüngling, Bienenschwarm’ (TtR),

olak ‘kozlenok’, *ōl* ‘syn, roj (pčel)’ (Gag), *ọγlaq*, *ọγla̲x*, *uγla̲q*, *ọγla̲x*, *ọγlax*, *oγla̲x*, *ọγla*^{x}, *ọγla̲q*, *ọγla̲ġ*, *oγla̲γ* ‘Zicklein’ (Khor), *oγlax* ‘Zicklein’, *oγul* ‘Sohn’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *ọγlāq*, *oγlāq* ‘Zicklein’, *ọgul* ‘Sohn’, *ọγuläk* ‘Söhnchen, Büblein’ (Kh), *ọγla·q* ‘Zicklein’, *ọγläk, ọγuläk* ‘Söhnchen’, *ọγul* ‘Sohn’ (KhT); ***SE*** *ulåq* ‘kozlenok, ulak (konnosportivnoe sostjazanie, na kotorom učastniki sostjazanija vyryvajut drug u druga kozlinuju tušu)’, *oġïl* ‘syn’ (Uzb), *oglaq*, *uglåq* ‘kozlenok’ (UzbD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 404), *oġlaġ*, *oġlaq* ‘kid, the kid-game, horserace’, *oġol*, *oġul* ‘son, boy’ (TurkiJ), *ughlaq* ‘a kid, also a game on horseback played with the body of a kid’, *ughul* ‘a male child, son, boy’ (TurkiSh), *oġloq*, *olaq*, *olġaq*, *olġoq* ‘kozlenok’ (TurkiL), *oġulaq* ‘ein Zicklein, Rehkalb’, *oġul* ‘der Sohn, der Knabe, Jüngling’ (TurkiTR), *oġlaq*, dial. *uġlaq* ‘kozlenok, kozlodranie (nacional′naja konnaja igra, učastvujuščie v nej vsadniki vyryvajut drug u druga kozlinuju tušu i dostavljajut v naznačennoe mesto)’, *uġal*, *oġul* ‘syn’ (MUyg), *ōġłax*, *ołax* ‘kozlenok’, *oġïl*, *oġïł*, *oġul*, *oġuł*, *ogul*, *ogïł*, *ūgïł* ‘syn, junoša, mal′čik’ (Sal), *olax*, *ollax* ‘petite chèvre’, *oγul*, *oγôl*, *oγi̲l*, *oul*, *aul*, *ai̲l*, *ol*, *ou*, *au*, *oγlu*, *oγla* ‘fils’ (SalK), *ułġaq*, *ułaq* ‘kozlenok (do odnogo goda)’, *oġoł*, *oġuł*, *oġïł* ‘syn, junoša’ (YUyg), *ulaq* ‘malen′kij kozlenok’, *ulġan* ‘mladenec (mužskogo roda)’, *olġan* ‘junoša’ (v šamansk. molitve), *oġul* ‘syn’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ulak* ‘kozlenok’, *ūl* ‘syn, paren′’ (Alt), *ulaq* ‘ein neugeborenes Zicklein bis zum ersten Jahre’, *ūl* ‘der Sohn, Knabe’ (AltR, AltTelR), *ōl* ‘syn, mal′čik, molodoj čelovek’, *ōlak* ‘syn, synok’, *ul*, *ūl* ‘syn’ (AltL), *ōlaq* ‘ein Knabe, junger Mensch’ (AltLR), *ogal* ‘paren′’, *ol* ‘syn’, *ōlak*, *ōlok* ‘mal′čik, molodoj čelovek’, *ōl* ‘paren′, molodec, junoša, syn’, *uglï* ‘paren′’, *ugïl* ‘syn’ (AltQK), *ōl* ‘syn, molodec, mal′čik, molodoj čelovek’, *ūl* ‘syn, paren′, junoša’, *ōlok* ‘mal′čik, molodoj čelovek’ (AltTK), *oġlax* ‘godovalyj dikij kozlenok’, *ōl* ‘molodoj čelovek, paren′’, *ōlax*, *ōlġïǰax* ‘mal′čik’ (Khak), *oġïl* ‘molodoj čelovek, paren′’ (KhakQ), *ōl* ‘syn, paren′’ (KhakB), *ōlaq* ‘ein Knabe, junger Mensch’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *ōl* ‘der Sohn, ein Knabe, junger Mann’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *ogïs*, *ōl* ‘son’ (FY), *ōlak* ‘malyš, mal′čik, mal′čiška’, *ōl* ‘syn, mal′čik, paren′, detenyš, (šahm.) peška’ (Tuv), *ōl* ‘syn, mal′čik, junoša, paren′, detenyš (životnyh i krupnyh ptic)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *uol* ‘syn, vnuk (rodnoj, dvojurodnyj i trojurodnyj), pravnuk, mladšij dever′ (mužnin brat), ego syn i vnuk, dvojurodnyj brat muža, syn dvojurodnago brata muža, junoša, molodoj čelovek, paren′, parniška, mal′čik, otrok, sluga, rabotnik, batrak (stavitsja posle suščestvitel′nyh, označajuščij rod zanjatij)’ (Y), *uol* ‘syn’ (YS), *uol*, *ōl*, *ol* ‘Knabe, Junge, Sohn’ (Dlg), *uol* ‘jüngerer Bruder des Ehemanns, Sohn des jüngeren Bruders der Mutter des Ehemanns von *ego*’, *uolčān* ‘Söhnlein, Söhnchen, (mein) Kleiner’ (DlgS).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is a dim form fr *ogul* ‘(male) child, son’ with the suff *+Ak*. This was stated by Németh (1930: 131), Ščerbak (1961: 119), Clauson (1972: 84–85), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 405), Erdal (1991: 41) and others. On the nominal

base, see Clauson (1972: 83–84), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 414–417) and Tenišev (2001: 313–314).

The etymology of the base *ogul* is obscure (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 81–82) and, despite Tenišev's opinion (2001: 430), Sevortjan's proposal in this regard is unfounded. Based on a misunderstood example in Ligeti (1933a: 276), he suggests that the word *ogul* may be a der fr **og*-, *ok*- 'rождать'. Other unacceptable etymological explanations are mentioned by Egorov (1964: 341) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 405). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 612) suggested that PT **ogul* 'son' may be related to PMo **ögele* ~ **ogala* (PA **i̯uga* 'child, son'). The word *ögele* is present in Ord as *ōlö* in *xoōd ōlö*, where *ōlö* is the same as *ečige*, and *x. ö.* has the meaning 'le second [*qoyitu*] mari de la mère', and *ōlön kū* 'fils d'un autre lit' is the same as *dagawur kū* (cf. L *dagaburi* 'additional, following'). Mngr *ula* means 'nés de la même mère, mais différents pères'. Mngr *ula* goes back through *ūle* to *ögüle,* thus we have no back-vocalic member of this word-family. These words have nothing to do with T *ogul*. They go back to Mo *ögüresün*, *örügesün* 'one out of a pair, one of the two sides', **ögüre* > *ögüle*; see Dunhsiang *olieni* 'polovina' and Baoan *ole*(*ne*) 'polovina' in the sense of 'half-son, stepson' (see H *féltestvér* 'stepbrother, half-brother' < H *fél* in *félpár* 'half of the pair').

The T word *ogul* and its der *ogul*+*ak* > *oglak* may show different phonetic shapes in some T lgs (see e.g. *ulak* 'kozlenok' but *ogul* 'mal'čik' (CrTat), *ulåk* 'kozlenok', *ogïl* 'syn' (Uzb)), which is due to secondary changes and the altered word structure. There are, however, T lgs where the etymological principle seems to be decisive and one cannot find phonetic differences between the base and its der (see e.g. *oglak* 'kozlenok', *ogul* 'syn' (MUyg)). In some T lgs, the base itself shows alternating forms. One reason for this alternation may be that the word is an oft-used kinship term, but there may sometimes be other causes as well. In Tat, we have *ul* as the form in colloquial speech and also *ugïl*, which is the conservative form of the earlier written VT. In VBulg, we find <'wli> read *au̯li* with the Px3.sg +*i* < **awul* (< *ūl* < *ogul*) > Chuv *ĭvăl*.

The preserved tri-syllabic form of the der is attested very sporadically: cf. *ogulak* 'Zicklein' (AChagR), *ogulak* (LCCI), *ogulak* 'Zicklein, Rehkalb' (TurkiTR) and also the "misscribed" *ogalak* 'Zicklein' (AHou) may pertain here.

E/H H has two, now homophonous, words, *ollú*[1] 'kid (of a goat)' and *ollú*[2] 'scissors'. According to Rásonyi (1941–1943: 294–295), *ollú*[2] goes back to a T form **orlag*. This would be a dev nominal fr **orïla*-, the verb a den verb fr **orï*, which is a noun derived fr *or*- 'to mow, to cut' (see **arat**). T **orlag* would have changed in H to **orlō* > *ollú*. T **orlag* does not exist, but Rásonyi cites a native speaker form Jelalabad, Fergana, according to whom another word, *orlak*, meaning 'sheep shears', exists in his lg in addition to the word *kayči* 'scissors'. According to Rásonyi, *orlak* is a sec-

ondary form of **orlag*. The suggestion was repeated by Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1076, 1993–1997/2: 1060). Now we turn to Sadvakasov's description of the "Uyghur" lg of the Fergana valley, including the region of Jelalabad. The word for 'to mow' is *ō-* (< *or-*), *orï-* and 'sickle' is *ōgak* and *orak* (Sadvakasov 1970: 220–221). Both go back to **orgak*. This means that I could not verify Rásonyi's hapax. The other suggestion for the origin of *olló*[2] (see Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1060) is more plausible. It is an inner H development, fr *olló*[1] 'kid (of goat)'. The parts of the scissors cross each other as do the legs of goats. A word for sawhorse in H is *bak* 'billy goat' for the same reason.

It was Vámbéry (1870: 167) who first pointed out that Tt *ulak* 'kid' and Chag *olak*, *oglak* id. are cognates of the H word. Gombocz (1907a: 309) listed some adequate data fr the T lgs and (1912b: 109) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **oglag* for the H word. Bárczi (1941: 223), Pais (1944a: 124), Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1076; 1993–1997/2: 1060) and Ligeti (1986: 70) accepted the T etymology. Ligeti added that one can suppose a secondary gemination of the internal segment *-l-* > *-ll-* in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 167; Gombocz 1907a: 309; Gombocz 1912b: 109; Németh 1930: 131; Ligeti 1933a: 276; Bárczi 1941: 223; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 294–295; Pais 1944a: 124; Joki 1952: 365–366; Ščerbak 1961: 119; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 81–82; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 265; Egorov 1964: 341; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1076; Räsänen 1969: 358; Sadvakasov 1970: 220–221; Clauson 1972: 83–85; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 404–405, 414–417; Ligeti 1986: 70, 82, 278, 530; Erdal 1991: 41; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1060; Fedotov 1996/2: 468; Tenišev 2001: 313–314, 430; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 612.

ONDÓ [ondō] 'sperm, seminal fluid', *dial* 'flour sifted from the pap after it has been cracked, husk' | 1288 ? GN *Vndod* [undō-d], 1332–1337 GN ? *ondo* [ondō], 1341/1353 GN *Wndoutew* [undou-tō̆], 1428 GN *Ondod* [ondō-d], 1585 *Ondo* [ondō] | *ondō* < **ondaų̈* < **undaγ* ← WOT **undaγ* | T *untak* 'powder, groots, powdery grist' < EOT *un* 'flour' {with suffs *+tA-* and *-(O)k*}.

OT *ūn* 'flour' (AK); **MT** *un* 'Mehl' (UCivMi 14:3), *un* 'flour' (AGul), *un* 'mąka' (AHŠ), *un* 'muka' (AHŠF), *ūn* 'flour' (AIM, Clauson 1972: 166), *un* 'öğütülmüş toz halinde hububat' (AIMI), *un* 'flour' (AKD), *un* 'muka' (ANehF), *un* 'farine' (AChag), ? *yun* 'liszt [flour]' (AChagBL), *un* 'Mehl' (AChagR), *un* 'anything pulverized, flour' (AChagSC), *un* 'das Mehl' (AChagZ), *un* 'Mehl' (LCCI), *un* '(değirmen) unu' (AAH), *un* 'farine' (ABul), *un* 'farine' (ADur), *un* 'Mehl' (AHou), *un* 'liszt; Mehl' (AKav), *un* 'muka' (ATuh), *un* 'un' (ATuhA), *un* 'farine' (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** ? *śănăx* 'muka, mučnoj, muka (razmolotyj korn), porošok' (Chuv), ? *śănăk*, *śănăx* (*śŭnŭx*) 'muka, porošok' (ChuvA), ? *śănăx*, *śŭnŭx* 'liszt; Mehl' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *on* 'muka, mučnoj, porošok', *onta*, *ontak* 'mučnaja pyl'' (Tat), *on*: *on iläk* 'yükä iläk; rešeto' (TatD1), *on*: *on suwï* 'apara, opara, zakvašennoe testo' (TatD1), *on*: *ürgän on* 'arišnï čilatïp, kaynatïp tarttïrïltan on; solod' (TatD1), *on* 'muka' (TatD2), *on* 'liszt; Mehl' (TatB), *on* 'muka; mučnoj', *ontaq* 'kroška, krupinka, porošok, truha, melkij, razmel'čennyj', *onta-* 'krošit', drobit', tolč', izmel'čat'' (Bashk), *ontaqta* 'kuna taktasï; doska

dlja razdelyvanija testa' (SibTat), *ŭnaš* 'lapša' (SibTatBD), *undaq* 'fein zerrieben, feinkörnig, fein' (SibTatBR), *un* 'muka' (Kirg), *un* 'Mehl' (KirgR), *ŭn* 'flour', *ŭnta-* 'to break to small pieces, to powderize', *ŭntaq* 'powder, crumbs' (Kaz), *ŭn* 'muka', *ŭntaq* 'porošok, prisypka, tolokno, truha, kroška' (KazB), *un* 'Mehl' (KazR), *un* 'muka', *unta-* 'toloč′, krošit′, drobit′, prevrasščat′ v porošok, v kroški', *untaq* 'porošok, kroška' (Kklp), *un* 'muka, mučnoj' (Nog), *un* 'muka' (CrTat), *un* 'Mehl' (CrTatR), *un* 'muka' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *un* 'muka' (Kum), *un* 'Mehl' (KumN), *un* 'muka, mučnoj' (KrchBlk), *un* 'Mehl' (KrchP), *un* 'Mehl' (BlkP); ***SW*** *ūn* 'muka, mučnoj' (Tkm), *un* 'muka, mučnoj', *unla-* 'posypat′ mukoj' (Az), *ōntax* 'kroški, krohi' (AzD), *un* 'Mehl' (AzR), *un* 'flour, meal (fine powder)' (Tt), *un* 'Mehl' (TtR), *un* 'muka' (Gag), *hun* 'Mehl' (SOg); ***Kh*** *hu̯n* 'Mehl' (Kh), *hūn* 'Mehl' (KhT); ***SE*** *un* 'muka' (Uzb), *un*, *und* 'flour' (TurkiJ), *un*, *und* 'flour' (TurkiSh), *un* 'muka' (TurkiL), *un* 'muka' (MUyg), *un*, *u̇n* 'muka' (Sal), *un* 'farine' (SalK); ***NE*** *un* 'das Mehl', *untaq* 'fein zerrieben, feinkörnig, fein' (AltR), *un* 'muka' (AltL), *un* 'Mehl' (AltLR), *un* 'muka' (AltQK), *un* 'muka' (AltTK), *un* 'Mehl' (AltTKR), *un* 'Mehl', *untaq* 'fein zerrieben, feinkörnig, fein' (AltTelR), *un* 'muka, mučnoj', *unax* 'mekij (*nekrupnyj*), melko' (Khak), *un* 'muka', *unax*, *undax* 'porošok, kroški' (KhakB), *un* 'Mehl' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *unnaq* 'fein zerrieben' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *un* 'Mehl' (KhakShR), *un*, *unïh* 'flour' (FY); ***Y*** –.

Mo *nuntag* 'porított, por alakú, por [powdered, powderlike, powder]' (KhalK).

E/T The etymon for the H word is WOT **undaγ*, corresponding to a reconstructed EOT **untok*. This word is present in the following lgs: Tat, Bashk, SibTatBR, Kaz, Kklp, AzD, AltR, AltTelR and KhakQbR. It has the meaning 'powder, crumbs, flour, something which is pulverized, milled'. The EOT noun is a dev nominal fr **unda-*, **unta-*, formed with the suff *-(O)k*. The verb is a den verb fr *un*, *ūn* 'flour' formed with the suff *+tA-* (Erdal 1991: 455–458). Finally, the noun *un*, *ūn* is a dev noun fr the basic verb *u-*, *ug-*, *uv-* 'to crush, crumble, to reduce to powder, to mill' with the dev suff *-Xn*. The morphological structure is clear: *u-n+ta-k*. The WOT form shows an assimilation of sonority (*nt* > *nd*) and the voicing of the final *-k* > *-g*, on which see § 6.2.2 and § 6.2.6.

The word for 'flour' has an initial *h-* and a long vowel in Kh: *hūn*. If this *h-* is not secondary, then one can suppose an early WOT variant **yun*, fr which Chuv *śănăχ* 'flour' could have been formed with the known Chuv suff *+Vk* (see *ay* 'moon' > Chuv *uyaχ*, *beš* 'five' > *pilek*), as Joki (1952: 366) and Egorov (1964: 207) supposed.

The change *hi* > (*i-*) > *yi-* and *he-* > (*e-*) > *ye* is known, e.g. in VBulg *yiltever* < (*ilteber*) < **hilteber*, *ēl* > *yäl* > Chuv *yal* 'village'. The long *ā* became *iu* in Chuv: *āk-* > **iaχ-* > *yuχ-* 'to flow', *ās* > **ias* > *yus* 'hermelin', *agïr* > *yïvar* 'heavy', *agač* > *yïvăś* 'tree, wood'. This applies even after an initial *k-*: *kān* > **χian* > *yun* 'blood', *kāl-* > **χial-* > *yul-* 'to remain', *kāmči* > **χiamśĕ* > *yumśă* 'sorcerer', *kār* > **χiar* > *yur*

'snow'. But this change is not consistent; we find *āt* > *yat* 'name' instead of **yut*, and *kānat* > **χianat* > **yunat* >> *śunat* 'wing', instead of **yunat*. That means that the change did not occur in all words at the same time. The change occurs with vowels other than *ā*: *kīn* > **χiin* > *yĕnĕ* 'sheath', *īt* > *yït* 'dog'. We have to place into this line EOT *ūn* ~ WOT **yūnak* > Chuv *śănăχ*.

In the database, we only find *un*, *ūn* for 'flour, etc.' with one exception. In the AChagBL source, we find *yun*. This is the *Bahǰat-ul-Lugat* compiled in 1861 by Fethali Kaǰar Kazvini and edited by Thury in Budapest in 1903. On p. 65, Thury remarks that "in all other [Chagatay] dictionaries we find *un*" [translated by Róna-Tas] and adds that in the same dict we find *yuzatmak* instead of *uzatmak* for 'to stretch', and *yešmäk* instead of *išmäk* for 'to spin'. The form with *y-* remains isolated, but it does not look like a misprint or other fault.

In the Khal–H dict by Kara (1998: 299), we find *nuntag* 'porított, por alakú, por [powderized, in powder form, powder]' and for this Kara reconstructed the written form as *nuntaγ*. The word occurs in the Mo explanatory dict by Cevel (1966: 388) with the meaning 'njacalsan, talhalsan, narijn ŭrmeg jum' and Cevel gives as examples: *nuntag em*, *tamhinü nuntag*, *nuntag ārūl* 'powdered medicine, the powder of tabacco, powder *ārūl* (that is the powdered form of the *ārūl*, dried curd)'. Cevel adds a few den verbs formed fr the noun. The word is present in the dict by Hangin (1986: 370) as *nuntag* 'powder' with the same and some additional phrases. The otherwise isolated Khal word can be found in the Kaz–Mo dict by Bazylhaan (1977: 330), where the Mo word *nuntag* is given as equivalent to the Kaz word *ŭntak* – among others (*üyrmeg*, *üyrem*, *ŭrmeg*). It is clear that we have here the same feature as in Mo *uŋgasun* and *nuŋgasun* > *nogosun* 'wool'. The Mo words are den ders fr **uŋga* and **nuŋga* with the suff *+sUn* and are historically the same words as T *yuŋ* 'wool'. Most probably, they all go back to an early form **ńuŋa*. Otherwise, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 998) reconstruct PMo **nowur-*, which is unacceptable. Thus in the case of Mo *nuntag* and EOT *untak* we may also reconstruct a form with *ń-*, which changed to *y-* but in any case the initial *y-* in *yun* and in WOT **yūnak* > Chuv *śănăχ* is a great deal more credible.

E/H The H word *ondó* had the meaning 'flour sifted from the already ground cereal, the husk of different cereals, powderlike substances selected during grinding in the mill' in the older lg. Later, or parallelly, 'sperm, seminal fluid' represented a semantic shift caused by similarity. The etymology was provided by Vásáry (1973: 88–92). In the same volume of *Magyar Nyelv*, Palló attempted to offer a somewhat different etymology (Palló 1973: 480–481), deriving the H word fr H *ont-* 'to pour' which derives fr **on-* and this was said to come fr a T **un-*, present in Chuv *van-* 'lomat′sja, razbyvat′sja'. Mándoky (1993: 110–111) mentioned the word while dealing with **ontok** (see there). Benkő considered the word to be of unknown origin (1967–

1984/2: 1082) but later, with some hesitation, accepted Vásáry's etymology (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1063). Ligeti (1986) did not mention the word.

◆ Thury 1903: 65; Bárczi 1941: 224; Joki 1952: 366; Egorov 1964: 207; Cevel 1966: 388; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1082; Clauson 1972: 166; Palló 1973: 480–481; Vásáry 1973: 88–92; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 597; Bazylhaan 1977: 330; Hangin 1986: 370; Erdal 1991: 455–458; Mándoky 1993: 110–111; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1063; Fedotov 1996/2: 95–96; Kara 1998: 299; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 998.

ONTOK, **ontog** *dial* 'crumb (of bread), morsel, a small piece of bread' | *ontok*, *ontog* ← Cum **untak* | T *untak* 'powder, groots, powdery grist'.

Of possible Cum origin.

E/T See **ondó**.

E/H The H dial word *ontok*, which also has the variant *ontog* and means 'a small piece of bread, crumb of bread; morsel, etc.' was discussed by Mándoky (1993: 110–111). It may be of Cum origin and seems to go back to a form *untak*. The dial word *ontok ~ ontog* may be etymologically related to the H word **ondó**. According to Mándoky, the word could also have been borrowed fr the Pechenegs because *ontog*, in the sense of 'a mouthful of bread', is known not only in Cumania Major but also in the northwestern region of Hungary. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *ontok*, *ontog* among the T lws of the H lg.

◆ Mándoky 1993: 110–111.

ORGAZDA 'receiver of stolen goods', **orgyilkos** 'assassin' see **orv**.

OROSZ [oros] 'Russian' | 1086 PN *vruzdi* [urus-di], c1130–1140/13th c. PN *Uruzdi* [uruzdi], c1405 *oroʒ* [oroz] | *oros* < *urus* ← WOT **urus* | T *urus* 'Russian' ← Rus.

OT –; **MT** *urus* 'Russian' (AChagG), *urus* 'rus, rusyalï' (AChagŠS), *urus* 'Russe, russisch' (AChagZ), *rusi*: *rusi ketän* 'russische Leinwand' (LCCI ← Pe), *orus* 'russkij' (AmD), *orus* 'Russe' (AmE), *urus* 'Rus' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *vïrăs* '(*pril. i sušč.*) russkij' (Chuv), *vïrăs* 'russkij (-aja)', *vurăs* 'russkij' (ChuvA), *virăs* 'Russe' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *urïs* '(ust., razg.) russkij (nacional′nost′), rossijskij', *rus* 'russkij (nacional′nost′), rossijskij' (Tat), *urïs*: *urïsyoma* 'yäkšämbe; voskresen′e', *urïs*: *urïsätnä* 'yäkšämbe; voskresen′e', **urïs*: *ursatna* 'yäkšämbe; voskresen′e', *urïs*: *urïsatnas* 'yäkšämbe; voskresen′e', **urïs*: *ursay*, *ursiy*, *ursäni* 'balanï čukïndïručï xatïn-kïz; krestnaja mat′', **urïs*: *ursäni* 'balanï čukïndïručï xatïn-kïz; krestnaja mat′', **urïs*: *ursäti* 'balanï čukïndïručï keše; krestnaja mat′' (TatD1), **urïs*: *ursatnas*(*ï*) 'yäkšämbe kön, bazar kön; voskresen′e', **urïs*: *ursäni* 'balanï čukïndïručï xatïn-kïz; krestnaja mat′', **urïs*: *ursäti* 'balanï čukïndïručï keše; krestnyj otec', *urïs*: *urïsbaš* 'naratbaš, narat üläne; hvošč' (TatD2), *urïs* 'orosz; der Russe' (TatB), *urïs* 'der Russe, russisch' (TatKR), *urïq* '(razg.) russkij' (Bashk), *urïs* 'orosz' (BashkP), **urïs*: *urïs qawaq* 'at kuzgalagï; konskij ščaveľ' (SibTat), *orïs*, *orus* 'russkij' (SibTatBD), *orusča* 'po-russki, na russkij maner' (Kirg), *orus*

'russkij' (RKirg), *orïs* 'Russian' (Kaz), *orïs* 'russkij' (KazB), *orus* 'der Russe, russisch' (KazR), *orïs* '(*razg.*) russkij' (Kklp), *orïs* 'russkij, russkaja' (Nog), *urus* 'russkij, ukrainec' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *orus* 'russkij' (KarT), *orus* 'orosz; russisch' (KumN), *orus* 'russkij' (KrchBlk), *orus* 'russisch, Russe' (KrchP), *oruslu* 'Russe' (BlkP); ***SW*** *Urus*, *Rus* 'Russian' (Tt), *urus* 'der Russe' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ŭris* '(ust., razg.) russkij' (Uzb), *urus*, *ur´us* 'Russian' (TurkiJ), *uyus* 'russkij' (TurkiL), *orus* 'der Russe, russisch' (TurkiTR), *orus*, *urus* '(ust.) russkij' (MUyg), *urus* 'russe' (SalK); ***NE*** *orus* 'russkij' (Alt), *orus* 'der Russe, russisch' (AltR, AltTelR), *orus* 'russkij' (AltQK), *orïs* 'russkij (*pril. i sušč.*)' (Khak), *orïs* 'russkij' (KhakB), *oros* 'Russian' (FY), *orus* 'russkij (takže v znač. sušč.)' (Tuv), *orus* 'russkij, rossijskij' (Tof); ***Y*** *luča*, *lūča*, *lučča*, *lūčča*, *ūčča*, *ūča* 'russkij', *urūskay* (*rūskay*): *urūskay* (*rūskay*) *čömčük* 'russkij (krupnyj) žemčug' (Y), *ńūčča*, *ńučča*, *lučča*, *luča* 'Russe, russisch' (Dlg), *ńučča* 'Russe', 'Hausierer, Wanderhändler, Geister, die den Schamanen auf seinem Weg zur Gottheit begleiten' (DlgS).

E/T The word goes back to the name *Rus*. The last phoneme may have reflected a voiceless interdental /θ/, and perhaps the word was /roθ/. Neither this, nor the palatalization of the Sl form /rus´/ is reflected in the T data. AH had *r-* in the initial position, thus it cannot be a direct copy. The earliest forms point to a vowel near to /o/, but it is soon marked by letters and letter combinations denoting /u/. Most of the T data reflect an /u/. (Late copies of Rus *rus´*, *ruskij* or *rūskay* (Y) are not noted.) There is some debate on the origin of the name *Rus*, which is sometimes obscured by political and nationalistic biases. The literature of the debate between the "Normanists" and the "Antinormanists" began in the 18th c. and continues to the present day; see the earlier literature in Pritsak (1981) and Fasmer–Trubačev (Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 522). The name is not noted before the arrival of the Normans or Vikings to East and West of Europe. One of the earliest items may be the H word, which is beyond any doubt earlier than the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, 895–905. Most of the other data refer to the first decades of the 9th c. but are later copies fr the 10th and subsequent c.s. Though the name *Rus* denoted the Normans fr the 10th c. on, it slowly became the name of the Kievan Slavs, and later the name of the Eastern Slavs.

E/H Munkácsi (1897c: 18) and later Melich (1909: 337–342) considered both the word *orosz* 'Russian' and its earlier H form *urusz* to be of T origin. Németh (1921: 23) accepted the T origin of the ethnonym and listed it together with **örmény**[1], based on chronological reasoning, among the lws of the "middle layer". Despite Németh's opinion, Bárczi (1941: 229) assumed an early T lw. According to Moór (1951a: 108), the ethnonym **urus* could have been borrowed fr the T peoples into the H lg after the 9th c. because this ethnonym was originally the name of the Normans who only appeared at Kiev in the 9th c. The borrowing of the ethnonym *orosz* fr the T lgs was dealt with by Kniezsa (1955: 897–898), who pointed out that the segment *r-* was unknown in the initial position in the T lgs and that the initial /u/ > /o/ in the ethnonym can be

explained with T mediation. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1093; 1993–1997/2: 1069), the ethnonym *orosz* is of T origin and its chronology is uncertain, but it is likely fr the 9th c. Ligeti (1986) only mentioned the ethnonym among the T lws of the H lg.

◆ Munkácsi 1897c: 18; Melich 1909: 337–342; Németh 1921: 23; Bárczi 1941: 225, 229; Moór 1951a: 108; Kniezsa 1955: 897–898; Egorov 1964: 59; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 522; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1093; Pritsak 1981; Ligeti 1986: 89, 90, 267; Menges 1986: 264; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1069; Fedotov 1996/1: 138–139.

OROSZLÁN [oroslān] 'lion' | +1247 GN *Wruzlanu-munustura* [uruzlānu-munušturå], 1289 GN *Vruslanku* [uruslān-kū̆], p1372/c1448 *orozlanÿon* [orozlāń-on] | *oroslān* < *uruslān* ← WOT **aruslan* | EOT *arslan*.

OT *arslan qanï* 'Löwenkönig' (USuv 646), *arslan* 'Löwe' (UManI 8:5), *arslan* 'Löwe' (MManIII Nr. 5 Rückseite 9), *yalŋuqlarnïŋ ärslanï* (sic!) 'O Löwe der Menschen!' (UUI 43:19), *arslān* 'lion'. It is used as a name for kings. (AK), *arslan* 'lion' (AQB), ? *'Oslan*(*n*)*as*: *'Oslabnas* 'vornehmer Bulgare zur Zeit des Fürsten Omurtag' (814–831) (GDBulg, Moravcsik 1958/2: 222; Beševliev 1963: 293); **MT** *arslan* 'arslan' (UY), *arslang* 'lion' (UHy), *arslang* 'lion' (UHyS), *arslan* 'lion' (AGul), *arslan* 'aslan' (AHMA), *arïslan*, *arslan* 'lew' (AHŠ), *arslan* (*arsalan*) 'lev' (AHŠF), *arslan*, *aslan* 'lev' (AIM), *arslan* 'yabani yırtıcı hayvan, aslan' (AIMI), *arslan* 'lion' (AKD), *arslan* 'lev' (AM), *arslan* 'arslan' (ANeh), *arslan* (*arsalan*) 'lev' (ANehF), *arslan* 'lev' (ATef), *arslan* 'arslan' (AYC), *arslan*, *aslan* 'lion' (AChag), *arslan* 'lev' (AChagB), *aslan* 'oroszlán [lion]' (AChagBL), *arslan* 'lev' (AChagLN), *arslan* 'lev' (AChagMA), *arslan* 'der Löwe' (AChagR), *arsalan*, *aslan* 'lion, Lion (one of the signs of the zodiac)' (AChagS), *arslan* 'der Löwe' (AChagZ), *arslan*, *astlan* 'Löwe' (LCCI), *arslan*, *araslan* 'aslan' (AAH), *arslān* 'lew' (ABul), *araslan*, *aṣlan* 'lew; lion' (ADur), *aslān* 'Löwe', and in the list of PNs *arslān* (AHou), *arsalan*, *arslan* 'oroszlán; Löwe' (AKav), *ārslan* 'lev' (ATuh), *arslan* 'arslan' (ATuhA), *aslan* 'lion' (AmTr), *aslan* 'arslan' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *arăslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (← Tat), *uslan*: *uslan kayăk* '(*dial.*) lev' (Chuv), *araslan*, *arăslan*, *uslam*, *uslan* 'lev' (ChuvA), *araslan*, *arăslan* 'oroszlány; Löwe' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *arïslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (Tat), *arslan* 'oroszlán; Löwe' (TatB), *arslan* 'der Löwe' (TatKR), *arïqlan* 'lev, l′vinyj, (s propisnoj) astr. Lev' (Bashk), *årslan* 'oroszlán' (BashkP), *arslan*, *arïslan* 'arslan; lev' (SibTat), *arïslan*, *arslan* 'lev' (SibTatBD), *arïslan* 'der Löwe' (SibTatBR), *arslan* 'der Löwe' (SibTatTR), *arslan* južn., *arstan* 'lev' – často vstrečajuščijsja položitel′nyj ėpitet bogatyrja (Kirg), *arstan* 'der Löwe' (KirgR), *arïstan* 'lion' (Kaz), *arïstan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (KazB), *arsïlan*, *arstan* 'der Löwe' (KazR), *arïslan* 'lev' (Kklp), *arslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (Nog), *arslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (CrTat), *aslan* 'der Löwe' (CrTatR), *arïslan* 'lev' (KarT), *arslan* 'lev' (KarH), *aslan* 'lev' (KarC), *arslan* (= *arslanqaplan*) 'lev, l′vinyj, Arslan – imja sobstv. mužskoe, (peren.) otvažnyj, mužestvennyj' (Kum), *arslan-kaplan* 'Löwe' (KumN), *arslan* (balk.) *aslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (KrchBlk), *aslan* 'Löwe' (KrchP), *aslan* 'Löwe'(BlkP); ***SW*** *arqlan* 'lev,

Arslan (imja sobstv. mužskoe)' (Tkm), *arslan*, *aslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (Az), *arslan* 'der Löwe' (AzR), *arslan*, *aslan* 'lion, zool. *Felis leo*, brave man, Ott. hist., title used for a Sultan by his mother' (Tt), *aslan* 'der Löwe' (TtR), *arsïlan*, *arslan* 'der Löwe' (TtR), *arslan*, *aslan* 'lev, l′vinyj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *arslån* 'lev, l′vinyj, (peren.) gigantskij, Arslan (imja sobstv. mužskoe)' (Uzb), *arslan* 'a lion' (TurkiSh), *arslan* 'lev, (peren.) hrabryj, smelyj, mužestvennyj, rešitel′nyj', *aslan* 'lev' (MUyg), *aršlan*, *harslaŋ* 'lev' (YUyg), *arsïlan* 'lev' (YUygM); ***NE*** *arslan* 'lev' (Alt), *arsïlan* 'der Löwe' (AltR, AltTelR), *arsïlaŋ* 'lev' (AltL), *arslan* 'lev' (AltTK), ? *arsïl* 'dikij, svirepyj, ljutyj', *arsïl aba* 'dikij medved′', *aŋ* 'zver′' (Khak), *arsïlaŋ* 'lev' (KhakB), *arïslïŋ* 'lion' (FY), *arzïlaŋ* 'lev, l′vica' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *arsalan*, *arslan* 'lion, title given to the first-place winner in a national wrestling match (a person who has been an *arslan* twice is honoured with the title of *aburgu* 'gigantic, colossal, huge, enormous, vast, giant, titan, highest rank of wrestlers, champion')' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word *oroszlán* 'lion' falls under the group of animal names with the ending *°lan* or *°an*. The T etymon was often used as a pattern for PNs (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 39–40 and Clauson 1972: 238). In Karakhanid, it was almost exclusively used as a title (cf. Spuler 1952: 108–110 and Pritsak 1954: 23).

Bang (1916–1917: 126, 130) suggested that the word with the meaning 'lion' may go back to a T compound *arsïl ïlan* 'chestnut-coloured snake'. Ramstedt (1951: 103) explained the word fr the verbal base *ar-* 'brüllen, heulen'. In his etymology, Pritsak (1963: 36) considered T *arslan* as an Ir lw fr *pars* 'Jagdgepard'. According to Ščerbak (1961: 137–138), *arsïl* is an "intensive form" of *ar*, *ār* 'kaštanovyj', and *+lan* is a suff. Räsänen (1969: 27) thinks that the T word *arslan* may be a compound *arsïl* + *aŋ*, both of them with the meaning 'wild'. This idea had already been mentioned by Ramstedt (1935: 14). According to Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 177–179), the T word may be an animal name with the ending *°lan* which was added to the nominal base *ars*, which is of onomatopoeic origin. Tatarincev (2000–2004/1: 138–139) refers to earlier etymologies as folk etymologies and points out that the Tuv and Tof forms with the final segment *°ŋ* may be re-borrowed forms fr Mo *ars*(*a*)*laŋ*. Tenišev (2001: 55) supports the onomatopoeic origin of the word, but in another place in the same work (158) we find that the base could be *arsal* 'ryžij' and the possibility that **arslan* is a der fr *ars-* 'skalit′ zuby' is less plausible (see also Tenišev (2001: 640–641)).

The most important questions are: (1) what was the original phonetic shape of the word? and (2) how can it be analysed? According to Clauson (1972: XLVIII), the ending *°lān* occurs at the end of the names of several animals like *arslān*, *baklān*, *bulān*, *burslān*, *kaplān*, *kulān*, *sïrtlān* and *yïlān*. This list was completed by Erdal (1991: 92, n. 125). In the case of some animal names on this short list, it is, however, not obvious that this is a matter of an ending *°lān*. It does not seem very likely that there was an

original segment *°rsl°* in the name for 'lion' and it is more plausible that the original phonetic shape of the word was *arsïlan* or *arïslan*. Erdal (1991: 100) claimed that the word *arsïl* 'chestnut-coloured' is a der fr *ar* 'auburn, bay(-coloured)' (see Clauson 1972: 192), which was formed with the den suff *+sIl*. As pointed out by Erdal (1991: 100), the colour name *arsïl* was used as a PN in Khot sources (Hovdhaugen 1971: 180–181, *arsäli*, read *arsli*, *arsali*, etc.), in an Uyg fragment (Zieme 1974: 367, *arsl*; 368 "vierter Sohn *Arsl*, was ebenfalls zu *Arslan* 'Löwe' ergänzt werden könnte, oder *Arsl* ist selbst ein Name bzw. eine andere Form von *Arslan*: *Arsïl*?") and possibly even in a 6th-c. Byzantine source (Moravcsik 1958/2: 72, *Arsilas*). The T word is an early lw in Mo as *arsalan*, *arslan* (cf. also Ščerbak (1997: 101–102)). As correctly stated by Fedotov (1996/1: 56), the Chuv word *uslan* is older than the forms *araslan*, *arăslan* copied after the Chuv change /a/ > /u/ fr Tat. Summing up, *arsïl* is a den der of *ar* and *arsïl+lān* > *arsïllan* > *arslan*, *arïslan*, *arsalan*, etc. was derived fr *arsïl* with the suff *°lĀn*.

E/H After earlier opinions, Vámbéry (1870: 127–128) argued in favour of the T origin of the H word *oroszlán* 'lion'. Gombocz (1907a: 309) accepted Vámbéry's etymology and later he (1912b: 110) reconstructed the OChuv copied form **arïslan* for the H word, which was accepted by Horger (1924: 133). Németh (1942b: 293–295) considered that the base for the T etymon could be the colour name **ar*, to which were added the den nominal suffs *+sIl* and *+An*. Németh mentioned that in the SibT tales of Radloff the colour name *arsïl* often occurs in connection with various animal names (cf. AltR *arsïl ayū*, AltTR *arsïl aba*, AltTelR *arsïl aŋ* (cf. *ayū*, *aba* 'bear', *aŋ* 'wild animal')). Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1093) accepted the OT etymology of the H word *oroszlán*. According to Bárczi (1958b: 56–57) (and see also Ligeti (1986: 118, 197, 199)), in the H word of T origin the change of the first-syllabic H /a/ to /o/ stems fr dissimilation and the change /a/ > /ā/ is the well-known secondary lengthening. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1069–1070), the T copied form could be **arïslan* (< T *arsïl* 'rötlichgelb'). SerbCroat copied the H word.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 127–128; Gombocz 1907a: 309; Gombocz 1912b: 110; Bang 1916–1917: 126, 130; Horger 1924: 133; Ramstedt 1935: 14; Bárczi 1941: 225; Németh 1942b: 293–295; Ramstedt 1951: 103; Spuler 1952: 108–110; Pritsak 1954: 23; Bárczi 1958b: 56–57; Moravcsik 1958/2: 72, 222; Ščerbak 1961: 137–138; Beševliev 1963: 293; Pritsak 1963: 36; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 39–40; Egorov 1964: 31–32, 277; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1093; Räsänen 1969: 27; Hovdhaugen 1971: 180–181; Clauson 1972: XLVIII, 192, 238, 930; Zieme 1974: 367–368; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 177–179; Ligeti 1986: 118, 197, 199, 305; Erdal 1991: 92, 100; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1069–1070; Fedotov 1996/1: 56; Ščerbak 1997: 101–102; Tatarincev 2000–2004/1: 138–139; Tenišev 2001: 55, 158, 640–641.

OROZ 'to steal' see **ORV**.

ORSÓ [oršō] 'spindle, whorl' | c1405 *orfo* [oršō], 1821 *ossó* [oššō] | *oršō* < **uršū* < **určuɣ* ← WOT **určuɣ* | MT *určuk* 'spindle'.

1 *určuk* ‘spindle’: **OT** –; **MT** *určuq* ‘die Spindel’ (AChagR), *vurčïq* ‘Spindel’ (LCCG), *určux* ‘fuseau’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *orčïk* ‘vereteno, veretennyj, špindel′’ (Tat), *orčoq*: *orčoq söyäge* ‘tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka’ (TatD2), *orčok* ‘orsó, malom korongja; Spindel, Getrieb in der Mühle’ (TatB), *orčoq* ‘die Spindel’ (TatKR), *orsoq* ‘vereteno’ (Bashk), *orsoq* ‘vereteno’ (BashkA), *ŭršïq* ‘spindle, shin-bone’ (Kaz), *ŭršïq* ‘prjalka, vereteno, vertel′’ (KazB), *uršuq* ‘die Spindel’ (KazR), *uršïq* ‘vereteno, golovka bercovoj kosti’ (Kklp), *uršïk* ‘vereteno (ručnoe), golovka bercovoj kosti’ (Nog), *určuq* ‘vereteno’ (CrTat), ? *uvurčox* ‘vereteno’ (KarT), ? *uvurcuk* ‘vereteno, prjalka’ (KarH), *určïq* ‘vereteno, prjalka’ (KarSh), *určuq* ‘tkan′’ (KarC), *určuq* ‘vereteno’ (Kum), *určuk* ‘Spindel’ (KumN), *určuq* ‘vereteno, prjalka’ (KrchBlk), *určuq* ‘Spindel’ (KrchP), *urcuq* ‘Spindel’ (BlkP); ***SW*** ? *oğurcak* ‘yün bükmek için kullanılan bir aygıt’, *orcuk* ‘ip bükmeye yarar ucu ağırşaklı iğ’ (TtD), ? *oruǰuk* ‘vereteno s prjalkoj na konce’ (TtD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 418); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *určuq* ‘vereteno, veretennyj’ (Uzb), *uččuġ* ‘vereteno’ (UzbD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 418), *určuq* ‘spul′ka, vereteno ručnoj prjalki, prjalka’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *ōrčïx* ‘vereteno’ (Khak), *orčïx* ‘vereteno, prjaslice’ (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

2 *agïrčak*, *agïrčuk* ‘whorl’: **OT** *agïrčak* ‘spindle whorl’ grafitto on a spindle whorl, Olohon island, Baykal-lake (Clauson 1972: 92), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy, valuable’ (U-XuanzangIndex), *ȧġïr* ‘Verehrung’ (UTTV B:125), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer’ (UTTVII 25:6, 28:5, etc.), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer’ (MTTII B:56), *ȧġïršuq* (the *ġayn* carries both *kasra* and *damma*) ‘spindle whorl’ (AK), ‘a person who is honored by a people or an emir is called: *ȧġ̄ïrlī̄ġ kiši* (cf. *ȧġ̄ïr nā̄ŋ* ‘a high-priced object’ (AK), *agïr* ‘schwer’ (BE 5), *ȧgar* (ā ga r – āgar) ‘schwer’ (BI 12); **MT** *agïr* ‘lourd (poids), important’ (UHyS), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer’ (UCivAd 01:15), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy’ (ABF), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy, weighty, difficult, great, valuable’ (AGul), *ȧġïr* ‘ağır’ (AHMA), *ȧġïrčaq* ‘prjaslica’ (AIM), *ȧġïrčuk* ‘ağırsak’ (AIMI), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy’ (AKD), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy, weight’ (AKor), *ȧġïr* ‘tjaželyj, krepkij’ (AM), *ȧġïr* ‘tjaželyj, uvesistyj, tjažkij, etc.’ (ANehF), *ȧġïrlïq* ‘weight’, *ȧġrïġ* ‘weight’ (ARbg), *ȧġïr* ‘tjaželyj, vesomyj, pročnyj, solidnyj’ (ATef), *ȧġïršaq* ‘peson de rouet, os du genou’ (AChag), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer, gewichtig, stark, schwerfällig, langsam, wichtig’, *ȧġïr* ‘schwer’, *ȧġïršaq* ‘Knieschеibe’ (AChagR), *ȧġïršaq* ‘spindle whorl’ (AChagS), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer, kostbar, teuer’ (AChagŠSK), *ȧġïršaq* ‘Wirtel an einer Spindel, Knoten, abgerundete Spitze’ (AChagZ), *ȧġïr* ‘Gewicht, schwer’ (LCCI), *ȧġuršaq* ‘iğe geçirilen tağalak, ve saire’ (AAH), *ȧġïršaq*, *ȧġïršïq* ‘poids de fuseau’ (ADur), *ȧġïr* ‘schwer’, *ȧġïršaq* ‘Schwergewicht der Spindel’ (AHou), *ȧġïr* ‘súlyos; schwer’ (AKav), *ȧġïr* ‘heavy, weight’ (AMGh), *ȧġïrčaq* ‘nebol′šaja tjažest′, tjaželen′ko’ (ATuh), *avurčuq* id. (ATuhTkm), *ȧġïr* ‘lourd’ (AmE), *ȧġïršaq* ‘iplik eğrilecek iğe takılan tahta yuvarlak’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ӳvӑr* ‘tjaželyj (*po vesu*), uvesistyj, tjaželo, tjaželyj, trudnyj, tjažkij, tjaželo, trudno, tjažko, grubyj’ etc. (Chuv), *ӳvӑr* ‘tjaželo, tjaželyj, trudnyj, gruz, gore, beda, beremennost′, obidnyj, obidno, tjaželyj, etc.’ (ChuvA), *ӳvӑr*, *ӳӑvӑr*

‘nehéz, viselős, terhes’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *avïr* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželovesnyj, složnyj, trudnyj, obremenitel′nyj, gruznyj, solidnyj, (peren.) tjaželyj, tjažkij, (peren.) tjaželyj, bezradostnyj’ etc. (Tat), *avïr* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (TatD1), *auïr* ‘súlyos, nehéz, alkalmatlan; schwer, gewichtig, lästig’ (TatB), *aur* ‘schwer, gewichtig, schwerfällig’ (TatKR), *auïr* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželovesnyj, uvesistyj’ etc. (Bashk), *aurcïq*, *aurčïq*, *eüercek* ‘orčik; vereteno’ (SibTat), *aur* ‘schwer, gewichtig, schwerfällig’ (SibTatTR), *avïr*, *aŭïr* ‘tjaželyj’ (SibTatBD), *aurdzïq* ‘die Spindel’ (SibTatBR), *ōr* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (Kirg), *auïr* ‘heavy, hard, difficult, distressing, calamitous, disastrous, painful’ (Kaz), *aur* ‘schwer, gewichtig; schwer, schwierig’ (KazR), *awïr* ‘(*v razn. znač.*) tjaželyj, tjaželo, trudnyj, bedstvennyj’, *awïrïq* ‘gruzilo (*iz gliny, v stanke dlja pletenija cinovok*)’ (Kklp), *avïr* ‘tjaželyj, imejuščij bol′šoj ves, vesomyj, tjaželo, gruzno, medlennyj, netoroplivyj, medlenno, netoroplivo, (peren.) trudnyj, složnyj, trudno, složno, (peren.) ser′eznyj, opasnyj, ser′ezno, opasno, (peren.) naprjažennyj, zatrudnennyj, naprjaženno, zatrudnenno, (peren.) neprijatnyj, tjaželyj, neprijatno, tjaželo, (peren.) surovyj, žestokij, surovo, žestoko, (peren.) gorestnyj, tjaželyj, gorestno, tjaželo, (voen.) moščnyj, tjaželyj’ (Nog), *aġïr* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj, medlennyj’ (CrTat), *aur* ‘schwer, schwerfällig, gewichtig’ (CrTatR), ? *uvurčox* ‘vereteno’ (KarT), ? *uvurcuk* ‘vereteno’ (KarH), *aġïr* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželovesnyj, nevospriimčivyj, nesposobnyj, tugodum’ (KarC), *avur* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *avur* ‘tjaželyj, gruznyj, tjaželo, gruzno, tjaželyj, trudnyj, složnyj, obremenitel′nyj, tjaželo, trudno, složno, obremenitel′no, tjaželyj, bezradostnyj, tjaželo, bezradostno, tjaželyj, ser′eznyj (o bolezni)’ (Kum), *awur* ‘tjaželyj (po vesu), tjaželo, trudnyj, tjaželyj, složnyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *agïr* ‘tjaželyj, gruznyj, uvesistyj, imejuščij bol′šoj ves, etc.’ (Tkm), *aġïr* ‘tjaželyj, veskij, uvesistyj, trudnyj, tjažkij, obremenitel′nyj, tjagostnyj, etc.’ (Az), *ağırşak* ‘spindle whorl, cap-shaped disk’ (Tt), *ağşak*, *ahırşak*, *arşak*, *aşak* ‘ağırşak’, ? *oğurcak* ‘yün bükmek için kullanılan bir aygıt’ (TtD), *ağırşak*, *ağarşak* ‘iy altına müvazeneyi temin için konan ortası delik halkamsı ağaç’ (TtDA), *aġïrsaq*, *aġïršaq* ‘Kugel, Ball, ein rundes Ende, Knauf, Knoten, Griff des Blasebalgs, des Ruders, Knospe, Drüse, Geschwulst’ (TtR), *ār* ‘(prjam. i peren.) tjaželyj, trudnyj, tjaželo, trudno, medlennyj, medlenno’ (Gag), *aγïr*, *aγur* ‘schwer, teuer’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *aγīr*, *aγi̯·r* ‘schwer’, *aγīrluq* ‘Schwere’ (Kh), *aγīr* ‘schwer’ (KhT); ***SE*** *åġir* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželovesnyj, gruznyj, uvesistyj, tjaželo, gruzno’ etc. (Uzb), *aġur* ‘heavy, large, valuable, important’ (TurkiSh), *eġir* ‘schwer, gewichtig’ (TurkiTR), *āġïrčïx* ‘kolennaja čašečka’, *āġïrʒʻux* ‘tjaželyj’, *āġïrᶻ̌i* ‘ves’ (Sal), *āγə̂r, āγi̯r* ‘lourd, poids de balance’ [Pot. *agïr* ‘lourd’] (SalK), *aġïr* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželo’ (YUyg), *arčïq* ‘gruzil′ce u veretena dlja kručenija nitok’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ūr* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (Alt), *ār* ‘schwer’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *ār* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’, *ūr* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj’ (AltQK), *ūr* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželo’ (AltTK), *ār* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželo’ (Khak), *ār* ‘schwer’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *ār* ‘heavy’ (FY), *ār* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj, tjažest′’ (Tuv), *ār* ‘teuer’ (TuvSR), *ār* ‘tjaželyj, tjaželo, tjažest′’ (Tof); ***Y***

ïar ‘tjažkij, tjaželyj, tjaželovatyj, dorogoj’, *ïaraxan*, *ïraxxan* id. (Y), *ïarakan*, *ïrakan* ‘schwer, schwierig, schwanger’ (Dlg).

E/T The T etymon for the H word was WOT **určug* < PT **určuk*. The T background of **určug*, **určuk*, however, cannot be resolved very easily.

Under heading 1 in the database, T forms are listed which can be without any doubt related to the T etymon for the H word *orsó*. In this section, however, we could not demonstrate any OT form and it is attested relatively sporadically in MT, see AChagR, LCCG and AmTr. This form is widespread in the contemporary Kip lgs, but in other branches it is only rarely documented (see TtD, Uzb, MUyg, KhakB). In most OT and MT sources, the word for ‘spindle’ is *īk*, *iyik* (cf. Chuv *yĕke*). Under 1 there are also some forms listed that are indicated with a question mark (?), which may show some confusion with the data in section 2. It is of course possible that the word *určuk* in some T lgs may go back to the word form **agïrčak* (e.g. **agïrčak* > **awïrčak* > **awurčak* > **uwurčak* > **wurčuk* > *určuk* or the like); see such forms as: *aurcïq*, *aurčïq* ‘vereteno’ (SibTat), *uvurčox* ‘vereteno’ (KarT), *uvurcuk* ‘vereteno’ (KarH), ? *oğurcak* ‘yün bükmek için kullanılan bir aygıt’ (TtD). Among the words under 2 one can find OT data, well documented MT data and forms characteristic of the Og branch. The separation of the data into two groups seems to be acceptable for semantic reasons. The meaning of the data under 1 is ‘spindle’, while data with the meaning ‘whorl, the weight of the spindle’ are listed under 2.

Another reason to separate these data is H *orsó*. It seems to be very likely a WOT lw in H. It is, however, not very plausible that the word form **agïrčak* could have been copied as **určuɣ*. H *orsó* has preserved a very early WOT word which is much earlier than the EOT data.

The items under heading **2** are etymologically connected with T *agïr*, the original meaning of which was ‘heavy’ (see Clauson 1972: 88–89; Röhrborn 1977–1998/1: 65–67; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 85–86). The secondary meanings of T *agïr* are ‘important, distinguished’, ‘valuable, sincere’ resp ‘burdensome’. The nominal form could have verbal ders in the historical periods of the T lgs: see e.g. *agru-* (**agïr-U-*) ‘to be or become heavy, of an illness, to become serious or severe’ (cf. Erdal 1991: 474, who has rightly demonstrated that Clauson 1972: 91 did not separate the verb forms *agru-* and *agrï-* ‘to ache, to be painful’) and see also *agïr+lA-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 94; Erdal 1991: 430; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 75).

The basic word *agïr* is not obviously a simplex. *agïrčak* ‘spindle whorls’ may be a den nominal (*agïr+čak*) with the original meaning ‘small weight’ – despite Clauson’s opinion (1972: 92); on the suff, see Erdal (1991: 46–47). Another possibilty – which seems to be less preferable – is that this is a matter of a der formed by *+čuk* (see Erdal 1991: 107). The vowel in the third syllable in the oldest sources could be, however, an *-a-*. The data under the section **1** may very likely go back to a PT verbal base **urV-*

and they may have been derived with the suff *-čUk* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 359), thus **urVčUk*. The OT suff *-čUk* which formed nomen instrumenti occurred after the segments /r/ and /n/. In other phonetic positions, it may have the form *-gUč*.

The base of **urVčUk* is unknown. The well-known verbal bases *ur-* 'to put, to strike' (cf. Clauson 1972: 194–195) or *ör-* 'to plait' can be excluded.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 122; 1882a: 231) who first considered the H word *orsó* to be of T origin. Paasonen (1902: 243–244) thought that the H word is of T origin, although its T counterpart does not exist in Chuv. Gombocz (1907a: 309) accepted the T etymology of the H word and later (1912b: 110) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **určug*. According to Ligeti (1965: 288), the T copied form was **orčak*. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1094–1095) reconstructed the T copied form as **určïg* or **určug*. Ligeti (1970c: 421; 1986: 57) treated T *určuk* and *aġïrčak* separately and reconstructed (Ligeti 1986: 280) the T copied form as **určaq* for the H word. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1070) considered the H word as an old T lw fr a lg of the Chuv type.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 122; Vámbéry 1882a: 231; Paasonen 1902: 243–244; Gombocz 1907a: 309; Gombocz 1912b: 110; Bárczi 1941: 225; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 75; Egorov 1964: 82–83; Ligeti 1965: 288; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1094–1095; Räsänen 1969: 8; Ligeti 1970c: 421; Clauson 1972: 88–89, 91–92, 94, 194–195; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 85–86, 418; Röhrborn 1977–1998/1: 65–67; Ligeti 1986: 57, 79, 82, 194–195, 280, 287, 529–530; Erdal 1991: 46–47, 107, 359, 430, 474; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1070; Berta 1996: 29; Fedotov 1996/1: 178–179; Tatarincev 2000–2004/1: 38; Paládi-Kovács 2001: 185; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1148.

ORSZÁG 'country, state, empire' see **úr**.

ORV [orv] *arch* 'thief' | [1131] ? PN *Vrof* [ur-oš], [1237–1240] ? PN *Orod* [or-od], 1258/1352/1436 GN *vruwt* [urv-ut], p1372/c1448 *vrfagnak* [ur-šāgnåk], c1395 *or* [or], c1405 *vruu* [urvu] | *orv* < **urvu* < **uvru* < **uɣru* ← WOT **ogru* || **orvul** [orvul] 'in a treacherous manner' | 1825/1900 *orúl* [orūl], 1848 *orvul* [orvul] | *orvul* < *orv* {with suff *+Ul*} || **oroz** [oroz] 'to steal' | p1416/c1450 *èlvroziac* [el-uroz-yāk], c1467 *oroz* [oroz] | *oroz-* < *or* {with suff *+(V)z-*} || **or** in **orgazda** [orgåzdå] 'receiver of stolen goods' and **orgyilkos** [ord'ilkoš] 'assassin' | EOT *ogrï* 'thief', MT *ovru*(*n*) id.

OT *ogrï* 'thief' (RTIrk 16), *ol üč oġrïlar* 'jener drei Räuber' (MTT II B:18), *oġrï* 'Dieb' (MManIII Nr. 5 Rückseite 7), *twarïn oġurladïmïz* '(wenn) wir Andrer Besitz gestohlen haben' (UTTIV A:69), *oġrï* 'Dieb' (UTTVII 37:7), *oġri* 'thief', *ogrïla-* 'he stole the thing'. The common people say it with no vowel on the *rā* [i.e. *oġurla-*], but this is an error. (AK), *oġrï* 'thief' (AQB); **MT** *ogrï* 'voleur' (UHy), *ogurla-* 'voler, dérober' (UHyS), *oġrï* 'thief' (ABF), *oġrï* 'thief, robber', *oġurla-* '(vt.) to steal' (AGul), *oġrïlïq* 'hırsızlık', *oġurlayu* 'gizlice' (AHMA), *oġrï* 'złodziej', *oġurla-* 'kraść, zabierać (komu)' (AHŠ), *oġrï* 'vor' (AHŠF), *oġrï*, *oġru* 'vor' (AIM), *oġru* 'hırsızlığı meslek edinen adam' (AIMI), *oġrï* 'thief', *oġrïlïk* 'theft' (AKor), *ogrï* 'hırsız' (ANeh), *oġrï* 'vor' (ANehF), *oġrïlïq* 'stealing, theft' (ARbg), *oġrï* 'vor' (ATef), *oġrï* 'voleur' (AChag), *oġrï* 'thief', *oġrïla-* 'to steal' (AChagG), *ogrï* 'vor' (AChagMA), *oġrï* 'der

Dieb' (AChagR), *oġrï* 'thief' (AChagSC), *oġrï* 'sarık, hırsız' (AChagŠS), *ogrï*, *ogru* 'Dieb, Räuber' (AChagZ), *oġur* 'Dieb', *ovrun*, *ovrula* 'heimlich' (LCCG), *oġrï* 'Dieb', *oġrula-* 'stehlen', *oġrïlayïn* 'heimlich' (LCCI), *oġrï* 'hırsız', *oġurla-* 'çalmak, sirkat etmek, hırsızlık etmek' (AAH), *oġrï* 'voleur, brigand' (ADur), *oġrï* 'Dieb', *oġrïla-* 'stehlen' (AHou), *oġrï* 'tolvaj; Dieb', *oġurla-* 'lop; stehlen' (AKav), *ovurġan* 'vor', *oru* 'vor, razbojnik', (Tkm.) *oġrï*, *oġru* 'vor' (ATuh), *uvru* 'uğru, hırsız', (Tkm) *uġru* (r: *o-*) id. (ATuhA), *oġru* 'voleur' (AmTr), *oġru* 'vor' (AmD), *oġru* 'voleur' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vără* 'vor, vorovskoj, vorovstvo, kraža' (Chuv), *vără* (*vŏrŏ*) 'vor, razbojnik, vorovstvo, vorovskoj, zanimajuščijsja vorovstvom' (ChuvA), *vără*, *vŏrŏ* 'tolvaj; Dieb' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ugrï* (ust., knižn.) 'vor, žulik, razbojnik, gromila, vorovskoj, razbojničij', *ugïrla-* (ust., knižn.) = *urla-* 'vorovatʹ, krastʹ, ukrastʹ, pohiščatʹ, pohititʹ' (Tat), *orï* 'karak; vor', cf. *bur* 'vor' (← Rus), *orï* id. (TatD1), *oro*, *uġïr* 'karak; vor' (TatD2), *urla-* 'lopni; stehlen', cf. *bur* 'tolvaj; Dieb' (← Rus) (TatB), *uru* 'der Dieb' (TatKR), *uġrï* 'vor, žulik, vorovskoj, žulʹničeskij', *ur* (dial.) id., *oġro* (dial.) id., cf. *bur* 'vor' (← Rus) (Bashk), *ugrï* 'tolvaj, tolvajlás' (BashkP), *ōġur*, *ur*, *ōurï*, *urï* 'karak; vor' (SibTat), *uïrla-*, *urla-* 'ukrastʹ' (SibTatBD), *ūrï* 'der Dieb' (SibTatBR), *ūru* 'vor, vorovstvo' (Kirg), *ŭrï* 'thief', *ŭrla-* 'to steal' (Kaz), *ŭrï* 'vor, pohititelʹ, voriška' (KazB), *ora*, *uru* 'der Dieb' (KazR), *urï* 'vor, žulik', *urla-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ' (Kklp), *urla-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ' (Nog), *uru* 'vor' (KarT, KarH), *oġri* 'vor' (KarH), *oġrï* 'vor' (KarSh), *uru* 'vorovstvo, kraža, hiščenie, rashiščenie, vor, rashititelʹ' (Kum), *urū* 'lopás; Diebstahl' (KumN), *uru* 'vor, vorovstvo, kraža, hiščenie' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ogrï* 'vor, pohititelʹ, grabitelʹ', *ogurla-* 'vorovatʹ, krastʹ, pohiščatʹ' (Tkm), *oġru* 'vor, vorovskoj', *oġurla-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ' (Az), *oğru*, *oğrı* 'thief, robber', *uğru* arch 'robber, bandit, thief' (Tt), *oğru* 'hırsız, hırhız' (TtDA), *oğrı*, *oğru* 'hırsız', *oğrun* 'gizli yapılan iş' (TtD1), *ọgṛï*, *ogul* (!) 'Dieb' (Khor), *ugri* 'Dieb' (SOg); ***Kh*** *họgrï* 'Dieb, Räuber', *họgrïluq* 'Diebstahl, Raub' (Kh), *họgruluq*, *họgullug*, *họgïllïg* etc. 'Diebstahl', *hogulla-*, *họgurra-* 'stehlen' (KhT); ***SE*** *ŭġri* 'vor' (Uzb), *oġrï* 'thief' (TurkiJ), *ughri* 'thief' (TurkiSh), *oġyï* 'vor', *oġuila-* 'vorovatʹ' (TurkiL), *oġur*, *oġri* 'der Dieb' (TurkiTR), *oġri* 'vor, rashititelʹ' (MUyg), *ogrï*, *uġru* 'vor' (Sal), *ogrə̂*, *ogru* 'voleur' (SalK), *oġïr* 'vor' (YUyg), *oġur* 'vor, vorovstvo', *oġurla-* 'vorovatʹ', *oġurčï* 'vor' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ūr* 'vorovstvo', *ūrčï* 'vor', *ūrda-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ' (Alt), *určï* 'vor' (AltL), *urla-* 'vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ, krastʹ, pohiščatʹ', *ūrla-* 'vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ', *ūrï* 'vorovstvo', *ūrčï* 'vor' (AltQK), *urda-*, *ūrda-* 'vorovatʹ', *ūrla-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ, ukrastʹ', *ūrčï*, *ūruži* 'vor' (AltTK), *ūr*, *ūrï* 'der Diebstahl' (AltTelR), *oġïr* 'vor', *oġïrla-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ *čto-l.*' (Khak), *oġïr* 'vor, konokrad' (KhakB), *oġur* 'der Dieb' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *oġrï* 'der Diebstahl', *ogurčï* 'der Dieb' (KhakShR), *oġur* 'der Dieb' (ChulR), *ogurčï* 'thief' (FY), *ōr* 'vor, vorovskoj' (Tuv), *ōru*, *ōrï* 'vor' (Tof); ***Y*** *uorū* 'kraža, vorovstvo', *uor-* 'krastʹ, vorovatʹ, pohiščatʹ' (Y), *uor-* 'vorovatʹ, krastʹ', *uoruyax* 'vor' (YS), *uor-* 'stehlen', *uoruyak*, *ūruyak* 'Dieb' (Dlg), *uorū* 'Diebstahl' (DlgS).

Mo MMo *o'orčaq* 'bandit, robber' (SH).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is *ogrï* 'thief'. Clauson (1972: 90) considered it as a simplex. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 77–78) discussed the T word in a short entry and thought that the OChuv origin of the H word *orv* may be dubious because the expected vowel in the first syllable in H should be a long *ō*. Doerfer claimed that Rus *vor* 'thief' may perhaps be of T origin. If the Rus word is indeed a T lw, it must be a relatively new copy, because the word is only known in Rus and Ukr (cf. *vorjuga*) among the Sl lgs and its first occurrence is documented in the 16th c. Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 350) did not accept the T etymology for phonetic reasons. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 412–414) considered T *oġrï* to be a dev der fr **ogur-* ~ **ogïr-* (see the similar remark in Kashgari). In the contemporary T lgs, one can find secondary forms like *ogur* 'thief' but they should not be considered as a very recent phenomenon (cf. Clauson 1972: 94; see also Erdal 1991: 441–442 and Tenišev 2001: 354). The Chuv word *vără* 'vor' may go back to a form **vură* < **ūrï* < **ogrï,* though one would expect **vară*.

The internal segment /g/ in the Tat and Bashk words may have the same explanation as *ugïl* (see **olló**[1]). The forms with *-g-* may be arch written lws fr VT.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1179) presumed an unacceptable genetic interrelation between PT **ogrï* 'thief' and PTu **pukču-* 'to attack'. MMo *o'určak* (SH) was correctly considered by Ščerbak as T lw (1997: 164).

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 167), the H word is of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 109) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **ogrï* for H *orv*. Gombocz's etymological explanation was reinforced by Mészöly (1928: 32–33) and Bárczi (1941: 225). Németh (1943: 103) assumed that the metathetic change **ogrï* > **orgï* could have occurred in the T lgs and the copied T form could be **urvu*, which later regularly produced *orv*. According to Pais (1944: 63–68), the phonetic shape of the H forms *úr* ~ *ór* can be explained on the T side. The T copied form could be **ogru* (**ogrï*) or **ūru* (**ūrï*). He thought that the word could have been borrowed by the Hungarians in the 11th–12th c.s. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1096) considered that the H word is of plausible OT origin (*ogrï* ~ *ugrï*). The word-final segment *-v* is, according to him, secondary. Räsänen (1969: 257–258) thought that the T origin of the H word *orv* is debated. Ligeti (1986: 70, 258–259) mentioned that there are some problems with the T origin of the H word. Its first occurrence is relatively late, thus the copied form was a Cum one (**ovrï* < **ogrï*). Despite Németh's opinion, it is not necessary to assume a metathetic change (**orvï*) on the T side. The shortening of the initial vowel in the H word may be the result of an internal H development. According to him (258), the form *ogur* may be a "rare variant" of *ogrï*. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1071), the H word is of very plausible T (perhaps Cum) origin, which was copied as **ugrï* or **ubrï* by the Hungarians. The final segment *°rv* in the H word may be the result of a metathetic change.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 167; Gombocz 1912b: 109; Mészöly 1928: 32–33; Bárczi 1941: 225; Németh 1943: 103; Pais 1944: 63–68; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 77–78; Egorov 1964: 49–50; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 350; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1096; Räsänen 1969: 257–258; Clauson 1972: 90, 94; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 412–414; Ligeti 1986: 70, 253, 258–259, 530; Erdal 1991: 441–442; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1071; Fedotov 1996/1: 109; Ščerbak 1997: 164; Tenišev 2001: 354; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1179; Rácz 2004: 347.

ORVOS [orvoš] 'physician' | [1131] ? PN *Vrof* [uroš], 1211 ? PN *vruus* [urvuš], p1372/c1448 *vruufok* [urvušok], p1416/1450 *vruos* [urvoš] | *orvoš* < **urvoš* < **urvoči* ← WOT **orwučï* < **arwuči* < **arwïlčči* | EOT *arvïščï* 'spell-binder, sorcerer' < *arvïš* 'a magic spell' < **arva-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *arvïš* 'Magie' (UUII 58(7):3), *tarni arwïš* (? *awïš*) *sözlä-* 'den dhāraṇī-Zauberspruch aussprechen' (UTTV A:96), *arwïščï* 'Zauberer' (UTTV A:128), *arvïš nom bitig* 'The Magic *Dhāraṇīsūtra*' (UTT VI 144: 465), *arvïščïlar bägi tüz-ün Kamrakkti-a* 'Fürst der Zauberer, edler Kāmarakta' (UUIV 277:230), *arwiš* (MS <'AR·QIŠ>) *arwaldi* 'the spell was spoken (*ruqiyat*)', *qām arwiš arwādi* 'the diviner prepared a spell (*raqā … ruqya*)', *arwa-* 'prepare spells (diviner)' (AK); **MT** *arba-* 'faire des enchantements, donner des conseils' (AChag), *arma-* 'varázsolni, bűvölni, megcsalni [to practise magic, to enchant, to delude]' (AChagBL), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten), Märchen erzählen' (AChagR), *arba-* 'afsūn kardan; to make magic' (AChagSC), *arbaġčï* 'efsunger', *arba-* 'efsun okumak' (AChagŠS), *arbagǰï* 'Zauberer, Beschwörer', *arba-* 'Zauberspruch sagen' (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *arba-* 'zakoldovyvatʹ, zagovarivatʹ, zaklinatʹ, zavoraživatʹ, privoraživatʹ, očarovyvatʹ, plenjatʹ', *arbau* 'zagovor, zaklinanie', *arbausï* 'vorožeja, gadalka, znaharʹ, lekarʹ' (Bashk), *arba-*, *arbï-* 'sixerläü; zakoldovatʹ', *arbaučï* 'sixerläüče; koldun' (SibTat), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten)' (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *arbau* 'Hexerei', *arbaudzï* 'Hexenmeister, Zauberer' (SibTatBR), *arba-* 'zavoraživatʹ, zakoldovyvatʹ, zaklinatʹ' (Kirg), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten)' (KirgR), *arba-* 'to entice, deceive, lure, hypnotize, to persuade, convince', *arbaġïš*, *arbaušï* 'hypnotizer' (Kaz), *arba-* 'zavoraživatʹ, zagipnotizirovatʹ, zakoldovatʹ', *arbaw* 'gipnoz, zaklinanie', *arbawšï* 'zaklinatelʹ, zaklinatelʹnica, čarovnica', *arbawïš* 'gipnotizer' (KazB), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten), überreden, schmeicheln, betören, übertölpeln, hinter's Licht führen', *arbau* 'listige Antwort' (KazR), *arba-* 'zavoraživatʹ, zakoldovyvatʹ, zaklinatʹ', *arbaw* 'zaklinanie, vorožba, zagovor, obman, hitrostʹ', *arbauwšï* 'zaklinatelʹ' (Kklp); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *avra-* 'zagovarivatʹ, zavoraživatʹ, zaklinatʹ (proiznositʹ magičeskie slova, obladajuščie po poverʹju volšebnoj ili celebnoj siloj, napr. pri ukuse skorpiona), gipnotizirovatʹ, zamanivatʹ, primanivatʹ, oboľščatʹ, (peren.) obmanyvatʹ, lovko (tonko) provesti, zagovarivatʹ zuby, otvlekatʹ vnimanie, moročitʹ golovu', *avraš* 'obman', *avråqči* 'koldun,

zaklinateľ, obmanščik' (Uzb), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten)' (TurkiTR), *harva* 'koldovstvo, oboľščenie', *harva-*, *arva-* 'koldovať, čitať zagovor, našeptyvať'' (YUyg), *arva-* 'koldovať, našeptyvať, čitať zagovor' (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *abra* '(mif.) vodjanoe čudovišče, živuščee v more Baj-Tengis okolo mesta prebyvanija Ėrlika, izobraženie mifičeskogo čudovišča v vide žguta s pučkami per'ev sovy i mednoj bljahoj – ukrašenie ritual'noj odeždy šamana' (Alt), *arba-* 'koldovať, predskazyvať, zagovarivať, dať sovet, sovetovať'' (AltL), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten)' (AltLR), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten), zanken, schelten, seine Unzufriedenhiet ausdrücken, tadeln', *arbïš* 'die Zauberei, das Besprechen (von Krankenheiten)', *arbïščï* 'Zauberer, Hexenmeister' (AltTelR), *arba-* '(ust.) koldovať, predskazyvať *čto-l.*, zagovarivať, zaklinať *kogo-l.*' (Khak), *arba-* 'podsušivať buben pered kamlaniem', *arbag* 'koldovstvo, bolšebnoe zaklinanie, proklatie, anafema', *arbaġčï kizi* 'zaklinateľ'' (KhakB), *arba-* 'hexen, behexen, bezaubern, wahrsagen, besprechen (Krankheiten)' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR); ***Y*** *arbā-* 'otkazyvať po kakomu libo slučaju (zlym) duham skotinu pri učastii šamana, (o šamane) vnedrjať č'ju libo bolezn' (sobstvenno pričinivšago bolezn' *abāsï*) v žertvennuju skotinu, kotoraja zatem živ'em otpuskaetsja na vol'ju i možet byť upotreblena v pišču liš' posle togo, kak nad neju svjaščennik otslužit moleben, naprasno (ložno) hvaliť, preuveličivať'' (Y).

Mo *arbis* 'knowledge, erudition' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is a der fr *arvā-* 'to make magic, cast spells' (see Clauson 1972: 199; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 168–170; Röhrborn 1977–1998/3: 216). This verb is attested as of the OT period, but both it and its ders are limited to the NW, SE and NE branches of the contemporary T lgs. Uzb contains a metathetic form. The proposal that OT *arva-* (< PT *arba-*) may go back to an old nominal stem **hab* 'magic' seems unlikely. Poppe (1960: 43) suggested comparing Mo *ab* 'witchcraft, sorcery', MMo *hab* < **pap* with Y *ap* 'Hexerei'. But Y *ap* is a Mo lw. According to Stachowski (1999: 22), Y *arbā-* evolved fr *ap* through PT**ab*+(*u*)*rā-* etc., but this and the treatment of the whole word family, including OJpn *FaFuri* 'priest', call for so many hypotheses that I shall not follow them. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 169) has already suggested the idea of seeing a metathetic form in *arva-*, and thus tying it to *ab*, while Röhrborn (1977–1998/3: 216) noted this with some hesitation. The word's connection to Late Saka *arva* < *aruva* 'medicine' (Bailey 1979: 8) is dubious, because the Saka word is isolated. The link between *arba-* and the verb *ar-* 'to deceive, to trick', mentioned by Röhrborn (1977–1998/3: 169) after Bang, is morphologically unclear.

The basic noun of the T etymon for the H word *arvïš* has a so-called dominant suff *-Xš* (Erdal 1991: 262, 271). *arvïš* denotes both the activity and the means of *arva-*, i.e. the magic formula. On further data, see Röhrborn (1977–1998/3: 217–218). The

immediate T etymon for the H word may be a der *arvïlč+či*, which was formed with the nomen actoris suff *+čI* fr WOT **arvïlč*. On EOT **arviščï*, see Erdal (1991: 115), who listed about ten OT examples with the ending *-Xš+čI*. The semantic change 'spell-binder, sorcerer, magician' > 'physician' is well-known in other lgs as well (see American Eng *medicine man*). For an EOT **arviščï*, we would expect **arwïlčči* in WOT and with the loss of the unstable /l/ and through simplification we would arrive at **arwičï*. I have to mention that it is also possible that the /šč/ > /šš/ change took place before the /š/ > /lč/ change.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 313–314) observed that MMo *arba-* 'to cast spells' (SH) and LMo *arbis* 'knowledge' are T lws. Further, they attempted to tie the reconstructed PT verb **ar-* 'to make magic, cast spells, to deceive' to a PA noun **ărV* 'witchcraft, craft' together with PMo **arga* 'way, method' and PTu **ar-* 'to make, work, construct, to come to one's senses, to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear in one's imagination, shape, form, evil spirit'. The connection with Mo *arga* is morphologically unclear. The data under the PTu heading can hardly be interrelated and the reconstruction of PTu **ar-* seems phonetically unconvincing.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 167) considered the H word to be of T origin, but his etymological explanation was based on data which do not belong here. Munkácsi (1901e: 312) linked the H word to Voty *urveš*, but later (1908c: 293–294), accepting Setälä's hypothetical suggestion, he regarded it to be of T der. The etymology he supposed was based on erroneous data. Gombocz (1912b: 221) rejected Munkácsi's and Setälä's positions and thought that the T etymologies proposed for the word pose serious difficulties. Rásonyi (1934: 157–158) defined the copied form as Chuv **arvïššï*. Bárczi (1941: 225–226) believed H *orvos* to be of uncertain and debated origin. Pais's explanation (1975b: 100–104) of the internal segment *-v-* in the H word possibly being secondary is unacceptable. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1096–1097) considered the etymology of the H word as uncertain, but he did not reject the possibility of a T source (**arviščï* ~ **arvïššï*). Räsänen (1969: 16) traced H *orvos* back to T *arba-či*, but this suggestion is morphologically obscure. In another place in his dict (1969: 24), he linked H *orvos* to T *arvïš*. He thought that the T forms may be interrelated with Finn *arpa* 'Los'. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 16) hesitatingly took the FUgr form **arpa* 'irgendein Wahrsagungs-, Zaubermittel' as a starting point for the etymology of *orvos*, but he himself saw that this der causes difficulties and did not reject the potential T etymology. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1071–1072) listed the H word among words with uncertain etymologies. He did not rule out its FUgr origin, but pointed out that FUgr **arpa* 'irgendein Wahrsagungs-, Zaubermittel' may also have T relations. According to him, the final segment *-š* in the H word may be a den suff. According to Gerstner (2004: 223), the unusual proposal of the T–FUgr > H etymological connection in the

case of the word *orvos* must be handled very carefully. Ligeti (1986) only mentioned *orvos* in the Index to his monograph in brackets, thus he did not assume a T origin.

The /č/ > /š/ change may have occurred in H; the disappearance of the final *-i* is a H development (see § 5.8.18). The vocalism is more problematic. The OH form was *urvuš*. The closed /u/ may have been a substitution for /o/ but unlikely one for /a/ or /å/. We have to suppose an **arwïlčï* > **arwučï* > **orwuči* labialisation in WOT.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 167; Munkácsi 1901e: 312; Munkácsi 1908c: 293–294; Gombocz 1912b: 221; Rásonyi 1934: 157–158; Bárczi 1941: 225–226; Poppe 1960: 43; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1096–1097; Räsänen 1969: 16, 24; Clauson 1972: 193, 199; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 168–171; Pais 1975b: 100–104; Röhrborn 1977–1998/3: 169, 215, 216–218; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 16; Erdal 1991: 114–115, 262, 271, 342, 358; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1071–1072; Stachowski 1999: 19–27; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 313–314; Gerstner 2004: 223.

ORVUL 'in a treacherous manner' see **orv**.

OS [oš] 'cune in play' in **ostábla** [oštāblå] 'chess board, draught board (tabula lusoria)' | c1405 *ochk* [očk], 1528 *očy tablanac* [oči tāblānåk], 1533 *occʒ tabla* [okč tāblå], 1538 *okſ tabla* [oxš tāblå], 1544 *okcz tablat* [okč tāblāt], *ostablaba* [oš-tāblābå], 1570 *oxstáblát* [oxs-tāblāt] | *oš* < **ošk* < **očk* < **ačk* < **alčuk* ← WOT **alčuk* (→ Rus *al′čik*) | EOT *ašuk* 'the ankle joint, knucklebone (also for games)' | See H *tábla* (← Lat *tabula*).

OT *ašuq* 'anklebone of a man', *ašuqlā-*: *ol anï ašuqlādï* 'he hit him on the anklebone' (AK); **MT** *ašïq* 'anklebone' (ABF), *ašïq*, *ašuq* 'anklebone' (AKD), *ašuq* 'ankle' (AKor), *ašuq* 'os du coude' (AChag), *ašuq* 'topuq, dirsek kemigi' (AChagAb), *ašuq* 'topuk ve dirsek kemügü' (AChagAbA), *ašuq* 'sark, könyök csontja [the bone of the heel, elbow]' (AChagAbV), *ašuq* 'der Knöchel' (AChagR), *ašuġ*, *ašuq* 'ankle' (AChagSC), *ašuq* 'kʻab, ašïq' (AChagŠS), *ašïk*, *ašuk* 'Knöchel, von den Füssen, geschlachteter Thiere mit denen die Kinder spielen' (AChagZ), *ašuq* 'aşık (ayak topuğundaki kemik)' (AAH), *āšïq* 'al′čik' (ATuh), *ašïq* 'aşık kemiği' (ATuhA), *ašuk* 'aşık' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ašăk* 'babka, al′čik, kozon' (Chuv ← Tat), *ašăk* 'kozon (t.e. babka)' (ChuvA ← Tat); ***NW*** *ašïk* 'babka, al′čik' (Tat), *ašïk* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka, lodyžka', *ašïk*: *ašïk seväge* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka, lodyžka', *ašïk*: *šaytan ašïgï* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka, lodyžka' (TatD1), *ašik* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka', *ašïq* 'kul häm ayak barmaklarïndagï buwïn söyäkläre, kuznalar; kozny, sustavnye kosti pal′cev ruk i nog', *ašïq*: *šaytan ašïġï* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka', *ašïk*: *šaytan asïk* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka', *ašïk*: *ašïk söyäge*, *šaytan ašïgï* 'tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka' (TatD2), *ašïq* 'al′čik, babka' (Bashk), *ašïq* 'tubïk, tubïk söyäge; ščikolotka, ščikolotočnaja kost′; ašïk; kosti dlja igry; tubïk söyäge; lodyžka' (SibTat), *ašïq* 'kosti (igral′nye), babki' (SibTatBD), *ašïq* 'al′čik (kolennaja kostočka ovca ili kozy)' (Kirg), *ašïq* 'der Knöchel, das Knöchenspiel' (KirgR), *asïq* 'ankle, pastern, anklebone, knucklebone, dice' (Kaz), *asïq* 'al′čik, asyk, babki' (KazB), *asïq* 'al′čik (*kost′ dlja igry*)' (Kklp), *asïk*

‘ščikolotka, lodyžka, al′čik (kostočka kolennogo sustava zadnej nogi barana, telenka i t. p. – eju pol′zujutsja dlja igry)’ (Nog), *ašïq* ‘tarannaja kost′, igral′naja kost′’ (CrTat), *ašïq* ‘der Knöchel, das Knöchenspiel’ (CrTatR), *ašïq* ‘babka (dlja igry v kosti)’ (KarSh), *ašïq* ‘al′čik (kostočka iz kolennogo sustava zadnej nogi barana, telenka i t.p.)’ (Kum), *ašïq* ‘al′čik, babka, ščikolotka, lodyžka, golenostopnyj sustav, kostočka (napr. na sčetah)’ (KrchBlk), *ašïq* ‘Knöchelbein’ (KrchP), *ašïq* ‘Knöchel, Knöchelbein, Gelenk’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *ašïk* ‘igral′naja kost′, al′čik’ (Tkm), *ašïg* ‘al′čik, babka (dlja igry)’ (Az), *ašïx* ‘der Knöchel’ (AzR), *aşık* ‘knucklebones’ (Tt), *aşık* ‘diz kapağı’ (TtD), *aşak* ‘diz kapağı’ (TtDA), *ašïq* ‘der Knöchel, das Knöchelspiel’ (TtR); ***Kh*** *ušaq* ‘Knöchel’ [Doerfer: “Die Form *ušaq* überrascht, man sollte eigentlich **ašuq* (so Turkic) erwarten”] (Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 211) (Kh), *uša·q* ‘Knöchel’, *huša·q* ‘Knöchel’ (KhT); ***SE*** *åšiq* ‘al′čik (kostočka iz kolennogo sustava zadnej nogi barana, telenka i t.p.)’ (Uzb), *ashuq* ‘sheep‘s knucklebones (for playing with)’ (TurkiSh), *ašiq* ‘ščikolotka’, *ašuq* ‘kost′ v noge, “babka”’ (TurkiL), *ošuq* ‘der Knöchel’ (TurkiTR), *ašuq*, *ošuq* ‘al′čik, igralnaja babka’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *kažïk* ‘babka nogi lošadi (životnogo)’ (AltL), *ašïk*, *ažïk* ‘babka, kostočka, igornaja babka’ (AltQK)’ *kažïk* ‘babki’ (Alt), *qažïq* ‘der Knöchel am Fusse’ (AltLR), *qažïq* ‘der Knöchel am Fusse’ (AltTelR), *ažïq* ‘der Knöchel’ (ATelR), *qažïq* ‘der Knöchel am Fusse’ (KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *alču*, *alčuŋġay* ‘depression on the side of an anklebone’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word *oš* may be a WOT form **alčuk*, which has its counterpart in the CT lgs as *ašuk*. The T word *ašuk* ‘the ankle joint’ (of a man or animal) is well-known as of the OT period. Clauson (1972: 259) considered it as a simplex and added that the construction *ašuk kämigi* ‘knucklebone’, especially the knucklebone of a sheep used for various games, is often abbreviated to *ašuk*, *ašïk*. Neither Clauson, who always pays attention to the early T–Mo contacts, nor Doerfer’s notes for this case mention this possibility. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 216) rejected the connection of the T and Mo words. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 108–109) explained T *ašuk* ‘Spielknöchel’ fr the PT reconstruction **al′-uk*. According to him, the PT base is interrelated with Mo *alču* and Man *alču* (< **al′-ču*). Ramstedt also pointed out that the Mo word was copied into some T lgs in the form *alčï*. According to Poppe (1960: 86), the Mo word *alču* ‘eine Seite des Spielknochens’ and T *ašuk* go back to an ancient base **alčuk* since the Man word *alču* was borrowed fr Mo. According to Räsänen (1969: 16), T *alčï* ‘eine der vier flachen Seiten des Knöchels, die dem *toxan* gegenüberliegt’ derives fr Mo *alču* (Ramstedt 1935: 8), which corresponds with T *ašuk*. The Rus word *al′čik* (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 75) is of T origin. See also Räsänen (1969: 30). The PA reconstruction was also preferred by Tenišev (2001: 288–289). The newest PA reconstruction was provided by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 292–293). They connected PT *(*i*)*aĺ*(*č*)*uk* ‘ankle joint, knucklebone, dice’ with PTu *(*x*)*ajū* ‘knucklebone’, PMo *(*h*)*alču* ‘knucklebone, depression on the side of an an-

klebone' under the entry PA **ǎĺčà* 'knucklebone, foot'. There is no foundation for /i/ in PT and /h/ in Mo. The NE *kažuk* goes back to **kačuk* and does not belong here (cf. Joki 1952: 148). The sememe 'foot' is projected fr the Jpn reconstruction. Nowhere does PMo, LMo *alču*, *alčuŋgay* have the meaning 'knucklebone'. Only one side of the anklebone is also called a "camel", and in Kalm the four sides have the following names: *altsă*, *tā*, *bökŏ* and *tšoxŏ*. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 114–115), one can reconstruct a PT form **alʹču* which appeared as an early lw in Mo. T *ašuk* may be a der with the dim suff fr the previously mentioned base (PT **alʹču+k*). On T *ašuk*, see also Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 64–65).

One can agree with Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 216) that the T word *ašuk* shows a significant difference fr *alčï*, *alču* fr chronological and semantic points of view and their spread is also different. *alčï* appears in the sources later and occurs less commonly than *ašuk*. The word *ašuk* has the central meaning 'anklebone; lodyžka, lodyžečnaja kostʹ (babka), igralʹnaja kostʹ', however *alčï* means 'one side of the anklebone used as dice for play; odna iz storon igralʹnoj kosti/alʹčika'. It seems not very likely that they go back to the same base. Mo *alču* 'depression on the side of an anklebone' (L) cannot be regarded as an etymological cognate of T *ašuk* and the word *alčï* 'one side of the knucklebone' is a Mo lw in the T lgs. See MT *alčï* 'Knöchelspiel' (AChagŠSK), *alčï* 'aşığın dört yüzünden birinin adı' (AOtT); NT *alčï* 'eine der vier flachen Seiten des Knöchels, die dem Tochan gegenüberliegt' (TatR, AzR, CrTatR), *alčï* 'storona alʹčika, protivopoložnaja *tā*' (Kirg), *alšï* 'a position of the dice in a knucklebone game' (Kaz), *alšï* 'die eingebogene Seite des Knöchels' (KazR), *alšï* 'storona alʹčika (*sčitajuščajasja samoj vyigryšnoj, protivopoložnaja tawwa*)' (Kklp), *alčï* 'vognutaja bokovaja storona alʹčika' (Kum), *alčï* 'alči (storona alʹčika, protivopoložnaja taganu, sčitaetsja samoj vyigryšnoj)' (Tkm), *alčï* 'stojačee položenie alʹčika' (Az), *alçı* 'the flat side of a knucklebone (used in games)' (Tt), *olči* 'vognutaja bokovaja storona alʹčika, vyigryšnoe položenie alʹčika (kogda on stoit vognutoj bokovoj storonoj vverh)' (Uzb), *alǰi* 'lodyžka, babka' (Khak).

The datum *alčïg* 'alçı' in AIMI must be separated fr the Mo word because of its final segment *-g*. If the reading is correct, the word may go back to a WOT source fr which the H word and Rus *alʹčik* 'Fessel-, Sprungbein beim Rinde, Tierknöchel' have been borrowed. Fr this point of view, we cannot accept Sevortjan's opinion (1974–1980/1: 144) that on the basis of the T, Mo and Tu words *alčï*, and TtR *alïǰ* 'eine der vorteilhaften (gewinnenden) Seiten des Knöchels (beim Spiele), das Gewinnen beim Knöchelspiel' and AIM *alčïg*, one can reconstruct a basic word **al* with an unknown meaning. Otherwise, Sevortjan considered these words as dim forms. He did not exclude the possibility that the word *alčï* may be of Mo origin and also added that Vámbéry's etymology, according to which the T word *alčï* could be a cognate of T *alt* 'part of something which is situated below', *alčak* 'low', cannot be rejected outright.

The Mo form was copied into several Tu dials (cf. *alǰō*, *alčuka* etc.) and into Man (*alču*); see Doerfer (1985: 115), who considered the T word to be an internally development formed with the dim suff +*k*.

In sum, H *oš* < **alčik*, Rus *al′čik* ← WOT **alčïk*, **alčuk* < PT **ašuk* 'knucklebone' > EOT **ašuk*. Mo *alču*, *alčuŋgay* 'one side of the knucklebone, anklebone, the lower side' → T *alču*, *alči*.

E/H According to Galgóczi (1929: 198), the equivalents of the H word *ostábla* are documented in Schlägl's wordlist as *tasser* – *ochk* 'ocsk' (2082), *taxillus* – 'kis ocsk' (2083). Both words only have the meaning 'cube, dice'. He thought that the H word *ochk* may be interrelated with Skrt *akǰa* 'cube', which could have been borrowed into H via T mediation. The actual Skrt word is *akṣá-* 'Nuss des *vibhīdaka*-Baumes, die im altindischen "Würfel"-Spiel verwendet wurde, wobei das Greifen einer richtigen Anzahl den Sieg im Spiel brachte' (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 42). Neither the origin, nor the game can be connected. The game with a dice or cube with four sides was known in Hungary as early as the 13th c. Kniezsa (1955: 898) rejected the Sl origin of the H word. He also pointed out that it cannot be a lw fr the Ott or fr any Balkanic lgs. He thought that the T counterpart of the H word is *ašïk* 'osselet; Knöchel, Knöchelspiel', but the way of the borrowing is unclear. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1098) accepted Kniezsa's opinion. Later (1993–1997/2: 1072), he pointed out that the first part of the H compound *ostábla* which earlier had the form *ocsk* ~ *okcs* 'Knobel, Würfel zum Knobeln (aus Bein, Knöchel)' has such equivalents as *ašuk*, *ašïk* in some T lgs (Tt, Krch, MUyg, AltTel), but the name of this type of game needs further investigation. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *os* among the T elements of the H lg.

The H word *os* [oš] goes back to WOT **alčuk*, which shows a regular correspondence to EOT *ašuk*. The WOT form was only preserved by Rus and H.

◆ Galgóczi 1929: 198; Ramstedt 1935: 8; Joki 1952: 148; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 108–109; Kniezsa 1955: 898; Poppe 1960: 86; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 64–65, 114–115; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 74–75; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1098; Räsänen 1969: 16, 30; Clauson 1972: 259; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 144–145, 216–217; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 211; Doerfer 1985: 115; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 42; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1072; Fedotov 1996/1: 77–78; Tenišev 2001: 288–289; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 292–293.

Ö, Ő

ÖKÖR [ökör] ‘ox’ | 1181/1288/1366/16th c. GN *Ekewr* [ekör], 1259 GN *Vkurd* [ükür-d], 1326/1428 GN *Hwkuri-thou* [hükür-i tō], p1372/c1448 *ewkrewkewt* [ökr-ököt], c1395 *eker* [eker], *oker* [öker], *ekur* [ekür] | **ökör* < **ökür* < **ükür* ← WOT **ökür* | EOT *öküz* ‘ox’.

OT *öküz* ‘ox(en)’ (RTIrk 25), *öküzüg* ‘den Ochsen (Acc.)’ (MManIII Nr. 5 Rückseite 9), *öküz*, *ökűz* ‘ox’ (AK), *öküz* ‘ox’ (AQB); **MT** *Öküz* PN (UCivLo 10:9), *öküz* ‘ox’ (ABF), *öküz* ‘ox’ (AGul), *öküz*, *ök*(*k*)*üz* ‘byk, byčok, sozvezdie vol’ (AIM), *öküz* ‘enenmiş sığır aygırı’ (AIMI), *öküz*: *sïġïr öküz* ‘bovines, cattle’, *čift öküz* ‘plowing ox’ (AKD), *öküz* ‘vol, byk’ (ANehF), *öküz* ‘bœf’ (AChag), *ögüz* ‘der Ochs, Stier’ (AChagR), ? *öküz ʿawāmil-kār* ‘agent, business manager’ (?) (translation inexplicable) (AChagSC), *öküz* ‘kāv, sevr’ (AChagŠS), *öküz* ‘Ochse, Stier’ (AChagZ), *ögüz* ‘Ochs’ (LCCI), *öküz* ‘öküz’ (AAH), *öküz* ‘boeuf’ (ABul), *öküz* ‘boeuf’ (ADur), *öküz* ‘Stier’ (Houtsma erroneously with *-g-*) (AHou), *öküz* ‘ökör; Ochs’ (AKav), *öküz* ‘byk’ (ATuh), *öküz* ‘öküz’ (ATuhA), *oguz* ‘boeuf’ (AmTr), *oguz* ‘vol’ (AmD), *oguz* ‘ox’ (AmCh), *oguz* ‘bœuf’ (AmE), *öküzgözü* ‘bir çeşit papatya’ (AOTt), *öküz gözi* ‘a plant called ‘ox-eye’ in Rūmī’ (AChagSC); **NT** ***Chuv*** *văkăr* ‘byk, byčij, byčačij’ (Chuv), *văkăr*, *măkăr* ‘byk’ (ChuvA), *văkăr* ‘Stier, Ochs’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ügez* ‘byk, bugaj, byčij, byčačij, (*peren.*) očen′ bol′šoj i sil′nyj (*o čeloveke*)’ (Tat), *ügĕz* ‘byk’ (TatD2), *ügez* ‘bika, ökör; Stier, Ochs’ (TatB), *ügz* ‘der Stier, Bulle’ (TatKR), *ügeð* ‘byk, vol, byčij, byčinyj, volovoj’ (Bashk), *ụgụð*, *ụgĕð* ‘ökör, bika’ (BashkP), *ügezäk* ‘ügez bozau; byčok’ (SibTat), *ögis* ‘byk’ (SibTtBD), *ögüz* ‘vol, kastrirovannyj byk’ (Kirg), *ögĭz* ‘ox’ (Kaz), *ögĭz* ‘byk, vol’ (KazB), *ögüz* ‘der Ochs, Stier’ (KazR), *ögiz* ‘byk, vol, byčij, volovij’ (Kklp), *ögiz* ‘vol, byk, volovyj, byčij, (*peren.*) ploho soobražajuščij čelovek’ (Nog), *ogüz* [ö-] ‘vol’ (CrTat), *ögüz* ‘der Ochs, Stier’ (CrTatR), *ög′uz′* ‘rogatyj skot, byk’ (KarT), *ėgiz* ‘byk, vol’ (KarH), *ögüz* ‘byk, vol’ (KarC), *ögüz* ‘der Ochs, Stier’ (KarTR), *ögüz* ‘vol, volovij’ (Kum), *ögüz* ‘Ochs’ (KumN), *ögüz* ‘vol’ (KrchBlk), *ögüz* ‘Ochs’ (KrchP), *ögüz* ‘Ochs’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *öküð* ‘byk, vol, byčačij, byčij, volovij’ (Tkm), *öküz* ‘byk, vol, byčij, volovij’ (Az), *öküz* ‘ox, dull, heavy, stupid (person)’ (Tt), *öküz* ‘byk, vol’ (TtB), *öküz* ‘der Ochs, Stier’ (TtR), *öküz* ‘vol’ (Gag), *yöküz* ‘vol, hološčennyj samec korovy’ (GagD, Tenišev 2001: 439), *öküz* (?) ‘Kalb’ (Khor), *öküz* ‘Stier, Bulle, Ochse’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *xŭkiz* ‘vol, (peren., razg.) neotesannyj, balbes’ (Uzb), *öküz* ‘steer’ (TurkiJ), *ukuz*, *uguz* ‘an ox’ (TurkiSh), *ögüs* ‘byk’ (TurkiL), *ökuz*, *ükäz* (dial.), *höküz* ‘byk, vol’ (MUyg), *kus*, *kʿus* ‘jak, byk, korova (voobšče krupnyj rogatyj skot)’ (YUyg), *oqus* ‘korova, byk, vol’, *okus* ‘krupnyj, rogatyj skot’, *kus* ‘byk, vol’, *qus* ‘korova, byk, vol’ (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *oġus*, *oġos*, *ugus* ‘byk voobšče, byk, vol, rogataja

skotina mužskogo pola', *at oġus* 'vol' (RY), *ogus* 'eine Stierfigur aus Holz, die der Schamane dem feindlichen Geist schenkt, damit er den Kranken verläßt' (Dlg).

Mo *üker* 'bovine animal, ox, cow, large, big, the second of the twelve animals of the zodiac' (L), MMo *hüker* id. (SH).

E/T Various theories have gained currency in the Turkological literature on the origin of the T word meaning 'ox'; however, in the domain of historical linguistics, there are two major theories to be found. A good summary of the history of the research is provided by Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 521–523). Cf. also Ščerbak (1961: 98–99; 1997: 131) and Tenišev (2001: 440). Both of these etymological attempts regarded this word as being of IE origin.

In a personal communication with Clauson, Winter suggested that the source is rather TochA than TochB. It thus has to be reconstructed as *okäs* (Clauson 1972: 120). Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 539) maintained that the Toch origin is highly unlikely. He argued that Clauson had disregarded the fact that the Mo word, which is of T origin, exhibits the form *hüker* (SH, Hy), *üker* and that the MMo initial *h-* has to be derived fr an AT **p-*. According to Adams (1999: 111), TochB *okso* 'cow, ox', TochA *ops-* < PToch **okso* < PIE **uk*$^{\text{w}}$*se/on-*. This etymology (*okso* > **okus* > *okuz*, *öküz*) is possible, if Mo *h-* does not go back to **p-*, that is if Mo *h-* is secondary. Mo *h-* is old, but *f-* in Mngr *fuguor* 'boeuf' (De Smedt–Mostaert 1933: 104) and Dong *fugier* changed fr *h* to *f* before labial *u* in *hukur* (Róna-Tas 1960: 267). All other arch Mo dials such as Dah and Minghe contain *h-*. One of the newest reconstructions of the IE word is **h₂uksén* (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 210), OIr Avestan *uxšan* 'Stier, Jungstier'. The idea that Mo *h-* reflects an IE laryngeal *h₂-* here has no parallels yet and it poses serious chronological difficulties, even if we accept this laryngeal as a phoneme which actually existed.

The other IE etymology of the word (cf. Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 103–104) connected the T word to the well-known IE word-family **pekŭ* (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/2: 109; cf. OInd *paśú*, OIr **pasu-*, Lat *pecu*, *pecus*, Goth *faihu*, Ger *Vieh* etc.). This etymology was also criticised by Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 539) because of phonetic (i.e. the vocalism of the first syllable) and semantic (the IE word means 'animal, cattle, livestock') problems. Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1984: 579) supported Ramstedt's etymological idea, and later, Doerfer (1985: 67) also accepted this etymology and wrote "Das tü. Wort dürfte indogermanischen Ursprungs sein (vgl. u.a. latein. *pecor+*)". Tenišev (2001: 440) was of the opinion that the word was, perhaps, borrowed into PT/PMo in the phonetic shape **(h)ökäz*. This etymology does not take into account the fact that the IE word contains neither *-r*, nor *-s*; also, the Lat *-s* is a suff, which changed to *r* in the intervocalic position around the 4$^{\text{th}}$ c. B.C. (see *pecus* > *pecoris*, *pecunia*, etc., and § 6.2.9.) We cannot account for the T–Mo final consonant be it /z/ or /r/. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1168–1169) link PT **ökŭŕ* 'ox', PMo **hüker* 'ox' and

PTu **puKur* / **pukun* ‘cow’, which, according to them, go back to PA **pʻŏkʻi(ŕV)*. They mention that the Tu data like Evnk *hukur* etc. are “possibly” of Mo origin. In this case, they are right, as the Tu data are surely of MMo origin. Whatever their reconstruction is, they consider the T–Mo word to be an inner development in these two lgs.

In his unpublished dissertation, following a summary of the different etymologies, Róna-Tas (1970: 464) also dealt with the possibility that the word is of onomatopoeic origin. The phonetic irregularities would cause no great obstacles, but the explicit meaning ‘young, male animal (ox, reindeer, etc.)’ may weaken the proposal. The idea of an onomatopoeic origin was defended by Berta (2001c: 178–182; see earlier also Egorov 1964: 48). According to Berta, the T noun for ‘ox’ may be linked to the T verb meaning ‘to bellow, low’. A similar etymology for T *buga* ‘Stier’ was suggested by Brockelmann (1954: 102), who pointed out that *buga* may be a der of the onomatopoeic word **bu-* followed by the suff *-gA* (cf. **bika**, **buga**). Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 231–232) rejected Brockelmann’s etymology, but his discussion lacks clear argumentation. Another good semantic parallel to this etymology is Alt *mȫrö-* ‘myčatʹ’ > *mȫrök* ‘korova ili byk, kotorye často myčat’. Berta collected the most important data for the verb imitating the sound of the animal:

OT –; MT *öksi-* ‘to cough’ (AKD), *ögür-* ‘ağlamak’, *ügür-* ‘bağırmak, feryad etmek’ (AHMA), *ökür-* ‘pleurer en criant’ (AChag), *ögür-* ‘yüksek ses ile taşkın bir halde ağlamak’ (AChagAbA), *ökür-* ‘plakatʹ, rydatʹ’ (AChagB), *ögür-* ‘kreischen’ (LCCG), *ögür-* ‘kalın sesiyle ağlamak, danalar gibi kalın sesiyle böğüre böğüre ağlamak’ (AAHI); NT *Chuv üxĕr-* ‘šumetʹ, gudetʹ, ryčatʹ, vytʹ, kričatʹ’, *mĕkĕr-* ‘revetʹ, izdavatʹ rev’; *NW üker-* ‘revetʹ, vopitʹ’, *ükse-* ‘vshlipyvatʹ, plakatʹ vshlipyvaja’ (Tat), *üker-* ‘šaulau, ulagan tavïš čïgaru; šumetʹ, proiznositʹ zvuk, pohožij na voj’ (TatD2), *üker-* ‘bőgni, hangosan sírni; brüllen, laut weinen’ (TatB), *üker-* ‘revetʹ, ryčatʹ, rydatʹ, (*peren.*) vytʹ, šumetʹ, gudetʹ’, *ükhe-* ‘gromko plakatʹ, rydatʹ, prizyvno revetʹ (*o životnyh*)’ (Bashk), *üger-* ‘kïčkïru, tavïš čïgaru; kričatʹ, izdavatʹ zvuk; yïlau; plakatʹ, pričitatʹ; čakïru; zvatʹ’ (SibTat), *ökür-* ‘(*o byke, bugae*) revetʹ, (*o mužčine*) gromko plakatʹ i pričitatʹ (*pokačivajasʹ korpusom s boku na bok, približajasʹ k domu, k jurte, gde estʹ ili nedavno byl pokojnik*)’, *öksö-* ‘gromko plakatʹ, rydatʹ, (*peren.*) plakatʹsja, žalovatʹsja na sudʹbu’ (Kirg), *ökir-* ‘to moo (of a cow), (fig.) to sob (of a person)’ (Kaz), *ökir-* ‘revetʹ (*o korove*), (*peren.*) rydatʹ (*o čeloveke*)’ (KazB), *ökir-* ‘kričatʹ, revetʹ, plakatʹ’ (Kklp), *ökir-* ‘revetʹ, myčatʹ, vopitʹ, rydatʹ’, *öksi-* ‘rydatʹ, vshlipyvatʹ’ (Nog), *okür-* ‘revetʹ’ [ö-] (CrTat), *ėkir-* ‘stonatʹ, ryčatʹ, revetʹ, myčatʹ’ (KarH), *ökür-* ‘plakatʹ, revetʹ, myčatʹ’ (KarC), *ökʹur-* ‘vytʹ, ryčatʹ, zevatʹ’ (KarT), *ökür-* ‘gudetʹ, gremetʹ, buševatʹ, ryčatʹ, (*peren.*) gremetʹ, slavitʹsja’ (Kum), *ökür-* ‘myčatʹ (o korove), revetʹ (o byke), (razg.) gromko plakatʹ’ (KrchBlk); *SW* – ; *Kh* –; *SE ŭkir-* ‘revetʹ’ (Uzb), *xöküri-* ‘revetʹ, rykatʹ (*o zverjah*), rydatʹ, gromko plakatʹ’, *öksü-* ‘vshlipyvatʹ, rydatʹ, plakatʹ navzryd’

(MUyg); *NE öksö-* 'gor′ko plakat′, gromko plakat′, rydat′' (Alt), *öksö-* 'gor′ko plakat′, gromko plakat′, rydat′' (Alt), *öksö-* 'kričat′' (AltTK); *Y üögü* 'krik, vopl′', *üögülā-* 'izdavat′ gluhoj zvuk, kričat′, priklikat′, otklik davat′' (Y). See also Mo *mögere-* 'to moo, low, bellow (of cows)' (L), see Chuv *měkěr-* 'revet′'.

All these verbs express a sound made by oxen or human beings. The sound is mostly used in the case of humans in times of mourning. The verb **öksi-* denotes a more intensive action.

Before we move on, we have to return to *öküz*. The arch YUyg and Y data point to a back-vocalic form **okuz*. The /χ/ in Uzb and the /h/ in MUyg are secondary, prothetic sounds. The verb *ökür-* may be a der fr the onomatopoeic word **hök* with the den suff *+kIr-*: **hök+kir-* > **hökkir-* > *hökür-* > *ökür-*. In dealing with the suff *+kIr-*, Erdal cites more than ten verbs ending in *+kIr-* that denote some kind of crying, snorting, shouting, etc. The /i/ in the second syllable of *ökir-* is preserved in some T lgs (Kaz, Nog, Kar). The labialisation of the second syllable is possible and due to assimilation (see *bürkür-* 'to spurt out, to spray' (AK)). The morphological side of the link between the two words, *ökir-* > *öküz*, has parallels: cf. *kutur-* 'to be excessive' > *kutuz* 'a mad dog', *ärgür-* 'to melt (tr)' > *ärgüz* 'melting', *yavrï-* to deteriorate' > *yavïz* 'bad', and the oft cited *semiz* 'fat' > *semri-*, *semir-* to became fat' all have a dev suff -(*X*)*z* (see Erdal 1991: 323). Thus there are neither phonetic, nor morphological or semantic difficulties in considering the WOT word **ökür* as resulting fr an inner word formation. Chuv contains *văkăr* and *măkăr*. The latter dial form with initial *m-* (cf. Egorov 1964: 48) is secondary and evolved under the influence of the verb *měkěr-* 'revet′'.

E/H Following other scholars, Vámbéry (1870: 168) wrote on the T origin of the H word *ökör*. Gombocz (1907a: 310) accepted this. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 111) reconstructed an OChuv word **ökür* as the copied form. Németh (1934: 168) accepted Gombocz's suggestion that the T etymon and the TochB item *okso* may be interrelated. Ligeti (1935c: 36–39) pointed out that the T word was borrowed into Vog and Osty, too. According to Ligeti, no traces of PA **p-* can be found. Pais (1935a: 41) pointed out that the H word showed a secondary *h-* in some occurrences in the OH period. According to Ligeti (1961: 35), the A initial **p-* may be represented in the BulgT lws of H as *h-* (see **hurok**) or as ø-, as in *ökör*. Sinor (1962: 316; 1982: 67–75) paid special attention to the fact that the T word was not borrowed into the Ugr lgs at the same time. The H word *ökör* 'ox' is a Chuv lw; Vog *ōks* 'bull' and Osty *ük^{o}s*, *ūges* 'ox, bull' are copies fr CT. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 23) considered the H word as a copy of T **ökür* showing a Chuv feature. According to Ligeti (1986: 12, 40–41, 112, 196–197, 203, 235), the H word *ökör* may be of OChuv origin because of the absence of the initial prothetic *v-* (cf. **vályú**). Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1080) reconstructed the copied form as **ökür*, which occurred as **ükür* in H due to a sound substitution.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 168; Gombocz 1907a: 310; Gombocz 1912b: 111; De Smedt–Mostaert 1933: 104; Németh 1934: 168; Ligeti 1935c: 36–39; Pais 1935a: 41; Ramstedt 1935: 456; Bárczi 1941: 227; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 103–104; Brockelmann 1954: 102; Róna-Tas 1960: 267; Ligeti 1961: 35; Ščerbak 1961: 98–99; Sinor 1962: 316; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 539; Egorov 1964: 48, 133, 282; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 23; Räsänen 1969: 370; Róna-Tas 1970: 464; Clauson 1972: 120; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 521–523; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 231–232; Sinor 1982: 67–75; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984: 579; Doerfer 1985: 67; Ligeti 1986: 12, 40–41, 112, 196–197, 203, 235, 278, 526; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 210; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/2: 109; Erdal 1991: 323, 465–467; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1080; Fedotov 1996/1: 105–106; Ščerbak 1997: 131; Adams 1999: 111; Berta 2001c: 178–182; Tenišev 2001: 439–440; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1168–1169.

ÖLT [ölt] 'to stitch, to put on a dress' | p1372/c1448 *eltezet* [elt-ezet], *felewltewʒuen* [fel-ölt-özvēn] 'to put on a dress', 1531 *eteztetytyuk* [et-ez-teťťük] 'to dress somebody', c1560 *ẃthóm* [ōt-öm] 'to wrinkle, to frown', 1588 *kar eolteo* [kår öltō] 'to put on', 1604 'to stitch (e.g. with a needle)' | *ölt-* < **ilt-* ← WOT **ilt-* < *il-* {with suff -(*X*)*t-*} | EOT *il-* 'to catch, to hang, to suspend' | See **illik**.

E/T See **illik**.

E/H According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 25–26; 1993–1997/2: 1081), the H word is of debated origin. It may be an internal der fr the H verb **illik**, which is of T der. It may, however, also have been a borrowed OT form fr the T caus form (*ilt-*, *elt-*) of the etymon for **illik**. Ligeti (1986: 318, 320) mentioned the H verb among the early T lws in H.

◆ Ligeti 1935b: 285; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 25–26; Ligeti 1986: 318, 320; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1081; Róna-Tas 1994: 104.

ÖLYV [öyv] 'hawk, buzzard, *Buteo buteo*' | 1055 GN *uluuef* [ülv-eš], 1367 GN *Hwlues* [hülü-eš], c1395 *elu* [el′ü], c1405 *wlw* [ül′ü], 1427 GN *ewlueth* [öl′v-et], *ölyű* [öyū], dial *ölyü*, *ölü*, *üllő*, *ülü*, *üllü* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 237) | *öyv* < *öl′ü* < **eliγ* ← WOT **eliγ* | EOT ?, cf. Mo *eliye* < **helige* 'hawk'.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *äliä* 'koršun, *Falco milvus*, hiščnaja ptica, koršun černyj, *Milvus niger*, nazyvaetsja v Jakutske *kurocapom*' (Y ← Mo).

Mo *eliye* (< **elige*) 'hawk, kite, vulture' (L), MMo *hele'e* 'milan' (Hy).

E/T The supposed T etymon is unattested in the T lgs. Tekin's attempt to find this word in OT in line W 9 of RMKöl is erroneous. Instead of *ärmäli täg ärdi* 'like the swift horse', both Tekin (1968) and Hayashi–Ōsawa (1999) following him read the passage as *äräm älä* 'like a huge hawk' (T) or *ärmälä* id. (Hayashi–Ōsawa 1999). The Y word *äliä* 'koršun' is a lw fr Mo. The Mo word is, however, very plausibly a T borrowing. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1088) offer a different explanation. They reconstruct a PA form **pĭle* 'a kind of hawk', which is based on PTu **pilakta* 'a kind of hawk, a kind of woodpecker', PMo **helige* 'hawk, kite' and PT **bElin* 'hawk'. The reconstruction of the PT form is based on three words, *beli-baGlï* (Az), *belin*

(Uzb (Chag)) and *beliŋ* (Kar), which seems to be very hazardous as there are serious phonetic problems with it. The correspondence of the initial PT **b-* ~ PTu **p-* ~ PMo **h-* is unacceptable. It is also unclear what kind of **-n* ending there is in the PT form which was then lost in Az, but was preserved in Uzb (Chag) and appeared in Kar as *-ŋ*. In agreement with Gombocz's etymological proposal, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1088) wrote that H *ölyv* may be a lw fr BulgT **iläg*. They thought that the reconstructed BulgT word was borrowed fr an unknown lg which took this form fr the Mo. Ligeti (1935a: 239) also considered this possibility earlier, but he rightly added that in this case one must suppose that the final consonant was already lost in Chuv and that there is no proof for this assumption.

E/H According to Bálint (1877: 38), the H word *ölyv* has its counterparts in Mo as *eliye* and *ülü*. In Gombocz's view (1907a: 310), H *ölyű* (< **ělő*) may be the exact equivalent of a reconstructed T form **iläk*. He added that, with the exception of the Y word *äliä* 'Weihe', one can only find adequate data for this etymology in the Mo and Tu lgs. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 111–112) reconstructed an OChuv form **iläg*. Németh (1934: 170) pointed out that the T lws in H include some words which may have their ultimate origin in Mo (cf. **bóda**, **daku**, **ige**, **kangyík**, **nyögér**). For historical reasons, Ligeti (1935a: 238–239; 1935c: 39–40) excluded the possibility that H words could have been immediate lws fr Mo, and thus reconstructed a T copied form for the H word as **iläk* or **iläg*. He also observed that the initial *h-* in the Mo words of the 13th and 14th c. can be regarded as secondary, but of course this is an old phenomenon. Pais (1935a: 41) paid special attention to the unetymological initial *h-* of the OH item fr 1367, *Hwlues*. Németh (1935–1939: 526) explained that the H word comes fr OChuv **ilig*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 26–27), the H word may go back to OT **iläg*. Ligeti (1986: 50, 297) stressed that the H word represents the only proof for the earlier existence of a T word **älig*. The T word had to exist in a lg of the Chuv type which shows a rare lexical element, the equivalent of which is presented in Mo. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1082) considered the H word to be an early T lw fr **älig*. He thought that the labialisation of the vowel in the first syllable fits very well in the system of OChuv lws in H (cf. **kölyű**, **örül**, **ürü**). The word-final *-v* occurred secondarily in H. The H word was borrowed into the Rom. Szemerényi (1951: 69–71) suggested that both the Mo and the H word may have their origin in an OIr form **ṛzifya* > **āluf* > **aluh* > **ălih*, which is phonetically not acceptable.

◆ Bálint 1877: 38; Gombocz 1907a: 310; Gombocz 1912b: 111–112; Németh 1934: 170; Ligeti 1935a: 238–239; Ligeti 1935c: 39–40; Németh 1935–1939: 526; Pais 1935a: 41; Bárczi 1941: 228; Szemerényi 1951: 69–71; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 26–27; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 237; Ligeti 1986: 48, 50, 81, 194, 201, 206, 296, 297; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1082; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1088.

ÖNIK [ön] *arch*, *dial* 'to elect, to select' | late 12th c./c1195 *unuttei* [ün-üttei], 1803 dial *önik* 'to take root, to begin to grow, to grow stronger (of plants)' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–

2002/4: 238), *megönik* ‘to take root, to grow stronger (plant, animal)’, *megönődik* ‘to succeed, to come to fruition’ (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 1144) | *önik-* < *ön-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **ün-* ← WOT **ün̄-* | EOT *ün̄-* ‘to rise’.

OT *ün-* ‘to ascend, climb, to rise, stand up’: *yaš ot ündi* ‘the fresh grass sprouted’ (RTIrk 53), *qïzïlsïğ suv yünsär* ‘a reddish water (i.e. tint) rises on it’ (RTT II:15-16, translated by Clauson 1972: 169), *yätmiš yašïmā üntim* ‘Do moih semidesjati let ja dostig ’ (RY 42:3), *ön-* (r: *ün-*) ‘aufsteigen, sich erheben, herauskommen, fortgehen von’ (UTTI 5), *ön-* ‘wachsen’ (UHeilk I:141), *ön-* (r: *ün-*) ‘herauskommen, ausbrechen’ (UTTVII 22: 16), *ün-* ‘to rise, sprout’ (UXuanzangIndex), *ön-* ‘to grow, [Uigh.] to go’: *ot öndi* ‘the plant grew’, and in Uyg dial *ol äwkä öndi* ‘he went home’ (AK), *öntürüp* (r: *üntürüp*) ‘entsprießen lassend’ (MMan III Nr. 8, I: 2,5,8 etc.), *ün-* ‘grow (of flowers), to spring up’ of plants, etc. (AQB), *ün-* (üṃ- – uyuṃ-) ‘hervorkommen, äußern’, *bulïttïn ünmiš* ‘der aus Wolken hervorkommende [Mond]’ (BB 14); **MT** *ün-* ‘erscheinen, fortgehen, auftauchen’ (UCivAd 03:28), *ön-*, *ün-* ‘büyümek’ (AHMA), *ön-*, *ün-* ‘rosnąć, róść, wyrosnąć’ (AHŠ), *ön-* ‘rasti, vyrastatʹ, vyrasti’ (AHŠF), *öndür-* ‘to cause to grow, produce, bring forth’ (AKor), *ün-* ‘vshoditʹ, rasti’ (ANehF), *ün-* ‘vshoditʹ, rasti’ (ATef), *ün-* ‘croître, pousser, réussir’ (AChag), *ön-* ‘iki qat olur’ (AChagAb), *ön-* ‘iki kat olur’ (AChagAbA), *ön-* ‘wachsen, hinzufügen, hinzusetzen’ (AChagR), *ün-* ‘to grow, increase’ (AChagSC), *ön-* ‘izdiyād etmek, teraqqi etmek’ (AChagŠS), *ön-* ‘wachsen, vorwärts schreiten’ (AChagŠSK), *ön-* ‘aus etwas herauswachsen’ (LCCG), *ön-* ‘büyümek, neşvü nüma bulmak, neticelenmek’ (AAH); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ăn-* ‘udavatʹsja, idti uspešno, polučatʹsja, laditʹsja, sp…ritʹsja, vezti, horošo uroditʹsja (*o hlebe*, *plodah*), bytʹ obilʹnym (*ob urožae*), bystro razmnožatʹsja, ploditʹsja, razvoditʹsja, vyživatʹ, sohranjatʹsja v živyh (*o detjah*), (*dial.*) nastraivatʹsja (*o muzikalʹnyh instrumentah*)’, *ăntar-* ‘nalaživatʹ, organizovyvatʹ, preuspevatʹ, nastraivatʹ (*muzikalnyj instrument*)’ (Chuv), ? *ăn-* (*ĭn-*) ‘udavatʹsja, horošo uroditʹsja’, *ĕn-* (*ŏn-*) ‘udavatʹsja, bytʹ uspešnym, nastraivatʹsja’ (ChuvA), ? *ăn-* ‘sikerülni; geraten, gelingen, gedeihen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ün-* ‘üsü, šïtïp čïgu; rasti, prorastatʹ’ (SibTat), *ön-* ‘rasti, vyrastatʹ, proizrastatʹ, (o sudebnom dele) bytʹ vyigrannym, (o dolgah) postupatʹ’ (Kirg), *ön-* ‘to increase, to gain weight, to rise, to succeed, to turn out well, to be forthcoming, to have success, to be succesful’ (Kaz), *ön-* ‘prinjatʹsja, rasploditʹsja, rasti, pribavljatʹsja, vyrastatʹ, proizrastatʹ’ (KazB), *ön-* ‘auswachsen, die gehörige Grösse erreichen, hinzufügen, hinzusetzen, gedeihen, von der Hand gehen (von Arbeiten), Vorteil haben’ (KazR), *ön-* ‘rasti, vyrastatʹ, proizrastatʹ, (*peren.*) procvetatʹ, imetʹ uspeh, postupatʹ (o nalogah)’ (Kklp), *on-* ‘procvetatʹ, preuspevatʹ, blagodenstvovatʹ, pobeždatʹ’ (KarH), *onar-* ‘procvetatʹ, preuspevatʹ, imetʹ uspeh, pobeždatʹ, vylečitʹ’ (KarT, KarH); ***SW*** *ön-* ‘roždatʹsja (o detjah), rasti, roditʹsja, proizrastatʹ, vozrastatʹ, pribavljatʹsja, uveličivatʹsja’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** *hin-*, *hü·n-* ‘besteigen (Pferd), aufsitzen, herauskommen’, *hīn-* ‘hinausführen’ (Kh), *hindär-* ‘besteigen lassen (Pferd)’ [< *hü·n-*

där-] (KhT); ***SE*** *un-* 'rasti, proizrastaťˊ, prorastaťˊ, vshoditˊ, uroditˊsja, sobiraťˊsja, vzyskivaťˊsja (o dolgah), (spec.) prinimaťˊsja, (spec.) solodeťˊ' (Uzb), *ün-* 'to come up, to grow up, to come up from under the earth' (TurkiJ), *ün-*: *gül ün-* 'vyrasti cvetam', *un-* 'vyhoditˊ, pokazyvaťˊsja' (TurkiL), *ün-* 'hervorkommen, aufsprossen' (TurkiTR), *ön-*, *ün-* 'rasti, vyrastaťˊ, vshoditˊ, proizrastaťˊ, prorastaťˊ, prorasti, (peren.) uroditˊsja' (MUyg), *un-*, *on-*, *ün-* 'vyhoditˊ, vyrastaťˊ, podnimaťˊsja', *ün-* 'vyhoditˊ, podnimaťˊsja, obnaruživaťˊ', *ün-* 'vyhoditˊ, podnimaťˊsja, rasti (o zeleni)' (YUyg), *un-*, *ün-* 'vyhoditˊ, vyrastaťˊ, pokazaťˊsja, podnimaťˊsja', *on-* 'podnimaťˊsja, voshoditˊ' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ün-* '(v razn. znač.) vyhoditˊ, uhoditˊ, idti, vyezžaťˊ, uezžaťˊ, ehaťˊ, vshoditˊ, podnimaťˊsja, vyrastaťˊ, vshoditˊ, vlezaťˊ, vzbiraťˊsja, izdavaťˊsja, vyhoditˊ, braťˊ načalo (napr. o reke) etc.', *öndür* 'velikij' (← Mo) (Tuv), *ün-* 'in die Höhe steigen' (TuvSR), *ün-* 'vyhoditˊ naružu, vshoditˊ, podnimaťˊsja (o svetilah), vlezaťˊ, vzbiraťˊsja (naverh), vyrastaťˊ, rasti (o rastenijah), rožd aťˊsja', služebnyj glagol, vyražajuščij načalo dejstvija (Tof); ***Y*** *ōn-* 'rasti, vyrastaťˊ, vozrastaťˊ (o rastenijah, volosah, pticah, perˊjah), proizrastaťˊ, prozjabaťˊ, zacvetaťˊ, vshoditˊ (o semeni), raspuskaťˊsja (o listˊjah), narodiťˊsja, uveličivaťˊsja (o serpě luny)' (Y), *ōn-* 'wachsen, sich entwickeln' (Dlg).

Mo *öndür* 'high, tall, height', *öndüyi-* 'to raise one's head, to raise oneself, rise slightly' (L).

E/T The supposed T etymon for the H word is the verb *ün-* 'to grow, rise' which was considered by Clauson (1972: 169) as a simplex. Clauson points out that "there is great inconsistency about the vowel, but *ün-* is probably the original pronunciation". The OT verb *ün-* 'to rise, spring up, set out' – as was already pointed out, e.g. by Doerfer–Tezcan (1980: 130, 132) and Erdal (1991: 624) – is a der with the dev verbal suff -(*X*)*n-* and goes back to a hitherto undocumented OT base **hō̄-*, which is, however, attested in Kh (see *hī̤-* 'hinausführen'). Besides some Kh dials, the original long vowel was also preserved in Tkm and Y. In some sources, it shows an open labial vowel in the stem (see some Kip lgs and Tkm), but these forms seem to be secondary. In the OT source written in the Brahmi script, we have *ün-* <uyuṃ->. Doerfer–Tezcan (1980: 132) thought that the secondary open quality of the vowel in some T lgs may have occurred under the influence of the synonymous T verb *ōr-* 'emporsteigen'. The trace of the initial **h-* in the PT verb can be detected in some OT documents as *y-* (see e.g. the early form with *y-* in the Toyok inscription (cf. Erdal 1991: 812–813)). One of the most common ders of the base *ün-* (< **hōn-*) is *ünüš* 'exit' (cf. Erdal 1991: 269); it comes up relatively often in the construction *ünüš yol* with the meaning 'the way out of *saṃsāra*'. Its earlier misreading as 'örüš' has already been mentioned by Clauson (1972: 191). Another frequently used der is the caus form *üntür-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 181; Erdal 1991: 812–813). It is documented in line 35 of RM-Ton: *bwlčwka taŋ ündẅrẅ tägdimiz* 'we reached the battlefield as dawn broke (lit.

making the dawn rise)', and in BuddhKat 32 (with Tib script) we find the conv form *yüntrüp*.

Under the entries *ăn-* 'udavat′sja' and 'uvenčat′sja uspehom' of the Chuv etymological dicts, Egorov and Fedotov confused the T words that belong here with OT *on-*, *oŋ-* 'to thrive, prosper' (see Clauson (1972: 168–169)). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 530–532) has mistakenly discussed the *ün-* data under the entry *ōn-*, considering that the vowel shows an early alternation. According to him, the T base may be related to Mo *öndey-*, *öndüy-* 'to raise one's head, to raise oneself, rise slightly' and Tu *ön-* 'pribyvat′, podnimat′sja'. In the entry PA **ő́ni* 'high', the same idea was proposed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1053). On the earlier etymological literature concerning the T verb, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 530–532). The caus of *ün-* is *ündür-*: *teŋri ōt ündürdi* 'God made the plants to grow' (AK) in EOT.

E/H The word is a hapax in the old H lg. It occurs in the OH *Funeral Sermon and Prayer*. The priest says that those present should pray that the deceased should awake on the Last Day among all of his (gods) saints and *ünüttei* placed at his right side. In the Lat original, there is "*sanctos et electos suos*" (on the details, see Benkő 1980: 312–313). OH *ünüttei* is a past perfect participle form (*ünütt*) with the poss suff (*ünütte*) and the pl marker *+i* (*ünüttei*). The word *ön-* is present in the dials of Transdanubia and denotes the action of the plant, as it rises, grows and becomes stronger.

The word, its form and its meaning have long been a topic of discussion. Hunfalvy (1866: 272) considered the H verb to be of FUgr origin, but his etymological attempt was based on the unrelated Finn word *onni* 'luck'. Earlier opinions were summarized by Benkő (1980: 312). He accepted the T etymology by Pais fr *ön-* 'aufsteigen, sich erheben, Vorteil haben' (1934a: 108), but remarked that a deeper investigation is needed fr the T side. According to Palló (1979: 472; 1982: 145–146), the T copied form could be the OT verb **ün-* with the meaning 'to grow, rise' and the secondary meaning *'to succeed' may have been developed in H. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 29–30) accepted the plausible T origin of the H verb, but he considered some uncertainties in its history. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1083) added that the early documented H word *önött* may go back to a verb **önik-* 'sich erheben, sich kräftigen', which is unattested in the H written sources, but is known in the H dials. According to him, H *önik-* may be an early T lw reconstructing the copied form as **ön-*. The semantic bridge which can connect the T and H forms may be, according to Benkő, *'to lift (auf ein höheres Niveau heben)'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *önik-* among the early T lws in H. Waldapfel (1935: 106–112) supposed a miswriting in the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer*, as did A. Molnár (2004: 449–450). Neither of their corrections is acceptable. The H word exists in the dials. The original meaning of *ünüttei*, '(among

those who are) raised, elected', was formed fr the verb *ün-* > *ön-* 'to rise', which is in harmony with the H dial data.

◆ Hunfalvy 1866: 272; Zolnai 1894: 550–552; Pais 1934a: 108; Waldapfel 1935: 106–112; Egorov 1964: 40–41; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 29–30; Clauson 1972: 168–169, 181, 191; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 530–532; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 1144; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 238; Palló 1979: 472–473; Benkő 1980: 312–313; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 130, 132; Palló 1982: 145–146; Erdal 1991: 269, 624, 812–813; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1083; Fedotov 1996/1: 84; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1053; A. Molnár 2004: 449–450.

ŐR[1] [ə̄r] 'to grind, mill' | 1211 ? PN *Euruh* [ə̄ur-üγ], 1237 ? PN *vre* [ə̄r-ē], 1670 *őrni* [ə̄r-ni], dial *őr* 'to grind, to mill' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 240) | *ə̄r-* < **evir-* ← WOT **ävir-* || **őröl** [ə̄röl] 'to grind, mill' | p1416/c1466 *ǫrlǫc* [ə̄rl-ə̄k], 1507 *eroly* [ēröl-i], 1562 *őrel* [ə̄rel] | *ə̄röl-* < *ə̄r-* {with suff -(*V*)*l*-} || **örmény**[2] *arch* 'milling product' | 1211 GN *Eurmenes* [ürmēneš], 1321 ? GN *Ermenus* [ermēneš], *dial* 'milling product, quern, handmill' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 258) | *örmēń* < *eu̯rmen* ← WOT **ävirmän* < **ävir-* {with suff -*mĀn*} | EOT *ävir-* 'to turn, to turn a wheel'.

OT *yandaqï toġ äbirẅ* 'skirting the spurs on the side (of the mountain)' (RMTon 26), *kögmän yïšïg äbirẅ käldimiz* 'we came skirting the Kögmen mountain forest' (RMTon 28), *ažunlarïġ bärü ävirdäči* 'die die Existenzen durchwandelnd kreisenden' (UUII 7:9), *änätkäk tïlïntïn tavġač tïlïnča ävirmiš* 'aus der indischen Sprache in die chinesische Sprache übersetzte [Buch]' (UUI 14:1-2), *ävir-* 'to turn' (UXuanzangIndex), *äwir-* 'drehen' (UTTVI 455), *äwür-* 'to turn away, turn over', *ol mänī yōldin ävürdi* 'he turned me away from the road', *ol ayāq ävürdi* 'he turned over the bowl (or other)' (AK), *evür-*: *evrer yüzin* 'he turns his face away' (AQB), *äwril-* 'sich umwenden' (BF 9); **MT** *ewir-* 'evirmek, çevirmek' (UY), *evür-* 'çevirmek, döndürmek' (AHMA), *äwür-* 'obracać, odwracać, zwracać (w kierunku)' (AHŠ), *ävür-* 'otvoračivatʹ, otvraščatʹ' (AHŠF), *äwür-* 'to turn, turn away/round, to make, to have power, be able' (AKor), *ewür-* <'YWR> 'otvoračivatʹsja' (AM), *ewür-* 'çevirmek, değiştirmek' (ANeh), *ävür-* 'otvoračivatʹ, otvraščatʹ' (ANehF), *äwür-*, *öwür-* 'to turn away, to repeat, etc.' (ARbg), *äwür-* 'perevoračivatʹ, otvoračivatʹ, povoračivatʹ' (ATef), *ewir-* 'evirmek, çevirmek' (AYC), *ewür-* 'retourner une chose, la renverser' (AChag), *ivür-* 'döndürmek' (AChagAbA), *ivir-* 'fordít [to turn away (tr)]' (AChagAbV), *ewir-* 'povoračivatʹ, vraščatʹ' (AChagB), *evür-*, *övür-* 'vertetʹ vokrug, kružitʹ' (AChagBud), *evür-* 'to turn away (tr)' (AChagG), *evür-* 'otvoračivatʹsja, otrekatʹsja' (AChagLN), *ewür-* 'povoračivatʹ, vertetʹ' (AChagMA), *ävir-* 'umdrehen, wenden' (AChagR), *ėwür-* 'to turn (away)' (AChagSC), *evür-* 'čevirmek, devirmek' (AChagŠS), *ivir-* 'drehen, wenden' (AChagŠSK), *iwir-* 'drehen, wenden, umwenden' (AChagZ), *evir-* 'çevirmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *avăr-* I 'rabotatʹ, dejstvovatʹ (*o melʹnice*), (*peren.*) molotʹ, nesti čepuhu, pustoslovitʹ', *avăr-* II 'kružitʹsja (o vode v omute)', *avăr* 'omut, pučina, vodovorot' (Chuv), *avăr-*, *ar-* 'molotʹ (t.e. vertetʹsja, o melʹnice), molotʹsja (o hlebe), ponimatʹ, smekatʹ' (ChuvA), *avăr-* 'mahlen' (ChuvP);

NW *öyer-* ‘klubit′, (razg.) skučivat′, skučit′, sobirat′ (v odnu kuču), (peren.) sil′no branit′, rugat′’ (Tat), *öyörmä* ‘forgószél; Wirbelwind’ (TatB), *öyör-* ‘aufwirbeln (vom Winde)’ (TatKR), ? *öyör-* ‘sgonjat′ v kuču (skotinu), (peren.) sobirat′ v odnu kuču, skučivat′, vihrit′, vzvihrivat′’, *eyer-* ‘gresti, sobirat′ v kuču seno, (dial.) sgonjat′ v kuču (skotinu)’, *äüer-* ‘prevraščat′, preobrazovyvat′ v kogo, vo čto, sklonjat′ k čemu, raspolagat′’ (Bashk), *öyör-*, *eüer-* ‘äyländĕrü; vraščat′’ (SibTat), *üyür-*, *üyr-* ‘vraščat′ (napr. rešeto s zernom pri prosevanii), (o žerebce) zavoračivat′, sgonjat′ v kuču kosjak’ (Kirg), *üyĭr-* ‘to turn’ (Kaz), *üyĭr-* ‘povesti za soboj’ (KazB), *üyür-* ‘drehen’ (KazR), *üyir-* ‘vraščat′, kružit′’ (Kklp), ? *iyir-* ‘prjast′, sučit′, sgonjat′ v odno mesto (skot)’, ? *üyir-* ‘vertet′, kružit′, vraščat′, sgonjat′ v kuču (napr. ovec)’ (Nog), *iir-* ‘prjast′’ (KarT), *iyir-* ‘prjast′’ (KarH), *üyür-* ‘krutit′, vertet′’ (Kum); ***SW*** *övür-* ‘povoračivat′, zavoračivat′ (nazad), napravljat′, prevraščat′, preobrazovyvat′, perevoračivat′ povertyvat′’, *övre* ‘kružnyj’ (Tkm), *evir-* (*-ir*) ‘(neol.) to change, to alter, (arch) to turn’ (Tt), *ävir-* ‘umdrehen, wenden’ (TtR), *evir-* ‘altını üstüne getirmek’ (TtD); ***Kh*** *hävür-* ‘Schneidereiausdruck: umsäumen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *öwür-* ‘povoračivat′ (UzbD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 498), *öyrü-* ‘to turn’, *örü-*, *ȫrü-*, *örɛ-*, *öyɛ-* ‘to turn, to turn over, to turn upside down, to take out of the way’ (TurkiJ), ? *uwur-* ‘to turn over, to reverse’ (TurkiSh), *örü-* ‘perevoračivat′, perevertyvat′, vyvoračivat′, vyvertyvat′, perelicovyvat′ (odeždu), oprokidyvat′, svalivat′, razrušat′, perevodit′ (s odnogo jazyka na drugoj)’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *ėbir-* ‘obhodit′ krugom, okružat′’ (Alt), *äbir-* ‘drehen, umdrehen, umwenden’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *ėbir-* ‘voročat′, obraščat′, vertet′’, *ėvir-* ‘zavernut′, zakrutit′ (polu)’ (AltL), ? *iyir-* ‘prjast′’ (AltQK), *ėbir-* ‘obhodit′, ob″ehat′ krugom, vokrug, povertet′ krugom’ (AltTK), *ibĭr-* ‘obhodit′ krugom, vokrug *čego-l.*, ob″ezžat′, okružat′ *kogo-čto-l.*, vraščat′ *čto-l.*, vertet′ *kogo-čto-l.*, vyvoračivat′, vyvertyvat′ *čto-l.* naiznanku’ (Khak), *ebir-* ‘drehen, umdrehen, umwenden’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *äbir-* ‘drehen, umdrehen, umwenden’ (KhakShR), *ēr-* ‘skručivat′, vit′, zavinčivat′, vvinčivat′’ (Tuv), *ā̄r-* ‘sich drehen’ (TuvSR), ? *ēr-* ‘krutit′, vraščat′, vertet′, vit′, svivat′’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for the H word is documented as of the OT period as *ävir-* (< **äbir-*) with the basic meaning ‘to turn (something *Acc.*)’. As stated by Clauson (1972: 14), the basic meaning occurs “with various special applications like ‘to turn (a wheel *Acc.*), to overturn (a cup *Acc.*), to turn (the face, *Acc.*, towards someone, *Dat.*, or away from someone, *Abl.*)’, and, in the early period, ‘to translate (something, *Acc.*, from one language, *Abl.*, into another)’”. Clauson rightly noted that the OT verb *ävir-* can sometimes show forms in the contemporary T lgs which “are hard to distinguish from the modern forms of *ägir-* … in Arabic script easily confused with *ȫr-* which has a similar meaning.” On the latter OT verbs, see Clauson (1972: 113, *ägir-* ‘to surround, encircle (something *Acc.*), to twist, spin (something *Acc.*)’ and 195, *ȫr-* ‘to plait’). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 498–500) discussed the forms related to OT *ävir-* < **äbir-*

under the entry *övür-*. (Cf. his comments on *ävir-* also in the entry *ägir-*, 227–231). Despite Clauson, Ligeti (1986: 107–108) thought that the T verbs *äbir-* and *ägir-* may have the same origin, however he accepted Clauson's linking the T verb form *ägir-* to *äŋir-*. Ligeti supposed that T *äbir-*, *ägir-* and *äŋir-* are word forms of an earlier verbal base and that they are also related to the Mo verb *egere-* 'to rotate, whirl, turn, revolve, to spin, twist, to surround, stand around, to gather in a pile, to entangle, mix up, confuse, to ride around a herd in order to keep together, the frequent recurrence (of illness)' (L), which shows a very extended semantic field.

Sevortjan's etymological proposal that the base of T **äbir- ~ ävir-* could be **äb* 'jurta' and the original meaning of the verb could be 'to go around the tent' is semantically unacceptable. His other idea that T **äbir- ~ ävir-* presents a dev der may be relevant, but the base is unknown. Fr a morphological point of view, Sevortjan's second etymological proposal may be supported by some OT verbal forms ending in *-(I)r-* (see e.g. *ägir- ~ äŋir-* 'to surround, encircle or besiege, spin or twirl thread', *kadïr-* 'to twist or turn back', **tägir-* 'to surround' in Erdal (1991: 536–537)). In these verbs, the suff *-(I)r-* could have had the same function, however these ders are obscure. The assumption of a PT verbal base **äbV-* can, however, serve as a good working hypothesis, and its relationship to *äg-* 'to bend' has to be investigated.

The occurrences of OT *ävir-* and its ders were discussed in Erdal's word formation (1991) in several passages. However, Erdal took *ävir-* to be a simplex. His opinion is certainly acceptable on the level of OT morphology. The PT form **äbir-* 'to turn' was compared by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 600–601) with PMo **eb-* 'to bend, fold, knee, to roll', PTu **oboka* 'hook' under the entry PA **i̯ăpV* 'to bend, turn, hook'. This is an unacceptable comparison. LMo has *ebke-* 'to fold, to coil or fold into loops (as with a string or rope)' and its supposed base **eb-* cannot be compared with Tu *obogo* 'a kind of hook' and T *ebir-*.

Two verbs, **ägir-* and **äwir-*, converged in WOT (cf. Chuv *avăr-*).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 168) and Gombocz (1912b: 112) considered the word to be of T origin. Ligeti (1933a: 279) called attention to the fact that verbs like *äbir-* and *ägir-* converged in some T lgs. According to Bárczi (1941: 229), the base of H *őröl-* is *őr-*[1], which is of T origin. Pais (1964: 480) connected the H words *őr*(*öl*)-, **örvény** 'whirlpool, eddy' with T **äwir-*. According to Palló (1964: 58), in the Chuv verb *avăr-* 'to flour, grind' one can see two independent T words which became homophonous. One of them was OT *äbir-* (> H *őr*(*öl*)-) with the basic meaning 'versari, moli' and the other one was OT *ägir-* (< *äg-* 'biegen') with the primary meaning 'torquere'. The H verb *őröl-* is, according to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 36), a der fr *őr-*[1], which is a verbal base of OT origin. Palló (1982: 149–150) analysed the semantic distribution between **ägir-* and **äwir-*. Ligeti (1986: 63) thought that the T verb **äbir-* may also have a "variant" *ägir-* and that this unusual phenomenon (107–108) may be the result of a

"vertical shift". According to Ligeti (1986: 108, 289), the base of the H verb *őröl-* could have been copied fr an OChuv form of T **äbir-*, to which the H suff *-(V)l-* was added. The assumption that the immediate source of the copied H form was a lg of the Chuv type can be supported by the semantics. Among the T lgs, only Chuv has this verb with the meaning 'to flour, grind'. According to Ligeti, in determining the origin of the H word, one must also pay attention to the T word *ägir-* since it has nominal ders with the meaning 'mill'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1084), perhaps the H verb *őriz-* 'to guard' and the noun *őr*[2] 'guard' may pertain to the H verb *őr-*[1] if the noun is a secondary der fr *őriz-*, itself a H der fr the verb *őr-*[1]. He supposes a sem change 'sich drehen' > 'umhergehen' > 'bewachen'. In this case *őr*[2] 'guard' and *őriz-* 'to guard' were H inner ders. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1084) also deals with the dial word *őr* 'a fishing term, word for a small wall to drive fish into the fishing net, a string to signal the presence of fish, etc.' According to Benkő, this fishing term most probably does not pertain here. The fishing term is used as 'guard' and pertains to *őr*[2] 'guard'. The H suff *-(V)l-* in *őröl-* has a freq function. H *örmény*[2] 'milling product, quern, handmill' is a H der.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 168; Gombocz 1912b: 112; Ligeti 1933a: 279; Bárczi 1941: 229; Bárczi 1951: 168; Egorov 1964: 20; Pais 1964: 480; Palló 1964: 58; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 36; Clauson 1972: 14, 113, 195, 227–231; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 227–231, 498–500; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 240, 258; Palló 1982: 149–150; Ligeti 1986: 63, 107–108, 184, 195, 287, 289, 320, 530; Erdal 1991: 535–537; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1084; Fedotov 1996/1: 26–27; Tenišev 2001: 61; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 600–601.

ŐRÉM 'whirlpool, eddy' see **örvény**.

ÖRMÉNY[1] [örmēń] 'Armenian' | 1289 GN *ermen* [ermēn], 1342 PN *Ermen* [ermen], c1395 *ermÿn* [ermīn], c1560 *őrmeenj orzaagh* [örmēń orsāg], dial *ermén*, *jermén*, *örmény* (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 258) | *örmēń* < **ermeni* ← WOT **ärmäni* | T *ärmäni* ← Pe.

OT –; **MT** *ermeni* 'Armenier' (AChagZ), *ermeni* 'Arménien, arménien' (AmTr), *ermeni* 'armjanin, armjanski' (AmD), *ermeni*, *ermen* 'Armenian' (AmCh), *ermeni* 'arménien', *Ermenilik* 'l'Arménie, les Arméniens' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ėrmen* '(*razg.*) armjanin, armjanskij' (Chuv), *ermen* 'armjanin' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *ärmän* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Tat), *ärmän* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Bashk), *armyan* 'Armenian' (Kaz), *armyan* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Kklp), *ėrmeli*, *armjan* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Nog), *ärmänī* 'der Armenier, armenisch' (CrTatR), *ėrmėni* 'armjanin' (KarSh), *ėrmeni* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Kum), *ermeli* 'örmény; armenisch' (KumN), *ėrmen* 'armjanskij', *ėrmenli* 'armjanin' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ėrmeni* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Tkm), *ermäni* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Az), *Ermeni* 'Armenian' (Tt), *ärmäni* 'der Armenier, armenisch' (TtR), *ermeni*, *ermen* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *arman*, *armani* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (Uzb), *ärmän* 'armjanin, armjanskij' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word is of Pe origin (see Tietze 2002: 736), the Pe word is Ar in origin and the Ar word is of Gr der. Some of the T items are originally Rus (Kaz, Kklp), Nog and KumN *ermeli* are fr *ermenli*. The word was copied many times.

E/H Melich (1909: 301) considered the H ethnonym *örmény*[1] to be of T origin, and thought that its copied form could be **irmeni*. According to Németh (1921: 24), however, the T copied form could only be **ermeni* because in the examples where one can see the *e-* > *i-* vowel change in the first syllable, the vowel in the second syllable is usually presented as *i*. Although Hungarians copied this ethnonym via T mediation, it is related to NPe *ermenī*, which cannot be older than the 10th c. in T. Thus, according to Németh, this ethnonym belongs to the "middle layer" of the T borrowings in the H lg. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 34–35) considered the H word *örmény*[1] an international word which could have been copied fr an Eastern-European – very probably fr a T – lg. Ligeti (1986: 267) listed this form among the H ethnonyms of T origin. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1086) noted that the internal H labialisation could have appeared under the influence of the H word **örmény**[2] (see **őr**[1]). According to Mándoky (1993: 96), the H ethnonym *örmény*[1] may be an earlier T borrowing, thus it cannot belong to the "middle layer".

◆ Melich 1909: 301; Németh 1921: 24; Bárczi 1941: 229; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 34–35; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 258; Ligeti 1986: 90, 267; Mándoky 1993: 96; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1086; Tietze 2002: 736.

ÖRMÉNY[2] 'milling product' see **őr**[1].

ÖRMÉNY[3] 'whirpool, eddy' see **örvény**.

ÖRÖK [örök] 'eternal' | 1086 ? PN *erecu* [erekü], [1131–1141]/12th c. PN ? *vruc* [ürük], late 13th c./1310–1320 *vrukfege* [ürük-šēge], p1372/c1448 *erewk* [ereük] | *örök* < **ürük* ← WOT **ürük* | EOT *ürük* 'everlasting' < *ür* 'a long time, a period extending far into the past'.

OT *ür* 'a long time, a period extending far into the past': *ürkä üzüksüz ämgätir biz* '(if) for a long time continuously we cause pain' (UChuas. 315, translated by Clauson 1972: 193), *ürlüg* 'everlasting': *ürlüg* [r: *ürlük*] *ėnč nïrvan balïklïg* 'dwelling in the city of everlasting peaceful nirvāṇa' (USuv 680,18, Clauson 1972: 229), *ürkä* 'stets' (MMIII 4,9:6), *ürük uzatï* 'fortdauernd' (UUII 72:(35)1), *ür* 'a long period' (UXuanzangIndex), *ür* 'lange' (UTTI 10), *ürük* 'lange, ewig', *ürükin ... mängilign* 'stets und immer' (UTTIII 110), *ürlüg* 'ständig', *ürlüglüg* 'beständig' (UTTVI 157), *ür* 'lange': *ürlüklüg* (uyu rlyu klyu g) 'beständig' (BF 6); **MT** *ürkäč* 'longtemps, depuis longtemps' (UHyS), ? *ürkä-* (? -g-) 'prebyvatʹ, ostavatʹsja, dlitʹsja', ? *ürkät-* (? -g-) 'prodolžatʹ, prodlevatʹ' (ATef); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** ? *urʹ* [ü-] 'svobodnyj, volʹnyj' (CrTat); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *or* 'kogda-to, v drevnosti, prežde' (YUyg), *or* 'v drevnosti, kogda-to' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ür*: *ürde* 'davno' (Alt), *ür, ür̄* 'dolgo' (AltQK), *ür*

'dolgo, prodolžiteĺno' (Khak), *ür*, *ūr* 'lange, vor langer Zeit' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *ür*, *ūr* 'lange, vor langer Zeit' (ChulR), *ür* 'dolgij, dolgo', *ürde* 'davno' (Tuv), *ür* '(narečie) dolgo', *ürge* '(narečie) nadolgo', *ürdē* 'starinnyj, drevnij' (Tof); ***Y*** *örū*, *ürū* 'vsegda, vsjakij raz, postojanno, bezprestanno, bezpreryvno, nepreryvno', *ör* 'dolgij, prodolžiteĺnyj (o vremeni), prodolžiteĺnost′ vremeni, dolgo, dolgovremenno, dolgoe vremja, medlenno, davno' (Y), *ör* 'lange' (Dlg), *ör* 'lange' (DlgS).

Mo *egüri* 'a long time, long ago, old, ancient' (L).

E/T The plausible T etymon for the H word was a den noun *ürük*. Its base is *ür* 'long (time)', to which was added the den nominal suff *+Vk*. The function of this suff is not clear, but it is present in some Chuv data (see e.g. *uy+ăχ* 'moon', *pil+ĕk* 'five').

In the entry *īr* 'early, morning', Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 369) listed some lexemes that belong to *ür*, *ūr*, erroneously thinking that they may be phonetic variants of *īr*. His proposal that the T noun *ür*, *ūr* may be linked to the verb *uza-* 'to be, or become, long' is unacceptable. Tenišev (2001: 84) compared the T word with Mo and Tu lexemes, but they do not seem to be interrelated. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1503–1504) have reconstructed a PT nominal base **ür ~ *ör* with the meaning 'long (of time)'. Mo *oroy* 'late' cannot be related to the T form.

E/H Munkácsi (1890: 146) considered the H word as an equivalent of the Zyr and Osty words *ar* 'Jahr'. Although Vámbéry (1914: 195) regarded the H word *örök* to be of T origin, his etymological explanation was built on words which partly cannot be related to the H word. Otherwise, Vámbéry erroneously supposed a connection between the T etymons for the H words *örök* and *öreg*. Ligeti (1935a: 211) pointed out that the T copied form must have had a final *-k*. Bárczi (1941: 229) considered the H word to be of presumably T origin, however he pointed out that there are serious difficulties with the etymology. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 35–36) thought that the T etymon for the H word could be an OT form **ürük*, which was isolated within Turcia. According to Ligeti (1986: 271), the H word *örök* can be listed among the T lws in H which denote a religious term. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1086), the H word could have been copied fr a T form **ürük* 'ständig, lange dauernd' (< **ürgük* [< **ür-* 'lange Vergangenheit']). H *örök* was borrowed into Slvk and Rom. In fact, H *örök* is a copy of T *ürük* 'everlasting', a den noun fr **ür* 'a long time'.

◆ Munkácsi 1890: 146; Vámbéry 1914: 195; Németh 1921–1925a: 75; Ligeti 1935a: 211; Bárczi 1941: 229; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 296; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 35–36; Clauson 1972: 193, 229; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 369; Ligeti 1986: 271; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1086; Tenišev 2001: 84; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1503–1504.

ŐRÖL 'to grind, mill' see **őr**[1].

ÖRÜL [örül] 'to rejoice, to be glad' | p1372/c1448 *erewlyetek* [erül-yetek], *ewreluala* [örel-vala], *ewrewle* [örül-e], a1495 *meg ǫrůl* [meg-örül] | *örül-* < **ör-* {with suff *-(V)l-*} < *őr-* < **öɣir-* ← WOT **öɣir-* || **öröm** [öröm] 'joy, happiness' | 1138/1329 PN

vrumedí [ürüm-edi], mid-13th c./c1300 *urumẽtuul* [öröm-emtūl] | *öröm* < **ör-* {with suff *-Vm*} | EOT *ögir-* 'to be joyful, to rejoice'.

OT *ögürüp sävinip* [when I ascended the throne, the Türkü people who thought they were on the point of death,] 'rejoiced and were glad' [and their downcast eyes looked upwards] (RMBilg E 2), *ögir-* 'to rejoice, be joyful' (RTIrk), *ögrünč* 'Freude' (MManIII Nr. 7:5), *ögirm*(*ä*)*k kim ögirdi s*(*ä*)*vinti* 'die Freuden, mit denen sie sich freuten' (MTTII A:60), *ögrünč* 'Freude' (MTTII A:54), *ögrünč* 'Freude', *ögrünčülüg* 'freudenvoll' (UUI 58), *ögrünči* 'ihre Freude' (UTTI 136), *ögir-* 'to be joyful', *ögrün-* 'to be pleased', *ögrünč* 'joy' (UXuanzangIndex), *ögrönč* (ögröŋc – oya gryo ŋc) 'Freude' (BA 26, BG 49), *ögir-* 'to lull': *avinč birle ögrir bu dünya sini* 'this world lulls you with pleasures' (AQB); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *örin-* 'radovatʹsja, veselitʹsja, likovatʹ', *örinis* 'radostʹ, veselʹe, likovanie' (Khak), *ürin-* 'radovatʹsja, veselitʹsja' (KhakS), *ürün-* 'sich freuen, fröhlich sein' (KhakQR, KhakQbR, KhakSR), *ügrünüš* 'Freude' (KhakShR), *ōrü-* 'radovatʹsja' (Tuv), *ōr-* 'radovatʹsja, likovatʹ, bytʹ dovolʹnym', *ōrdir-*, *ōrt-* 'radovatʹ' (Tof); ***Y*** *üör-* 'radovatʹsja (obradovatʹsja) čemu, utešatʹsja' (Y), *üör-* 'radovatʹsja' (YS), *üör-* 'sich freuen', *üörū* 'Freude' (Dlg), *üör-*: *kïhïŋŋa üör-* 'sich über den Winter freuen', *üörä* 'Freude' (DlgS).

E/T Clauson (1972: 113–114) noted that the initial labial vowel *ö-* is documented in the T data in Brahmi script. He also rightly pointed out that the likeliest reading of the damaged passage in RMBilg E 2 is *ögürüp*, although in some earlier editions it was interpreted as *ägirip* (on the details, see Berta (2004c: 138)). The reading with first-syllabic *ö-* can be considered certain because T *ögir-*, *ögür-* very often forms a biverb construction with *sävin-*. Erdal (1991: 564, 613) explained the passage similarly but not identically. According to him, the first-syllabic grapheme is <Ẅ> and the second-syllabic <I> was forgotten by the scribe. The surface of the rock was, however, damaged at the first-syllable grapheme and the defective writing in the second syllable indicates that it was the same vowel as in the first [ẅ].

Despite Clauson's remark, *ögir-* is not only documented in Tuv. On its ders, see Clauson (1972: 113, 115). Clauson (1972: 114) also discussed a refl der *ögrün-*, which can be documented in the Khak dials as *ürün-* 'sich freuen, fröhlich sein' (KhakQR, KhakQbR, KhakSR) (cf. also *örin-* (Khak)). The item *ögiründä*[*či*] *ärklig* 'the joyful independent' (UU II 63,5) cited by Clauson – as already pointed out by Erdal (1991: 276, n. 303) – seems, however, a ghost phrase. One can find *ögirt-* in this source. According to Erdal (1991: 276, 286), the word *ögrünč* 'joy' "may also have been back-formed from *ögrünčlüg*, a shortened variant of *ögrünčülüg*, and all this under parallelism with *sävinč*(*lig*)".

The T verb *ögir-* seems to be a der. Erdal (1991: 505) listed it among the intr den verbal bases in +(*A*)*r-*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak's (2003: 1164–1165) suggestion that

T *ögir-* ‘to rejoice’ is a der of *ög-* ‘to praise’ and that they may be connected with LMo **ögegsi-* ‘to develop a taste or liking for, to be importunate’ , Khal *ōgši-*, Bur *ōgšō-* ‘to encourage’ and all may go back to a common PA root **pʻŏgè* is not acceptable. No *h-* in T or/and Mo, *pʻ-* is reconstructed with reference to a Jpn verb meaning ‘to be proud’. The semantic links are also very weak.

E/H On the basis of Y *üör-* ‘to rejoice’, *üörű̄* ‘joy’ and Chag *irim* ‘joy, etc.’, Vámbéry (1870: 168) believed H *örül-* ‘to rejoice, to be glad’ and *öröm* ‘joy’ to be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 9–10) did not accept the T der of the H word. Bárczi (1941: 229) regarded the H word to be of unknown origin. Eren (1942: 289) observed that the H verb *örül-* has corresponding forms in the Khak dials and in Chul. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 516) felt the source of the H verb to be uncertain. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 36–37) felt that H *öröm*, *örül-*, *örvend-*, etc. are members of a word-family with a basic verb **ör-*, which is of debated origin. According to him, the base of the word-family may be a FUgr inheritance. He did not rule out, however, that it may be identical with the base of H **őröl**, **őrül**, **örvény**. Benkő thought that the H verbs *örül-* ‘to rejoice’ and *őrül-* ‘to become mad’ could be the results of a split. The H word *öröm* may show a dev nominal suff *-Vm*. According to Palló (1982: 151–152), the H verb *örül-* ‘to rejoice, to be glad’ may have been a copied form fr **ögür-*, which is a secondary form of *ögir-* ‘to be joyful, to rejoice’. Ligeti (1986: 107) saw the H verb *örül-* as a member of the word-family **őröl**, **örvény**, **örmény**[2], **őrém**, **őrül**. On his opinion, see also s.v. **őrém**, **őröl**. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1086) deemed the H words *örül-* and *öröm* to be of uncertain origin. He does not exclude the possibility that they may be interrelated with **őr**[1], **őröl** and **őrül**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 168; Gombocz 1912b: 9–10; Bárczi 1941: 229; Eren 1942: 289; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 36–37; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 516; Clauson 1972: 113–115; Palló 1982: 151–152; Ligeti 1986: 107, 253; Erdal 1991: 276, 286, 505, 564, 613; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1086; Róna-Tas 1994: 105; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1164–1165; Berta 2004: 138.

ŐRÜL, **megőrül** [ō̆rül, megō̆rül] ‘to become mad’ | 1598 *őrjűlés* [ō̆ryül-ēš], 1760 *örültséget* [örül-tšēget] | *ō̆rül-* < **eü̯ril-* < **evril-* ← WOT **ävril-* | EOT *ävril-* ‘to revolve’ < *ävir-* ‘to turn’ {with suff *-(X)l-*} | See **őr**[1], **őröl**.

OT *sansarnïŋ bärü ävrilmäkin ukup* ‘understanding the constant revolution of *samsāra*’ (i.e. the alternations of birth, death, rebirth etc.) (UU II 11,10-11, translated by Clauson), *ävril-* ‘to revolve’ (UXuanzangIndex), *äwrül-*: *är äwrüldi* ‘the man turned away from his course’. The same for anyone who turns away from his course (AK), *ävrül-* ‘to revolve’ (AQB), *äwril-* ‘sich umwenden’ (äwrilür – aya wri lyu r) (BF 9); **MT** *evrül-* ‘çevrilmek, dönmek’ (AHMA), *äwrül-* ‘odwracać się, być skierowanym’ (AHŠ), *ävrül-* ‘pokryvatʹsja, zahvatyvatʹ’, *äwrül-* ‘to turn about’ (AKor), *ewrül-* ‘dönmek, dönüşmek’ (ANeh), *ävrül-* ‘pokryvatʹsja, zahvatyvatʹ’ (ANehF), *äwrül-*, *öwrül-* ‘to turn, turn away, turn around’ (ARbg), *äwrül-* ‘oboračivatʹsja, povertyvatʹsja’

(ATef), *ivrül-* 'dönmek' (AChagAbA), *ivrül-* 'fordul [to turn]' (AChagAbV), *evril-* 'obraščať, vernuť' (AChagBud), *evrül-* 'vraščať sja' (AChagLN), *ewürül-* 'povernuť sja' (AChagMA), *ävril-* 'vertеť sja' (AChagR), *ėwrül-* 'to revolve' (AChagSC), *evrül-* 'bir şeyin etrafında gezindirilmek, çevrilmek' (AChagŠS), *ivril-* 'sich drehen', *iviril-* 'bir şeyin etrafinda gezindirilmek, çevrilmek' (AChagŠSK), *iwrül-* 'gedreht, gewandt werden, sich drehen' (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *öyerel-* 'kružiť sja, zakružiť sja, klubiť sja (pri vetre), vihriť sja, zavihriť sja' (Tat), *öyöröl-* 'sich drängen, sich zusammendrängen' (TatKR), *ürel-* 'äylänü; vertеť sja, vraščať sja' (TatD1), *öyöröl-* 'vihriť sja, vzvihriť sja' (Bashk), *öröl-* 'megzavarodni, összezavarodni' (BashkP), *eüer-* 'ėrläü; prjasť', *ir-* 'ėrläü; prjasť', *öyör-* 'äyländerü; vraščať' (SibTat), *ūrül-* 'sich im Wirbel herumdrehen (vom Wasser)' (SibTatBR), *üyrül-* vozvr.-strad. ot *üyür-*, *üyr-* 'vraščať (napr. rešeto s zernom pri proseivanii)' (Kirg), *üyĭrĭl-* 'to whirl around (intr.), to revolve' (Kaz), *üyĭrĭl-* 'sgruppirovať sja, sobraťsja v kuču' (KazB), *iril-* 'sich in einem Haufen versammeln' (KazR), *üyiril-* 'vraščať sja, kružiť sja' (Kklp), *üyiril-* 'vertеť sja, kružiť sja, vraščať sja' (Nog), *üyür-* 'krutiť, vertеť' (Kum), *üyrül-* 'keringeni, felkavarodni; kreiseln, sich drehen, sich ausführen' (KumN), *iyiril-* srad. k *iyir-* (*iyir-* 'prjasť čto; peren. svirepstvovať, pronizyvať') (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *övrül-* 'povoračivať(sja), vozvraščať sja, byť povernutym, byť napravlennym, napravljať sja, byť prevraščennym, preobrazovannym, prevraščať sja, preobrazovyvať sja, byť perevernutym, perevertyvať sja, perevoračivať sja, obstupať, okružať' (Tkm), *äyiril-* 'prjasť sja' (Az), *evril-* 'to be turned' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *evrül-* 'to turn round', *örül-* 'to be turned, to raise', *ɛvrül-*, *örülɛ-* 'to be turned, to raise' (TurkiJ), *uwurul-* 'to be turned, reversed, upset' (TurkiSh), *öyül-* 'vertеť sja, kružiť sja' (< *äviril-*, Malov 1956: 152) (TurkiL); ***NE*** *ėbiril-* 'kružiť sja, vertеť sja, byť okružennym, obojdennym' (Alt), *äbirĭl-* 'sich drehen, um etwas herumgehen, um etwas gelegen sein' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *ėbiril-* 'vertеť sja, obhoditť, okružať' (AltL), *ibĭrĭl-* vozvr.-strad. ot *ibĭr-* 'kružiť sja, vertеť sja, byť okružennym, obojdennym' (Khak), *ebĭrĭl-* 'sich drehen, um etwas herumgehen, um etwas gelegen sein' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *äbirĭl-* 'sich drehen, um etwas herumgehen, um etwas gelegen sein' (KhakShR), *ēril-* 'obvivať sja, gnuť sja; okolačivať sja, vertеť sja (okolo kogo-čego-l.), privykať, priučať sja' (Tuv), *ēril-* 'krutiť sja, vertеť sja, vraščať sja' (Tof); ***Y*** *īr-* 'zamutyvať sja, zacepljať sja za čto (Dat.), vertеť sja, kružiť sja (o golove), besiť sja, besnovať sja, neistovstvovať, sumasbrodstvovať, shoditť s uma' (Y), *īr-* 'wahnsinnig werden' (Dlg).

E/T There are two possible etymologies for H *őrül-* 'to become mad': (1) The T etymon could be identical with the T base *ävir-* 'to turn (something acc)' with the H suff *-(V)l-*, on which see **őr**[1]; (2) It is possible that the T etymon was *ävril-*, the pass form of T *ävir-*, usually 'to revolve', sometimes 'to turn (Intrans.) away from (something Abl.)', which is well attested as of the OT period, see Clauson (1972: 14–

15) and Erdal (1991: 659). The latter is more plausible. In *őröl-* 'to grind' the *-l-* is a H suff, in *őrül-* 'to be mad' it is a suff fr T.

E/H Vámbéry (1914: 195) and later Bárczi (1941: 229) considered *őrül-* to be of T origin. Juhász (1948: 137) thought that H *őrül-* could be a member of the word-family of H **őr**[1] 'to flour, grind'. According to Pais (1962: 46), the H words *őrül-* 'to be mad', *őr*(*öl-*) 'to flour, grind' and *ör*(*v*)*ény* 'whirlpool' may be related to T *äwür-* 'to rotate'. He thought that the T copied form for *őrül-* could have been the T refl form **äw*[*v*]*rül-* ~ **äw*[*v*]*ril-*, which may have the primary meaning 'to circulate, move around' in H. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 38) regarded the H verb *őrül-* to be a member of a word-family of OT origin. The H verb may go directly back to OT *ävril-* 'to turn, return', etc. According to Benkő, the basic word of this T word-family is also known fr other H loaned lexemes. Palló (1982: 153–154) considered that the T source of H *őrül-* could be the OT verb **ägir-* 'to revolve around its own axle'. On Palló (1964 and 1982), see also **őr**[1], **őröl**. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1087) regarded H *őrül-* to come fr an early T lw (← **äbril-*) in H, but he thought that the suff *-*(*V*)*l-* could perhaps have been added to the base word in H. The other members of the H word-family (*őrjöngő, őrjít-*) resulted from backformation, /y/is late and secondary.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 195; Bárczi 1941: 229; Juhász 1948: 137; Malov 1956: 152; Pais 1962: 46; Pais 1964: 480; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 38; Clauson 1972: 14–15; Palló 1982: 153–154; Ligeti 1986: 107, 253; Erdal 1991: 659; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1087; Fedotov 1996/1: 26–27; Kiss 2000: 235–236.

ÖRVÉNY [örvēń] 'whirlpool, eddy' | 1391 GN *ewrwynys* [eürvīn-eš], *vruen fíu* [örvēn fī̃], 1508 *orveń* [örvēń] | *örvēń* < **ör-* {with suff *-vĀń*} < **ő̄r-* < **eür-* < **ewir-* < *eγir* ← WOT **äγir-* || **őrém** *arch* 'whirlpool, eddy' | 1095 *eurim* [eürim], c1067/1267 GN *nogewrem* [naď-eürēm], †1194 GN (*e*)*uren* [eürēn], 1211 GN *euren* [eürēn], 1222 GN *eurem* [eürēm], 1239 *Eurem* [eurem], 1269 GN *eurim* [eürīm], c1395 *herem* [herēm] | *ő̄rēm* < **eürem* < **eγrim* ← WOT **äg*(*i*)*rim* < **ägir-* {with suff *-*(*X*)*m*} | EOT *ägir-* 'to twist', *ägrim* 'whirlpool, a place where water collects' || **örmény**[3] *arch* 'whirpool, eddy' | *örmény* dial 'whirlpool, whirlwind' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 258) | 1211 PN *Eurmenes* [eürmēń-es], 1470 *ermen kw* [ermēn kö] | *örmēń* < **örmen* ← WOT **äγir-män* < **ägir-* {with suff *-mAn*} or *örmēń* < **ör-* {with suff *-mĀń*} ← WOT **ägir-*.

OT *qutrulmaq ägrik-lärig baġ-larïġ birṭäm amïrtġurdačï üčün* 'weil die Erlösung die Strudel und Banden (des *Saṃsāra*) sämtlich beruhigt' (UTTV B:78), *ägrig* 'yarn', *ägrim* 'whirlpool, a place where water collects' (AK); **MT** *egir-* 'sarmak' (UY), *egräm* 'whirlpool' (AGul), *egir-* 'çevirmek, kuşatmak' (AHMA), *ägrim* 'pučina, vodovorot' (AHŠF), *egir-* 'eğirmek' (AIMI), *ägir-* 'to twist, spin', *ägirik* 'twisted thread, spun yarn' (AKor); *ägir-* 'sarmak' (AYC), *egrik* 'tourbillon dans l'eau', *egrim* id. (AChag), *ėgrim*, *ėgrik* (with -g- and -k) 'water flowing with a swirling movement', *äyrüm* 'a swirling flow of water' (AChagAb), *eyrüm*, *igrim*, *igrik* 'sunun döne döne akışı', *igir-* 'dönmek' (AChagAbA), *engir-* 'csavar, forogtat [to twist around, rotate]'

(AChagAbV), *egirim* ‘vodovorot’ (AChagB), *egrim* ‘malomkő, s maga a malom, tó, mocsár, vízállás [millstone, and the mill itself, lake, swamp, water line]’ (AChagBL), *ägrik* in Rūmī ‘pond’ also ‘whirlpool’, *äyrüm* ‘the twists and swirls which occur in the flow of waters and rivers’ (AChagSC), *igrim* ‘Wirbel’, *ikir-* (r: *egir-*) ‘spinnen, Zwirn spinnen’, *ikrik* (r: *egrik*) ‘Wasserstrudel, Wirbel’, *yikir-* (r: *-g-*) ‘spinnen, Faden zwirnen’ (AChagŠSK), *egir-* (? *eyir-*) ‘spinnen’ (LCCI), *ėrik* (in margin in second hand *ägrik*) ‘prjadenie, prjaža’, *iy-* ‘vitʹ, zakručivatʹ, prjastʹ’ (ATuh), *egir-*, *iyir-* ‘eğirmek’, *egrik* ‘eğrilmiş ip’, *erik* ‘eğrilmiş’, *iy-* ‘eğirmek’ (ATuhA), *eğrek* ‘su toplanan yer, avlağı, sürü hayvanlarının istirahat ettiği gölge yer’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *arman* ‘melʹnica, melʹničnyj’, *avăr-* ‘kružitʹsja (o vode v omute)’, *avăr-* ‘rabotatʹ, dejstvovatʹ (o melʹnice), (peren.) molotʹ, nesti čepuhu, pustoslovitʹ’, ? *avăr* ‘omut, pučina, vodovorot’ (Chuv), *arman* ‘molae, moletrina, melʹnica’, *avăr* ‘locus fluvii vel lacus profundior, omut’, ? *avăr-* ‘versari (de molis dicitur), moli (de frumento, quod molis frangitur), molotʹ (t.e. vertetʹsja, o melʹnice), molotʹsja (o hlebe)’ (ChuvA), *avăr* ‘folyó v. tó fenekén levő gödör; tiefe Stelle, Grube in einem Fluss od. See’, *avăr-* Szp. id. ‘őrölni; mahlen’, *arman* (< **avărman*) ‘malom; Mühle’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *öyörmä* ‘forgószél; Wirbelwind’ (TatB), *irem* ‘su upkïnï, čoŋgïl; omut’, *ir-*, *eüer-* ‘ėrläü; prjastʹ’, *ibir-* ‘äyländerü; vraščatʹ’, *öyör-* ‘äyländerü; vraščatʹ’ (SibTat), *öräm* ‘kosa ženskaja’ (SibTatBD), *īr-* ‘spinnen’ (SibTatTR), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ, vitʹ, sučitʹ, sgonjatʹ v kuču, zavoračivatʹ (napr. svoj kosjak – o žerebce)’, *irim* ‘pučina, omut, zavodʹ’, *ergi-* ‘vozbuždatʹsja, bespokojno metatʹsja, vdohnovljatʹsja’ (Kirg), *iĭrim* ‘bend (in a river), whirlpool’, *iĭr-* ‘to spin (wool, flax etc.)’ (Kaz), *īr-* ‘spinnen’ (KazR), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ, sučitʹ, sgonjatʹ v odno mesto (*napr. skot*)’, *iyrim* ‘klubok, vodovorot’, *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ, sučitʹ’ (Kklp), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ, sučitʹ, sgonjatʹ v odno mesto (skot)’, *üyir-ilme* ‘vodovorot’ (Nog), *iir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (KarT), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (KarH), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (Kum), *iyir-* ‘prjastʹ čto, (peren.) svirepstvovatʹ, pronizyvatʹ’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *övrüm* ‘povorot, krug, oborot’, *ėgir-* ‘prjastʹ, (peren.) sažatʹ, rassaživatʹ, usaživatʹ’ (Tkm), *äyrim* ‘izgib, povorot’, *äyir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (Az), *ägir-* ‘spinnen’ (AzR), *eğirmen* ‘spinning-wheel, (or – jenny)’, *eğrim* ‘whirlpool’, *eğir-* ‘to spin’ (Tt), *ägir-* ‘spinnen’ (TtR); ***Kh*** *häyir-* ‘spinnen, zwirnen’ [cf. T *ägɜr-*] (Kh), *häyür-* ‘spinnen, zwirnen’, *hägür-* ‘spinnen, zwirnen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yigir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (Uzb), *igir-*, *yiger-* ‘to spin’ (TurkiJ), *egi* ‘prjastʹ, sučitʹ’, *eyge-* ‘kružitʹsja’ (TurkiL ← Mo), *ägir-*, *äyir-* ‘spinnen’ (TurkiTR), *ärgi-* ‘sledovatʹ, kružitʹ, paritʹ, rejatʹ, planirovatʹ’, *ärgül* ‘vint’ (MUyg ← Mo), *örü-* ‘perevoračivatʹ, perevetyvatʹ, vyvoračivatʹ, vyvertyvatʹ, perelicovyvatʹ (odeždu), oprokidyvatʹ, svalivatʹ, razrušatʹ, perevoditʹ (s odnogo jazyka na drugoj), vitʹ, svivatʹ, plesti, spletatʹ, zapletatʹ, perepletatʹ’, *örüm* ‘prjadʹ (volos)’ (MUyg), *igïr-* ‘plesti’ (Sal), *īger-* ‘filer’ (SalK); ***NE*** *irim*, *iyirim* ‘vodovorot, omut, pučina’, *iyir-*, *īr-* ‘prjastʹ’ (Alt), *īr-* ‘spinnen, Märchen singen’ (AltR), *īr-* ‘spinnen’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *irim* ‘eine Bucht, Stelle, die zum Fischfangen geeignet ist’ (AltTelR), *iir-* ‘prjastʹ’ (AltQK), *ir-* ‘prjastʹ’

(Khak), *īr-* 'spinnen' (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *ägir-* 'spinnen' (ChulR), *ērem* 'glubokoe mesto, omut', *ēr-* 'skručivat′, vit′, zavinčivat′, vvinčivat′', *örüm* 'sverlo, burav', *örümnė-* 'sverlit′, buravit′' (Tuv), *ērem* 'vodovorot, omut, jama v reke', ? *ēr-* 'krutit′, vraščat′, vertet′, vit′, svivat′' (Tof); ***Y*** *ärgiy-* 'vertet′sja, povertyvat′sja, obraščat′sja vokrug, kružit′sja, krutit′sja etc., oboračivat′sja, obraščat′sja, povoračivat′sja, obertyvat′sja, vozvraščat′sja etc.' (Y ← Mo), ? *äbir* 'rashoždenie vody krugami (pri padenii v nee predmeta)', *äbirdā-* 'kružit′sja (o vode)' (Y), *ärgiy-* 'sich drehen, sich wenden' (Dlg).

Mo *ere-* 'to tie or wind around', *ergi-* 'to turn or move around, to encircle', *ergil* 'the act of turning', *ergi* 'steep bank, steep precipice or slope' (L), *ergilte* 'bol′šoj vodovorot' < *ergi-* 'vertet′sja okolo čego-libo, kružit′sja, vraščat′sja, obhodit′, okružat′, obtekat′' (Kow).

E/T The verbal base of the OT etymon for the H words could be *ägir-* 'to surround, encircle (something Acc.), to twist, spin (something Acc.)'. Some dev nominals fr the base *ägir-* 'to twist' have been documented since the early sources: see e.g. *ägrig* (< **ägir-*(*X*)*g*) 'anything twisted, encircling, constriction' in the early period 'spun yarn' and the like, and later 'whirlpool' (Erdal 1991: 186), which is in Clauson (1972: 112–113) and which Dankoff–Kelly spelled *ägrik*, and see also *ägrim* 'a single act of twisting', but normally 'whirlpool, a place where water collects' (Clauson 1972: 113; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 134, 136; Erdal 1991: 296). Fedotov (1996/1: 58–59) gave the Chuv word *arman* 'mel′nica' the following explanation: OT **ägir-* > T *ävir-* > Chuv *avăr-* > *ar-* + suff *-mAn*. Egorov's idea (1964: 32) that Chuv *arman* 'mill' may be a shortened form etymologically related to T *tägirmän* 'mill' cannot be accepted (Eren 1982: 23). I am not familiar with the form **ägir-män* in the T sources, however on the basis of the H word *örmény*[3] – if it is not an internal H der – one might suggest that the T verb was borrowed into H with the suff *-mAn*. On the suff *-mAn*, see Erdal (1991: 387–389). Fr a morphological point of view, one should take special note of the well-known T word *tägir-män* 'a rotary mill', which does not have an attested verbal base **tägir-* (cf. Erdal 1991: 537), but whose reconstruction seems very plausible. The possible etymon for the H word *őrém* may be either the form *ägrim* < *ägir-Xm* or **ägir-mi*. On the suff *-mI*, which occurs very rarely, see Erdal (1991: 388, n. 443). The separation of the word *tägirmi* 'round, circular, circle' fr its very plausible base **tägir-* 'to surround' hardly seems possible, as was rightly demonstrated by Erdal and Clauson (1972: 486), thus one can suggest the reconstruction of the morphological parallel *ägir-* – **ägirmän* – **ägirmi*.

E/H The H word *őrém* 'whirlpool, a fishing place' is attested in the H sources as of the 11th c. but has been out of use as of the 15th c. It was partly replaced by *örmény*[3] and later by *örvény* 'whirlpool'. *örmény*[3] 'whirlpool' converged with H **örmény**[2] 'mill, milling product'. *örmény*[3] 'whirlpool' is a der fr *őr-*[1] (← WOT **ägir-*) and **örmény**[2]

‘mill, milling product’ may be an independent lw fr WOT **ävirmän*, see **őr**[1]. The homophonous two words eventually fell out of use. In the case of *őrém*, we may suppose a separate copying (← **ägirim*), but this remains uncertain, because of the early item with *-n*, *őrény*.

It was Vámbéry (1870: 168) who first mentioned that the H word *örmény*[3] is of T origin, however, he argued in favour of the T etymology on the basis of unrelated T words. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 39), H *örvény* and *örmény*[3] are derived forms, members of the **őr**[1], **őröl** word-family. They were formed with the dev nominal suffs *-vény* and *-mény*. Palló (1982: 149) considered the H word to be T in origin with a possible ultimate base in the T verb **egir-* ‘to rotate or circulate around its own axle’ and not *äwir-* (cf. also Palló (1964: 56–63) in the entry **őr**[1], **őröl**). According to Ligeti (1986: 295–296), one can imagine that the H word *örmény*[3] was copied fr a T word **egir-män*, but it seems more plausible that the H dev nominal suff *-mény* was added to the copied T verbal base. Ligeti believed that the words **őröl**, **örül**, **őrül**, *örvény*, *örmény*[3], *őrém* are related to the H verb **őr-*, which does not occur as an independent lexeme, but it is of T origin. Ligeti also pointed out that the H word *örvény* may also be a der with the H dev nominal suff *-vÁny*. The shortening of the initial H vowel in *örvény* may be the result of a secondary H change. Finally, Ligeti pointed out that the H words *őrém*, *örmény*[3], *örvény* – if they were not internal ders of the H lg – could also have been loaned into LOH fr T. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1084, 1085–1086, 1087–1088), the H word *örmény*[3] ‘Wirbelwind’ may be an internal der with the H suff *-mény* fr the verb **őr-* ‘drehen’ (see **őr**[1]), which is a T borrowing. The shortening of the initial vowel in the H word occurred under the influence of the H word *örvény*. The word *őrém* may also belong here. *őrém* could have developed with the loss of the internal segment *-v-*, on which see the H words *pitvar*, *zsálya*, etc. According to Bárczi (1951: 168), the final segment *-m* in the word *őrém* is a dev nominal suff of U der in the H lg. It generally denotes the action itself and it was otherwise the oldest function of it. In some FUgr lgs it can, however, also denote the agent or the result of the action. According to Ligeti (1986: 294–295), one cannot rule out the possibility that only the base of the word was borrowed and the suff *-m* was added in H. Both Bárczi (1951: 168–169) and D. Bartha (1958: 73) held this view earlier on.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 168; Gombocz 1912b: 112; Ligeti 1933a: 279; Bárczi 1941: 229; Bárczi 1951: 168–169; D. Bartha 1958: 73; Egorov 1964: 20, 32; Palló 1964: 56–63; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 39; Clauson 1972: 14, 112–113, 486; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 227–231, 498–500; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 258; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 134, 136; Eren 1982: 23; Palló 1982: 149; Ligeti 1986: 107–108, 184, 294–296; Erdal 1991: 186, 296, 387–389, 535–537; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1084–1088; Róna-Tas 1994: 105; Fedotov 1996/1: 27, 58–59.

ÖZÖN [özön] ‘flood, deluge, stream’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *vzund* [üzün-d], p1416/c1450 *viz ǫzǫnben* [vīz özön-ben] | *özön* < **üzen* ← Cum **özän* | EOT *öz* ‘valley with a river’, MT *özän* ‘brook, river’.

Of Cum origin.

OT *öz-lärdäki öz-äklärdäki* ‘in den Tälern und Tälchen befindlichen’ (UTT V B:122), *taġda öz yoq* ‘[around Kočo] there are no brooks in the mountains’ (UTTVII: 54 42,8, translated by Róna-Tas), *öz* ‘valley’ (UXuanzangIndex), *ȫz* ‘valley in the mountains’, *tāġ ȫzi* ‘mountain valley’ (AK); **MT** *özen*: *özen rud* ‘river’ (Pe *rud* ‘river’) (AKD), *özän* ‘nehir’, *üzän* ‘dere’ (AAH), *äzän* (r: *özän*) ‘rivière’ (ABul), *özön* ‘Fluss’ (AHou), *özän* ‘reka, ruslo’ (ATuh), *özen* ‘ırmak’ (ATuhA), *öz* ‘vâdi’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *var* ‘ovrag, balka, ložbina’, *varak* ‘promoina, ovražek, rytvina, ruslo’, *vasan* ‘loščina, ložbina, nizina’ (Chuv), *var* ‘obdernelyj ovrag s pologimi krajami, log, dol’, *varak* ‘malenkij ovražek, prodol′noe ugublenie’, *varak* = *vasan* ‘neglubokoe, otlogoe, suhoe ruslo, po kotoromu v dožd′ i vesnoju tečet voda, uglublenie, po kotoromu vytekaet so dvora voda’, *vasam* ‘loščina’, (ChuvA), *var*, *vasan* ‘hosszúkás nyílás, hasadék a földben, völgy; Schlucht, Kluft’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *üzän* ‘dolina, nizmennost′, dolinnyj, nizmennyj’ (Tat), *vïrak*, *vrag* ‘ovrag’ (TatD1), *üzän* ‘die Niederung, das Thal’ (TatKR), *ĕz* ‘ruslo’ (RTat), *üðän* ‘ruslo, dolina, dolinnyj’ (Bashk), *u̇ðän*, *u̇zän* ‘folyó, patak’ (BashkP), *üzön* ‘das Flusschen, der Bach’ (SibTatBR), *özön* ‘ruslo, lože rečki, rečka, pobereže rečki, gornaja dolina s rečkoj, (geogr., ust.) bassejn’ (Kirg), *ösön* ‘der Bach, Fluss, die Strömung’ (KirgR), *özen* ‘river’ (Kaz), *özen* ‘reka’ (KazB), *özön* ‘der Fluss’, *özök* ‘das Tal’ (KazR), ? *özek* ‘reka, protok’ (Kklp), *özen* ‘rečka’ (RKklp), *özen* ‘dolina, dolinnyj’ (Nog), *ozen* ‘reka’ [ö-] (CrTat), *öz′an′* ‘reka’ (KarT), *ėzėn* ‘reka’ (KarH), *özėn* ‘reka’ (KarSh), *äzän* ‘der Fluss’ (KarLR), *özen* ‘rečka, reka, rečnoj’ (Kum), *u̇zen* ‘völgy, folyó; Tal, Fluss’ (KumN), *özen* ‘uščel′e, dolina’ (KrchBlk), *özen* ‘Tal, Fluss’ (KrchP), *özen* ‘Tal’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *ȫz* ‘ovrag’ (TkmD), *öz* ‘*archaic* brook, rivulet’ (Tt), *özen* ‘sulu yer, birbirine yakın iki dağ arası, vâdi, ırmak’, *özek* ‘susuz dere’ (TtD), *öz* ‘su akan dere, deredeki erazi’, *özen* ‘vadi’ (TtDA); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ŭzan* ‘ruslo (reki)’ (Uzb), ? *össöŋ*, *östäŋ* ‘reka, kanava, protok’ (TurkiL), *özän* ‘protoka, rečka, ruslo’ (MUyg), *özen*, *ozen*, *ōzen*, *uzen*, *u̇zen* ‘rečka, aryk, kanava’ (Sal), *ōzə̂n*, *ozə̂n*, *u̇zen* ‘rivière, ruisseau’ [Pot *uzen*] (SalK); ***NE*** *özön* ‘protok’ (Alt), *özök* ‘der Fluss, das Bach’ (AltR, AltTelR), *özön* ‘protok’ (AltL), *özök* ‘rečka’ (AltTK), *özen* ‘ložbina, log’ (Khak), *özen* ‘ložbina’ (Tuv), *özen* ‘raspadok, ložbina na sklone gory, malen′kij ručeek na pologom sklone gory’ (Tof); ***Y*** *üös* ‘sredina reki ili ozera’ (Y), *üös* ‘ruslo’ (YS).

E/T The basic word of the T etymon of H *özön* is an old word (Clauson 1972: 278) which was preserved in Chuv as *var*. T *ȫz* ‘valley’ must be separated fr another T word, *ȫz* ‘spirit, self’ which Clauson rightly discussed under another entry. This latter T word is also documented in Chuv as *var* ‘centre, middle’. On the words that pertain to this latter base, see T words with the meaning ‘der beste Teil eines Dinges,

Kern, Mark' in Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 146, s.v. NPe *ōzäk*). Egorov (1964: 47) correctly separated the homophonous items. Dankoff–Kelly were of another opinion: in their Kashgari edition, they assumed an etymological connection between these T words. On other attempts to link the two homophonous words, see under **E/H**. There are two opinions about the origin of the Rus word *ovrag* (first noted in 1373 as *vrag*) 'ravin, gully'. According to some Slavists, it goes back to *virъ* 'ključ (vod.), stremina (v reke), *vъrrъtiъ* 'byť ključom'. Other scholars accept Pritsak's suggestion (Pritsak 1954a: 132, earlier Munkácsi 1897e: 233–235) that it is a T lw in Rus: fr OChuv *varak* (Trubačev in Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 115–116). The ancient name *Var* of the Dnieper, which appears in the work of Jordanes (before 551), and allegedly goes back to Priskos (before 471) seems early for the *ö* > *va* change, but it is not impossible.

The copied form of H *özön* could be *özän*. According to Clauson, the T word *özän* could have been formed with an ancient pl suff *+An*. This explanation does not seems particularly satisfactory, however, it can be considered the best solution. After a detailed analysis, Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 510–512) believed the T word to be a derived form of a reconstructed verbal base **öz-* 'to flow', which is the verbal counterpart of T *öz* 'valley'. The data used by Sevortjan for the reconstruction of the verbal root **öz-* are very sporadic (occurring almost only in Tt dials). One of the most important data he cited is the Az dial verb *üz-* 'teč́, protekat́'. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 510–512) rightly rejected Kakuk's view (1962: 174) that T *özän* may be a copied form fr Mo. On the dim form *özäk*, see also Clauson (1972: 285), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 510) and Erdal (1991: 41). Y and Dlg *üräx* 'Bach' does not belong here. According to Stachowski (1993: 253), they may be connected with *ürüt*, *ürdü*. The word in question is present in the Astrahan dial of Rus and figures as the name of smaller rivers in South Russia (*üzeń*, see Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 154).

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1063), one can reconstruct PT **örs*, **örsen* 'river, river bed, to flow' on the basis of Kaz *özen*, Az *öz-* 'to flow', Tkm *özen*, Chuv *vasan* and Y *örüs* 'river, river bed'. They see this reconstructed word as possibly interrelated with PMo **urus-* 'to flow'. However, this is phonologically and morphologically impossible.

The H word can only be a lw fr Cum.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 169) who first argued in favour of the T origin of the H word *özön* 'flood' on the basis of T words which do not pertain here. Munkácsi (1905c: 380) and then Gombocz (1907a: 311) felt that the H word as not an early copy fr T because of the internal segment *-z-*, but later Gombocz (1912b: 112–113) claimed that its copied form could have been OChuv **ösön*, cf. T **ös-* 'to grow'. Despite his opinion, Németh (1921: 23; 1931: 227) thought that the copied form of the T word was **özön*. In his view, the T word cannot be a dev noun fr T **ös-* 'to grow' because this verb is documented everywhere with the segment *-s* in the T lgs. The T counterpart of

H *özön* is only attested in Kirg (*ösön*) in which the segment *-s-* may be the result of a relatively recent phonetic change. In his own etymology, Németh believed that the H word has its equivalent in Chuv *var* 'centre, internal part of something' and 'valley' (on these homophonous words, see **E/T**). In his own etymology Németh considered that its semantic side is not very strong. As he pointed out, on the basis of the known T data, the T word could only have been borrowed with the meaning 'internal part of something, valley, river', but this semantic field is unknown in the case of H *özön*. He thought that the meaning 'flood' must have occurred secondarily in H. Bárczi (1941: 231) regarded *özön* as being of possible T origin, however he pointed out that there are semantic difficulties with the former T etymological explanations. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 48–49) accepted Németh's etymology. Ligeti (1986: 92–93) did not reject the T etymology, however he stressed the weak semantic side. He thought, nevertheless, that the difference between the meanings of the H and T words is not inexplicable. The channels of little rivers or brooks can be dried at summer time but in spring they can show a rising tide, on which see the Chuv data. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1092), the basic T word of the T etymon could have been **öz* '(wäßriges) Tal' and accepted Ligeti's semantic explanation. Ligeti (1986) only mentioned *özön* in the Index to his monograph in brackets.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 169; Munkácsi 1897e: 233–235; Munkácsi 1905c: 380; Gombocz 1907a: 311; Gombocz 1912b: 112–113; Németh 1921: 23; Németh 1931: 227; Bárczi 1941: 231; Pritsak 1954a: 132; Kakuk 1962: 174; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 146; Egorov 1964: 47; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 115–116; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 154; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 48–49; Räsänen 1969: 376–377; Clauson 1972: 278, 285, 289, 984; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 510–512; Ligeti 1986: 92–93; Erdal 1991: 41; Stachowski 1993: 253; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1092; Fedotov 1996/1: 100–101; Tenišev 2001: 90; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1063.

S

SAJT [šåyt] 'cheese' | 1368 PN *Saytas* [šåyt-åš], p1372 *faÿtott* [šåyt-ot], 1566 *sohayt* [šoχåyt] | *šayt* < **šaχt* < **čaγt* ⟵ (WOT **čïγt* ~ *čïgït*) ⟵ Khwar *čaχat*, Al **čigt* (> Os *cyxt*, *cigd* 'syr').

Of Ir origin but perhaps through T mediation.

OT –; **MT** *čiät* 'peynir', *čig ät* 'pişmemiş et' (AAH), *čïgït* 'Käse' (AHou), *čïqiṭ* 'syr' (ATuh), *čïqït* 'peynir' (ATuhA), *čigit* 'Käse' (AHou, s.v. *čifit*), *čïgït* 'cheese' (AmCh); **NT *Chuv*** *čăkăt* 'syr, syrok (domašnij), syrnyj' (Chuv), *čăkăt* 'syr' (ChuvA), *čăkăt* Szp. id. 'sajt-féle, leszedett, forralt aludt tejből (*tăpărčă*) a savót kinyomják, az így nyert túróhoz nyers tojást vegyítenek ... kemencében megsütik [a kind of cheese; which is pressed out of boiled curdled milk (*tăpărčă*), fresh eggs are added to the remaining curd ...and baked in the oven]; Art Käse' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čïgït* 'kort, kïzïl ėremček; osobo prigotovlennyj krasnyj tvorog; maxsus ėškärtep yasalgan ėremček; tvorog special′noj obrabotki, syr (moločnoe izdelie)', *čïgït* 'ėremček; tvorog' (TatD1), *cïgït* 'ėremčekne yomïrka belän tuglap tabada pešerelgän ašamlïk; bljudo iz tvoroga, smešannogo s jajcom, ispečennoe v peči na skovorode', *čïgït* 'sïyïr sötennän ėšlengän sïr; syr domašnego prigotovlenija iz korov′ego moloka' (TatD2), *cïgït* 'syr' (KarH), *čïgït* 'tvorog, ovečij syr' (KarT, KarC); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word cannot be separated fr Os *cyxt*, *ciğd* 'syr'. Abaev (1958–1989/1: 328) accepted Miller's etymology, in which the Os word is compared to Ind *tikta-* 'sharp (taste)', which is represented in Os by *cyrğ*, *cirg* 'ostryj'. The Ir word is also present in Khwar *čaxat* <čxθ> 'Quarkkaese' (Benzing 1983: 237). I have only found the T word in a group of Kip lgs. The Chuv form is of Tat origin as are Cher *čïgït* 'syr (krest′janskij)' and Rus *čigit* 'sil′no solenyj tvorog', cf. Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 359). The T word has no clear etymology. H could have copied the word fr Khwar or Al, but we cannot rule out that the Ir word may have been transmitted through a T lg.

E/H The probable T origin of the word was first mentioned by Budenz (1864: 418; 1873: 87). According to Munkácsi (1900b: 336), the initial H *s-* [š] in words of T der can sometimes replace a T initial *č-* (see e.g. **saru**, **sereg**). Gombocz (1912b: 113, 183) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **čïgït* for H *sajt*. He mentioned that a similar word is also attested in Os. Gombocz thought that one part of the lexemes with the original palatalized consonant *č-* changed to *ś-* in Chuv via *š-*. Munkácsi (1912–1913c: 359) argued in favour of the T origin of the H word and listed some T correspondences. Ligeti (1935a: 215–216) and then Bárczi (1941: 264) considered the H word to be of T der. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 474) assumed an OT copied form **čïgït* or a Chuv-like form **šïgït*. According to him, the origin of T word is unknown. Ligeti stressed (Ligeti 1986: 129, 185, 542) that the T corresponding forms of H *sajt* are only

attested in the Kip lgs, but he only mentioned *sajt* in the Index to his monograph in brackets. Following him, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1298) changed his earlier opinion and claimed that the H word *sajt* may be Al in origin. He thinks it less likely that H *sajt* is of T der, but one cannot exclude the possibility that it was borrowed via T mediation. I am inclined to suppose a Khwar origin of the H word.

◆ Budenz 1864: 418; Budenz 1873: 87; Munkácsi 1900b: 336; Gombocz 1912b: 113, 183; Munkácsi 1912–1913c: 359; Ligeti 1935a: 215–216; Bárczi 1941: 264; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 328; Egorov 1964: 318; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 359; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 474; Räsänen 1969: 107; Benzing 1983: 237; Ligeti 1986: 129, 185, 542; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1298; Fedotov 1996/2: 400.

SÁR[1] [šār] ‘mud, marsh’ | 1055 GN ? *far feu* [šār feü], 1075/†1124/†1217 *sarustou* [šār-uš tou], p1372/c1448 *farual* [šār-vål] | *šār* < **šar* ⟵ WOT **šar* < **s̥iar* < **sār* | MT *saz* ‘marsh’.

OT –; **MT** *saz* ‘bajoro, bagno’ (AHŠ), *saz* ‘boloto, trjasina’ (AHŠF), *saz* ‘der Sumpf, der Lehm auf der Salzsteppe’ (AChagR), *saz* ‘Sumpf’ (LCCG), *saz* ‘orman’ (AAH), *saz* ‘Morast’ (AHou), *ṣaz qamïš* ‘kamyš, trostnik (persidskij)’ (ATuh), *saz qamïš* ‘saz kamışı’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šur* ‘boloto, bolotnyj’ (Chuv), *šur*, *šor*, *šură*, *šoră* ‘boloto, bolotistaja zemlja, bolotistyj lug’ (ChuvA), *šur* Szp. id. ‘mocsár; Morast, Sumpf’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *saz* ‘boloto, bolotnyj’ (Tat), *saz* ‘balčïk, pïčrak; glina, grjaz′’, *saz* ‘kïrïylarïna kamïšlar üskän ǰïyïlïp yatkan su; stojačaja voda, obrošaja po krajam kamïšom’ (TatD1), *sað* ‘balčïk, pïčrak; glina, grjaz′’ (TatD1), *šar* ‘oyïšïp katkan balčïk, kantar; glyba’ (TatD1 ⟵ WOT), *saz* ‘pïčrak; grjaznyj’ (TatD2), *saz* ‘mocsár, sás; Morast, Sumpf, Segge, Riedgras’ (TatB), *saz* ‘der Sumpf, der Lehm auf der Salzsteppe’, *šar*: *aqšar* ‘Stuck, Stuckatur, Kreide’ (TatKR), *hað* ‘boloto, bolotnyj, (dial.) čašča, debri’ (Bashk), *hað*, *saz* ‘mocsár, nádas [marsh, reedy parts]’ (BashkP), *saz*, *sas* ‘boloto’ (SibTatBD), *saz* ‘boloto, močažina, mokrye luga’ (Kirg), *saz* ‘der Sumpf, der Lehm auf der Salzsteppe’ (KirgR), *saz* ‘clay, marshy swamp’ (Kaz), *saz* ‘boloto, glina, grjaz′’ (KazB), *saz* ‘der Sumpf, der Lehm auf der Salzsteppe’ (KazR), *saz* ‘glina, glinjanyj’ (Kklp), *saz* ‘boloto, bolotnyj’ (Nog), *saz* ‘zarosli kamyša, plavni’ (CrTat), *saz* ‘grjaz′, il’ (KarC), *saz* ‘glina, glinjanyj’ (Kum), *saz* ‘agyag; Ton, Lehm’ (KumN), *saz* ‘glina, (peren.) želtyj, blednyj, zemlistyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** ? *sāz* ‘(dial.) kamyšovyj greben′ (detal′ kustarnogo tkackogo stanka)’ (Tkm), *sāzlïk* ‘zarosli kamyša, kamyši’ (Tkm), *sāz* ‘rošča’ (TkmD), *saz* ‘rush, rushes, bot. *Juncus*, reed, bot. *Phragmites*, etc.’ (Tt), *sāz*, *saz* ‘kamyš, trostnik, kamyšovyj, trostnikovyj’ (Gag); ***Kh*** ? *sā^{a}z* ‘Rohrpfeife, Hirtenflöte’ (Kh); ***SE*** *soz* ‘(obl.) kamyš, zarosli kamyša, boloto, porosšee kamyšom’ (Uzb), *saz* ‘marsh’ (TurkiSh), *saz* ‘der Sumpf’ (TurkiTR), *saz* ‘boloto, trjasina, bolotistaja mestnost′’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *sas* ‘boloto, trjasina, bolotistyj’ (Alt), *sas* ‘der Sumpf’ (AltR, AltTelR, AltLR), *sas* ‘boloto’ (AltL), *sas* ‘boloto’ (AltQK), *sas* ‘boloto’ (AltTK), *sas* ‘boloto, trjasina, bolotistyj’ (Khak), *sas* ‘boloto’ (KhakB), *sas* ‘der Sumpf’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR, ChulR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *siruġa*, *siruy* ‘earth, ground, soil’, *sibar* ‘mud, slush, morass, marsh, mire, clay’, *siba-* ‘to plaster, stucco, to apply mud, to apply ointment, to cover or gather thickly on something (of insects)’ (L), MMo *siroġa*, *siroy* (SH).

E/T The immediate T etymon for the H word shows a clear WOT phonetic feature. The word-initial consonant of the etymon was *š-* in the copied form, which developed fr *s-* before a secondary *-i-* after the diphthongization of the primary long **ā*. The CT word *saz* < **sāz* has traditionally been considered a simplex in the Turkological literature, cf. Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 146–147). According to Ramstedt (1935: 365) and Poppe (1960: 114), Mo *sirugay* ‘Staub, Erde’ can be compared with T *saz* ‘Sumpf’ and Chuv *šur* ‘Sumpf’, and they all go back to PT **sïr*. This was rejected by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 222) for phonetic and semantic reasons. Ligeti (1986: 18) accepted the comparison of T *sāz*, *saz* with Mo *siroy*, *siroga* but he did not think that these words are genetically connected. Tenišev (2001: 93) accepted the “Altaic” comparison made by Räsänen (1969: 406; T **sār´* ~ Mo *sirugay* ‘Staub, Erde’ ~ Tu *s̲irugī*, *s̲irgī*). Doerfer (1985: 65) pointed out that the Tu word forms *sirugī*, *sirgī*, etc. ‘Sand’ could be Mo lws fr *siroga*, *sirogay*, *siroy* ‘Erdboden’. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1269), PT **s̭iaŕ* ‘marsh, dirt’ goes back (together with PTu **siru-* ‘sand’, PMo **siro-* ‘earth’) to a PA base **s̭ə̆ŕi* ‘earth, sand, marsh’. Despite this assumption, the T word may be an old lw in Mo, and the Tu word a lw fr Mo. The original long vowel is borne out by the Chuv and Tkm data. Ščerbak (1970: 196) reconstructed the T protoform as **sās* > *sāz*. According to Doerfer–Tezcan (1980: 183), *sāz* ‘Rohrpfeife, Hirtenflöte’ may be the same word as *sāz* ‘Sumpf’. His assumption was as follows: ‘Schilf’ > ‘Flöte’ > ‘Musikinstrument’. He supposed, therefore, that this word is not a Pe lw. This is not acceptable. However, ‘reed’ is *saz kamïš* and fr this *sāz* sometimes also denotes ‘reed’. Interestingly, in the T lgs of the South, the word also denotes ‘small forest’, because marshes and small forests are found at watery places. The Chuv word was borrowed into Cher (*šor* ‘boloto, nakip´, etc.’), see Fedotov (1996/2: 462). The TatD1 items are copy fr MChuv.

E/H Gombocz (1912c: 67–68) assumed with the OChuv form **šar*. Ligeti (1935a: 215; 1938a: 73), Bárczi (1941: 265; 1951: 35) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 487–488) accepted Gombocz’s T etymology. Róna-Tas (1967: 173, 176) pointed out that the difference between the initial consonants *s-* [š-] and *sz-* [s-] in the early T lws in H can be explained by the diverse changes of the PT long vowels. In the case of the T etymon for H *sár*[1], the PT long vowel occurred in WOT as a diphthong (*i̯a*) and the initial segment *si-* changed to *ši-*. In the T etymon for the H word **szám**, however, one cannot assume this process of diphthongization. This could be the result of a dial distinction. According to Ligeti (1986: 18, 117, 526), the initial H consonant *s-* [š] represents an important Chuv phonetic feature. The initial *š-* appeared as early as WOT. He also pointed out that the long vowels in the words *sár*[1], **sárga**, **sárkány** must be regarded

as secondary internal H developments, because the diphthongization of the T etymological long vowels and the shortening of the second part of the diphthong had already occurred on the T side. The T words with initial *š-* were borrowed, according to Ligeti, later than the EAH period, because the initial segments *š-* were lost in words of FUgr origin in EAH. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1305), the H word is an early lw fr a T lg of the Chuv type. The copied form could have been **šār*. In the early sources of the H lg, the word *sár*¹ 'mud, marsh' could sometimes have been confused with the homophonous H **sár**² 'yellow', which is also a T lw.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 113–114; Gombocz 1912c: 67–68; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Ramstedt 1935: 365; Ligeti 1938a: 73; Bárczi 1941: 265; Bárczi 1951: 35; Joki 1952: 262; Poppe 1960: 114; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 222; Egorov 1964: 339; Róna-Tas 1967: 173, 176; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 487–488; Räsänen 1969: 406; Ščerbak 1970: 196; Ligeti 1975: 283; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 183; Doerfer 1985: 65; Ligeti 1986: 12, 14, 18, 37, 117, 183, 186, 203, 305, 526; Erdal 1991: 323–327; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1305; Fedotov 1996/2: 462; Tenišev 2001: 93; Dybo 2003: 146–147; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1269.

SÁR² [šār] *arch* 'yellow', now in *sárarany* [šārårâń] 'pure gold', *sármány* [šārmāń] 'yellowhammer, *Emberiza citrinella*', *sárgyóka* [šārd'ōkå], *sárlik-* [šārlik] 'to be in heat, rut', *sarhodik-* [šårhodik] | c1131 PN *far* [šār], 1332 *Equum sar* [šār] *colorem*, c1518 *Sar aranbol* [šār årânbōl], 1604 *sármalo* [šārmālō], 1835 *sárgyóka* [šārd'ōkå], 1549 *sárhottak* [šārhottåk] | *šār* < **šari* ← WOT **šarï* < **s̯iarï* < **sārï* | EOT *sārïg* 'yellow'.

WOT **šar* in *šarkel* 'the white city', for other data, see **sárga**.

E/T The T etymon for the H word is the WOT word form **šar*(*ï*) 'white' < **s̯iarï* < PT **sārïg* 'yellow, yellowish'. On the details, see **sárga**. The WOT form **šar* or **šarï* meaning 'white' appears in the Khaz GN *Šarkel* 'the white city' and Chuv *šură*. A vast literature exists on the name *Šarkel* (see Czeglédy 1952: 79–86; 1953: 176–177; Golden 1980/1: 239–243; Ligeti 1986: 18, etc.), which I shall not refer to here. One cannot decide whether the name of the famous fortress was written with <s> or <š>, though it most probably rendered /š/ and thus **šarïkel* > *šarkel*. In any case, the first part is the same as H *sár*². The colour name 'white' may be secondary in WOT, see **szár**, on the details see § 7.4.

E/H The H literature dealt with *sár*² 'yellow' mostly together with **sárga** (see Benkő 1967–1984/3: 489–490 and references), but in recent decades, mainly after Ligeti's analysis (1986: 18, 37, 95, etc. see his Index), it was given a separate entry in Benkő as well (1993–1997/2: 1305), where he correctly stresses that the H word may go back either to WOT **šarï* or **šar*.

◆ Czeglédy 1952: 79–86; Czeglédy 1953: 176–177; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 489–490; Golden 1980/1: 239–243; Ligeti 1986: 18, 37, 95; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1305.

SÁRGA [šārgå] 'yellow', **sárog** [šārog] *arch* id. | 1360 PN *Sarga* [šārgå], p1416/c1450 *ſarogʹ* [šārog], 1536 *meg ſaargodnek* [meg-šārg-odnēk], 1578 *sarga* [šārgå], 1580–1658

sárig [šārig], c1610 *szarga* [sārgå] | *šārgå* < **šarog* < **šarug* ⟵ WOT **šarug* < **s̬iarïg* | EOT *sārïg* 'yellow' < *sāz* {with suffs +*Ar*- and -(*X*)*g*}.

OT *sarïg altun ürüŋ kümüš* 'yellow gold and white silver' (RMTon 48), *sarïg* 'yellow' (RTIrk 11), *sarïġ* 'gelb' (UHeilk I:87, 91, etc.), *sarïġ* 'gelb' (UTTVII 15:1), *sarïg* 'gelb, Galle' (sārəg – sā r̲ g) (BI 11,23), *sarïġ* 'yellow' (of anything). One calls 'bright yellow' *sap sarïġ*, while 'yellow bile' is simply called *sarïġ* (AK), *sarïġ* 'yellow' (AQB); **MT** *sarïg* 'jaune' (UHy), *sarïg* 'jaune' (UHyS), *Sarïġ* PN (UCivSa 16:8), *sarïġ* 'yellow' (ABF), *sarï* 'yellow' (AGul), *sarïġ* 'sarı', *sarġar*- 'sararmak' (AHMA), *sarïġ*, *sarï* 'żółty, blady' (AHŠ), *sarï*, *sarïġ* 'želtyj, blednyj' (AHŠF), *sarïġ*, *saru* 'želtyj' (AIM), *sarïġ*, *saru* 'sarı' (AIMI), *sarï* 'yellow' (Mo *šira* id.), *sarïġ* 'yellow', *saru*: *saru erük* 'apricot' (Mo *šira erük* id.), *ṣarïġ*: *ṣarïġ erük* 'apricot' (AKD), *sarġar*- 'to yellow, to turn yellow' (AKor), *sarïġ* 'sarı' (ANeh), *sarïġ* 'želtyj, blednyj' (ANehF), *sarïġ*: *yawlaq sarïġ* 'bright yellow', *sarġar*-: *mäŋzi sarġardï* 'her/his face turned pale' (ARbg), *sarïġ* 'želtyj', *saru* 'želtyj, želtizna' (ATef), *sarïġ*, *sarïq*, *sarï* 'jaune' (AChag), *sarïġ*, *sarïq* 'sarï' (AChagAb), *sarïġ*, *sarïq* 'sarı' (AChagAbA), *sarïġ*, *sarïq* 'sárga [yellow]' (AChagAbV), *sarïq* 'želtyj cvet' (AChagB), *sarïġ* 'želtyj, blednyj' (AChagBud), *sarïġ* 'yellow, pale', *sarġar*- 'to yellow, turn yellow' (AChagG), *sarïq* 'želtyj' (AChagLN), *sarïg* 'želtyj' (AChagMA), *sarïġ*, *sarï* 'yellow' (AChagSC), *sarïġ* 'sarı' (AChagŠS), *sarïg* 'gelb' (AChagŠSK), *sarïġ* 'gelb' (AChagZ), *sarï* 'gelb, Galle' (LCCI), *sarï* 'sarı renk, şarap' (AAH), *ṣarï oṭ* 'blé de Turquie, maïs' (ABul), *ṣaru*, *ṣarï* 'jaune' (ADur), *ṣaru* 'gelb' (AHou), *sarï* 'sárga; gelb' (AKav), *sarï*, *sarïġ* 'yellow' (AMGh), *ṣarï* 'želtyj' (ATuh), *sarï* 'sarı' (ATuhA), *sarï* 'jaune' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šur*(*ă*) 'belizna, belyj, sedoj, belyj, sivyj (*o masti lošadi*), *ist.* belyj (kontrrevolucionnyj), topjaščijsja po-belomy, *šur ïltan* 'platina', *šur*- 'vycvetatʹ, vygoratʹ, vjanutʹ, blednetʹ' (Chuv), *šur*, *šor* 'belyj, sedoj, čistyj, svetlyj', *šură*, *šoră* 'belyj', *šur*-, *šor*- 'blednetʹ, pobleknutʹ, zavjanutʹ, pobeletʹ, rassvetatʹ' (ChuvA), *šură* 'weiss' (ChuvP); *săr*ă 'seryj', on the details see **szár**; *sar*(*ă*) 'želtizna, želtyj cvet, želtyj, savrasyj (*o masti lošadi*), rusyj, rusovolosyj, blondin, jadrenyj, nalivnoj, nalitoj, spelyj, zolotoj, svetlyj, krasivogo cveta (*o derevjannyh izdelijah*), (*peren.*) jarkij, krasnyj, (*razg.*) želtuha' (Chuv ⟵ Tat), *sar*, *sară*: *sar xurt* 'truten', heremeh, Drohne' (Chuv); ***NW*** *sarï* 'želtyj, ryžij, belokuryj, (*med.*) želtuha' (Tat), *sarï* 'sárga; gelb' (TatB), *sarï* 'gelb, bleich' (TatKR), *harï* 'želtyj, belesyj (o kože), pšeničnyj, sivyj (o volosah); gepatit, želtuha, (*peren.*) grust', toska, glubokie pereživanija' (Bashk), *hårï*, *sårï* 'sárga, szőke [yellow, blond]' (BashkP), *sarï* 'sarï; želtyj; körän; koričnevyj' (SibTat), *sarï* 'želtyj' (SibTatBD), *sārï* 'gelb' (SibTatTR), *sarï* (v proiznošenii často, v napisanii inogda – *sar*) 'želtyj, ryžij (o volosah), rusyj', *sarïk* južn. to že, čto *sarï*; sev. 'želtuha', *saz*: *saz öŋdű*, *öŋü saz* '(čelovek) s požeľtevšim licom' (Kirg), *sarï* 'gelb, bleich' (KirgR), *sarï* 'yellow, pale, light bay (of horses)' (Kaz), *sarï* 'želtoe telo, želtyj, želtok' (KazB), *sarï* 'želtyj, blednyj' (KazR), *sarï* 'želtyj, rusyj, zolotistyj' (Kklp), *sarï* 'želtyj, želtok, ryžij,

blondin' (Nog), *sarï* 'želtyj, ryžij' (CrTat), *sarï* 'želtyj, želtok' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *sari* (sic!) 'želtyj' (Kum), *sarï* 'sárga, sápadt; gelb, blass, bleich' (KumN), *sarï* 'želtyj, ryžij, rusyj, belokuryj', *saz* 'glina, želtyj, blednyj, zemlistyj (o cvete lica)' (KrchBlk), *sarï* 'gelb, blond' (KrchP), *sarï* 'gelb, rötlich, fuchsfarbig' (BlkP); ***SW*** *sārï* 'želtyj, Sary (imja sobstv. mužskoe)', *sāzmïk* 'serovatyj': *sāzmïk bulutlar* 'serovatye tuči', *daŋ sazï* 'čuť svet, predrasscvetnaja mgla, zarja' (Tkm), *sarï* 'želtyj, ryžij' (Az), *sarı* 'yellow, blond, pale, haggard, yolk, brass' (Tt), *sarï* 'gelb, bleich' (TtR), *sarï* 'želtyj, (peren.) blednyj, beskrovnyj, bledno, želtok' (Gag), *sa̲rï*, *sāri*, *sārï*, *sa̲ra*, *sa̲ru*, *sarï*, *sā̲rï*, *sa̲ri* 'gelb' (Khor), *saru* 'gelb' (SOg); ***Kh*** *sā^{a}rug* 'orange' [T *sārɜg*] (Kh), *sārug* 'gelb, teilweise: orange' (KhT); ***SE*** *sariq* 'želtyj, ryžij, blondin, (med.) želtuha' (Uzb), *særïġ*, *særïq*, *sæyïġ*, *sïrïġ* 'yellow, pale, ashamed' (TurkiJ), *sârigh*, *sâriq* 'yellow' (TurkiSh), *saiq*, *sayïġ*, *sayïq* 'želtyj' (TurkiL), *sarïġ* (dial.) 'želtyj', *seriq* 'želtyj, želtok, ryžij, rusyj' (MUyg), *sarï*, *sārï*, *sāre*, *sāřï* 'želtyj' (Sal), *sari̲*, *sarə̂*, *sar* 'jaune' [Pot. *sari*] (SalK), *sarïġ* 'želtyj' (YUyg), *sarïġ* 'želtyj', *sarġar-* 'želteť' (YUygM); ***NE*** *sarï* 'želtyj, blondin, ryžij' (Alt), *sarï* 'gelb, bleich' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *sarū*, *sarï* 'želtyj, blednyj' (AltL), *sārï* 'želtyj', *sarï* 'želtyj, belokuryj' (AltQK), *sarï* 'želtyj, ryžij, žalobnyj (o pesne)' (AltTK), *sarïġ* 'želtyj, rusyj, blondin' (Khak), *sarïġ* 'želtyj' (KhakB), *sarïġ* 'gelb' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, ChulR), *sarïh* 'yellow' (FY), *sarïg* 'želtyj, solovyj (o masti lošadi), izžoga' [*šïrgïl* 'ryževatyj (o masti)' ← Mo] (Tuv), *sarïġ* 'želtyj' (Tof); ***Y*** *arag̈as* 'želtyj, želtovatyj, palevyj, zolotistyj, ryžij, krasnyj, ryževatyj' (< *sarïġ* + *ās* 'o lošadjah: belyj, sivyj, želto-belyj') (Y), *arī̈* 'maslo, korov´e maslo, toplenoe korov´e maslo', *arïlïy-* 'želteť' (Y), *arī̈* 'Butter' (Dlg).

Mo *sira* 'yellow, yolk of an egg, bile, heartburn, acidity of the stomach, hangover', *sirg-a* 'light bay' (L).

Man *šara-* 'to become white' (Norman 1967: 369).

E/T T *sarïg* denotes a light yellow colour. It is a typical secondary colour name, which evolved fr the word for 'white', but it is possible that it originally denoted 'white and yellow' and later narrowed down to 'yellow'. Though Clauson (1972: 848) considered *sarïg* 'yellow' to be a simplex, it is very likely a der fr an unattested base. The suff -(*X*)*g* is highly productive in OT forming many adjs. See *kat-ïg* 'hard', *sasï-g* 'stinking', *sili-g* 'clean, pure', *tünär-ig* 'dark', etc. (Erdal 1991: 191, 201, 203, 211). In UXuan (X15b:13), the text tells of the face of Xuan Tsang (*Sam-tso acarïnïng öngi*) and remarks that it became *qïzġan sazġan*, that is 'red and white' as it is undoubtedly rendered in the Ch text in reference to the illness of the Master (Barat 2000: 221, 348). Erdal (2004: 84; 2007: 86) suggested that *sarïg* goes back to *sāz* 'pale' an idea which was first mentioned by Tezcan and cited fr Tekin (1979: 129). This *sāz* is present, according to Erdal, in Kaz and Kirg *saz-ar-u* 'to become pale'. In fact, Kaz has *sazar-* 'to grow gloomy, to darken (of man's appearance') and Kirg has *sazar-* 'poželteť, *öŋü sazargan* 'cvet lica ego stal želtym'. The basic word *saz* is, in fact, present in

KrchBlk, Kirg and Y as the colour of the complex, mainly describing the colour of the face of ill people. This is also present in the semantic range of *sarïg*; some dicts include it, some do not. Since it is the colour of ill people and also that of *saz* 'clay, mud', we are not entitled to separate the two words. See Eng *pale* ← Fr < Lat *pallidus* (cf. *palūs*, *palūdis* 'marsh'). That means that Erdal is so far right that the original PT word was *saz*, *sāz* 'pale, colour of the face of an ill person, mud, clay, marsh'. Erdal suggested that this took on a den suff *+I-* citing *sämiz* > *sämri-*. It is more likely that the suff was *+(A)r-*, as *ak* 'white' > *akar-* 'to become white' (Erdal 1991: 499), and **sāzar-* > *sazar-* is present in Kirg and Kaz, as we have seen above. The noun **sāzărïg* > **sāzrïg* > *sarïg* was formed fr the verb *sāzar-* with the dev suff *-(X)g*. A WOT form **šarïg* corresponds to an EOT *sārïg*. According to Ligeti (1986: 477), Mo *sira* goes back to *sāra*. This can be accepted, because *čila-gun* goes back to **tāla* (cf. PT *tāš*). The WOT GN *Šarïγšïn* was copied into VKip as *Sarïgšïn* (later *Tsarigtsin* > *Tsaritsin* assimilated to *Tsar*, and then *Stalingrad*, now *Volgograd*). Both *Šarïγšïn* and *Šarkel* had the meaning 'the white (house, fortress)', otherwise Erdal (2007: 86). On the Khaz, Chuv and H lexemes, see also **sár**[2] and **szár**.

Monosyllabic word forms appear in Castrén's and Donner's Kam materials (*sār* 'graulich, gelb'). As already assumed by Joki (1952: 261–262), they may be secondary abbreviated T forms which could have occurred in constructions such as *sar at* (< **sarïg at*) 'solovaja lošad'', *sar as* (< **sarïg as*) '*Mustela sibirica*, kolonok', etc. The possibility of "Altaic" etymologies was discussed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1264–1265, 1269, 1288–1289). None of them is convincing.

According to Tenišev (2001: 601–602), one can only find one item in the Kip lgs, Kar *sarov*, which shows the expected Kip reflex and in the other Kip data one can see forms which are characteristic of the Og lgs. He considered the word to be of dev origin fr a reconstructed root **sar-*. He pointed out that the semantics of the Chuv form *šură* may be secondary and the basic meaning of the T word could be 'light yellow, pale'. On the T data used as PN's, see also Tenišev (2001: 681–682). The form *sarï* 'yellow' is a byform of *sarïg*, which appears in MT.

The history and distribution of the colour names *ürüŋ*, *ak*, *sāz* and *sarïg* deserve a separate study.

According to Doerfer (1985: 100), T *sārăg* 'gelb' → Mo *sira* 'gelb, bleich', *sirga* 'isabellfarben' → Tu *sirga*, *šira*, Man *sirga*, *šara-* 'ausbleichen'.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 170) argued in favour of the T origin of the H word. Gombocz (1912b: 114) assumed OChuv copied forms **šarï*, *šarïg* and ? **šarga*. He thought (1912c: 67–68) that the first element of the H compounds *sár-arany*, *sár-virág*, etc. may have a source other than the H words *sárog*, *sárig* and *sárga*. According to Németh (1912: 453), this is a case of an early lw fr a T lg of the Chuv type. Ligeti (1935a: 215; 1938a: 73) pointed out that the change *s-* > *š-* occurred in Chuv because

of the regular shift fr the original long vowel to a diphthong. The Chuv origin of the word was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 265). According to Czeglédy (1952: 83–86), the interrelation between the first element of the Khaz GN *Šarkel* and OChuv **šarï* needs further investigation. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 489–490) reconstructed an OChuv form **šarï* for the H word **sár**[2] 'yellow', which may go back to **šarïg*. According to him, the latter form may be the source of H *sárog ~ sárig*, although these forms may also have resulted fr an internal H development formed with the H den suff +(*V*)*g*. Ligeti (1986: 18, 19, 95, 477, 526) did not believe that the word was copied into H with the meaning 'yellow'. His argumentation was based on the Khaz GN *Šarkel* and the Chuv data resp. Despite his opinion, it seems more plausible that the H word was copied fr a WOT dial with the meaning 'yellow'. On the basis of the Khaz GN, Ligeti rejected the earlier views that the copied form had a final segment **-ï*. Ligeti's argument is not very strong. With *Šarkel* one can assume the loss of the internal second-syllabic vowel (**Šarï-kel*). Finally, Ligeti did not refute Benkő's position that H *sárog* and *sárga* may be H ders fr **sár**[2] 'yellow'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1305–1306) had modified his earlier stance. According to him, the OChuv copied form may be either **šarï* or **šar* and the word could have been borrowed into H, perhaps with the meaning 'white'. He points out that the word could have been confused with the word **sár**[1] 'mud' in the early H sources. According to Benkő, the H word *sárga* has two acceptable etymologies: (1) It may go back to an OChuv form **šarïg* 'gelb'; (2) It may be an internal H development fr **sár**[2] 'yellow, (or perhaps) white' with the suff +(*V*)*g* > *sárig, sárog*. In this case, H *sárga* may be a metathetical form.

Summarizing all the arguments, the copied WOT form was **šaruɣ*. This was adapted by H as *sárog*. **sárogod-* > *sárgod-*, *sárogul-* > *sárgul-* evolved fr the suffixed forms, and the basic noun was later normalized as *sárga*. The WOT form **šarï* is present in H as **sár**[2].

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 170; Gombocz 1912b: 114; Gombocz 1912c: 67–68; Németh 1912: 453; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Ramstedt 1935: 349; Ligeti 1938a: 73; Bárczi 1941: 265; Czeglédy 1952: 83–86; Joki 1952: 261–262; Ligeti 1960: 294–295; Poppe 1960: 97; Ligeti 1961: 25; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 221; Egorov 1964: 179, 339; Norman 1967: 369; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 489–490; Clauson 1972: 848; Tekin 1979: 129; Doerfer 1985: 100; Ligeti 1986: 18–19, 37, 95, 117, 183, 201, 219, 476–477, 526; Erdal 1991: 191, 201, 203, 211, 499; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1305–1306; Fedotov 1996/2: 15–16, 462–463; Ščerbak 1997: 144; Barat 2000: 221, 348; Tenišev 2001: 601–602, 681–682; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1264–1265, 1269, 1288–1289; Erdal 2004: 84; Erdal 2007: 86–87.

SÁRKÁNY [šārkāń] 'dragon' | 1193 GN *Sarcajn* [šārkāyn], 1222 GN *Sarkan* [šārkān], p1372/c1448 *farkanÿon* [šārkāń-on] | *šārkāń* < **šārkān* ← WOT **šarakan* < **si̯arakan* | MT *sazagan, sazgan* 'dragon'.

OT –; **MT** *sazaġan* 'büyük yılan, ejderha' (AIMI), *sazan*: *bir sazan yïlan* 'a sea dragon' (ARbg), *sazaġan* 'Schlange, Drache' (LCCI), *sazaġan* 'koca yılan' (AAH), *sazaġan* 'serpent gros, dragon' (ABul), *ṣazġan* 'Drache, Schlange' (AHou), *saġsaġan*,

sanzaġan ‘zmeja’ (ATuh), *ṣāġsāġān*, *ṣānsāġān* ‘kıvrılmış olan yılan’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** ? *sazagan* ‘požiloj, nemolodoj, mnogo poživšij, staryj’ (Tat), *haðaġan* (dial.) = *haðaġay* ‘severnoe sijanie, (dial.) zarnica, zarničnyj’ (Bashk), *haðaġay* ‘severnoe sijanie’ (BashkA), *sazaġan* ‘molnija’ (KazD, Tenišev 2001: 23), *sazagan* ‘javlenie prirody’ (Nog), *sazaġan* ‘bumažnyj zmej’ (CrTat), *sazaġan* ‘bumažnyj zmej’ (KarSh); ***SW*** *sazag* ‘moroz, struža’ (Az), *sazaq* ‘holodnyj pronizyvajuščij veter’ (Az, Tenišev 2001: 42), *sazak* ‘(prov.) very cold north wind, marshy place, bog’ (Tt), *sazak*, *sazağan*, *sazağı*, *sazaḫ*, *sazan* ‘kuvvetli ve soğuk esen yel, poyraz’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *šaragan* ‘der Fisch Carius’ (ShorR, Verbickij 1884: 445); ***Y*** –.

E/T The EOT word, traceable since the MT period, goes back to the word for ‘mud’ *sāz* and is formed with the suff *+gAn* (Erdal 1991: 85–89, on p. 89 *sazgan* ‘yellow’, see **sár**[1]), used for denoting plants and animals. The ‘snake from the moors, marsh’ became a mythological feature. In the CC, it has the meaning ‘Schlange, Drache (serpens, dracon)’, it became the cause of bad weather and then cold wind and finally the name of the very cold northern wind. The meanings ‘aurora borealis, northern lights, etc.’ in the Volga region come fr the same source. Bang (1919: 47) connected the word with Chuv *sur-* ‘plevat´’ but Eren (1943a: 24–26) pointed out that the Chuv word goes back to EOT *sod-* ‘to spit’ and has nothing to do with *sárkány*. Ligeti (1986: 19) cited a text fr UTTT VI (209: 96–97): *batïgdakï agulug luular* ‘die im Sumpf befindlichen giftigen Drachen’ which clearly supports the etymology fr *saz* ‘mud’. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1220) reconstructed PT **sāŕV-gan* with the meaning ‘carp, snake, dragon’ but *sazan* ‘carp’ is another word fr the same base and present as *šaran* ‘a young carp’ in the Sl lgs (see Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 47–48) fr WOT **šaran*. Golden (2006–2007: 37) cites the name of a Cum–Kip chieftain, *Šarukan*, which is *Šarakan* in the Rus sources and *Šaragan* in the Geor sources. He was the grandfather of Könček. On the person and the name, see the literature in Golden (2006–2007: 37). A Cum GN noted in the Rus sources near to the present Xarkïw as **Šarukan* / Ukr *Zmiev* is mentioned by Golden in the same place.

E/H It was Kuun (1880: 128, 129) who first compared H *sárkány* with T lexemes. According to Vámbéry (1882a: 332), the H word may be of Pe origin. Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 126) argued on the basis of data in the Chag sources and the data in the CC in favour of the T origin of the H word. According to Gombocz (1912b: 114; 1938–1940/2: 81, 87), the copied form was OChuv **šarakan*. He thought that the vowel *-a-* in the second syllable was lost in the H lg. His opinion was accepted by Bárczi (1941: 266). Eren (1943a: 24–26) called attention to the secondary MT form *sazgan*. Ligeti (1975: 283) agreed with Gombocz’s explanation. According to Palló (1978c: 472), the H word *sárkány* may go back to the Chuv form of CT *saz* ‘mud, marsh’ and it was formed with the suff *+gAn*. She thought that T *sazan* ‘carp’ (OChuv *šaran*) may also belong here etymologically. See the same assumption in Tenišev (2001: 179).

According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 493–494; 1993–1997/2: 1307), the original copied form for *sárkány* could be either **šarakan* or more likely **šarkan*. It could originally have been the name of a mythological animal and the secondary meaning 'dragon' may be due to fantasy. The H word was borrowed by Slvk, Ukr and Rom.

◆ Kuun 1880: 128–129; Vámbéry 1882a: 332; Verbickij 1884: 445; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 126; Gombocz 1912b: 114; Bang 1919: 47; Pelliot 1927: 289; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Gombocz 1938–1940/2: 81, 87; Bárczi 1941: 266; Eren 1943a: 24–26; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 47–48; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 493–494; Räsänen 1969: 406; Bazin 1974: 626; Ligeti 1975: 283; Palló 1978c: 472; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 19, 37, 117–118, 199, 305, 526; Erdal 1991: 85–89; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1307; Tenišev 2001: 23, 42, 179; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1220; Golden 2006–2007: 37.

SARLÓ [šårlō] 'sickle' | c1018/1109 ? *ζαλέση* [? čalesi], 1109 GN *Serleus* [šerleü-š], *Sorlous* [šorlou-š], c1395 *farlow* [šårlou], dial *salló* [šallō], *sarró* [šarrō] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 833–834) | *šårlō* < **čarlaɣ* ← WOT **čarlaɣ* | EOT **čarlag* < **čarla-* {with suff -(*X*)*g*} < **čar* 'whetstone' {with suff +*lA*-}, MT *čarla-* 'to grind, to whet'.

OT –; **MT** *čarla-* 'aiguisier' (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śurla* 'serp' (Chuv), *śurla*, *śorla* 'serp, polumesjac na mečeti', *śur-* 'razryvat′ nadvoe, razorvat′' (ChuvA), *śurla* Szp. id. 'sarló; Sichel', *śur-* Szp. id. 'hasítani; spalten' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čar* 'točilo, točil′nyj stanok, koleso (mel′ničnoe)', *čarla-* 'točit′' (Tat), *car* 'čar; točilo' (TatD1), *sar* 'točilo', *sarla-* 'točit′' (Bashk), *car* 'točilo', *carla-* 'točit′' (SibTat), *šar* 'whetstone', *šarïk* 'grindstone, whetstone' (Kaz), *šar* 'točilo', *šarla-* 'točit′' (Kklp), *šar* 'točilo', *šarla-* 'točit′' (Nog), *čarx* 'koleso, zubčatoe koleso, točilo' (CrTat, cf. Pe *čarx*), *čar* 'katuška, točilo', *čarla-* 'točit′' (Kum); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *čargï* 'točilnoj brusok' (AltL), *čar* 'der Schleifstein', *čarla-* 'auf einem Steine schleifen' (AltR, AltTelR), *čar*, *čargï* 'točilnyj kamen', *čarla-* 'tocit′' (AltV); ***Y*** –.

E/T The following words belong together: Chuv *śurla* 'sickle' → Zyr *č′arla*, Voty *śurlo*, CherM *śorla*, *sorla* 'sickle', CherH *sarla* (Fedotov 1996/2: 143). The Zyr item points to an early form **čarla*, but H *šarlō* points to an even earlier form **čarlaɣ*. All the other Perm and Cher forms go back to earlier or later forms of WOT **čarlaɣ* (Rédei–Róna-Tas 1972: 282–283). The WOT **čarlaɣ* is a dev nom fr *čarla-* 'to whet, to grind' and *čarla-* is a den verb fr *čar* 'whetstone'. The idea for this etymology was first suggested by Räsänen (1969: 100) and later connected with "Altaic" words by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 418–419). The T name of the sickle is **orgak* and later **orak* fr *or-* 'to mow, to reap' in most T lgs. The WOT term denoted a special type of sickle, which was made of bronze and was, or could be whetted and ground with a whetstone *čar*. This type of sickle was spread by the Western Turks together with its name. Zyr preserved the initial /č/. H also copied a form with /č/ and changed it to /š/. Voty and Cher copied the word later.

Bang (1918: 7) attempted to explain Chuv *śurla* erroneously fr CT *or-* 'to mow' > **yor-* > **śorla*. Räsänen (1920: 198) reconstructed an OChuv form **čarlak* on the basis

of the H and Zyr forms and refuted its etymological links to *yar-* 'to split'. Egorov (1964: 221) rejected Bang's explanation and suggested that Chuv *śurla*, *śorla* was borrowed fr the FUgr lgs, but its ultimate base may be Ir meaning 'horn' (PFUgr *śorwa* 'horn', H *szarv* id., etc.). Ligeti (1986: 44–45) rejected all of these explanations, however he pointed out that all these word forms may be etymologically interrelated. According to him, *čarlag* belongs with the EOT verb *yar-* 'to split', which became **ǰarlag*, and later changed to Chuv *śurla* through **čarlag*. H borrowed the form *čarlag*. This is problematic fr a chronological point of view, and the WOT *č-* ~ H *č-* > *š-* is unprecedented.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 170) argued in favour of the Chuv origin of H *sarló*. Gombocz (1912b: 114–115) and then Horger (1912: 453) accepted the T etymology. Németh (1912: 453) rejected the comparison of the H word with other T forms mentioned earlier in the literature. Pais (1939: 38) considered H *sarló* to be of uncertain der. According to Bárczi (1941: 266), *sarló* is of debated origin. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 296–298) thought that the source of the H word *sarló* may be identical with the base of the H word *sirály* 'seagull, mew'. The copied T form could be **čarlag*, which goes back to the verb *čarla-*, which in turn could have had the base *čar*, a word of onomatopoeic origin. According to Rédei–Róna-Tas (1972: 282), H *sarló* goes back to OChuv **čarlag* ~ *śarlag*. This word form could have produced **čårla* in MChuv, which could be the source of the Zyr corresponding form. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 494–495), H *sarló* was copied fr OChuv **šarlïg* ~ **šarlag*. Ligeti (1986: 448, 527) considered H *sarló* to be a lw fr MChuv **čarlak* < **ǰarlak*. The MChuv form was preserved by the H lg. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1308), H *sarló* may be an early T lw fr a dial of the Chuv type, but he erroneously tied Chuv *śurla* to Chuv *śur-* 'to split'.

◆ Gyarmathi 1799: 199; Vámbéry 1870: 170; Gombocz 1912b: 114–115; Horger 1912: 453; Németh 1912: 453; Bang 1918: 7; Räsänen 1920: 198; Pais 1939: 38; Bárczi 1941: 266; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 296–298; Egorov 1964: 219, 221, 225–226; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 494–495; Räsänen 1969: 100; Rédei–Róna-Tas 1972: 282–283; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 833–834; Ligeti 1986: 23, 44–45, 287, 448, 527, 529, 531; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1308; Fedotov 1996/2: 139, 143–144, 155; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 418–419.

SÁRMA [šārmå] 'a type of wild onion, *Ornithogalum*', Grm 'Milchstern' | 1329 GN *Sarmas* [šārmāš], 1807 *sárma* [šārmå] | *šārmå* < *šarmaɣ* ← WOT **šarmaɣ* {influenced by *šār* 'yellow'} < **sarmag* | cf. EOT *sarïmsak*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *sarmusaq*, *samursaq* 'garlic' (AK); **MT** *sarïmsaq* 'garlic' (ABF), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok' (AIM), *sarïmsaq* 'bildiğimiz kokulu bitki' (AIMI), *sarïmsaq*, *sarmïsaq* 'garlic' (Mo *sarimsaq*) (AKD), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok' (ANehF), *sarïmsaq* 'ail' (AChag), *sarimsaq* 'der Lauch, der Knoblauch' (AChagR), *sarmïsaq* 'Knoblauch' (LCCG), *sarïmsaq* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *sarïmsaq* 'ail' (ABul), *ṣarmïsaq*, *ṣarmusaq* 'ail' (ADur), *sarïmsaq* 'Lauch', *saramsaq* 'Knoblauch' (AKav), *sarïmsaq*, *sïrïmsaq* 'čes-

nok' (ATuhA), *sarïmsaq*, *sïrïmsaq* 'sarımsak' (ATuh), *sarïmsax* 'garlic' (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *sarïmsak* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (Tat), *sarïmsak* 'fokhagyma [garlic]' (TatB), *harïmhaq* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (Bashk), *θarïmθaq* 'luk gornyj' (BashkD, Dybo 2003: 210), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok' (SibTatBD), *sarïmsak*, *sarmïsak* 'česnok (gl. obr. dikij)' (Kirg), *sarïmsaq* 'garlic' (Kaz), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok' (Kklp), *sarïmsak* 'česnok' (Nog), *sarïmsak* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (Nog), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (CrTat), *sarïmsak* 'česnok' (KarH), *sarïmsaq* 'česnok' (KarSh), *sarïmsax* 'česnok' (KarT), *samursaq* 'česnok' (Kum), *sarïsmax* 'česnok' (BlkD, Dybo 2003: 210), *sarsmaq* 'česnok' (Blk), *sarïmsax* id. (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sarïmsak* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (Tkm), *sarïmsag* 'česnok, česnočnyj' (Az), *sarmïsak* 'česnok, česnočnyj, (ėtn.) devič'i posidelki', *sarmısak*, *sarımsak* 'garlic; bot. Allium sativum' (Tt), *samirsak*, *samsaq* 'česnok' (TtD, Dybo 2003: 210), ? *sarmašïk* '(bot.) v'junok polevoj, pljušč', *sarmïsak*, *sarïmsak*, *sarmusak* 'česnok' (Gag), *sa̲rimsa̲x*, *sa̲rïmsax*, *sa̲rïmsa*^{x} 'Knoblauch' (Khor); ***Kh*** *särimsāq* 'Knoblauch' (KhT); ***SE*** *sarimsåq* 'česnok, Sarymsak (imja sobstv. mužskoe)' (Uzb), *samsaq* 'garlic' (TurkiJ), *samsaq* 'česnok' (MUyg), *samsax* 'česnok' (Sal), *samzax* 'ail' (SalK), *samsaq* 'česnok' (YUyg), *samsaq* 'česnok' (YUygM); ***NE*** *sarïmzak* 'gelblich' (RShor); ***Y*** –.

Mo *sarimsa̲ġ*, *sarimsaŋ* 'garlic' (L).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 248) rejected the genetic interrelation of the Mo and T lexemes. The original T form could be *sarmusak*, thus T *sarïmsak* cannot go directly back to **sarïm* 'Binde, Umwindung'. According to Clauson (1972: 844–845), the verb *sar-* 'to wind or wrap (something Acc.) round (something)', which is attested in AK, is a hapax legomenon, but the verb survives in some ModT lgs as *sar-* (Kaz, Az, Tt) and *sara-* (Tkm). Cf. *sar-*: *ol sūluk sarūdī* 'he wound the turban round his head', *sar-* (AIM, AIMI), *ṣar-* 'to wrap (of wrapping a turban, etc.)' (AHou), *ṣar-* (AAH, ABul, ATuh). Clauson mentioned many ders of the verb: see e.g. *sarut-* caus fr *sar-* (847), *sarāguč* (< **sarūgač*) in the sense of something wrapped round (849), *sarāgučlan-* (850), *sarul-* (851), *sarmāk* (852), *sarmāš* (852–853), **sarma-* den verb fr **sarum* (853), *sarmat-* (853), *sarmal-* (853), *sarmaš-* (853), *sarïn-* (854). Among them, one can find some plant names, like *sargān* 'a kind of plant' (849), *sarmačuk* > ? Chag *sarmašïk* 'the name of a plant which climbs up trees' (853), *sarumsak* 'garlic; *Allium sativum*'. Clauson (852) hesitatingly reconstructed a nominal form **sar* on the basis of the verb *sarla-* which occurs in AK (*ol suvluk sarlādï* 'he wound a turban round his head', * a̲d̲ākïŋā yörgänčū̲ sarlādī* 'he wrapped a bandage round his leg', also used of anything wrapped round something). OT *sarla-* has some of its own ders (see *sarlat-* (852), *sarlan-* (852), *sarlaš-* (852)).

According to Ščerbak (1997: 144), OT *sarmusak*, *samursak* 'garlic' goes back to T *sar*(*ï*)- 'zavoračivat', obmatyvat''. The T word was copied by Mo and appeared in MMo as *sarimsax* 'garlic'; cf. Ščerbak (1997: 144). In discussing T *sarïk* 'Turban',

Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 221–222; 1963–1975/4: 286) considered the word to be of T origin.

Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 210–211) pointed out that two ideas on the etymology of *sarïmsak* can be found in the literature: (1) Bang (1916: 916, n. 1) reconstructed a dev nominal **sar-ïm*, to which could be added a suff *+sAk*. In this case, one can start fr a verbal base **sar-* 'zakutyvat′, zavertyvat′', supposing that the leaves wind round the bulb of the plant; (2) Another possibility is that the starting point is *sarï* 'yellow', to which was added the suff *+msAk*. This form could have appeared in a region where the basic word was *sarï* < **sarïg*. The original meaning of *sarïmsak* could be 'yellowish'. Levitskaja mentioned a third possibility as well. According to her, the T word may also go back to the verb *sarsï-* 'to stink'. In this case one can expect the following phonetic changes: *sarïmsak* < **sarïsmak* < **sarsïmak* 'vonjučij, pahučij'. Semantically, this is the most acceptable etymology, but phonetically it proves problematic. The form *sarsï-* is secondary to *sasï-* 'to stink'. The verb comes fr **sas* (cf. *sas* 'Dampf'). See also H **szesz**, *sasï* 'stinkend', *sasï-* 'stinken' (LCC).

According to Tenišev (2001: 144), the basic word for T *sarïmsak* may be *sarï* 'yellow'. He maintains that *sarïmsak* could have been formed with the suffs *+(X)msI+A-k* and the original meaning of it was 'something which is yellowish'. In this case, we have to suppose that *sarï* is not a secondary form of *sarïg*, but a form parallel to it. In this case, **sarïm* took on a suff *+sOk* (Erdal 1991: 157) and not *sI+A-k*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1233–1234) reconstructed PT **sarïmsak* 'garlic, rhubarb' and connected it with PTu **sergu-* 'wild garlic' (this reconstruction was based on only a single Man item) and PMo **sar-* '*Lilium tenuifolium*; turnip'. They discussed these "Altaic" forms under the PA entry **sera* 'a kind of garlic'. They did not see any link with PT *sar-* 'to wind round', which they covered under **sero* 'to be curved, coiled' (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1235).

Tatár (2002: 244–248) attempted to tie T *sarïmsak* to IE words. This was criticized by Simon (2005: 381–390) and by Witczak (2006: 341–345).

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 170), H *sárma* is of T origin. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1308) regarded *sárma* as being of unknown der. He thought that it had occurred under the influence of H *sárga* and may also represent its variant. Tatár (2002: 244–248) thought that the H word may perhaps be of Al origin. She collected a handful of early H GNs, mostly names of small rivers in the form *Sormás* [šormāš], *Sármás* [šārmāš] etc. with the H suff *+(V)š*. She supposed that H /š/ reflects a non-H source, though the word is not present in Chuv. The T word *sarïmsak* does not have a long /ā/, so we cannot even reconstruct a Chuv form with /š/. Her idea that the word may be of Al origin is difficult to substantiate. Os has two words for 'garlic': Iron *nūrï* and Dig *bodæn*. The former is a Geor word (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 193), the latter a der

fr **bod-* ‘pahnut′’ < PIr **baud-* ‘to smell’ (Cheung 2007: 159). The Os word is present in H *bűz*, *büdös* ‘bad smell’, see § 5.6.1. In criticizing Tatár’s paper, Simon (2005: 385–388) suggested OIr **sarma* > Pe *sarm* ‘artichoke, wild mustard’ as the etymon for the H word. The *s* > *š* change is the result of the “well-known” H dial alternation *s* ~ *š*. Though plant names are easily extended to other similar plants, artichokes, wild mustard and garlic are far fr each other, and we cannot account for the *s* > *š* change in H. On the question of H *s* ~ *š*, see § 5.6.3-4. The Chuv word for ‘garlic’ is *ïxra*(*v*) (Fedotov 1996/2: 476); a dial word with similar semantics is *uksăm* (fr Tat, see Dmitrieva 2000: 85–86). The Chuv plant name *šăma*, *šămak*, *šămakka*, *šămakkay*, including *šămaka kepśi* ‘s″edobnoe rastenie, dudnik, djagil′’ (ChuvA), goes back to **šïma*, see **sima**.

The only possible solution would be to return to the words for ‘yellow’. H *sárma* may go back to a WOT form **šarmaɣ*, where the WOT suff *+mAg* ~ EOT *+mAk* (Erdal 1991: 110) was added to the base *šar* ‘yellow’. Until we arrive at T **sarmak* ‘garlic, a type of wild onion’, the etymology remains uncertain.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 170; Bang 1916: 916; Ramstedt 1935: 319; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 193; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 221–222, 248; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 286; Räsänen 1969: 402; Clauson 1972: 844–845, 847, 849–854; Erdal 1991: 110, 157, 358; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1308; Stachowski 1994: 171–172; Fedotov 1996/2: 476; Ščerbak 1997: 144; Dmitrieva 2000: 85–86; Tenišev 2001: 144; Tatár 2002: 244–248; Dybo 2003: 210–211; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1233–1235; Simon 2005: 381–390; Witczak 2006: 341–345; Cheung 2007: 159.

SÁROG ‘yellow’ see **sárga**.

SARU [šåru] ‘footwear, sandals’ | 1211 ? PN *Sorud* [šoru-d], c1380 *farwaro* (read *šaru-varro*) [šåru-vårrō], c1395 *ʒaru* [šaru] | *šåru* < *šarū* < **čaruɣ* ⟵ WOT **čaruɣ* | EOT *čaruk* ‘sandals, a kind of footwear’.

OT *čaruq* ‘sandal’, cf. *yaḍāġ atï čaruq kūči azuq* ‘the footman’s horse is a sandal, his strength is provisions’. Coined to advise a person to outfit himself with these two things so that he does not go barefoot or become weak, cf. *čaruq* ‘a tribe of the Turks’, cf. *čaruqluġ är* ‘a man with sandals’ and *čaruqluġ* ‘a clan of Oğuz’ (AK); **MT** *čaruq* <ČRUQ> ‘Stiefel’ (UCivPl 01:10), *čaruq* ‘espèce de chaussure de cuir cru’ (AChag), *čaruk* ‘a sandal with a leather sole and an upper made of cordage’ (AChagSC), *čaruq* ‘çarık’ (AChagŠS), *čaruk* ‘Pantoffel’ (AChagŠSK), *čarïk* ‘Pantoffeln, wie Bauern und Schäfer tragen (ein Stück Leder das am Fusse festgeschnürt wird)’ (AChagZ), *čaruq* ‘çarık’ (AAH); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čarïk* ‘tatarskie tufli, takie tufli nosili ženščiny v der. Jasačnom Baryše’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *carïq*, *carïk* ‘tupas künnän tĕgĕlgän käwĕš; bašmaki, izgotovlennye iz gruboj kožи’, *čärik* ‘čüwäk; tapočka’ (TatD1), *čarïq* ‘kün bašmak, käwĕš; kožanye bašmaki’, ? *čarïq* ‘palas sukkanda asalap yasala torgan bizäk isĕmĕ; nazvanie uzora pri zakladnom tkan′e; kinděr külmäk itägĕndä sugïlgan bizäk; uzor, risunok na podole holščevogo plat′ja; palas sukkanda asalap yasala torgan

bizäk isĕmĕ; nazvanie uzora pri zakladnom tkan′e', *čärek*, *čärik*, *sarïq* 'kün bašmak, käwĕš; kožanye bašmaki', *čärki* 'kunïčlï kün botinka; botinok s goleniščem po ščikolotku' (TatD2), *sarïq* '(ėtn.) čaryk (starinnaja obuv′ s kožanoj golovkoj i sukonnym goleniščem, ukrašennym uzornoj vyšivkoj)' (Bashk), *carïq*, *sarïq* 'sazda yörü öčen künnän tegelgän ayak kiyeme; brodni (obuv′ iz koži dlja hoždenija po bolotu)', *carï-* 'obmatyvat′, obvjazyvat′', *cärkä* 'kaloši' (SibTat), *čarïq* 'čaryky (vid obuvi)' (SibTatBD), *čarïk* 'čaryki (rod poršnej, obuv′ iz syromjatnoj koži s tolstoj podošvoj, korotkimi goleniščami i so slegka zagnutymi kverhu noskami)', *čarï-* 'svjazat′ zamotav (verevkoj, tes′moj)' (Kirg), *čarïq* 'das grobe Schuhzeug der Bauern, Lederstücke, die man um die Füsse bindet' (KirgR), *šarïq*: *šarïq kebis* 'leather sandals, bad footwear' (Kaz), *šarïq* 'grubaja obuv′ iz syromjatnoj koži' (KazB), *šarïq* 'grobe Lederschuhe' (KazR), *šarq* 'kožanye galoši, lapti iz syromjatnoj koži' (Kklp), *šarïk* 'čaryki, postoly, poršin (lapti, izgotovlennye iz cel′noj koži), čuvjaki' (Nog), *čarïq* 'čaryki, postoly' (CrTat), *čarïq čarïq* 'das grobe Schuhzeug der Bauern' (CrTatR), *čarïq* 'lapot′' (KarSh), *čarïq* 'čaryki (grubaja obuv′ iz syromjatnoj koži)' (Kum), *čarïk* 'saru; Sandale, Fussbekleidung' (KumN), *čarïq* 'čuvjak, tapočka, čuvjačnyj' (KrchBlk), *čarïq* 'Riemenschuh' (KrchP), *carïq*, *carïg*, *carïx* 'weicher, lederner Schuh, worüber beim Ausgehen schwere lederne Galoschen gezogen werden' (BlkP); ***SW*** *čarïk* 'čaryki (grubaja kustarnaja obuv′ iz verbljuž′ej ili korov′ej syromjatnoj koži)' (Tkm), *čarïg* 'lapti' (Az), *çarık* 'rawhide sandal, drag, skid, shoe (for a carriage wheel), etc.' (Tt), *çarıḫ*, *çarko*, *çaruḫ*, *çaruk* 'çarık', *çarüke* 'terlik, ayakkabı' (TtD1), *čarïq* 'das grobe Schuhzeug der Bauern, der Hemmschuh' (TtR), *čarïk* 'čaryki (grubaja kustarnaja obuv′), postoly (rod laptej iz syromjatnoj koži)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čåriq*, *čåruġ* 'čaryki (grubaja obuv′ iz syromjatnoj koži, kotoruju nosili preimuščestvenno gorcy)' (Uzb), *čaruq*, *čoroq* 'a light boot to be fixed round the ankle joint by a string' (TurkiJ), *châroq* 'a rough boot of untanned leather formed like a mocassin with lower leather drawn up round the foot' (TurkiSh), *čoruq* 'čaryki (rod laptej iz syromjatnoj koži)' (MUyg); ***NE*** *šarïk* 'ženskaja samodel′naja obuv′' (AltL), *šarïg* 'svjazka, povjazka', *šarï-* 'zavjazyvat′' (Tuv), *šarïġ* 'povjazka, bint, obruč, obvjazka', *šarï-* 'obvjazyvat′, obmatyvat′, zabintovyvat′' (Tof); ***Y*** *sarī* 'olen′ja zamša, rovduga, lajka, mjagkie rovdžnye torbasa', [*čalkï*, *čakkï*, *čarkï* 'rod obuvi' ← reborrowed fr Rus] (Y).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 428), the T word *čaruk* 'a kind of footwear', more specifically, 'a rough, homemade boot', is a simplex. As demonstrated by Clauson, the concept of T *čaruk* may be in opposition to that of *ätük* 'a professionally made boot'. Earlier, Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 23–25) considered T *čaruk* to have been formed with the dim suff *+k*. T *čaruk* is a widespread word that occurs in many non-T lgs (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 23–25). The Rus dials show several forms (see *čarki*, *čary*, *čaryki* in Dal′ (1863–1866/4: 582) and Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 316–317)) which were copied at different times fr several T lgs. In SibTat, Kirg and Tuv contain the

verb forms *carï-*, *čarï-* and *šarï-*, resp, 'to tie up, to wind up'. Unless these are back-formations, the T word is a dev noun, cf. Tenišev (2001: 480).

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 170) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. Munkácsi (1900b: 336) accepted Vámbéry's opinion. According to Gombocz (1912b: 115), the OChuv copied form could be **čarïg*. Ligeti (1935a: 213; 1935b: 281–282) considered the word to be an international word that came with the spread of civilisation and was copied by the Hungarians fr a T lg. Bárczi (1941: 266) regarded the H word as an early T lw. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 497), the H word may go back either to OT **čarug*, **čarïg* or OChuv **šarug*, **šarïg*. The copied form could also have had a final consonant *-k*. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 24), the OChuv source of H *saru* was very likely **čarug* < **čaruk* (and not **čarïg*) but one can also imagine that the copied form did not have the dim suff and was thus **čarū*. Ligeti (1986: 57, 318–319) explained H *saru* < OH *sarú* fr a copied T form **čaruk* 'a kind of jackboot'. The meaning 'sandals' on the basis of the data cited by Gáborján (1981: 430) may be a secondary one. The original meaning of the word 'a kind of jackboot' was replaced through the use of *csizma* 'boot', which appeared in H via SouthSl mediation fr Ott. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1309), the H word *saru* was copied in the form **čaruk* and the disaffrication *č-* > *š-* occurred in H (see **sátor**, **seprő**[2]). On the final shortening *-u* < *-ú*, see **kapu**.

◆ Dal′ 1863–1866/4: 582; Vámbéry 1870: 170; Munkácsi 1900b: 336; Gombocz 1912b: 115; Ligeti 1935a: 213; Ligeti 1935b: 281–282; Bárczi 1941: 266; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 23–25; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 316–317; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 497; Räsänen 1969: 101; Clauson 1972: 428; Gáborján 1981: 430; Ligeti 1986: 13, 57, 79, 82, 194–195, 200, 318–319, 529–530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1309; Tenišev 2001: 480.

SÁTOR [šātor] 'tent' | c1150/13–14th c. GN *Saturholmu* [šātor-holmu], p1372/c1448 *ſatorokot* [šātor-okot] | *šātor* < **šatur* < **čatur* ← WOT **čatur* | EOT *čatïr* '(canvas) tent'.

OT *čātir*, *čāčir* 'tent', the Og call it *čāšir* (AK); **MT** *čatïr* 'tente, yourte' (UHy), *čadïr* 'tent' (ABF), *čätr* 'tent' (AGul), *čadïr* 'çadır' (AHMA), *čadïr* 'namiot' (AHŠ), *čadïr* 'šater, palatka' (AHŠF), *čadïr* 'palatka' (AIM), *čatïr* 'çadır' (AIMI), *čadïr* 'tent' (Mo *čačir* id.), *čatïr* 'umbrella, tent' (AKD), *čādar* 'overgarment, mantle' (AKor ← Pe), *šadïrvan* 'šater' (AM), *čadïr* 'šater, palatka' (ANehF), *čadïr* 'šater, palatka' (ATef), *čadïr* 'pavillon, tente' (AChag), *čadïr*, *čatïr* 'palatka, šater' (AChagBud), *čadïr* 'šater' (AChagMA), *čadïr* 'a tent made of canvas' (AChagSC), *čadïr* 'Zelt' (AChagŠSK), *čadïr* 'Zelt, Vorhang, Schleier' (AChagZ), *čatïr* 'Zelt' (LCCI), *čatïr* 'çadır' (AAH), *čadar tiräki* 'poteau, colonne (de tente)', *čadur*, *čadïr* 'tente' (ADur), *čaṭïr* 'pokryvalo' (ATuh), *čatïr* 'çadır' (ATuhA), *čatïr* 'tente' (AmTr), *čatïr* 'tent' (AmCh), *čadïr* 'çadır' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čatăr* 'šater, palatka, šatrovyj, palatočnyj, naves, baldahin, (*dial.*) polog, zanaveska' (Chuv ← Tat), *čaršav* 'zanaves, zanaveska, gardina, štora, drapirovka, drapirovannyj, (peren.) zavesa, pelena' (Chuv), *čatăr* 'šater,

palatka, šalaš, besedka, polog', *čarša* 'polog, balagan, zanaveska', *čaršav* 'zanaveska, zavesa' (ChuvA), *čatăr* 'sátor; Zelt', *čaršav* Szp. id. 'függöny; Vorhang' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čatïr* 'šater, palatka, šatrovyj', *čaršau* 'polog, zanaves, zavesa, zanaveska' (Tat), *čatïr* 'xatïn-kïz mäyeten ziratka kütärep iltkändä anïŋ östenä čatïrsïman korïla torgan materiyä; materija dlja pokrytija ustrojstva v vide šatra nad telom pokojnicy', *čaršau*, *šaršau* 'täräzä pärdäse, okonnaja zanaveska' (TatD2), *čaršau*, *šaršau* 'függöny; Vorhang', *čatïr* 'sátor; Zelt' (TatB [both items with the remark ← Pe]), *čatïr*, *čadïr* 'das Zelt' (TatKR), *satïr* 'šater, zont, zontik, zontičnyj, zontovoj, (bot.) zontik, krona' (Bashk), *čatïr* 'das Zelt' (SibTatTR), *čatïr* 'palatka, kryša, naves, (ohot.) zaslon (perenosnyj)', *kol čatïr* 'zontik' (Kirg), *šatïr* 'tent, roof' (Kaz), *šatïr* 'kryša, palatka, šater, naves, zont, palatočnyj' (KazB), *šatïr* 'das Zelt' (KazR), *šatïr* 'šater, palatka' (Kklp), *šatïr* 'šater, palatka, (dial.) pautina' (Nog), *čatïr* 'šater, palatka, skinija, izba' (KarT, KarC), *catïr* 'kibitka, palatka' (KarH), *čadïr* 'palatka, šater' (KarC), *čatïr* 'das Zelt' (KarTR), *čatïr* 'šater, šalaš' (Kum), *čatïr* 'Zelt, Hütte' (KumN), *čatïr* balk. 'šater, palatka', *šatïr* 'šater, palatka' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čādïr* 'palatka, šater', *čādra* 'čadra' (Tkm), *čadïr* 'palatka, šater', *čätir* 'zontik, krona dereva' (Az), *čadïr* 'das Zelt' (AzR), *çader* Pe lrnd. = *çadır* 'tent, pavilion, (prov.) kind of cloak worn by women in the East, chuddar, (prov.) umbrella, (obs.) balloon', *çarşaf* 'bed sheet, women's outdoor overgarment', *çarşeb* Pe lrnd. 'bed sheet' (Tt), *çadıra* 'çarşaf' (TtD), *çadar* 'kıldan örülmüş kilim (çadır için)', *çadır* 'şemsiye, kefen, yorğan çarşafı, etc.', *çarşov* 'çarşaf, örtü', *çerçef*, *çerşov* 'çarşaf' (TtD1), *çadır* 'çadır, çarşaf' (TtDA), *čatïr*, *čadïr* 'das Zelt' (TtR), *čadïr* 'šater, palatka, zontik' (Gag), *čadur*, *čạdur*, *čạdïr*, *čạdiriż*, *čạdi´r*, *čạdü´r*, *čạdu̇r*, *čạdï˝r*, *čạdï´r*, *čadïr* 'Schleier, Zelt', *čaršou̯* 'Schleier, Zelt' (Khor), *čadur* 'Schleier, Zelt' (SOg); ***Kh*** *čă̄dur* 'Zelt', *čă̄duršä´v* 'Decke, Laken' [Vgl. Pe *čādar-šab*, wohl L. (dort *šav* 'Nacht')] (Kh), *čādur* 'Schleier', *čāduršäb* 'Laken' (KhT); ***SE*** *čådir* 'palatka, šater, bol´šoj zanaves, polog (iz materii ili brezenta), čadra' (Uzb), *čadɛr*, *čādɛr*, *čɛder*, *čɛdir* 'tent' (TurkiJ), *čadïr* '(svadebnaja) palatka' (TurkiL), *čedir* 'das Zelt' (TurkiTR), *čadir*, *čedir*, (dial.) *čedi* 'palatka, šater, krovlja, kryša' (MUyg), *čadi̯r* 'tente' (SalK); ***NE*** *čadïr* 'šater, palatka, polog' (Alt), *čadïr* 'das Zelt' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *čadïr* 'palatka, šater' (AltL), *čadïr* 'šater, palatka' (AltQK), *sadïr*, *šadïr* 'bol´šoj vojlok, kotorym pokryvajut ili alačik' (KhakB), *šadïr* 'das Zelt' (KhakShR), *čatïr* 'das Zelt' (ChulR), *čadïr* 'čum, šalaš, šater' (Tuv), *ča˝tïr* 'koral´, zagon dlja domašnih olenej, medvež´ja berloga', *ča˝tïr-ög* 'odnoskatnyj šalaš' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *čačar* 'large tent, open tent, awning tent, hut, stall' (L).

E/T Two types of tent existed in Central Asia. One of them is the yurt type, the other is the 'black tent', which can be found in the South, the Middle East and North Africa as far as Morocco; on the details, see Róna-Tas (1961) and Andrews (1997). Németh (1953b: 14) suggested that the T word has an internal T etymology and may go back to the T verb *čat-*. This has some weak points. The first vowel in the T word

meaning 'tent, etc.' is long in Tkm, Kh and Kashgari, however it is short in the proposed verbal base *čat-*. Németh thought that *čāčïr* (AK) is a Mo lw, but there are serious chronological difficulties with this assumption. The occurrence of the Mo change **ti* > *či* at such an early time in the 11th c. or before seems very strange. It is hard to accept Menges' complicated explanation (1955: 29) that a Pe word was borrowed into T as *čādar* 'Kleidungsstück' and that the meaning 'tent' occurred in T due to a semantic change and was later re-borrowed into Pe, where it could have coincided with the original Pe word. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 16–22) discussed T *čātïr* in a detailed entry. According to him, the word is a copy fr MPe *čātur* although the T word may also have an internal T etymology. In the latter case, it may go back to T *čat-* 'sich zusammenfügen' (see **csat**). T *čāčïr* appeared independently fr Mo as a result of assimilation, while *čāšïr*, an Og dial form, occurred as a result of dissimilation. Mo *čačir* is an internal development fr the copied T *čātïr*. Clauson (1972: 403) considered T *čatïr* '(canvas) tent' as a lw which "ultimately derived fr. Sanskrit *chattra* 'a (royal) umbrella' [...] The channel through which the word reached Turkish with this change of meaning is uncertain, prob. some Iranian language." Clauson also pointed out that there are data among the ModT forms which were copied directly fr Rus and Pe. Rus *šater* [šatyor], fr ORus *šator˝*, is ultimately a T lw (cf. Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 413, who mentioned that the ultimate source of the word is Pe *čatr* 'zaslon, palatka', OInd *cháttram* 'zaslon'). Ščerbak (1997: 193) was of the opinion that MT → MMo form *čadur* 'šater' may be of Pe origin.

Tenišev (2001: 497–499) called attention to the fact that one can find the word *čatma* in some T lgs: AChagBud *čatma* 'kruglaja kibitka kočevnikov Srednei Azii', Kklp *šatpa* 'bednoe žilišče, domiško', Tkm *čatma* 'šalaš, (*prost.*) žil'e, žilišče', TtD *čatma* 'palatka kočevnikoc (jurjukov)', UzbD *čatma* 'šalaš'. This word may certainly go back to the T verbal stem **čat-*. But Chuv *čaršav* 'zanaveska, polog, zakryvajuščij, zagoraživajuščij krovat'' (←Tat), Tat *čaršau* (→ Cher *čarša*), Bashk *šaršau*, Kum *šaršav*, MUyg *čarčap*, Uzb *čåyšab*, Kirg *šeyšep*, Tt *čaršaf* etc. are of Pe der (*čador-šäf*).

We have to exclude the IE etymology, by which the word may be linked to the IE word for 'four', suggesting that the word denoted a roof which stood on four poles (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 526–527). The Ir equivalent of Ind **chad-* 'bedecken, zudecken, verhüllen' (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 554) is **sād-*. All items with *č-*, e.g. MPe *čādur*, NPe *čādur*, are lws fr Ind. Original Ir is MPe *ā-sāyag* 'shelter' or Os *a-sadyn*, *a-sadun* 'to become clouded' (Cheung 2007: 341).

No doubt the word is a typical cultural word which came fr the south, fr the Indic Peninsula. Its unusual phonetic behaviour stems fr the long route it took accompanying the caravans.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 170) compared *sátor* with Chag and Tt data (*čatir*, *čadïr*). He pointed out that the T words may be Pe in origin. Gombocz (1912b: 115) considered the copied form as OChuv **čatïr*. Bárczi (1941: 267) accepted the T etymology of the H word. According to Harmatta (1953: 183), there are some Ir elements that denote dwelling places in the T lexical stock and one of them may be *čadïr*, *čatïr* 'Zelt'. Németh (1953b: 14) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **šatïr* for H *sátor* and thought that the Pe corresponding form was borrowed fr an Og lg. The *-t-* > *-d-* change is well known in the SW branch and Németh sees no reason to think that the T word is of Pe der. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 19) the H word may go back to a T form **šatïr* and not to **čatïr*, and came into H via Sl mediation. Ligeti (1975: 283; 1986: 57) assumed that the copied T form could be **čatïr* and thus the *č-* > *š-* change occurred in H. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 500–501), the H word is of OT origin. It is not very likely that the ultimate source of the T etymon is in Skrt or Pe. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1310) accepted Ligeti's opinion. The H word was borrowed into some Sl lgs and it also occurred in Rom. According to Kniezsa (1955: 937), the Sl words are fr H and fr a different period.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 170; Gombocz 1912b: 115; Munkácsi 1912–1913c: 359; Bang–Rachmati 1932: 713; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 267; Harmatta 1953: 183; Németh 1953b: 14; Kniezsa 1955: 937; Korompay 1955: 93; Menges 1955: 29; Róna-Tas 1961; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 16–22; Egorov 1964: 318; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 413; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 500–501; Räsänen 1969: 100–101; Clauson 1972: 403; Ligeti 1975: 283; Ligeti 1986: 57, 118, 183, 186, 194, 199, 203, 207, 213, 298, 315, 529; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 526–527, 554; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1310; Fedotov 1996/2: 393–394; Andrews 1997; Ščerbak 1997: 193; Tenišev 2001: 497–499; Cheung 2007: 341.

SEBES [šebeš] 'fast, quick' | 1039/15th c. ? PN *Schebis* [šebiš], 1181/1288/1366/16th c. *Sebespatak* [šebeš-pâtâk], 1211 PN *sebus* [šebüš], p1372/c1448 *febes* [šebeš] | *šebeš* < **šeb* {with suff +(*V*)*š*} ← WOT **šip* < **sip* | EOT **sip* 'beautiful, swift' | See **szép**.

See all data under **szép**.

E/T Reconstructed PT **sEp* 'duct, river branch, bay' can be found under the entry PA **sàp'i* 'shore', but both reconstructions are only based on the SibT item (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1213). Maybe they have to be separated fr the words that denote 'fast' (see the vocalism). Räsänen (1969: 410) pointed out the fact that the Sib word also appears in Osty and Vog. Khak *sip* 'neboľšoj rečnoj zaliv' (→ Osty *säp*, Vog *sə̄p* 'seichte Wasserstrasse zwischen kleinen Seen'). These words belong here only if the original semantic change was 'quick, fast, rapid' > 'rapid river', on which see OH *sebes patak* 'rapid rivulet' above.

E/H The H word is a der fr the now non-existent H word **seb* [šeb] of T origin with the H den der suff +(*V*)*š*. This word should not be confused with H *seb* [šeb] 'wound'. Vámbéry (1870: 171) compared H *sebes* with T words which cannot be related to the word in question. Munkácsi (1909b: 182) compared it with some T data,

Tat *šeb* ‘schnell, geschwind (adv)’ and *šäb* ‘rüstig, schnell, flink (adj)’, among others. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 298) accepted Munkácsi’s comparison and added some T data to this etymological proposal. He mentioned Kashgari’s phrase *šäb käl* ‘komm schnell’ and *šäbük* ‘schnell’, which may show a secondary development and whose correspondences are well-known in the T lgs (see Ott *čabuk*, Uyg, Chag, Kaz, AltTel *čap-* ‘schnell reiten’, etc.). Bárczi (1941: 267) considered the H word of uncertain origin. He pointed out, however, that the history of the T word (Tat, Bashk *šäb* ‘quick, fast’) is unclear and noted that the copying of a T adj into H in this way seems unusual (but see **ildomos**). Benkő (1967–1984/3: 505–506) claimed that the H word *sebes* may be a member of an unknown H word family. The T origin of the base **seb* needs further investigation. The H basic word may, perhaps, be an old nomen verbum. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1313) later repeated that H *sebes* is of unknown der and that it may be a der fr a fictitious nominal or verbal stem. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *sebes* among the T lws in H. The Os *sæp* ‘rys′ (alljur)’, *sæpp kænyn, sæppæj wajyn* ‘bežat′ risju’ (Abaev 1958–1989/3: 72) originally meant ‘fast’, nevertheless it does not seem to belong to the original Ir word stock. It is a lw fr T, reflecting a form **sip* (see H **szép**).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Munkácsi 1909b: 182; Bárczi 1941: 267; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 298; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 72; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 505–506; Räsänen 1969: 410; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1313; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1213.

SÉD *arch*, *dial* ‘spring, well, brook’ see **sió**.

SÉK *dial* ‘the larger part of a waterway (lake or river) not covered with plants, a slippery, smooth place’, **sekély** ‘shallow, flat (of water)’ see **sík**.

SEPER [šëpër], **söpör** [šöpör] ‘to sweep, to broom’ | p1372/c 1448 *ſepernÿ* [šeper-ni], *ſepriuala* [šepri-vålå], c1519 *ſőpőriők* [šöpör-yök] | *šeper-* < **šipir-* ← WOT **šipir-* < **sipir-* | EOT *sipir-* ‘to sweep’.

OT *kim äwig barqγ kräküg sipirür arïtïr* ‘der Haus, Hof und Zelt ausfegt, reinigt, schmückt und behaglich macht; und süße, gute Räucherstäbchen aufstellt und sie brennen herunter’ (Windgott), *sipir-* ‘to sweep’ (UXuanzangIndex), *süpür-*: *ol äv süpürdī* ‘he swept the house (or other)’, *äv süprüldi* ‘the house was swept’. If you get angry with a person you say: *süprül* MS <SUB·RUK> (sic!) meaning ‘go like sweepings without anyone caring about them’ (AK); **MT** *säpür-* ‘to sweep’ (AGul), *süpür-* ‘temizlemek’ (AHMA), *süpür-* ‘mesti’ (AIM), *süpür-* ‘süpürgeyle çöp ve tozu kaldırmak’ (AIMI), *süpürge* ‘broom’ (AKD), *sipir-* ‘podmetat′’ (ANehF), *süpür-* ‘balayer’ (AChag), *sipür-* ‘mesti, podmetat′ sor’ (AChagBud), *sipür-*, *süpür-* ‘auskehren’ (AChagR), *süpür-* ‘to sweep’ (AChagSC), *süpür-* ‘fegen, bürsten’ (AChagZ), *süpür-* ‘süpürmek’ (AAH), *süpür-* (-b-) ‘zamiatać’ (ABul), *süpür-* ‘fegen, bürsten’ (AHou),

süpür- ‘söpör; kehren’ (AKav), *sipir-*, *süpir-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (ATuh), *sipir-*, *süpir-* ‘süpürmek’ (ATuhA), *sibir-*, *sipir-* ‘balayer, nettoyer’ (AmTr); **NT *Chuv*** *šăpăr* ‘metla, metelka, venik, golik (*razg.*)’ (Chuv), *šăpăr* ‘metla, metelka, venik’, *šăppăr* ‘venik’ (ChuvA), *šăpăr* ‘Besen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *seber-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, podmesti, mesti’ (Tat), *sïpïr-* ‘seberü; podmetaťʼ (TatD1), *sïpïr-* ‘urlau; krasťʼ (TatD1), *seper-* ‘urlau; krasťʼ (TatD1), *seber-* ‘sörtü; vytiraťʼ, stiraťʼ, *seber-* ‘jir tïrmalau; boronovaťʼ (TatD1), *seber-* ‘sargan kortnï jïyïp alu; sobiraťʼ privivajuščijsja roj pčel’ (TatD1), *seber-* ‘tïrmalau; boronovaťʼ; sörtü; vytiraťʼ, stiraťʼ (TatD2), *seber-* ‘seperni; kehren (mit Besen)’ (TatB), *sïpïr-* ‘fegen, etwas mit Fingern oder Brot reinigen’, *sibĭr-* ‘fegen, ausfegen’ (TatKR), *heper-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, vymetaťʼ, zametaťʼ čto’ (Bashk), *hübür-* ‘söpörni [to sweep]’ (BashkP), *seber-*: *yer seber-* ‘tïrmalau; boronovaťʼ (SibTat), *sïpïr-* (južn.), *šïpïr-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, sgrebaťʼ (rukami)’ (Kirg), *sïpïr-* ‘to sweep (the floor), to clear away, to brush off, to take off, to take away’ (Kaz), *sïpïr-* ‘sdiraťʼ, zamesti, razmesti, podmetaťʼ, podmesti’ (KazB), *sïpïr-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, vytiraťʼ’ (Kklp), *sïpïr-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, vytiraťʼ, sobiraťʼ, sgrebaja rukoj ili trjapkoj (napr. kroški so stola)’ (Nog), *sipir-* ‘podmetaťʼ’ (CrTat), *sipir-* ‘auskehren’ (CrTatR), *sibir-* ‘čistiťʼ, mesti, vytiraťʼ’ (KarT, KarH), *sipir-* ‘podmetaťʼ’ (KarSh), *sibir-* ‘podmetaťʼ, smetaťʼ, vytiraťʼ’ (Kum), *sibir-* ‘reiben, fegen, kehren’ (KumN), *sibir-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ čto-l., (peren.) krasťʼ čto’, *sïpïr-* ‘vymetaťʼ, sgrebaťʼ’, *sïpxar-* ‘podmesti (pol), vymesti (sor), (razg.) stibriťʼ, ukrasťʼ (čto)’ (KrchBlk), *sibir-* ‘fegen’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *süpür-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, vymetaťʼ, vytiraťʼ, stiraťʼ’ (Tkm), *süpür-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ’ (Az), *süpür-* ‘to sweep, to brush (clothes), (fig.) to sweep away, to clear the table’ (Tt), *süpür-* ‘fegen, ausfegen, ausbürsten’ (TtR), *süpür-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ, očistiťʼ “pod metlu”, ničego ne ostaviťʼ, (peren.) isčeznuťʼ, udraťʼ, uliznutʼ’ (Gag), *sipirgä*, *sipʹirgä*, *sipịrgä*, *süpürgä*, *süpürgä*, *siʹpürgä*, *sipiʹrgä* ‘Besen’ (Khor), *süpür-*, *sipir-* ‘kehren, fegen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *sipir-* ‘kehren, fegen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *supur-* ‘podmetaťʼ, mesti, vymetaťʼ’ (Uzb), *süpürgü* ‘venik’ (UzbD, Dybo 2003: 359), *sùpür-*, *sùpùy-* ‘to sweep, to brush’ (TurkiJ), *sipur-* ‘to sweep’ (TurkiSh), *süpür-* ‘fegen, ausfegen, auskehren, vernichten’ (TurkiTR), *süpür-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (MUyg), *sūr-*, *sür-*, *sùr-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (Sal), *sür-* ‘balayer, brosser’ [<< *süpür-*] (SalK), *für-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (YUyg ← Mo), *šür-* ‘podmetaťʼ, *šör-* ‘mesti, vymetaťʼ, podmetaťʼ (YUygM ← Mo); ***NE*** *sibir-* ‘podmetaťʼ (Alt), ? *sïbïr-* ‘jagen, verjagen’ (AltR), *sïbïr-* ‘jagen, verjagen’ (AltLR), *sibir-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (AltQK), *sïbïr-* ‘jagen, verjagen’, *sibir-* ‘auskehren’ (AltTelR), *sïbïr-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (*sor*, *musor*)’ (Khak), *sïbïr-* ‘jagen, verjagen, fegen, ausfegen’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *sïbïr-* ‘jagen, verjagen’ (KhakShR, ChulR), ? *šūrdi-* ‘to sweep up’, *šïbïr* ‘clean’ (FY), ? *širbi-* ‘mesti, vymetaťʼ (Tuv), ? *sïbïr-* ‘gonjaťʼ, gnaťʼ, gnaťʼsja’ [cf. *sür-* ?], *sïbïr-* ‘skobliťʼ, skresti, soskablivaťʼ, sdiraťʼ (škuru), sdergivaťʼ, zasučivaťʼ (rukava)’ [cf. *sür-* II] (Tof); ***Y*** *sippiy-* ‘mesti, vymetaťʼ, podmetaťʼ (Y), *sippīr*, *sippiy-* ‘mesti, podmetaťʼ (YS).

Mo *sigür* 'broom', *sigüre-* 'to snatch something from the ground, seize, grab, to snatch away', *sirbe-* 'to sweep, to dust', *sirbegül* 'broom, whisk, fly whisk made of hair' (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 791) considered the T verb *sipir-* 'to sweep', which is attested as of the OT period, as a simplex. Its metaphorical meanings 'to drive out, send away' etc. could have developed fr its original meaning. Clauson pointed out that the T word was borrowed by the Mongols in early times and it appears in Mo as *si'ür-* (cf. also Ščerbak (1997: 144–145)). Citing OT data in addition to those of Clauson's, Erdal (1991: 786–787), rightly stated that the first-syllabic vowel of the verb was originally an *-i-*. The labial vowel *-ü-* appeared in the word secondarily under the influence of the segment /p/. Discussing the T verb and its ders, Blagova (Dybo 2003: 359–365) thought that the relatively great phonetic alternation between the T word forms may be due to an old dial variation. According to her, this alternation could also concern the word-initial consonant, which was originally *s-*, but appears as *š-*, e.g. in some dials of the Uzb, MUyg, Kaz and YUyg lgs. Such an alternation seems very strange and in these cases one can suppose re-borrowings fr Mo. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1329–1330) reconstructed a PA root **šǐpV-* 'to sweep'. This entry also consists of the PTu reconstruction **čipi-* 'to sweep, to scrape', which is based on one single Evnk item and a PKor form, but they do not pertain here. They also discussed the PMo reconstruction **sigür-* in this regard. However, the Mo forms go back to an early T form, as already mentioned above. The T verb was otherwise borrowed by some foreign lgs. On its spread, see Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 287–288). Doerfer rejected Poppe's view that one can suppose an old etymological link between the base of Mo *sigür* < **sipür* 'Besen', which is *sigü-*, the base of OT *sipir-* 'fegen' (< *sip-i-r-*), which is **sip-* and the Tu verb *sippi̲i̲-* 'fegen'. Cincius (1975–1977/2: 93) and Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 287–288) noted the attention to the fact that the Tu verb *sippi̲i̲-* is a Y lw. According to him, the original meaning of the Mo verb *sigü-* was 'durchsieben, filtern' (cf. 'to filter, strain, to skim off, to fish out with a net, to percolate, to try or examine in court, to judge, to win in a game' (L)) and that the meaning of Mo *sigür* 'Besen' is the result of an internal Mo development. Mo *sigü-* (and see its ders *sigügči* 'judge, member of the jury', *sigügde-* pass, *sigügül* 'skimmer, strainer, filter', *sigür-* 'to filter through, to trickle, to percolate', etc.) is related to another base. It also has to be separated fr *sigür-* 'to snatch something from the ground, seize, grab, to snatch away', which is a T lw. The entry *sigür* in Lessing's dict must be divided into two parts. The meanings 'broom, whisk broom' and perhaps 'fine comb' may belong to the first group and the meaning 'filter, strainer' to the second.

Doerfer pointed out that there is another word family in Mo: *sirbe-* (*sirbi-*) 'to sweep, to dust'. It may perhaps be an older T lw fr **siprä-* (with a metathetic change in Mo).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 171) suggested the connection between the H verb *seper-*, *söpör-* and T words (Chag *söpür-* and Tt *süpür-*). Gombocz (1912b: 116) reconstructed the OChuv verb form **šipir-* for the H verb. Ligeti (1935a: 198, 215) called attention to the Mo corresponding forms. Bárczi (1941: 274) accepted the Chuv origin of the word. Ligeti (1960: 294–295; 1961: 25) rightly pointed out that the original initial consonant in the T verb was *s-* but its Chuv corresponding *š-* could also have been an old representative. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 518–519; 1993–1997/2: 1319) reconstructed the T copied form as **šipir-* and he thought that the verb originally denoted the action of the sweeping and gathering of the corn. Palló (1982: 155–156) reconstructed a copied form **šüpür-*. Ligeti (1986: 18, 186) took the copied form to be **šipir-*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Gombocz 1912b: 116; Ligeti 1935a: 198, 215; Bárczi 1941: 274; Joki 1952: 265; Ligeti 1960: 294–295; Ligeti 1961: 25; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 287–288; Egorov 1964: 334–335; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 518–519; Räsänen 1969: 437; Clauson 1972: 791; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 93; Palló 1982: 155–156; Ligeti 1986: 18, 186, 320; Erdal 1991: 786–787; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1319; Fedotov 1996/2: 447; Ščerbak 1997: 144–145; Dybo 2003: 359–365; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1329–1330.

SEPRŐ[1] [šeprō̄], **seprű**[1] [šeprū̄] ‘broom’ | p1372/c1448 *ſeprewkewt* [šeprō̄-köt] id. | *šeprū̄* < **šipiriɣ* ⟵ WOT **šipiriɣ* < **šipirgi* or < **šipiräg* < **sipir* | EOT **sipirgi*, **süpürgi*, *süpürgü* ‘broom’ < *sipir-* ‘to broom’ {with suff *-gI*}.

Of debated T origin.

OT *süpürgü* ‘broom’ (AK); **MT** *sipürtkä* ‘miotła’ (AHŠ), *sipürtkä* ‘metla’ (AHŠF), *süpürgü* ‘metla’ (AIM), *süpürgü* ‘süpürge’ (AIMI), *süpürge* ‘broom’ (AKD), *süpürgü* ‘balai’ (AChag), *sipirgi*, *sipirtki* ‘metla, borova’ (AChagBud), *süpürgü* ‘metla’ (AChagMA), *süpürgü* ‘der Besen’ (AChagR), *süpürgü* ‘broom, brush’ (AChagSC), *süpürgü* ‘süpürge’ (AChagŠS), *süpürgü* ‘Besen’ (AChagŠSK), *süpürge* ‘Besen, Bürste, Federbusch’ (AChagZ), *sibürtki* ‘Besen’ (LCCI), *süpürgä* ‘süpürge’ (AAH), *sibirgä*, *süpürgä* ‘balai’ (ADur), *süpürgä* ‘Besen’ (AHou), *süpürgän* ‘söprű; Besen’ (AKav), *sipirgä*, *sipirgi* ‘venik, metla’ (ATuh), *sipirge*, *sipirgi* ‘süpürge’ (ATuhA), *sibirtki* ‘balai’ (AmTr), *süpürge* ‘süpürge’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *šăpăr* ‘metla, metelka, venik, golik (*razg.*)’ (Chuv), *šăpăr* ‘metla, metelka, venik’, *šăppăr* ‘venik’ (ChuvA), *šăpăr* ‘Besen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *seberke* ‘metla, venik, meteločnyj, (peren.) babnik, voloknita’ (Tat), *seberke* ‘tïrma; borona’, *sebertke* ‘išek aldï seberkese; metla’, *sebertke* ‘tïrma; borona’ (TatD1), *seberke* ‘tïrma; borona’, *seber‘e* ‘tïrma; borona’, *sebertke* ‘išek aldï seberkese; metla’, *sebertke* ‘čäčkän ašlïknï kümderü öčen tïrma artïna tagïlgan botaklï agač; vetvistoe derevo, kotoroe prikrepljaetsja k grabljam dlja zakapyvanija zasejannogo zerna’ (TatD2), *seberke* ‘fürdőseprű; Badebesen’, *sebergeč* ‘seprű; Besen’ (TatB), *sibĭrkĭ* ‘der Zweigbündel’ (TatKR), *hepertke* ‘venik, metla, (peren.) ženščina legkogo povedenija’ (Bashk), *sebertke* ‘seberke; metla; tïrma; borona’ (SibTat), *sibirtkä* ‘der Besen’ (SibTatTR), *sïpïrgï*, (južn., talas.) *šïpïrgï* ‘venik, metla’ (Kirg), *sïpïrtqï* ‘broom’, *sïpïrġïš* ‘whisk broom, broom, besom’ (Kaz), *sïpïrgï sïpïrtqï*

'venik' (KazB), *sïpïrġï*, *sïpïrġïš* 'venik, metla' (Kklp), *sïpïrgïš* 'venik, metla' (Nog), *sipirki*, *sipirtki* 'metla, venik', *sipir-* 'podmetať' (CrTat), *sipirtki* 'der Besen' (CrTatR), *sibirtki*, *sibirt´ki* 'metla' (KarT), *sibirtki* 'metla' (KarH), *sipirki* 'venik, metla, metelka', *sïbïrtqï* 'venik, metla' (KarC), *sibirtgi* 'metla, venik, pomelo' (Kum), *sibirtke* 'seprő; Besen' (KumN), *sibirtki* 'venik, metla', *sïpïrtxïč* (redko) 'metla, venik' (KrchBlk), *sibirtki* 'Besen' (KrchP), *sibirtxi* 'Besen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *süpürgi* 'metelka, metla' (Tkm), *süpürg´ä* 'venik, metelka, metla' (Az), *süpürgü* 'der Besen' (AzR), *süpürge* 'broom, brush' (Tt), *süpürgä* 'der Besen' (TtR), *süpürgä* 'metla, metelka, venik, (bot.) sorgo' (Gag), *sipirgä*, *sip´irgä*, *sipịrgä*, *süpürgä*, *süpürgä*, *si´pürgä*, *sipi´rgä* 'Besen' (Khor), *sipirgä* 'Besen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *sipirgä* 'Besen' (Kh), *süpürgä* 'Besen' (KhT); ***SE*** *supurgi* 'venik, (bot.) sorgo, (bot.) kohija veničnaja' (Uzb), *sʉpʉrɛ*, *sʉpʉrgi*, *sʉpʉrgɛ* 'broom, broom-plant' (TurkiJ), *sipurgi* 'a broom, a brush' (TurkiSh), *süpürgä* 'der Besen' (TurkiTR), *süpürgä* 'venik, metla' (MUyg), *ʃorġï*, *šörgo*, *šörġï*, *šürgö* 'venik, metla' (YUyg), *šörgo*, *šörgï* 'metla, ščetka, venik', *šürgö* 'venik, metelka' (YUygM ← Mo); ***NE*** *sibirgi* 'metla, venik' (Alt), *sibirgi* 'venik, metla' (AltQK), *sibirgǐ* 'der Reisbesen, Zweigbünde zum Auskehren, die Badequaste' (AltTelR), *sïbïrġï* 'metla, venik, pomelo', *sĭbĭrgĭ* 'venik, metelka' (Khak), *sïbïrïq*, *sïbïrqa*, *sïbïrġï* 'der Besen' (KhakSR), ? *širbīl* 'metla, venik' (Tuv), ? *sïbïrġïš* 'skrebok' (Tof); ***Y*** *sippīr* 'metla, pomelo, venik, golik (venik s obitymi listʹjami)' (Y), *sippir* 'venik' (YS).

Mo *sigür* 'broom, whisk broom, fine comb' (L).

E/T The T word is a dev noun with the suff *-gI* (cf. Erdal 1991: 320–323) fr the verb *sipir-* (see **seper**, **söpör**). It may have a variant with *-(X)g*, *sipirig*. Clauson (1972: 792) discussed the nominal form *süpürgū* (*sipirgū*), saying Mo *ši'ürge* 'broom, brush' may be considered as an early T lw. If we collect the ders of the T verb *sipir-* 'to sweep', we find derived nominals with the suffs *-gA*, *-gI* and sporadically with *-gAn*. On the T data, see also Joki (1952: 264–265) and Blagova (Dybo 2003: 364). The internal segment *-rg-* > *-rk-* seems to be original and the forms with the unorg *-t-* are secondary. The secondary *š-* in Kirg *šïpïrgï* needs further investigation. The Chuv noun *šăpăr* is phonetically identical with the verb *šăpăr-* and this may show that the noun was formed with one of the historical suffs *-gI* or *-(X)g*. The H noun *seprő*[1], *seprű*[1] may go back to a reconstructed form **šipiriɣ* but this form is not attested. The noun formed with the suff *-(X)g* could, of course, denote an instrument noun (cf. *sančïg* 'lance, spike' fr the tr base *sanč-* (see Erdal 1991: 200)), but *šipirig* may be a metathetic form fr *šipirgi*.

E/H The H word *seprő*[1] may be a H der fr the T-origin verb *seper-* with the suff *-Ó*. (See *jár-* 'to walk' > *járó* 'walker', *kever-* 'to mix' > *keverő* 'mixer', etc.) However, we cannot exclude its T origin, because there is no evidence against it. The H word was considered by Vámbéry (1870: 171) to be of T origin. According to Pais (1942a: 365–366), the H noun *seprő*[1] 'broom' may be of T der, however Pais compared this word

with unrelated T words. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 518–519; 1993–1997/2: 1319) regarded H *seprő*¹ 'broom' as a H der fr the verb **seper**. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *seprő*¹ among the T lws in H. The question cannot be settled.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Pais 1942a: 365–366; Joki 1952: 264–265; Egorov 1964: 334–335; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 518–519; Clauson 1972: 792; Erdal 1991: 200, 205, 320–323; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1319; Fedotov 1996/2: 447; Dybo 2003: 364.

SEPRŐ² [šeprō̄], **söprő** [šöprō̄], **seprű²** [šeprū̄] 'draff, lees, dregs of wine', ? **söpredék** [šöpredēk] 'mob' | c1395 *feprew* [šeprō̄] 'fex', 1527 *feprẘyeet* [šeprü-jēt] 'its mob', 1562 *sȯprȯie* [šöprō̄-ye] | *šeprō̄* < **čeprō̄* < **čöpreγ* ← WOT **čöpräγ*, **čöprök* < **čöp* {with suffs +(*A*)*r*- and -(*O*)*k*} | EOT *čöp* 'sediment, dregs'.

OT *čöp* 'the dregs of anything, or what is squeezed out, *bor čöpi* the dregs of wine' (AK); **MT** *čöp*: *tirki čöpü* 'Die Überbleibsel vom Opfer' (LCC), ? *šäpräk* (? *šöpräk*) 'lie, levure, tartre' (AChag), *šäpräk* 'der Bodensatz, die Hefe' (AChagR), ? *ǰibre* 'ausgequetschte Frucht' (AChagZ), *čepürdek* 'çerçöp, karmakarışık, abur cubur şeyler' (AAHI); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šĕpre* 'drožži, drožževoj, gušča, osadok (*pri droženii*)' (Chuv), *šĕpre* (*šŏpre*) 'drožži, gušča, osadok, ostajuščijsja na dne, tak nazyvajut soplivogo' (ChuvA), *šĕpre* Szp. id. 'alja, seprő, élesztő; Bodensatz, Hefe' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čüprä* 'drožži, zakvaska, brodilo, drožževoj' (Tat), *čüprä* 'öydä yasalgan sïra yäki kvasnïŋ töbenä utïrgan kuyïsï; osadok, obrazovavšijsja na dne domašnego piva ili kvasa' (TatD1), *čüprä* 'seprő, élesztő, kovász; Hefe, Sauerteig' (TatB), *čüprä* 'der Hefen', *čübrä* 'Fischgräten' (TatKR), *süprä* 'drožži, zakvaska' (Bashk), *süprä* 'drožži, zakvaska' (BashkA), *cöbör* 'tuzgan, iskerep betkän, yïrtïk; vethij, rvanyj', *cöbör-cabïr* 'iske-moskï, yïrtïk-portïk, sälämä; star′e, lohmot′ja, obnoski', *cə̄präy-*, *cöbörlän-* 'sälämlänü, tuzïp betü; obnosit′sja, iznosit′sja' (SibTat), *čürpö*: *arpa-čürpö* 'vsjakie hlebnye zlaki (gl. obr. othody)' (Kirg), ? *šüberek* 'milksop' (Kaz), *šöbrö* 'der Bodensatz, eine gelbe aus Wurzeln gekochte Farbe zum Färben des Leders' (KazR), *šöbire* 'rybnye otbrosy (*kosti, koža i t.p.*)' (Kklp), *šöpre* 'otbrosy ot ryby (*kosti, koža i t.p.*)' (KklpB), ? *šapra* '(*kn.*) othody vinograda' (Nog), *čöbre*, *čöpre* 'merva (*othody voska*)' (CrTat), *č′opr′a* 'drožži' (KarT), *čopra* 'vino, drožži, nakip′, pena' (KarSh), *cėprė* 'drožži, brodilo' (KarH), *čöp-čöpüre* 'musor' (Kum), *čöpüre* 'sor, musor, vyžimki' (Kum); ***SW*** *çöbre*, *çöpre*, *çöpüre* 'üzüm posası' (TtD), *ǰibrä* 'die Hefen, der Bodensatz' (TtR), ? *çöpre-* 'bez yırtılınca iplikleri fitil ayrılmak' (TtD), *cirbe* (*cebre*, *cıbır*, *cıbra*, *cöbre*, *çöpre*, *çöpüre*, etc.) 'üzüm posası' (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *čüpürändi* 'musor' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

The T word has to be separated fr the following word family:

OT *čöpür* 'goat's hair'. One pleonastically calls 'rubbish, old furniture', *čöpür čäpür*, *čöprä* 'shabby (of clothing)' (AK); **MT** *čüpräk* 'rag', *ḥayż čüpräki* 'rag of menstruation', *čübür* 'goat's hair' (AKor), *čöprek* 'örtü, kumaş parçası' (ANeh), *čöpräk* (ǰ-, -b-) 'pokryvalo, lohmot′ja, vetoš′' (ANehF), *č[ö]pür* 'goat's hair' (ARbg), *čöpür*

‘poil de chévre, de mouton, jungles, amas, foule’ (AChag), *čöpür* ‘šerstʹ kozʹja i ovečʹja’ (AChagBud), *čöpür* ‘mūy-i buz wa gūsfand (goat’s hair, sheep’s wool), ǰangal wa bīša-i pur diraxt (jungle, a thicket of trees)’ (AChagSC), ? *čiprik* ‘Lappen’ (AChagŠSK), *čüpräk* (čuprak, čupräk) ‘Windeln’ (LCCG), *čüpräk* ‘elbise’ (AAH), *čöpräk* ‘paçavra’ (AAHI), *ṣüpräk* (*çüpräk*) ‘lambeau, haillon’ (ADur), *čüpräk* (ǰ-) ‘Lappen’ (AHou), *čüpräk* (š-) ‘rongy; Lappen’ (AKav), *čüpräk* ‘a piece of cloth’ (AMGh), *šibräk*, *šübräk* ‘trjapka, loskut’ (ATuhA), *šüpräk* ‘yıpranmış, eski’ (ATuhA), *čöpür* ‘keçi kılı’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *čüpräk* ‘trjapka, trjapočnyj, pelenka, podgruznik, (*peren.*) trjapka (*o čelovеke*)’, *čüpräk-čaprak* ‘trjapʹe, vetošʹ, barahlo, hlam’ (Tat), *čeperik* ‘čüpräk; trjapka’, *äper-čeper*, *äpräk-čepräk* ‘čüpräk-čaprak; trjapʹe, vetošʹ, barahlo, hlam’ (TatD2), *čüpräk* ‘rongy; Fetzen, Lumpen’ (TatB), *čüpürök*, (južn.) *čürpök* ‘trjapka’, *čüpürök-čapïrak*, *čüpürök-sapïrak* ‘trjapʹe, raznye trjapki’ (Kirg), *šüberek* ‘a rag, clothes’ (Kaz), *šöbörök* ‘der Lappen, baumwollenes Gewebe, Kattun’, *šüpürök* ‘der Lappen’ (KazR), *šüberek* ‘trjapka, loskut’ (Kklp), *šüberek* ‘trjapka (*kusok tkani*)’ (RKklp), ? *äbir-šübir* ‘vetošʹ, trjapʹe, hlam’, *šüberek* = *šiberek* ‘trjapka, loskut, trjapočnyj, loskutnyj’ (Nog), *čöprek* ‘popona, čeprak’ (CrTat), *čʹuprʹak* ‘trjapka’ (KarT), *ciprėk* ‘trjapka’ (KarH), *čiprėk* ‘pelenki, pelenka’ (KarSh), *čüpürek* ‘trjapka’ (Kum); ***SW*** *čüprek* ‘paklja, korotkij (*t.e. nedobrokačestvennyj – o šersti*)’, *čöpür* ‘kozʹja šerstʹ’ (Tkm), *čöpür* ‘kozʹja šerstʹ’ (Az), *çöpür* ‘combings, cardings, mohair, hair of the Angora goat’ (Tt), *çöpür* ‘keçi kılı, yünün fena kısmı’, *çöpürdük* ‘pis, kirli’ (TtD), *çopur* ‘yün temizlendikten sonra geriye kalan kısım’, *çöpür* ‘keçi kılı’, *çüpür* ‘sert keçi kılı’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čupur* ‘goat’s hair’ (TurkiSh), ? *čupui* ‘dlinnaja šerstʹ (*naprimer, kozlinnaja, jakov, verbljudov*)’ (TurkiL), *čüpür* ‘prjamaja dlinnaja šerstʹ’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *čübirek* ‘trjapka’ (AltQK), *čäbäräk*, *čübĭräk* ‘der Lappen’ (AltQKR), ? *čümirik* ‘sopli’ (AltTK), *čübräk* ‘das Handtuch’, *čäbäräk* ‘der Lappen’ (AltTelR), *šüpörök*, *šübürek*, *šübrek* ‘der Lappen’ (KhakShR), *sübrek* ‘trjapka’ (Khak), *sürbek* ‘trjapka’ (KhakS), *šübüräk*, *šübräk* ‘der Lappen’ (KhakShR); ***Y*** –. See further **csepű**, **csöpű**.

E/T Vásáry (1994: 273–292) dealt with the first and second groups together with H *seprő*². He cited the first word fr USp 88 as *čöprä* ‘used clothing’. Clauson (1972: 398) cited the word as *čopra*. In fact, in line 41 of p. 145, we find *čwpr’* (USp 145 (88): 41): ‘oil, felt, wine and *čwpr’* which should be exempted fr taxation (*bert almadïn…*). In this context, it is almost impossible to translate this as ‘used clothing’ – perhaps it is ‘goat’s hair’. Some T dicts show mixed forms. The second element of the Nog binom *äbir-šübir* ‘vetošʹ, trjapʹe, hlam’ may be a confused version. Nog *šapra* seems to be a re-borrowed form fr Rus (cf. Don dial *čapra* ‘vinogradnyja žmyhi, vyžimki, iz koih gonjat durnuju guščevuju vodku’ (Dalʹ 1863–1866/4: 582, under the entry *čapatʹ*)). The Rus word is a T lw and it is attested with the meaning ‘drobʹ, drobina’ in Astrakhan and with the meaning ‘gustca’ in the Crimean dial of the Rus lg. See also

Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 315) and Šipova (1976: 376). Vásáry (1994: 278) listed some Tt dial forms and mentioned (1994: 280) that there may also be some data among them which were re-borrowed fr Gr. Under the entry *cibre* 'residue of pressed grapes or other fruits', Redhouse notes that the word is of Gr origin (see Tietze (2002: 521), which states the same).

H *seprő* has the same etymon as Chuv *śĕpre*. Both go back to WOT **čöpräγ* with the meaning 'yeast, leaven, dregs, lees, grounds, sediment'. The labial vowel in the first syllable is not noted in ChuvP but inserted in Räsänen's personal copy and noted in ChuvA. WOT **čöpräg* is a complex form which is a der with +(*A*)*r*- (**čöp+är*- 'to be or become dregs') and -(*O*)*k* (**čöpär*-(*O*)*k* > **čöprök*). WOT **čöpräg* underwent a change similar to **opurok* > **oprag* (see **apró**). The PT reconstruction **čepürek* 'rag, patch, worn, used clothing' in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 423) belongs in the second group. The ChagR form *šäpräk* 'der Bodensatz, die Hefe' was considered as dubious by Vásáry (1994: 282) with the understanding that it is only attested in Radloff's dict. The AChag word *šöpräk* 'lie, levure, tartre' cited by Ligeti (1986: 77) must also be verified, because it was not vocalised by Pavet de Courteille (<ŠPR'K>). In Os, we find *cyrv*, *cirwæ*, *ciwræ* 'osadki piva, pivnye drožži, gušča', which reflects T **čäprä* (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 326). According to Abaev, the Os word is of Ir origin, but his suggestion, going back to an idea by Miller (Ind *tīvra*- 'ostryj, gorčica', see **sajt**), is not convincing. Abaev also cites T *čupra* 'gušča'. There are phonetic and chronological difficulties with the comparison to H *cefre* 'mash, wash, wort for fermentation'.

E/H The H word was first thought to be of T origin by Vámbéry (1870: 172). Gombocz (1912b: 116) reconstructed the OChuv copied form **čöpräg* for it. Ligeti (1986: 54) regarded Chuv *śĕpre* as a corresponding form of CT *čöpräk*. The T form copied by the Hungarians must have had a word-final guttural. Otherwise, the final long vowel of the H word cannot be accounted for. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1319) considers the word as a T lw fr a form **čöpräg*.

◆ Daľ 1863–1866/4: 582; Vámbéry 1870: 172; Gombocz 1912b: 116; Bárczi 1941: 30, 269; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 326; Egorov 1964: 211; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 315; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 415; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 519; Clauson 1972: 398, 413–414, 422; Šipova 1976: 376; Ligeti 1986: 13, 54, 77, 184, 194, 293, 529; Levitskaja 1989: 26; Erdal 1991: 469–474, 714; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 160; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1319; Vásáry 1994: 273–293; Fedotov 1996/2: 110; Tietze 2002: 521, 535; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 423.

SER 'beer' see **sör**.

SÉR [šēr] in **sért** [šērt] 'to injure, to hurt', **sérül** [šērül] 'to become hurt', **sérv** [šērv] 'hernia', dial *sérik* [šērik], *sérszik* [šērsik], *sérődik* [šērődik] (= *sérül*), *sérés* [sērēš] 'wound' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 874–876, 878), see also *sérelem* [šērelem] 'injury,

damage', 1355/ PN *Sertew* [šērtō̄], p1372 *fert* [šērt], 1573 *sérez* [šērez] | *šēr-* < **šir-* ← WOT **šir-* < **šïr-* < **sïr-* | EOT **sïz-*, cf. **sïz* > *sïzla-* 'to ache'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *sïzlag* '(Blasen-)Schmerz' (UHeilkI 460:165), *sïzla-* 'to ache (teeth from ice, bones)', *sïzlag* 'setting teeth on edge (cold)' (AK); **MT** *sïrqu* 'maladie', *sizgi* 'picotement' (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sur-* 'bolet', nyt', lomat'', *suran* 'rana, bol'' (Chuv), *sură* 'bol', nyt'e', *soram* 'bol'' (ChuvA), *sura-* 'reissen, schmerzen, einen dumpfen Schmerz fühlen' (ChuvP), *sărăltat-* 'probegat' (ot droži, muraškah), znobit', (*oboznačaet raznogo roda bolevye oščuščenija – perevod zavisit ot xaraktera boli*), nyt', gudet', goret', ščipat', žeč'', see *sărăl* '*podr.* o droži, muraškah, ob oznobe': *śan-śuram sărăl tusa kayrĕ* 'po telu probežali muraški' (Chuv); ***NW*** *sïzla-* 'nyt', bolet', lomit', razbolet'sja' (Tat), ? *sïz-* 'okučivat' kartofel' s pomošč'ju sohi' (TatD1), ? *sïz-* 'rezat'' (TatD2), *hïδla-* 'nit', bolet', lomit'' (Bashk), *hïδïp awïrï-* 'ugasat' ot prodolžitel'noj bolezni' (BashkD3, *awïrï-* 'bolet''), *sïs* 'bol'', *sïs-* 'pohudet'', sm. *sïs*, 'bolezn' [*awiru*]' (SibTat, the verb *sïs-* and the participle *sïsu* are dealt with under the heading *sïsu*), *sïzda-* 'nyt', (bolet'), mozžit'', *sïz* 'sirost', (nezdorovja)' (Kirg), *sïzda-* 'to ache' (Kaz), *sïzla-* 'bolet', nyt', mozžit'' (Kklp), *sïzla-* id. (Nog), *sïzla-* 'nyt'' (CrTat), *sïzla-* 'čuvstvovat' bol', nolet', terpet', stradat', nyt', lomit'' (Kar), *sïzla-* 'bolet', nyt'' (Kum), *sïzla-* 'lomit', nyt' (bolet') (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sïzla-* 'mozžit', nyt', lomat'' (Tkm), *sïzla-*, *sïzïlda-* 'nyt', bolet'' (Az), *sızı* 'ache, pain', *sızla-* 'to ache, smart, to suffer a sharp pain' (Tt), *sïzï*, *sïzïltï* 'postojannaja, nojuščaja bol'', *sïzla-* 'bolet', nyt'' (Gag); ***Kh*** *sïzïlla-* 'sich entzünden, wegen einer Entzündung schmerzen' (Kh); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *sïsta-* 'bolet', čustvovat' ostruju bol'', *sïstïg* 'ostraja bol'' (AltL), *sïs* 'lomota, bol' v kostjah' (Alt), *sïsta-* 'nyt' (bolet'), lomit' (v kostjah)' (Khak), *sïrt*: *sïrt deer*, *sïrt kïnnïr* 'kol'nut' (ob oščuščenii bol')', *sïrtïla-* 'nyt', bolet'' (Tuv); ***Y*** *sïrġan*, *sïarġan* 'rana' (Y ← Mo).

Mo *sirqa*(*n*) 'wound, sore, injury' (L).

E/T In PT, we have to suppose a verb **sïz-* and a noun *sïz*. The latter is well documented in the den verb form *sïzla-* and in other nominal and den forms in most sources. The arguments in support of the existence of a verb **sïz-* are the following: (1) the noun *sïzï* (Tt, Gag) is a dev noun with suff *-I* (Erdal 1991: 481–485; Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 393); (2) The verb does exist in a Tat dial if the semantics 'to earth potatoes' comes fr 'to prick (a hole)'; it exists in Bashk and in SibTat. The Chuv form is irregular; *sur-* instead of the expected *šăr-* or *šĕr-*. This may only go back to an OChuv **sar-* and not **sïr-*. The verb *sărăltat-* 'to ache, a special feeling when somebody hits his/her elbow' goes back to **sïrïltat-* (no dial data are available for a reduced labial) < **sïr-ï+l-*. Though, according to Ašmarin, it is an onomatopoeic word, it pertains to Chuv *sură* < **sarï* ~ **sïrï* < **sïzï*. In this case, we have to assume an early PT **sïz-* ~ *saz-* alternation, fr which WOT took **šïr-* and **sar-*, the previous form being preserved in H (**šir-* > *šer-*) and the latter becoming dominant in Chuv. It

is very unlikely that an WOT **sarï* ~ **sïrï* and an EOT *sïzï* with exactly the same semantics could be of different origins. The Tuv forms *sïrt* and *sïrtïla-* come, according to Khabtagaeva (personal communication), fr former **sïrq* and *sïrqïla-*, resp. They may represent early lws (see Mo *sirka*). Also, *šarx* 'seb [wound]' (< **sirka*), *šarlā-* 'gyötör, kínoz [to torture, to maltreat]', *šar* 'gyomorégés [heartburn]' (KhalK) < **sira*; *šird^{e}-* 'sich unwohl fühlen, Kopfschmerz haben' (Kalm) < **sir-*; *šarkl-*, *šark^{i}l-* 'reissen in den Gliedern, schmerzen (die Knochen)' (Kalm) < **sirqa-*; *šar* 'innere Krankheit, Schmerz, das Unwohlsein' (Kalm) < **sira*; *šarxa* 'Wunde (im Allgemeinen)' (Kalm) < **sirqa*; *šarl-* 'kränkeln, sich unwohl fühlen, krank sein (von Hochgestellten)' (Kalm) < **sirla-*; *šara* 'izžoga', *šarla-* iznurjatʹsja, vo frazeologizmah: *xolojgoo šarla-* 'boletʹ anginoj', *zosōgō šarla-* 'stradatʹ izžogoj', *šarxa* 'rana', *šarxir-* 'nytʹ, lomitʹ' (Bur); *šarala-* 'avoir un grand chagrin' (Ord) < **sirala-*; *šarkxira-* 'éprouver un doleur lancinante' (< **sirkira-*) (Ord). It is of special interest that the Kalm word pertains to polite lg. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1260–1261) claim that the Mo and T words are genetically related.

E/H The H word has been considered to be of FUgr der (on details, see Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1322): PFUgr **ćärke* > PUgr **ćärkĕ-* (> PObUgr *ćə̄rəγ-* 'bedauern, weh tun' (Honti 1982: 131) > PVog **ćə̄rəγ-*, POsty **ćärəγ-*) > H *sért-* 'to injure, to cut, to offend' (*-t* is a H suff) (see *sérül-*). One of the problems in the FUgr etymology is that PUgr /ć/ regularly corresponds to /č/ in H. The other is semantic. The PFUgr word **ćärke-* means 'brechen (intr., tr.), Schmerzen haben, weh tun'. The H word had the primary sense of 'to make a wound' (see *sérv* 'hernia' < *sérvés* ~ *sérés* 'wound'). There also existed a verb *sérik-* with a parallel form *sérvik-* (see Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1322)). All these show that we have to start fr an OH verb *šēr-* 'to have, to be wounded, to have pains'. The suff *-t* is an instantaneous dev suff with an intensifying function, as in *ér-* 'to reach' > *ért-* 'to understand', *fél-* 'to be afraid' > *félt-* 'to be anxious about', *kísér-* 'to escort' > *kísért-* 'to tempt'. The OH verb is a copy of WOT **šïr-* < **sïr-* (cf. EOT *sïz-* above). On the phonetics, see **ser** ~ **sör**, **serke**, **serleg** and § 6.2.5.

The uncertainty of the T etymology stems either fr the irregular Chuv forms, which may be lws, or fr the descriptive nature of the word and the rarity of the verbal base in Turcia.

◆ Ramstedt 1935: 350; Kałużynski 1961: 22; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 551–553; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 525–526; Räsänen 1969: 446; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 874–876, 878; Rassadin 1980: 28; Honti 1982: 131; Erdal 1991: 481–485; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1322; Dybo 2003: 393–394; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1260–1261; Khabtagaeva 2009: 75, 210.

SEREG [šereg] 'army, troops, crowd' | †1057/†a1235/1404 ? PN *Sergys* [šergiš], 1138/1329 PN *Serugdí* [šerüg-di], 1323 PN *Seregelus* [šeregēl-eš], c1395 *fereg or* [šereg orr] | *šereg* < **šerig* < *čärig* ← WOT **čärig* || **seregély** [šeregēy] 'starling,

Sturnus vulg.' | 1356/1359 *seregel* [šeregēl] | *šeregēy* < *šereg* {with suff +*Āy*} | EOT *čärig* 'army, troops'.

OT *süŋüš bolsar čärig etär ärdi* 'when there was a battle he arranged the troops in battle order' (RMKöl 9), *čärig*(*i*)*ng üzä* 'über Deinem Heer' (UTTI 39), *čärik* (r: *čärig*) 'Truppe' (UUII 69(39):5), *čärig* 'kriegerisch' (UManI 26:25), *čärig* 'battle line', *alp čärigde*, *bilgä tērigde* 'the army for the hero is the same as the council for the wise' (AK), *čärigin söküp* 'breaking through the battle line of the enemy (and routing them)' (AQB); **MT** *čärig* 'Heer' (UOg), *čärig* 'soldat, militaire, armée' (UHy), *čärig* 'soldier', *cäriglik* 'the military' (ABF), *čärik*, *čäri* 'army' (AGul), *čerig* 'asker, ordu' (AHMA), *čärig* 'wojsko' (AHŠ), *čärik* 'vojsko' (AHŠF), *čärig* 'vojsko' (AIM), *čerik* 'savaş ordusu' (AIMI), *čerik* (j-) 'vojsko' (AM), *čerig* 'asker, ordu' (ANeh), *čärik* 'vojsko' (ANehF), *čärig*: *čätim čärig* 'strong army' (ARbg), *čärig* 'vojsko, pohod' (ATef reads *čerik*), *čerig* 'armée, milice' (AChag), *čėrik* ('with -k') 'army' (AChagAb), *čirik* 'leşker' (AChagAbA), *čerik* 'sereg, hadsereg [army, troop]' (AChagAbV), *čerik* 'voin (otrjad?) iz sostava vojska' (AChagB), *čerik* 'vojsko, armija' (AChagBud), *čärig*, *čerig* 'army' (AChagG), *čerik* 'vojsko' (AChagMA), *čärik* 'das Heer' (AChagR), *čėrik* 'army' (AChagSC), *čerig* 'asker, leşker, ordu' (AChagŠS), *čirik* (j-) 'Krieger, Soldat' (AChagŠSK), *čerik* 'Heer, Truppe, Hülfsheer' (AChagZ), *čeri* 'Heer' (LCCG), *čeri*, ? *čeyri* 'Heer' (LCCI), *čäri*, *čärik* 'asker' (AAH), *čeri*: *čeri dardï* 'asker darmadağın oldu, dağılıverdi' (AAHI), *čäri* 'armée' (ABul), *ç̣äri*, *ç̣ärü*, *şäri*, *şärü* 'armée' (ADur), *čäri*, *šäri* 'Heer' (AHou), *šerü* 'asker, çeri' (ATuh), *čeruv* 'détachement, troupe, armée' (AmTr), *čeruv*, *čoruv* 'army' (AmCh), *čerov*, *čeruv* 'armée' (AmE), *čeri* 'asker, savaş' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śar* 'armija, vooružennye sily, vojsko, armejskij, voennyj, voinskij, vojskovoj, (*peren.*) armija, bol'šaja massa ljudej, (ust.) rat'' (Chuv), *śar* 'vojsko, armija', *śară* 'vojsko' (ChuvA), *śar* 'hadsereg; (Kriegs)heer, Heerschar' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čirü* '(ust.) rat', vojsko, vojskovoj, (dial.) staja (tol'ko volkov)' (Tat), *čerü*: *qïrïm čerüwe čaqlï* (*xätle*) 'bik küp, küp sanlï; o bol'šom količestve čego-l.', *čirü*: *et čirüwe* 'bik küp, küp sanlï; o bol'šom količestve čego-l.' (TatD1), *čireü* 'gaskär; vojsko' (TatD2), *čireü* 'hadsereg; Kriegsheer' (TatB), *čirű* 'das Meer, die Schar' (TatKR), *sireü* '(ust.) soldat, soldatskij, vojsko' (Bashk), *čärű* 'das Heer' (SibTatBR), *čerű* 'vojsko, pohod', *čerik* 'soldat (gl. obr. kitajskij)' (Kirg), *čėriv* 'vojna, armija, vojsko, polčišče' (KarT, KarC), *cėriv* 'vojna' (KarH), *čėrik* 'vojsko' (KarSh), *čer'uv* 'vojsko, armija', *čeriv* 'armija, otrjad, bor'ba, vojna' (KarT), *čäriw* 'das Heer' (KarTR), *cäriw* 'das Heer' (KarLR), *čeriv* '(ust.) polčišče' (Kum), *čeriu* 'vojsko' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *çeri* '(hist.) army, troops' (Tt), *čäri* 'das Heer, die Armee, die Truppen' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čerik* '(ust.) vojsko' (Uzb), *čirik*, *čerik*, *čeyik* (< ? Ar *ŠRYK* 'companion') '(originally) a Chinese soldier, soldier' (TurkiJ), *chîrik* 'an army, a force' (TurkiSh), *čeik* 'vojsko' (TurkiL), *čärik* 'das Heer' (TurkiTR), *čerik* 'voin, soldat, vojsko' (MUyg), *čerix*, *čirix*, *čirex*, *čīrex*, *čīrix*, *čirïx*, *čiryx* 'vojsko' (Sal), *čirəx*, *čirix* 'soldat, armée' (SalK), *ʒereg*, *ʒirïg* 'vojsko, armija'

(YUyg ← Mo), *čerig*, *čerïg* (sic!) 'vojsko' (YUygM ← Mo); ***NE*** *čerü* 'boec, soldat, vojsko, armija' (Alt), *čärū̃* 'das Heer, die Armee' (AltR, AltTelR), *čerig*, *šerig* 'vojsko, armija' (AltL), *čärig* 'das Heer, die Armee' (AltLR), *čerig*, *čerü* 'vojsko', *šerig* 'armija, soldat', *šerü* 'armija' (AltQK), *čerü* 'armija, vojsko', *čerū̃* 'armija', *čörü* 'vojsko' (AltTK), *sïrïg* 'vojsko' (Khak), *sirïg* 'armija, vojsko' (KhakB), *serig* 'das Heer, die Armee, die Soldaten, der Krieg' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *šärig* 'vojsko' (KhakShR), *šerig*, *širik* 'soldier' (FY), *šerig* 'vojsko, armija, voennyj' (Tuv), *šerig* 'vojsko, armija' (Tof); ***Y*** *särī* 'voinstvo, vojsko, armija, opolčenie, polk, voin, vojna, bran′, bitva, boj, sbor naroda, ljudej dlja obščej sily' (Y), *serī* 'vojna' (YS), *härī* 'Krieg' (Dlg).

Mo *čerig* 'warrior, soldier, army, military forces, troops' (L).

E/T First, I have separated three forms in the sources: (1) **čärig*, (2) **čärik* and (3) **čäri*. The last one is secondary fr the first one. The form *čärik* may stem fr an incorrect reading of data in the sources written in the Uyg, Manichean and Ar scripts. Some data with *-k* may be of Mo origin, because Mo lost the /g/ : /k/ opposition in the final position. If the neutral Mo final was pronounced less voiced than the /g/ in the final position of the copying lg, then it was realised as *-k*. A clear case is Kirg *čerik*, which is the word for Chinese soldiers, while *čerū̃* < *čerig* simply denotes 'troops, military march', the first being a Mo lw. Some data may stem fr an inaccurate noting (FY). If we eliminate the secondary cases, no solid example remains for *čärik*. The second problem to be solved is the original form of the Chuv item. It occurs as *śar* and as *śară* (ChuvA) with the same meaning. If **śară* is the original, it goes back to **čärig*. If the original form is *śar* and *śară* is a late, secondary form, which is a real possibility, then the etymological background of the word is different. The present Chuv linguistic descriptions strongly suggest *śar*. The Skvorcov dict (1982) does not even cite *śară* as a variant. Nor is it to be found in the Sergeev dial dict (1968). The Cher words *sar*, *šar* copied fr Chuv (cf. Fedotov 1996/2: 86) also strengthen the supposition that Chuv *śar* was originally monosyllabic. However, some early sources on Chuv, such as Damaskin (1785), contain the bisyllabic form.

The first etymological proposal for the T etymon for the H word can be found in Kashgari's compendium, in which T *čärig* is linked to the word *čär* (? *jär*) (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 297; Clauson 1972: 427), which is, according to Kashgari, an Og dial word meaning 'the opposite of something', hence one says *anïŋ ävī bū čärlikdā̃* 'his house is opposite this thing'. This etymological explanation of *čärig* was accepted by Dankoff–Kelly. According to Clauson (1972: 427), *čär* or *jär* may be an Og variant of the EOT form *yer* 'place' (cf. **szer**). This is hardly acceptable, indeed there are about 15 "Oguz" words in Kashgari's work with an initial *y-*. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 65–70) has no etymological proposal for the T word, but he rightly rejects Malov's (1954: 194) view that the T word has an OInd etymology. This etymology connects *čärig*, through Pe, with OInd *kṣatríya* 'herrschend, Angehöriger der zweiten Gross-Kaste'

(Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 421). This was repeated by many others (see Egorov 1964: 203; Judahin 1965: 859; Nadeljaev 1969: 144; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Tenišev 2001: 572–573). It is, however, not acceptable. The Pe word *čärīk* is a copy of the T form (see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 65–66). Doerfer also pointed out, despite Ramstedt's opinion (1935: 427), the T and Mo forms cannot be genetically interrelated. We find a verbal base of the T word *čärig* in the Tel dial of Alt *čär-* 'kämpfen' (AltTR), where Radloff remarks that it is "veraltet". This isolated word may be a back-formation fr *čärig*, but may be the only remnant of the verb **čäri-* 'to fight'. WOT **čär*, preserved by Chuv, was a simplex, a form of it having been preserved by Kashgari. WOT **čärig* was preserved by H. It is a dev form fr **čäri-*, itself a den verb with the suff *+I-* (Erdal 1991: 480–485). The preservation of the final *-g* is the same feature as in **serleg**, **sőreg**, **szúnyog**, see § 6.2.2.

E/H The T etymology of the word was listed by Vámbéry (1870: 171) and later by Munkácsi (1900b: 336; 1903a: 253). Gombocz (1912b: 116) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **čärik* for the H word. According to Németh (1921: 25), the final segment *-g* in the H word may show that the copied Chuv word contained a final vowel and not a consonant. He considered *sereg* to be analogous with **sőreg**, i.e. he supposed a form like **čärigä*. Ligeti (1935a: 212–213, 215–216) accepted Gombocz's view concerning the copied OChuv form **čärik*, however he pointed out that the CT equivalents of the word show a form **čärig*. The Chuv form *śar* shows, according to Ligeti, the basic word. He thought that the H word *sereg* is analogous to *öreg* 'old', going back to a Chuv form **irik* (see § 8.1.1) and with the form *iri* in Tt. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 521), and later Ligeti (1986: 57, 257–258), reconstructed the copied form as **čärig*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 521), *seregély* is a der of *sereg*. Ligeti pointed out that the original meaning of the T word was 'battle order' and that its meaning 'army' occurred after the OT word *sü* 'army' became obsolete. In H, the word already had the sense of 'crowd' in the older sources in addition to the meaning 'army'. The H bird name *seregély* 'starling' was derived fr the word *sereg*, with its secondary meaning 'crowd'. This secondary meaning occurs in Cher, which borrowed the corresponding word fr the Chuv lg. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1320) mentioned that T **čärig* may be a der fr T **čär-* 'kämpfen'.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Munkácsi 1900b: 336; Munkácsi 1903a: 253; Gombocz 1912b: 116; Németh 1921: 25; Ligeti 1935a: 212–213, 215–216; Ramstedt 1935: 427; Bárczi 1941: 269; Malov 1954: 194; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 65–70; Egorov 1964: 203; Judahin 1965: 859; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 521; Nadeljaev 1969: 144; Räsänen 1969: 105; Clauson 1972: 427–429; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 297; Doerfer 1985: 125; Ligeti 1986: 54–55, 57, 81–82, 89, 120, 183, 185, 188, 194, 202, 204, 207, 223, 253, 257–258, 529; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/1: 421; Erdal 1991: 480–485; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1320; Fedotov 1996/2: 86; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Tenišev 2001: 572–573.

SERKE [šerke] 'a nit' | 1246/1383 ? GN *sirque* [širke], 1418 PN *serke* [šerke], 1437 ? GN *Serkes* [šerke-š], 1533 *serke* [šerke] 'lens' | *šerke* < **širke* ← WOT **širkä* < **sirke* | EOT *sirkä* 'a nit'.

OT *sirkä* 'nit (on the head)', *sirkälä-*: *ol oġlïn bašïn sirkälädi* 'he removed the nits from his child's head' (AK); **MT** *sirkä* 'gnida' (AIM), *sirke* 'bit yumurtası' (AIMI), *sirke* 'nit' (Mo *sirke* id.) (AKD), *serkä* (r: -i-) 'petit pou' (AChag), *sirke* 'a small louse' which appears on the body and clothing (AChagSC), *serke* 'kehle yumurtası' (AChagŠS), ? *serke* 'Nisse' (AChagŠSK), *sirke* 'Nisse von Läusen, Eier von Flöhen' (AChagZ), *sirkä* 'bit yumurtası, tohumu' (AAH), *sirkä* 'lente' (ADur), *sirkä* 'Nisse' (AHou), *sirkä* 'gnida' (ATuh), *sirke* 'bit yumurtası' (ATuhA), *sirke* 'bit yumurtası, bit yavrusu', *sikre* 'sirke, bit yavrusu' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šărka* 'gnida' (Chuv), *šărka* 'gnida, cvet na hlebah, vo vremja opylenija, plesen′, gribki na pive' (ChuvA), *šărka* Szp. id. 'serke; Nisse' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *serkä* 'gnida' (Tat), *serkä* 'serke; Nisse' (TatB), *ṣirkä* 'die Nissen, der Blumenstaub des Getreides, der Schimmel auf Flüssigkeiten' (TatKR), *herkä* 'gnida' (Bashk), *sirke* 'gnida, (peren.) ukrašenie v vide vypuklih toček' (Kirg), *sĭrke* 'nit' (Kaz), *sĭrke* 'gnida' (KazB), *sirkä* 'die Nisse' (KazR), *sirke* 'gnida' (Kklp), *sirke* 'gnida' (Nog), *sirkä* 'die Nisse' (CrTatR), *sirk´a* 'gnida' (KarT), *sirkė* 'gnida' (KarSh), *sirke* 'gnida' (Kum), *sirke* 'gnida, (med) ėkzema' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sirke* 'gnida' (Tkm), *sirkä* 'gnida' (Az), *sirke* 'nit (in the head)' (Tt), *sirkä* 'die Nisse' (TtR), *sirkä* 'gnida' (Gag); ***Kh*** *sirkä* 'Nisse, Läuseei' (Kh); ***SE*** *sirka* 'gnida' (Uzb), *sirkä* 'die Nisse' (TurkiTR), *sirkä* 'gnida' (MUyg); ***NE*** *sirke* 'gnida' (Alt), *sirkä* 'die Nisse' (AltR, AltTelR), *sĭrge* 'gnida' (Khak), *sirgä* 'die Nisse' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *sirge* 'gnida' (Tuv), *si˝rhe* 'gnida' (RTof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *sirke* 'a kind of flea' (L).

E/T H *serke* has the T etymon *sirkä* 'nit', which is, according to Clauson (1972: 850), a simplex. Despite his stance, Erdal (1991: 83) pointed out that *sirkä* belongs among the T lexemes that denote the names of small animals, insects and birds and are formed with the suff *+gA*. The *+gA* > *+kA* change is conditioned after the segment *-r*. The base of *sirkä* is the unknown nominal **sir* (< **sirV*). Egorov's view notwithstanding (1964: 335), T *sirkä* 'nit' is not related to the homophonous T word meaning 'vinegar'. On the Cher words of Chuv origin, see Fedotov (1996/2: 449).

The T word has been discussed by Blagova (Dybo 2003: 268–270). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1263–1264) rightly pointed out that Mo *sirke* may be a T lw. Despite their reconstruction (**sirke*), the PT form could be **sirVgä*.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 171) argued in favour of the T origin of *serke* and his opinion was accepted by Munkácsi (1908d: 292). Gombocz (1912b: 116–117) reconstructed the OChuv copied form as **širkä* for the H word. Bárczi (1941: 269) regarded *serke* as a T lw. According to Pais (1962: 32–34), however, the H word may have an internal H etymology. He thought, erroneously, that *serke* is a dev nominal fr a reconstructed

H verb **sërk-* 'to turn'. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 523–524; 1993–1997/2: 1321) considered the H word to be of OChuv origin (**širkä*) and rejected Pais' etymological proposal. Ligeti (1986: 18) regarded the H word as an OChuv lw fr **širkä*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Munkácsi 1908d: 292; Gombocz 1912b: 116–117; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 269; Németh 1942–1947: 68, 77; Pais 1962: 32–34; Egorov 1964: 335; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 523–524; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Räsänen 1969: 423; Clauson 1972: 850; Ligeti 1986: 18, 85, 201, 286–287, 305, 526; Erdal 1991: 83; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1321; Fedotov 1996/2: 449; Tenišev 2001: 182; Dybo 2003: 268–270; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1263–1264.

SERLEG [šerleg] 'cup, goblet' | 1381 ? PN *Chillik* [čillik], 1402/1413 *serlek* [šerlek], 1413/1418 *serlik* [šerlik], 1435 *cherleg* [čerleg], c1440 *sirlegh* [širleg], 1458 *serleg* [šerleg] | *šerleg* < **šerleg* ⟵ WOT **širlig* < **šir* <**sir* {with suff +*lXg*} | EOT *sïr* 'lacquer'.

OT *sïrčï* 'Anstreicher' (UPfahl 24), *sir* 'lacquer, a paste with which Ṣīnī bowls are smeared, then painted upon', hence *sïrlïg ayāq* 'a bowl so smeared and painted', *sïrla-*: *ayāqčï ayāq sïrlādï* 'the bowl maker lacquered the bowl (to paint it)' (AK), *sïrčï* 'lacquerer' (AQB); **MT** *sïr* 'Lack' (UCivWP 03:6,8,10), *sïrča* 'glass' (AKor), *sïrla-* 'schnitzen' (LCCG), *sïrša*, *širša* 'steklo' (ATuh); **NT *Chuv*** *sără*, *săr* 'kraska *i* kraski, kraska (*na lice*), rumjanec', *sărla-* 'krasit′, pokryvat′ kraskoj, (*razg.*) nebrežno, ploho risovat′, mazat′, malevat′', *sărlă* 'krašenyj, okrašennyj, pokrytyj kraskoj, cvetnoj' (Chuv ⟵ Tat), *săr* 'kraska', *sărla-* 'krasit′, vykrasit′, pridat′ okrasku', *sărlă* 'krašenyj, reznoj, vykrašennyj polosami, polosatyj' (ChuvA), *săr* Szp. id. 'festék; Farbe (Stoff, mit welchem man färbt)', *sărla-* 'festeni; färben' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïrlï* 'rebristyj, reznoj, imejuščij narezki (reznye uzori)', *sïrla-* 'delat′ (sdelat′) rebristym (poverhnost′ čegol.), delat′ (sdelat′) narezki, vyrezat′ rez′bu, uzory', *sïr* 'gran′, rez′ba, reznoj uzor' (Tat), *sïr* 'buyau; kraska; yazu karasï; černila', *sïrlï* 'buyaulï, buyagan; krašennoe, okrašennoe; tösle; cvetnoj; buy-buylï; polosatyj' (TatD1), *sïr* 'kiemdäge; skladka, skladka na odežde; bäyläü bizäge; uzory vjazki', *sïrla-* 'buyau; krasit′; küläk itägenä ikenče töstäge materiyyadän tasma salïp čïgu; našivat′ k podolu plat′ja uzkuju polosku iz drugoj materii; bizäkläp bäyläü; vjazat′ uzorami; ǰïeru; sobirat′ v skladki' (TatD2), *sïr* 'vésett alak; eingeschnittene (gravierte) Figur', *sïrla-* 'metszett alakkal (cifrasággal) ellátni; mit geschnitzten (gravierten Figuren, Verzierungen) versehen' (TatB), *sïr* 'Schnitzwerk' (TatKR), *hïr* 'rez′ba, reznoj uzor, gran′, morščinka', *hïrla-* 'delat′ rez′bu, rezat′, vjazat′ rezinkoj', *hïrlï* 'reznoj, granenyj, svjazannye rezinkoj' (Bashk), *sïr* 'buyau; kraska', *sïrla-* 'buyau; krasit′' (SibTat), *sïr* 'uzor, kraska', *sïrla-* 'ukrasit′ (uzorami)' (SibTatBD), *sïr* 'kraska, polirovka', *sïr sïrda-* 'krasit′, polirovat′', *sïrda-* 'krasit′, okrašivat′, polirovat′', *sïrdū* 'krašenyj, polirovannyj' (Kirg), *sïr* 'cinnabar, vermilion, ochre, paint, colour', *sïrda-* 'to polish', *sïrla-* 'to paint, to varnish, to lacquer', *sïrlï* '(adj.) painted' (Kaz), *sïr* 'kraska, politura, ėmal′', *sïrla-* 'krasit′, okrašivat′, polirovat′', *sïrlï* 'krašenyj, okrašennyj, polirovannyj' (Kklp), *sïr* 'kraska (masljanaja)', *sïrla-* 'krasit′, okrašivat′' (Nog), *sïrla-* 'pokryt′ glazur′ju', *sïrlï* 'glazurovannyj' (CrTat), ?

sïrma ‘vyšivka zolotom’ (KarSh), *sïr* ‘kraska (dlja dereva, železa i t.p.), ėmal′’, *sïrla-* ‘krasit′, pokryvat′ kraskoj (napr. derevjannye, železnye predmety)’, *sïrlï* ‘okrašennyj, pokrašennyj, ėmalirovannyj’ (Kum); ***SW*** *sïrča* ‘ėmal′, ėmalirovka’ (Tkm), *šir* ‘glazur, emal′’ (Az), *sır* ‘glaze (of pottery), silvering of a mirror’, *sırlı* ‘glazed, silvered (of a mirror)’, *sırla-* ‘to glaze (pottery), to silver (mirrors)’ (Tt), *sïr* ‘glazur′, ėmal′, amal′gama (dlja zerkal)’, *sïrla-* ‘pokryvat′ glazur′ju, glazurovat′, pokryvat′ ėmal′ju, ėmalirovat′’, *sïrlï* ‘glazurovannyj, ėmalirovannyj’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sir* ‘kinovar′, surik, masljanaja kraska, glazur′, ėmal′, amal′gama (na zerkalo)’, *sirli* ‘krašennyj, okrašennyj (masljanoj kraskoj), pokrytyj glazur′ju ili ėmal′ju, ėmalirovannyj, ukrašennyj, razukrašennyj, otdelannyj’, *sirla-* ‘krasit′, okrašivat′ (masljanoj kraskoj), pokryvat′ glazur′ju, pokryvat′ ėmal′ju, ėmalirovat′, amal′gamirovat′, pokryvat′ amal′gamoj’ (Uzb), *sir*, *siy*, *sïr* ‘varnish, polish, layer’, *sïrla-* ‘to paint, to daub, to decorate’ (TurkiJ), *sirliq* ‘okrašennyj, ėmalirovannyj, lakirovannyj’, *sir* ‘kinovar′, surik, glazur′, ėmal′, lak, polirovka’ (MUyg), *sïïla-* ‘krasit′, polirovat′’ (TurkiL); ***NE*** *sïr* ‘kraska, polirovka’ (Alt), *sïrlu* ‘ukrašennyj’ (AltTK), *sïr* ‘kraska’, *sïrla-* ‘krasit′, okrašivat′ *čto-l.*’, *sïrlïġ* ‘krašenyj, okrašennyj’ (Khak); ***Y*** –.

Mo *sir* ‘varnish, lacquer’ (L).

E/T The copied WOT form of the H word *serleg* ‘cup, goblet’ could be **šïrlïg* or **širlig*. The T etymon for the word is attested as of the OT period. In Kashgari’s compendium one can find the adj construction *sïrlïg ayāk* ‘smeared and painted bowl’. Such an adj construction could have been the base for the proposed T etymon **šïrlïg* or **širlig* with the meaning ‘smeared and painted (cup)’. Fr a morphological point of view, the word is an adj formed with the suff *+lXg* (Erdal 1991: 139–155) and its base is the OT word *sïr* ‘lacquer’, which is a Ch lw in OT (cf. 漆 *qi*, EMCh *ts*^{h}*it*, LMCh *ts*^{h}*it*, Yu *ts*^{h}*i*). Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 238–239) remarked that the word *sïr* in Kashgari was only used for porcelain objects. Porcelain (chinaware) and lacquer are products of China (cf. also Ar–Pe *ṣīnī* ‘porcelain, chinaware’). The Ch word was borrowed into Mo via T mediation (cf. also Ščerbak 1997: 166) and fr there re-borrowed into Az. The word also appeared in some Cauc lgs as a borrowing fr the T lgs. The word is documented in some T lgs with the meanings ‘lacquer, glaze (on pottery), silvering (on mirrors)’ and the like (cf. Dybo 2003: 409). In Tat, *sïr* means ‘Schnitzwerk’.

Kashgari’s compendium contains the refl and caus forms of the verb *sïrla-* ‘to colour, glaze’ (see *ayāk sïrlandī* ‘the cup was smeared with viscous paste (i.e. lacquer) in order that it might be ornamented’ and *ol ayāk sïrlattī* ‘he ordered that viscous paste (i.e. lacquer) should be smeared on the Turkish (sic!) cup’). A noun with a suff *-(X)g* is morphologically possible fr a verb *sïrla-*, but the copying of a form **šïrlag* is phonetically improbable.

E/H Bárczi (1941: 269), and then Benkő (1967–1984/3: 524–525), considered the H word to be of unknown origin. According to Mollay (1982: 493–496), the H word may

be of Grm origin and may go back to a MHGrm compound *schiure* 'Becher' + *luc* 'Deckel', but this compound is not attested in the sources. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1321–1322) regarded *serleg* to be of unknown origin and rejected Mollay's etymology. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *serleg* among the T lws of the H lg. The T etymology was first suggested by Berta.

◆ Bárczi 1941: 269; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 238–239; Egorov 1964: 183, 184; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 524–525; Clauson 1972: 842–843; Mollay 1982: 493–496; Erdal 1991: 139–155; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1321–1322; Fedotov 1996/2: 28–29; Ščerbak 1997: 166; Dybo 2003: 409.

SÉRT 'to injure, to hurt' see **sér**

SERTE, **sörte** [šerte, šörte] 'bristle' | c1395 *ferke* (read *serte*) [šerte], c1405 *ferte* [šerte], 1461 PN *sewrthe* [šörte], *sörtil*, *sörtély* dial 'also short sheaves used to strengthen a thatched roof' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 878) | *šerte* < **širte* < **širt* {with suff +*e*} ⟵ WOT **širt* < **sirt* || **sertés** [šertēš] 'hog, swine' | 1258 PN *Sertes* [sertēs], 1533 *sertes disno* [šertēš disnō] | *šertēš* < *šerte* {with suff +*Āš*} | EOT *sïrt* 'coarse hair'.

OT *sïrt* 'coarse hair', *sïrtlā-*: *yīpni sïrtlādï* (MS <YIYBINIY SART(Y)LA'DIY> 'He wound the string around the coarse hair', *sïrtïg* 'the trace of a story of which one is only partially aware', *män bu sözdän sïrtïg buldun* 'I got wind of this story' [i.e. I got only a trifle, a small part of the story (ART)]' (AK); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *šărt* 'ščetina, ščetinnyj, ščetinistyj, česalka, mykalka, mykal′nica (*dlja rasčesyvanija kudeli*), griva' (Chuv), *šărt* 'ščetina, ščetka iz ščetiny (mykal′nica) dlja rasčesyvanija kudeli, l′na, (ChuvA), *šărt* 'serte, len- v. kenderkefe; Schweinborste, Flachs- od. Hanfbürste' (ChuvP); **NW** *šïrtlavïk* 'dial. knopka (dlja odeždy)' (Tat), *šïrt* 'kïl; konskij volos; taktaga berničä rät kadaklar yäki enänär kagïp yasalgan süs tarïy torgan tarak; česalka kudeli, sdealannaja putem vkolačivanija rjada gvozdej ili igolok na dosku' (TatD1), *šïrt* 'duŋgïz kïlïnnan yasalgan pumala; kistočka, sdelannaja iz svinnoj ščetiny; süs tarïy torgan tarak; česalka kudeli', *šïrt*: *šïrtqa tart-* 'süsne, talkïgan ǰitenne maxsus tarak belän tarap eškärtü; mykat′ len na special′noj česalke' (TatD2), *šïrt* 'ščetina, ščetinistyj, česalka (dlja česanija kudeli), ščetinistyj, žestkij, grubyj' (Bashk), *šïrt* 'kïl; ščetina' (SibTat), *širt* 'die Borsten' (SibTatTR); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *sirke* 'Borste' (z.B. des Schweinerückens)' (Kalm).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 846), the T word *sïrt* has a very miscellaneous range of meanings, of which 'back' is perhaps the basic one. The sense of the word in AK may properly have been 'the thick, coarse mane'. Clauson contends that the word survived in all modern lg groups with some extended meanings like 'a mountain ridge, the back (of a man, knife, axe, etc.), the exterior of something'.

There are likely to be two homophonous words in the T lgs which must be separated (cf. Ligeti 1986: 97). Kashgari's item *sïrt* 'thick, coarse hair' cannot be interrelated with the homophonous word meanings 'back', 'shoulder blade, shoulder',

'hill', etc. (see **szirt**). Despite Clauson's remark, the meaning 'thick, coarse hair' (AK) comes up in a limited area, only in the VT lgs. The 'ploughshare', which figures in some sources, may be a secondary meaning fr 'spine, back' and does not belong here. The following items do not belong here, but deserve a detailed investigation: Mo *sirkeg* 'fibre, thread, texture, grain of a stone, a numeral used in counting grains of cereals, etc.', mentioned by Egorov (1964: 335) and Fedotov (1996/2: 450), and *sirkeyi-* 'to bristle (of hair), to have a feeling of apprehension or horror', as well as Mo *serbe*, *serbege* 'fish fins, projecting points, spring of a Chinese lock', *serbeger* 'disheveled, with hair standing up', *serbeyi-*, *sirbeyi-* 'to prick up, bristle, to stand erect' (Strarostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1260) and *sirbegül*, *sirbigir* 'broom, whisk, fly whisk made of hair, fan'.

The copied form was WOT **šïrt* or **širt*. The final vowel in the H form is of H origin. It is the petrified H poss suff.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 171) who first considered the H word *serte* 'bristle' to be of T der and compared it with Chuv *šĭrt* id. Gombocz (1912b: 117) reconstructed the OChuv copied form **širtä* for the H word. Horger (1912: 452) thought that the H words *serte*, *sörte* may go back to H **sörtvély* (see H dial *söртil* above) and show an analogous development with **körte**, which goes back to **körtvély**. Bárczi (1941: 270) considered the H word as a borrowing fr T. Palló (1971c: 215–216) claimed that the H word is originally fr OChuv and considered the word as a technical term, i.e. a scutcher, the name of the implement used to separate the woody fibre fr hemp. This is called *šărt* in Chuv and is produced fr the hard bristle of pigs. She thought that Chuv *šărt* 'bristle' may go back to an OChuv word **širte* 'hemp comb', which was copied into H as an instrument noun. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 526–527), H *serte* (*sörte*) is of debated origin. Either this basic word is of Chuv der or it may go back to H *szőr* 'hair'. Benkő claimed that there are phonetic difficulties with a Chuv source for *serte* since the H word is front-vocalic, but its supposed T equivalents are back-vocalic. In the case of a T origin, another difficulty is the explanation of the H word-final segment *-e*, which may, however, be a H Px3.sg. Ligeti (1986: 286–287) pointed out that the H word could originally be fr T and was borrowed fr a Chuv type T lg. He mentioned that one can also find front-vocalic word forms in the T lgs (see SibTatTR *širt* 'die Borsten') and he noted that the *ï* > *i* change is not unusual in Chuv vs. CT relation. Ligeti assumed, furthermore, that the final segment *-e* in the H word *serte* can perhaps be explained with a confusion of the word forms *serte* and **serke** and added that this confusion may have occurred on the T side. Ligeti also stressed that the Chuv forms of CT *sïrt* (see *šărt* 'bristle') and *sirkä* (see *šărka*) are back-vocalic. Finally, Ligeti referred to the fact that the confusion of the words with the meanings 'nit' and 'bristle' occurred not only in some H word lists, but also in some A lgs. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1322) strengthened his former opinion. The most

serious difficulty in a T source for the H word is the unexplained word-final vowel. He supposed, therefore, that the final vowel segment in H may also be a Px3.sg suff. In this case, the H word variant *sürt* may have resulted fr an early analogous back-formation. According to Benkő, the H word is not obviously T in origin. It may also be a secondary form of the H word *szőr* 'hair'. Benkő considered the AH opposition **sz* : **s* in the place of the FUgr **š* as a dial feature (cf. H *szenved-* – *senyved-*, *sző-* – *söv́ény*).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Gombocz 1912b: 117; Horger 1912: 452; Bárczi 1941: 270; Egorov 1964: 188, 335; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 526–527; Räsänen 1969: 419–420, 448; Palló 1971c: 215–216; Clauson 1972: 846–847; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 878; Berta 1982: 16–17; Ligeti 1986: 18, 97, 201, 278, 286–287, 292; Erdal 1991: 567, 615, 818; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1322; Fedotov 1996/2: 43–44, 449–450; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1260.

SÉRÜL 'to become hurt', **sérv** 'hernia' see **sér**.

SÍK [šīk] 'even, flat, open (water)', **sék** [šēk] *dial* 'the larger part of a waterway (lake or river) not covered with plants, a slippery, smooth place', **sekély** [šekēy] 'shallow, flat (of water)', **sikély** [šikēy] *dial* id., **sikér** [sikēr] *dial* id. (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 862, 885, 889) | 1533 ? *sikerto* [šikēr-tō], 1565 *kȯfély* [köšēl′], 1602/1911 *fekely* [šekēl′], dial *sig* [šig], *sék* [šēk], *sikér* [šikēr] | *šīk* < **šik* ← WOT **šïk* < **sïk* | EOT *sïk* 'shallow, scanty'.

OT *uluġ suvka kirser ölimegey sıġta tegip öngey* 'bir denize girse [ve Kuanşi im pusar adını çağırsalar] ıslanmaz ve sığ (bir yere) ulaşıp çıkar' (UTekinKuan), *o̲ḏ̲ġuraq qïlġalï sïqïġ täriŋig* 'das Enge und das Tiefe herausfinden' (Gabain 1938: 385), 'he must confidently expound the shallow and the deep' (Clauson 1972: 804), *sïġ* 'shallow, scanty' (UXuanzangIndex), ? *sī̲q* 'few', Og dial *olārda qōy sīq ol* 'they have few sheep' (AK); **MT** *sïx* 'seichtes, sandiges Wasser' (AChagŠSK), *siġa su*, *say su* 'ručej' (ATuhA), *sïġa su* 'dibi görünür az su' (AAHI); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ăšăx* 'melkij, neglubokij, melko, negluboko, (peren.) neglubokij, bednyj, skudnyj, poverhnostnyj' (Chuv), *šăx*, *ăšăx*, *ăšăk* 'melkij' (ChuvA), *ăšăk*, *ăšăx*, *ĕšĕk* 'sekély, zátony, sekély hely; untief, Untiefe' (ChuvP); ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *sïğ* 'shallow, shoal, sandbank' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *sïlïq* 'even, plain, smooth' (< ? *sïqïl*) (TurkiJ); ***NE*** *sī̈k* 'melkij, neglubokij (o reke i t. p.), *sī̈k čer* 'mel′' (Tuv), *sī̈gaš* 'melkij, neglubokyj (o vodoeme)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word has to be distinguished fr *sïk* 'pressed', which belongs with *sïk-* 'to press, squeeze'. The word *sïk* 'shallow, sandbank' is a rare one; perhaps it exists in other T lgs, but it is not fixed. It may have had a long vowel (see Tt). Chuv reflects two forms, WOT **šïk* and WOT **šik*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1274) reconstructed PT **sïg* 'shallow' and compared it with PMo **siga-r* 'dregs, sediment', PTu **sigi-* 'ice hole' < PA **si̲ŏ̲gu* 'shallow, shallow place'. The PMo and PTu data are semantically very far fr the PT form.

E/H H *sík* ‘flat’ has been tied to the H verb *siklik-* ‘to glide, slide’ and adj *síkos* ‘slippery’, which are of onomatopoeic origin (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1325–1326). I suggest separating *sík* ‘flat’ fr **sik* in *síkos* ‘slippery’ and *siklik-* ‘to glide, slide’. *sík* ‘flat’ has a dial form *sék*. The word *sekély* has been formed fr *sék* with the H suff *+Ály*, a well-known H den suff (cf. *szem* ‘eye’ > *személy* ‘person’ < ‘face’). It was Vámbéry (1870: 171) who first argued in favour of the T origin of the H word family **csökik**, **csökken**, *csekély*, *sekély*. He compared these H words with an uncertain Chag word *seg* ‘shallow’ and Chuv *sagal* ‘few’ (read *saɣal*, Chuv *saχal* ⟵ Ar). His etymological idea has been disregarded in the literature. Bárczi (1941: 268) considered H *sekély* as a variant of **csekély**, which is a der of **csökik**. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 511; 1993–1997/2: 1315) thought that H *sekély* resulted fr a word split fr **csekély**. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of H *sekély* among the T lws of the H lg. H *sík*, *sék*, *sekély* have to be separated fr **csökik**, **csökken**. The variants of *sekély*, the metathetic *kösély* (1565) and the dial *sikér* (1817) are H formations.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 171; Gabain 1938: 371–415; Bárczi 1941: 268; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 511; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 862, 885, 889; Clauson 1972: 804; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1315, 1325–1326; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1274.

SIMA [šimå] ‘smooth’, **simít** [šimīt] ‘to make smooth’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *Sima* [šimå], a1529 *ſimaſagoth* [šimå-šāgot] ‘faithless, false’, 1531 ‘flat, plane’ | *šimå* < **šima* ⟵ WOT **šïma* < **sïma* | T *sïyma*, *sīma* < **siy-* {with suffs -(*X*)*m* and *+A*}.

OT –; **MT** ? *sïla-* ‘gładzić, głaskać’ (AHŠ), ? *sïla-* ‘elini sürmek’ (AIMI), ? *sïla-*, *sïwa-* ‘to stroke, fondle’ (ARbg), ? *sïpala-* ‘se montrer amical, bienveillant’, *sïpal-*, *sïpan-* ‘glisser’ (AChag), ? *sïla-* ‘tisztítani, megtisztítani, fényesíteni [to clean, to polish]’ (AChagBL), *sïpa-* ‘streicheln’ (LCC); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šămа* dial ‘krasivyj, izjaščnyj, izyskannyj, krasivo, izjaščno, izyskanno’ (Chuv), *šămа* ‘krasivo’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *sïypa-* ‘gladiť, pogladiť’ (Tat), *šïma* ‘sima; glatt’, *šïmar-* ‘simává lenni; glatt, poliert werden’, *sïypa-* ‘megsimogatni; streicheln’ (TatB), *šïma* ‘glatt’ (TatKR), *šïma* ‘(prjam., peren.) gladkij, gladko’, *hïypa-* ‘gladiť, poglaživať, (peren.) upletať (prost.)’ (Bashk), *šïma* ‘sima’ (BashkP), *sība* ‘schön’ (SibTatTR), *sïypa-* ‘gladiť, poglaživať’ (Kirg), *sïypa-*, *sĭpa-* ‘to stroke, to caress lightly, to touch slightly’ (Kaz), *sïypa-* ‘gladiť, poglaživať’ (Kklp), *sïypa-* ‘gladiť, poglaživať rukoj’ (Nog), *siypa-* (sic!) ‘gladiť’ (CrTat), *sipa-* ‘gladiť, laskať, rastirať, massirovať’ (Kar), *sïypa-* ‘gladiť, pogladivať’ (Kum), *sïydam* ‘gladkij, rovnyj, krasivyj, milovidnyj (napr. o ženskom lice)’, *sïydamla-* ‘delať čto gladkim, sglaživať, vyravnivať čto, šlifovať čto, (peren.) nalaživať (napr. otnošenija), ustranjať raznoglasija meždu kem’, *sïypala-* ‘gladiť, razglaživať čto, podmetať, vytirať, protirať čto, (peren.) sgladiť, zamjať (konflikt i t.p.)’, *sïypa-* ‘gladiť kogo-čto, podmetať, smahivať (pyľ), slegka vytirať čto’, *sïla-* ‘gladiť kogo-čto, delať massaž, lečiť čto massažem’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sī̆pala-* ‘gladiť’ (Tkm), *sī̆fa-* ‘gladiť rukoj’ (TkmD, Dybo 2003: 396); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *siypa-* ‘gladiť, poglaživať,

tereť' (Uzb), *sïypa-* 'gladiť rukoj' (UzbD, Dybo 2003: 396), *sïla-*, *sïlæ-* 'to caress, to stroke, to rub down, to rub, to use friction, to flatter', *sïlïq* 'even, plane, smooth', *sïpa-* 'to stroke, to sweep off a table with one's hands' (TurkiJ), *sipi-* 'gladiť, poglaživať, priglaživať', *sipta* 'gladkij' (MUyg); ***NE*** *sïyma-* 'gladiť, laskať, oščuščať, osjazať' (Alt), *sīma-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (AltR), *sība-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (AltLR), *sïba-* 'gladiť, laskať' (AltL), *sīma-*, *sïba-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (AltTelR), *sïyma-* 'gladiť, zagladiť' (AltTK), *sïyba-* 'gladiť (rukoj), laskať kogo-čto-l., massirovať kogo-čto-l.' (Khak), *sība-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *sïba-*, *sība-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *sība-* 'streicheln, liebkosen' (ChulR), *suyba-* 'ščupať, gladiť (rukoj)' (Tuv), *suyba-* 'ščupať' (Tof); ***Y*** *sabā-*, *sïbā-* 'mazať, lepiť, namazyvať' (Y ← SibT).

Mo *šaba-* 'podmazyvať' (Bur).

E/T Joki (1952: 291) has discussed the Kam word *sīmä* 'mild, sanft, friedlich, ruhig, gültig, liebenswürdig, gefällig, anständig' and pointed out that his earlier position that the Kam word may be a lw fr a T word with the meaning 'still, ruhig' (see AltLR, KhakShR *šïm*, KhakSR *sïm*) cannot be correct because of the bisyllabic character of the Kam word. He supposed that the Kam word developed out of a confusion of two synonymous T lws (*šïm* and *tïm* < *tïmïk*). Joki's new explanation seems to be overly complicated, however, and cannot be accepted. The Kam word may, perhaps, be interrelated with the T word discussed here as the etymon for H *sima*.

According to Räsänen (1969: 415), one can link the T verb *sïypa-* with *süp* 'broom', but this idea is unacceptable. In his dict, he also tied *sïypa-* to data which were discussed in the following entries: KrchBlk *sïydam* 'glatt' (415), MT *sïka-* 'streicheln' (416) and *sïla-* 'einschmieren' (416). Under another entry (446), he discussed words which we clearly must link to the H word *sima* (see Kaz *šïma*, *šoma* 'glatt', Chuv *šăma*, Cher *šăma*, *šĕmä*, Chag *šima*, *šiba* 'glatt, poliert', Kaz *šïma-r-* 'glatt werden' and Tt *şımar-* 'verzärtelt werden (Kinder)').

Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 396) was also of the view that *sïypa-* is interrelated with *sïla-* 'gladiť', which she discussed under a special entry (399–400). Etymologically separating the possible interrelated forms correctly poses a real challenge because one can also find *sïl-* in the T lgs in addition to *sïypa-* and *sïla-* (discussed in Dybo 2003: 398–399). Clauson (1972: 825) collected the two forms *sïla-* and *sïl-* under the entry *sil-*, but it seems much more likely that they are morphologically independent words. It is difficult to determine whether the vowel in this verb was a front one or not. Clauson believed that the original phonetic shape of the word could be *sil-* (or even ? *sili-*), while Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 398–399) suggested that the primary phonetic shape of the verb might be **sīl-*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1245) reconstructed PT **sïypa-* 'to knead, caress' and kept PT **sïba-* 'to smear' distinct fr this root. They discussed **sïba-* under the

entry PA **sípa* 'clay, to smear' together with the "Altaic" cognates: PTu **siba-* 'to smear', PMo **siba-* id. They mention that the reconstructed PT form – which is based on Kashgari *suva-*, Tt *sıva-*, Gag *suwa-*, AzD *sua-*, Tkm *suwa-*, Sal *suva-*, *sova-*, Khal *sïva-*, ATuh *suwa-*, Uzb *suwa-*, MUyg *suwa-* – is somewhat confused with PT **sïba-* 'to water, irrigate'.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1249) reconstructed PT **sīl-*, **sīla-* 'to wipe, rub, clean' and compared it with PMo **silu-* 'to rub off, peel', PTu **silkü-* 'to wash, clean' and other "Altaic" cognates.

We have to reconstruct the morphology of *sïyma-*, *sïma-* as **sïy-(X)m+A-* (Erdal 1991: 290, 413); the forms with /b/ and /p/ are secondary. The nouns *sïyma*, *sïma* are dev nouns with the suff *-mA*: **sïy-* > *sïy-mA* (Erdal 1991: 316). Finally, we have other ders, such as *sïy-(X)l-* > *sïl-*, etc. 'to wipe', with various extended meanings like 'to smear (plaster or mud) on (a building), to massage, to caress, stroke'. It is possible that the base of all these words, **sïy-*, was of onomatopoeic character.

The Cher word *šïma* 'nežnyj, laskovyj; gladkij' was borrowed fr Chuv.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 172) who first regarded the H word *sima* 'smooth' to be of T origin as he compared it to the Chag data *šima* and *šiba* 'smooth'. Gombocz (1912b: 117–118) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **šïma*. According to Mészöly (1935: 225), the H word may represent an internal development and is originally onomatopoeic. He mentions that such onomatopoeia usually has many variants (see e.g. H *sík* 'slide'), which shows the etymologically interrelated verbal roots *sik* and *sim* (cf. *siklik-*, *simlik* 'to slide', *sík*, *sima* 'sliding', *elsikul-*, *elsimul-* 'to slide away', etc.). Bárczi (1941: 271) felt that H *sima* is of debated origin, it was Mészöly who provided the most plausible explanation for it. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 540) considered the H word to be of unknown der. As he noted, its supposed T etymology seems highly problematic. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1329) thought that the word may be the result of an internal H development, but it would require further investigation to verify this etymology. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *sima* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 172; Gombocz 1912b: 117–118; Mészöly 1935: 225; Bárczi 1941: 271; Joki 1952: 291; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 540; Räsänen 1969: 415–416, 446; Clauson 1972: 825; Erdal 1991: 290, 316, 413; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1329; Fedotov 1996/2: 442; Dybo 2003: 396, 398–400; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1245, 1249.

SIÓ [šiō] 'running water, running channel under a mill' | 1614 PN *Siounem* [šiounem], 1693 GN *Sio* [šiō], *sió* dial 'rivulet, sluice' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 901) | *šiō* < *šiu* ← WOT **šiu* || **séd** [šēd] *arch*, *dial* 'spring, well, brook' | 1086 GN *tuhut sedu* [tüɣüt šedü], †1015/[c1220]/1274/1323/1403 GN *fedfev* [šēd-feü], GN *fedefey* [šēd-efei], GN *fedő* [šēd-i], GN *nagýsegy* [nad′-šēg-i], 1130–1140/12–13th c. GN *sedu* [šēdu], 1274/1342 *hydegsyd* [hideg-šēd], 1292 GN *seed-feu* [šēd-fō] | *šēd* < **šīd* < **šiu* {with suff *+d*} ← WOT **šiw* < **sib* | EOT *suv* 'water' | See **kéneső**.

OT *suv qudï bardïmïz* ‘we went down that river’ (RMTon 27), *suvï Säläŋä ärmiš* ‘their water (river) was the Selenga’ (RMShin N2), *suv täŋri* ‘the water god’ (UChuast 36), *yir suv üzä* ‘auf dieser Erde’ (MManIII Nr.7:8), *suw* ‘Wasser’: *suwlarïg* ‘Gewässer’ (sūwlārrig – sū wlā rri g) (BC 6), *sūw* ‘water’ (AK), *χαρα σίου* ‘μαύρον νεγόν; black rivulet’ (Moravcsik 1983/1: 465, 1983/2: 340); **MT** *suv* ‘eau’ (UHy), *suw* ‘su’ (UY), *suv* ‘Wasser’ (UCivEx 01:23), *su* ‘water’ (ABF), *su* ‘water, spring’, *suv* ‘water’ (AGul), *suw* ‘su’ (AHMA), *su*, *suw* ‘woda’ (AHŠ), *suw* ‘voda’ (AHŠF), *su*, *suv* ‘su’ (AIMI), *su* ‘water’ (AKD), *suw* ‘water’ (AKor), *su*, *suw* ‘voda, sok, pitʹe’ (ATef), *suw* ‘su’ (AYC), *su* ‘eau’ (AChag), *su* ‘water’ (AChagG), *su*, *suy* ‘voda’ (AChagLN), *su* ‘Wasser’, *köne suvï, köne suvu* ‘Quecksilber’ (LCCG), *su* ‘Wasser’, *köne suvï*, *köne suvu* ‘Quecksilber’ (LCCI), *su* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *ṣu ṣïġïrï* ‘buffle’ (ABul), *ṣu* ‘eau’, *su qušï* ‘oiseau aquatique’ (ADur), *ṣu* ‘Wasser’ (AHou), *su* ‘víz; Wasser’ (AKav), *su* ‘water’ (AMGh), *ṣu*, *ṣuv* ‘voda’ (ATuh), *su* ‘su’ (ATuhA), *suv* ‘water, river’ (AmCh), *šiw* ‘river’ (VB 1307, Róna-Tas 1976a: 166–167; Erdal 1993: 128–129); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šïv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, vodo-, voda, vodoem, vodnaja poverhnostʹ, etc.’, *šü-* ‘moknutʹ, razbuhatʹ, nabuhatʹ (ot vody)’ (Chuv), *šïv*, *šĕv* ‘voda, dožd’, reka’, *šu* ‘voda, sok jagody, reka, bran’’ (ChuvA); *šïv* Szp. id. ‘víz; Wasser’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *su* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, reka, potok, sok’ (Tat), *sïu*, *su* ‘víz, nedv, drágakő fénye; Wasser, Saft; Wasser (an Diamanten, Perlen)’ (TatB), *hïu* ‘voda, vodnyj, reka, ozero, sok’ (Bashk), *su al-* ‘su basu; zatopljatʹ vodoj’ (SibTat), *su* ‘voda’ (SibTatBD), *sū* ‘(v razn. znač.) voda, reka, rečnaja dolina (v gorah, prežde kirgizskie auly raspologalisʹ po dolinam reček), syroj, vlažnyj, mokryj, zakalka’, *sū*: *sū kuduk* ‘(v ėpose) svjaščennyj kolodec (u mongolov, kalmykov)’ (Kirg), *su* ‘water, river’ (Kaz), *suw* ‘voda, vodnyj, reka, rečnoj, syroj, vlažnyj’ (Kklp), *suv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, reka, rečnoj, syroj, vlažnyj, mokryj’ (Nog), *suv* ‘voda’ (CrTat), *suv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *suy* ‘voda’ (KarC), *suv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, sok’ (Kum), *suŭ* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanistyj, vlaga, syrostʹ, vlažnyj, syroj, mokryj, reka, rečnoj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *suv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, sok’ (Tkm), *su* ‘voda, sok, podlivka’ (Az), *su* ‘water, fluid, sap, juice, stream, brook, mass of water, broth, gravy, etc.’ (Tt), *su* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, vodnoe prostranstvo, sok, ėssencija’ (Gag), *sụ*, *sū*, *su*, *sō͟ᵘ* ‘Wasser’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *suv*, *suw*, *su* ‘Wasser’ (Kh), ? *sivïq* ‘dünnflüssig’, *sū*, *su·v* ‘Wasser’ (KhT); ***SE*** *suv* ‘voda, vodnyj, vodjanoj, aryk, rečka, reka, sok, vyšivka stebelʹčatym švom’ (Uzb), *su*, *sū* ‘water, juice, water course, river’ (TurkiJ), *su* ‘voda’ (TurkiL), *su* ‘voda, aryk, reka’ (MUyg), *sụ* ‘voda, čto-libo židkoe, židkostʹ, gušča’ (Sal), *su*, *sụ* ‘eau’ [Pot. *su*, *sux*] (SalK), *sụġar-* ‘poitʹ (o životnyh)’, *suyuq* ‘židkij, židkaja’ (YUyg), *su* ‘voda’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sū* ‘voda, reka’ (Alt), *su*, *sug*, *sū*, *sūg*, *süg*, *sű*, *sűg*, *sűk* ‘voda, reka’ (AltQK), *sū* ‘voda’ (AltTK), *sụġ* ‘voda, vodjanoj, vodnyj’ (Khak), *suh* ‘water’ (FY), *sug* ‘voda, reka’ (Tuv), *sụġ* ‘voda, sok, židkostʹ, nebolʹšaja rečka’ (Tof); ***Y*** *ū* ‘voda, sok,

židkosť, vlaga' (Y), *ū* 'Wasser, Fluß' (Dlg), *ūlan-* 'Wasser durchlassen [vom lecken Boot]', *ūlāk* 'wässerig' (DlgS).

E/T In opposition to the generally supposed PT **sub*, Doerfer–Tezcan (1980: 192) reconstructed an "Urtürkisch" form **sụ̂u-bɜ*. Erdal (1991: 177; 1993: 128–129; 2007: 91–92) argued in favour of PT **sïw* which became *šïw* in Chuv and *suv* in the other lgs. The question is whether we have to reconstruct a bilabial or dentilabial spirant consonant /w/ or /v/, or a diphthong with a semivowel /i̯/ or /u̯/. The forms in Bashk (*hïu)* and TatD (*sïu*) are helpful. We may add the Byzantine transcripiton *xara siu* here. This means that we had two forms in OT: WOT **šïw* and EOT *suv*. They may go back to a PT **sïw*. The PT reconstruction **sïb* in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1286) is unlikely. Despite their view, the Mo form **usu* 'water' is not interrelated with the T form. On this idea (**pusun* > **husun* > *susun* > *usu*), see Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 326), with Dybo's remarks.

E/H The two H words *sió* and *séd* have been linked in the H literature and, in a summary of various earlier positions, Lukács (1951: 260-263) suggested that both are of onomatopoeic origin (*ši-* > *šiv-ō*, *šē-d*). Pais accepted this [editor's note in Lukács 1951, on p. 264] (Pais 1952a: 142). According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 506, 544; 1993–1997/2: 1313, 1331), the der of *séd* is unknown and *sió* is originally onomatopoeic. The possibility of the T origin was not noted in the earlier Turkological literature; Ligeti (1986) does not mention it. The WOT source of H *sió* is beyond doubt, and the +*d* in *séd* is a well-known dim suff, frequent in OH GNs and PNs (see *Árpád* s.v. **árpa**). The change fr *šiu+d* > **šivd* > **šīd* > *šēd* is as likely as Benkő's proposal: **šiv-* > *šivō* >> *šēd*. In both cases, the change fr back to front-vocalic syllable is motivated by the early H change *ï* > *i*. See also the second part of **kéneső**.

◆ Munkácsi 1893: 281; Munkácsi 1901c: 41; Szabó 1936: 47; Szabó 1939: 52; Lukács 1951: 260–263; Pais 1952a: 142; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 281–282; Egorov 1964: 337, 340; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 506, 544; Räsänen 1969: 431; Clauson 1972: 783–784; Róna-Tas 1976a: 166-167; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 901; Doerfer–Tezcan 1980: 192; Moravcsik 1983/1: 465; Moravcsik 1983/2: 340; Kiss 1988: 476; Erdal 1991: 177; Erdal 1993: 128–129; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1313, 1331; Fedotov 1996/2: 465; Dybo 2003: 325–327; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1286; Erdal 2007: 91–92.

SOK [šok] 'much, many' | ? 1138/ PN *Suk* [šuk], p1372 *fokaktol* [šokåktōl], *ʒokfagos* [šokšāgos] | *šok* ← WOT **čok* | EOT **čok* << ? **tašï-ok*.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *čoq* 'sehr': *bäk čoq*: *Oguz qagan bir čoqur-dïn aigïr aḍ-qa minä ḍurur erdi* :: *ošul aigïr aḍ-nï bäk čoq sev*(*i*)*yür* 'Oguz Qagan pflegte einen scheckigen Hengst zu besteigen. Er liebte diesen Hengst sehr' (UOg), *čoq* 'much, many' (AGul), *čoq* 'mnogo' (AIM), *čoq* 'mnogo (?)': *säŋä bu čoq batman altun bäräyin* 'ja dam tebe mnogo (ėtot mešok) zolota' (ATef), *čoq* 'beaucoup' (AChag), *čoq*, *čox* 'many, much' (AChagSC), *čoq* 'bisyar, ziyade köp' (AChagŠS), *čok* 'das Viel oder Gross' (AChagZ),

čoq ‘kesir, çok’ (AAH), *čoġu*, *čoġï* ‘halk çoğu kıldı, yığıldı’ (AAHI), *čoq* (š-): *bu andan čoq yaḳšï dur* ‘dieser ist viel besser, als jener’ (AKav), *čoq* ‘çok’ (ATuhA), *čok* ‘çokluk’, *čoġ*, *čoḫ*, *čoq*, *čoqlu* ‘çok şeyi olan, varlıklı’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *suq* (ust., knižn.) ‘mnogo, vo množestve’ (Bashk), *suk* ‘sok [many, much]’ (BashkP), *cuq* ‘küp; mnogo; kuyï; gustoj’ (SibTat), *šoq* ‘gruppa, tolpa’ (Kklp), *čoq* ‘mnogo’ (CrTat), *čoq* ‘viel, zuviel’ (CrTatR), *čoq* ‘mnogo, očen′’ (KarSh); ***SW*** *čok* ‘kompanija’ (Tkm), *čox* ‘mnogo, ran′še, davno’ (TkmD), *čox* ‘mnogo, ujma, očen′, ves′ma, sliškom, osobenno’ (Az), *çok* ‘much, great (in amount), long (in duration), too much, very, often, the greater part, most of a thing, many, too many’ (Tt), *çok* (*çoğu*) ‘mnogo, mnogo-, očen′, sil′no, dolgo’ (TtB), *čoq* ‘viel, zuviel’ (TtR), *čok* ‘mnogo’ (Gag), *čox*, *čo̤x*, *čo̲x* ‘viel, mehr’ (Khor), *ç̌ox* ‘viel’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *čoq* ‘many, much, very’ (TurkiJ), *choq* ‘many, much, very’ (TurkiSh); ***NE*** ? *čuk* ‘gustoj, skučennyj’ (Alt), *čoq* ‘viel, zuviel’ (KhakSR); ***Y*** –.

E/T If the H word were of T origin, it should certainly be connected with T *čok* ‘much, many’, which is attested relatively sporadically in the T lgs and for which no data are known in OT. The first instance of the T word is documented in UOg and written in the 14th (?) c. There is the phrase *bäk čok*, in which *čok* was used adverbially. Its occurrence in the MT sources is very sporadic. Its possible interrelation with the H word could imply that the word is considerably older in the T lgs. It is attested in the NW, SW, SE and NE branches within Turcia. The Tkm–Rus dict contains three homophonous words under the entry *čok*. It is possible that the third word with the obsolete meaning ‘kompanija’ belongs here. It is attested in the proverb *čopan adam čoka bolmaz, ala garga oka gelmez* ‘pastuh ne sostavit kompanii, vorona ne podstavit sebja pod pulju’. It may, however, also be a Mo lw (on the Mo data, see below). The word is not known in all Khor dials. The Doerfer–Hesche collection mainly contains the words *artuk*, *köp*, and *köf* (1993: 77, 254, etc.) with this meaning, but see also *čox* ‘viel’ in Šīrwān (1993: 277), Dara-Gaz (1993:101), Loft-ābād (1993: 189), etc. The Bodschnurd dial in the Fázsy collection (1977) includes such data as *čox* ‘viel, sehr’, *čoxlï* ‘vielerlei, allerhand, diverse’.

The occurrence of the word in the Kip lgs is sporadic: see Bashk, BashkP, SibTat and on the Crimean territory (CrTat, CrTatR, KarC), where the Og influence is quite strong. As shown in the database, the word occurs in the TurkiJ, TurkiS sources. The KhakSR item *čok* ‘viel, zuviel’ is irregular; one would expect a form **sok*^{x} in Khak. It may be of Mo origin together with the Khak item *čō* ‘očen′, sil′no’ (cf. Mo *čug* ‘together with, in company’ (L)). Räsänen (1969: 114) erroneously mentions certain data (see TurkiTR *čokča* ‘übervoll, so voll, dass das Gemessene den Rand des Maasses überragt, mit einem Haufen’, AltR *čokčo* ‘Haufen, Reisighaufen, das zum Feuermachen aufgehäufte Holz’ and AltLR *čokšo* id.) under the entry *čok*. These words were

copied fr Mo *čogča* ‘heap, pile, mass, complex, aggregate, physical constitution, body’ (L).

There are several ideas in the literature on the etymology of T *čok* ‘much, many’. Doerfer–Hesche (1989: 355; 1993: 634) connected *čok* ‘much, many’ with Kashgari’s Og item *čōk* ‘vile’. Earlier, Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 9) pondered this question more carefully. He thought that the interrelation between Kashgari’s item and the Tkm word may be regarded as uncertain. Kashgari’s item has a long vowel and the vowel in the Tkm word is short. Add to this phonetic difficulty the fact that the words in question also show semantic diversity. T *čok* only has the meaning ‘many’. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 9), the etymological link between AK *čōk* ‘gemein, schlecht’ and T *čok* ‘sehr, viel’ may be supported by the etymological relationship between Grm ‘*sehr*’ and the verb ‘*versehren*’ and he also cites the Grm phrase *er hat arg viel Geld*.

Doerfer otherwise thought that there was only one PT word **čŏk* in existence. According to him, this PT form **čŏk* was copied by Mo (see *čug* ‘together with, in company, jointly, simultaneously’), which later was re-borrowed into some T lgs (cf. AltTR *čuk* ‘dicht, dicht zusammengedrängt, dicht bei einander, dichtes Gebüsch, Gehölz’). The Mo word is, however, not the copy of PT **čŏk* reconstructed by Doerfer; its source is T *čūg* ‘bundle’ (Clauson 1972: 405). One cannot exclude the possibility that this word – as a re-borrowed Mo form – was also the ultimate base of Tkm *čok* ‘kompanija’.

Berta (1999: 7–26) had two proposals concerning the etymology of T *čok*. According to his preferred assumption, the initial **č-* may be secondary (cf. the T etymon for **csökönyös**). He reconstructed a T form **taš-ok*, which may have the verbal base *taš-* ‘to overflow’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 559) < PT **tāšV-*. Despite some scholars’ opinions (cf. Clauson (1972: 559) and Ščerbak (1970: 197)) it must be separated fr OT *taš* ‘outside’ (Clauson 1972: 556–557). Doerfer (1982a: 110) made a very cautious proposal about separating the verb and noun, while Räsänen (1969: 466) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 164–167, 169–170) took a more definite stand on such a separation (see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1433), who discussed the reconstructed PT verb **d(i)āl′(ï)-* in a separate entry). The Tkm words *daš* and *dāš-* very clearly show the difference between them. The following data are available for the basic verb:

OT *taš-* ‘to overflow’: *qaḍïg boltï tip ootïn q(a)tunsar küzäč tašar* ‘Wenn es hart geworden ist, so (denkt der Kessel) möge es durch Feuer hart geworden sein und läuft über’ (UTTI 193–194), *tašur-* ‘to cause to overflow’ (UXuangzangIndex), *taš-* ‘overflow’: *ešič tašdï* ‘the pot boiled over’. Also *sūw tašdï* ‘the water (of a river or a vessel) overflowed’, *taš-ïl-*: *tašïl- tökül-* ‘to pour out (intr.)’ (Erdal 1991: 675), *taš-ïm*: *tälim tašïm* ‘abundant’ (Erdal 1991: 293), *taš-gïn*: *tašgïn suvlarï* ‘their overflowing waters’ (Erdal 1991: 328); MT *taš-* ‘taşmak’ (UY), *taš-* ‘to overflow’ (AGul), *taš-* ‘wylewać się

(na zewnątrz), przelewać się' (AHŠ), *taš-* 'vylyvatʹsja (naružu), perelivatʹsja, prolivatʹsja, prolivatʹsja čerez kraj, perepolnjatʹ' (AHŠF), *taš-* 'perepolnjatʹsja' (AM), *taš-* 'taşmak' (AYC), *taš-* 'to overflow' (AChagG), *taš-* 'of water and the like, to overflow, to be brim-full, to be abundant' (AChagSC), *taš-* 'überschwemmen' (AChagŠSK), *taš-* 'bugünkü manasında', *tašqun* 'taşan su' (AAH), *taškïn* 'sel' (AAHI), *ṭaš-*, *ṭašar* 'przybrać (*o wodzie*)' (ABul), *ṭašqïn* 'überfliessend', *ṭašqïn ṣu* 'Giessbach' (AHou), *ṭaš-* 'kipetʹ, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj' (ATuh), *taš-* 'taşmak' (ATuh); NT *Chuv tul-* (Chuv), the entry in the Skvorcov dict contains eight headings for meanings, but some of them surely do not belong here. The sense of 'napolnjatʹsja' in the phrase *vitre tulčĕ* 'vedro napolnilosʹ' and the meaning 'stanovitʹsja polnoj (*o lune*)' in the phrase *uyăx tulnă văxăt* 'polnolunie' show clearly that this is a case of the homophonous Chuv verb *tul-*, which corresponds to T *tol-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 491: *tōl-* 'to be filled, or full'). Another semantic group, however, belongs here: see 'pribyvatʹ, razlivatʹsja (*o vode – v polovodʹe*)' (cf. *Atăl šĭvĕ tulnă* 'Volga razlilasʹ'). Cf. also *tulăx* 'polnovodnyj' and furthermore 'izobilie, obilie, bogatstvo, dostatok, dovolʹstvo', etc. corresponding to the CT noun **tašïk* < **tašuk* < **tašok*; *NW tašï-* 'razlivatʹsja, razlitʹsja (*o reke*), litʹsja, perelivatʹsja, perelitʹsja (*čerez kraj*), bežatʹ, ubežatʹ (*napr. o moloke*)' (Tat), *tašu* 'taškïn; razliv, polovodʹe, navodnenie, potop' (TatD1), *tašïu* 'áradás, ár; Überschwemmung' (TatB), *taš-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, litʹsja, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, razdutʹsja, vzduvatʹsja (*o živote*)' (Bashk), *tas-*, *tasï-* 'to overflow, to spill over the edge, to accumulate, to rise, to increase (*of water*)' (Kaz), *tasï-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, litʹsja, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, bežatʹ (*napr. o moloke*)' (Nog), *taš-*, *tašï-* 'vyhoditʹ iz beregov, vylivatʹsja čerez kraj' (Kirg), *tas-* 'skakatʹ galopom, perelivatʹsja (*čerez kraj*)' (KarH), *taš-* 'vylivatʹsja, prolivatʹsja, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, iz granic' (KarT, KarC), *tasï-* 'vyhoditʹ iz beregov, vylivatʹsja čerez kraj, (*peren.*) vozgorditʹsja, vozomnitʹ' (Kaz), *tasï-* 'vyhoditʹ iz beregov, vylivatʹsja čerez kraj' (Kklp), *tasï-* 'perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, perepolnjatʹsja' (KklpB), *tasï-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov (o reke), litʹsja, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, bežatʹ (napr. o moloke)' (Nog), *taš-* 'perelivatʹsja čerez kraj' (CrTat), *tašï-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov (*o reke*)' (Kum); *SW dāš-* 'razlivatʹsja, vylivatʹsja, litʹsja čerez kraj', *dāšgïn* 'navodnenie, polovodʹe, pavodok, razliv, priliv' (Tkm), *daš-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, bežatʹ (*pri kipenii*), perelivatʹsja, perelitʹsja čerez kraj' (Az), *taş-* 'to overflow, to run over, to boil over, to exceed the bounds of moderation or decency, to go too far, etc.' (Tt), *taş-* 'perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, vyhoditʹ (vystupatʹ) iz beregov, svisatʹ (*o skaterti*), (milit.) obtekatʹ (*flang protivnika*), kipetʹ, vozbuždatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz sebja, statʹ derzkim' (TtB), *taš-* 'razlivatʹsja, vylivatʹsja, litʹsja čerez kraj, ubegatʹ (*o kipjaščej židkosti*)' (Gag); *Kh täš-* 'überfließen, überkochen' [according to Doerfer, copied fr Az *taš-*, *a* > *ä* perhaps under the influence of *š*] (Kh); *SE toš-* 'razlivatʹsja, vyhoditʹ iz beregov, perelivatʹsja čerez kraj, pojavljatʹsja (*o vesnuškah,*

sypi i t.p.)' (Uzb), *taš-* 'to overflow' (TurkiJ), *Tašqan su* – nazvanija vremennyh rusl, reček, bukv. "brošennaja voda", t.e. voda, vybrošennaja v pustynju (TurkiL), *taš-* 'razlivat'sja, vyhodit' iz beregov (*o reke*), perelivat'sja čerez kraj, vykipat', bežat' (*napr. o moloke*)' (MUyg), *tasï-* 'razlivat'sja, perelivat'sja čerez kraj' (YUygM); *NE taškïn* 'navodnenie', *taškïnda-* 'vyhodit' iz beregov' (Alt), *taš-* 'pribyt', pribavit'sja, rasširjat'sja' (AltQK), *taškïn* 'naružu, na ulicu, vne, vne nahodjaščijsja, naružnyj, naružnaja storona, navodnenie' (AltTK), *tas-* 'pribyvat' (*o vode*), razlivat'sja, vystupat' iz beregov (*o vesennej vode*)' (Khak), *dažï-* 'pribyvat' (*o vode*)', *dažïg* 'razliv, polovod'e' (Tuv), *ta˝š-* 'razlivat'sja, vyhodit' iz beregov', [*talïy-* 'uhodit', uezžat'' ← Mo] (Tof); *Y tasiy-* 'pokryvat' vodoju, zatopljat'' (Y), *tahïy-* 'über seine Ufer treten, überschwemmen' (Dlg).

Mo *taliy-* 'to disappear, get lost, go astray, to die' (L).

On the basis of the historical and contemporary data, one can reconstruct the verb PT **tāšV-* > OT *taš-* 'to overflow'.

The lexeme *čok* may represent an old WOT form and, within this framework, perhaps an OOg one. It may go back to **taš-ok* and may show the same crasis which one can assume in the case of T *taš+ïk-* >> *čïk-*. The explanation supposes the weakening of the first-syllable vowel in the WOT dial form. The phonetic change **taš-Ok* > **tăšok* > *čok* in this oft used lexeme that means 'many, much', however, did not influence the base and its other ders. The presumed phenomenon, fr this point of view, also parallels the change *taš+ïk-* >> *čïk-*. The phonetic change **taš-Ok* >> *čok* could have occurred in a lg and in a historical period in which the old long vowel was already shortened but the second-syllabic vowel *-o-* still preserved its open quality. The etymological proposal presumes the semantic change 'to overflow' > 'overflowing' > 'abundant, many'. Cf. Grm *Überfluss*, MHGrm *übervluz* 'große Fülle', which is a calque of Lat *abundantia* 'reicher Ertrag' (*ab* 'weg-' + *undare* 'wogen, fließen') (Wahrig 1968: 3652). Some T lgs contain the word *köp* 'much, many' (cf. Clauson 1972: 686–687: *köp* originally 'abundant, luxuriant'; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 616; Berta 1996: 202–205), which, according to Doerfer (1982a: 105), may be a cognate of the verb *köp-* 'schwellen, überschäumen'. On the details, see Berta (1996: 202–205).

According to Berta's other, less preferred proposal, T *čok* may perhaps be of onomatopoeic origin. This assumption presupposes a possible link between *čok* and T *čokrā-* 'to bubble, boil' (of liquids, primarily those which are thick) (cf. Clauson 1972: 410–411). According to Clauson (410–411), the verb *čokrā-* is a simplex, while Erdal (1991: 470) mentions it under verbal forms with the ending *°rA-*. Erdal's examples are bisyllabic and the *°rA-* segment was mainly added to bases with the endings /k/, /g/ or /ŋ/.

Whether T *čok* must be separated fr the verb *čokrā-* 'to bubble, boil' > 'to boil over' > 'to overflow' (cf. AK *ešič tašdï* 'the pot boiled over' and *ešič čokrādï* 'the pot

boiled with something thick') and could have been lexicalized in the sense of 'boiled over' >> 'much, many' is a question which calls for further investigation.

E/H H *sok* has an impeccable FUgr etymology: H *sok* 'many, much' < PUgr (PVog *šaw* <) **čokkă* < PFUgr **čokka*. Nevertheless we have to deal with the possibility of a double origin. It was Vámbéry (1870: 172) who first considered the H word to be of T der. Budenz (1873: 87; 1873–1881: 345–346) did not reject Vámbéry's etymological explanation, but pointed out that *sok* also has a corresponding form in Cher and that this word may have been inherited fr the common FUgr–T lexical stock. According to Pais (1914a: 259), Szinnyei (1920a: 28), Bárczi (1941: 273) and Lakó (1967–1978/3: 553–554), H *sok* is of FUgr origin and goes back to the basic word **ʒ̣ukkɜ* or **ʒ̣okkɜ* 'thick, dense'. The secondary meaning 'many' occurred not only in H, but also in Vog. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 568–569) accepted the FUgr etymology of H *sok* and rejected its T origin, which Räsänen (1969: 113) and others proposed. Räsänen claimed that the H word may originally come fr OChuv. Rédei (1986–1991/2: 750) and then Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1343) strengthened the FUgr etymology of the H word. Benkő mentions, however, that the FUgr words contain analogous forms in the T lgs. Cher and Zyr (→ Osty) contain a corresponding word meaning 'dense'. The Vog and H words denote 'much, many'. It is rather unlikely that Vog and H borrowed the T word independently, but see **ír**, **szó**. That a PUgr word came under the influence of a homophonous T lw to produce H *sok* can neither be proved, nor disproved.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 172; Budenz 1873: 87; Budenz 1873–1881: 345–346; Bálint 1877: 42; Simonyi 1895: 96, 147; Pais 1914a: 259; Vámbéry 1914: 200; Szinnyei 1920a: 28; Bárczi 1941: 273; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 63; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 9, 616; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 553–554; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 568–569; Wahrig 1968: 3652; Räsänen 1969: 113–114, 466; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 405, 410–411, 491, 556–557, 559, 686–687; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 164–167, 169–170; Fázsy 1977; Doerfer 1982a: 105, 110; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 750; Doerfer–Hesche 1989: 318, 355; Tulu 1989: 271; Erdal 1991: 293, 317, 328, 470, 675, 786; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1343; Doerfer–Hesche 1993: 77, 101, 189, 254, 277, 634; Berta 1996: 202–205; Fedotov 1996/2: 242–243; Berta 1999: 7–26; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 52–54; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1433.

SÓLYOM [šōyom] 'falcon, *Falco sp.*' | †1082 GN *Soulomos* [šoulom-oš], 1138/1329 PN *soulum* [šoulum], 1213/1550 GN *solumus* [šōlum-uš], c1395 *ʒoliom* [soľom] 'falco' | *sōyom* < *šoľom* < **čawlim* < **čavli* {with suff +*m*} ⟵ WOT **čavlï* or **čavlïm* < **čavlïn* | EOT *čavlï* 'falcon'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *čawli* 'the shahin falcon' (AK), *čavlï* in a list of titles awarded to excellent people: Kök Ayuq, Inanč Beg, Čaġrï Beg, Kül Erkin or *Čavli Beg*, others may become Yavġu or Yugruš or El Begi, or gain unequalled title of Er Ögi (AQB, Dankoff 1983: 172); **MT** *čavlī* (misspelt as *čïqalī*) 'sokol' (AIMI), *čavlï* 'petit des oiseaux, faucon' (AChag), *čavlï* 'ciplenok, sokoľ lučšej porody' (AChagBud), *čavlï* 'šahin' (AChagŠS), *čavli* (!) 'Jagdfalke, junger Falke' (AChagŠSK), *čawlï* 'Jagdfalke' (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *šäwli* 'nazvanie odnoj iz porod sokolov' (Kklp); ***SW***

çavlı ‘*obs.* young, untrained hawk’ (Tt), *çavlı* ‘şahin kuşu’ (TtD1), *čavlï* ‘molodoj nedressirovannyj, neučenyj sokol’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T OT *čavlī* occurs in an obscure context on the front side of the Abakan inscription (RY 48: 6). The inscription was first published by Kiselev (1939: 129–134, not seen) in the Vestnik Drevnej Istorii journal. It was republished by Malov in 1952 (93–96) with a new photo. The inscription is kept in the Museum of Minusinsk, where Vasil′ev examined it. After a publication with Nasilov (Vasil′ev–Nasilov 1978: 60–66, not seen), he provided a new transliteration without transcription and translation (Vasil′ev 1983b: 32). In this transliteration, we read the relevant passage in line 6 <lpqwsča:bla: tüsrmk:>, however on p. 70 we find a drawing made by Vasil′ev where we read <lpqwsča: b?li: tüsrmk>, in which the form of the <b> is uncertain, but <i> is certain. Malov (1952: 95) read the place as <lpqwsča:čbli:twsrms>. In the photo provided by Malov, only <li> is legible, as in the hand-drawn transliteration by Vasil′ev. The only certainty is that the first part of the text has to be read as *alp kušča* ‘like a heroic bird’ and the following word had the ending *-li*. No trace can be detected of one more letter <č>. Malov’s is either wrong or at least uncertain. In the AQB list, we find two “falcon” begs, *čagrï beg* and *čavli beg*, which were no doubt originally titles of leaders of hunting groups. Clauson (1972: 397) also quotes the Five Language Dictionary. The Jpn edition by Tamura–Imanishi–Sato (1966: No. 15521) contains *čuli*, read *čawli* (see the Beijing edition (5D/3 4129)). The equivalents include Mo *šoŋkor karčigay*, Tib *khra-žur*, all with the meaning ‘sparrow hawk, falcon, a species of eagle’. The word also occurs in the Supplement (Tamura–Imanashi–Sato 1966: No. 18241; 5D/3: 4861). While at the first place, the Man equivalent is *maoqala*, here we find Man *čulin* and the Mo equivalent is *čulus keriye*. This means that the T word entered Mo, where the name took on a suff *+s*, perhaps a pl, but it is more likely to be an inaccurate reading instead of *čulun*, and it went further into Man as *čulin*. We also find a Mo bird name *čolon keriye* equated with Man *čoolon gaha* on p. 4861 of 5D. This bird is ‘a bird resembling a raven with a red beak’ (Norman 1967: 71). Though Cincius (1975–1977/2: 413) suggested a Ch origin, I think we are dealing with **čawlin* both in the case of *čulin* and *čoolin*. The T word *čawlï* may be identical with the first element of H *sólyom*. On the word-final *-m* in *sólyom*, see **E/H**, or we can start fr a WOT form **čavlïn*.

E/H Vámbéry (1882a: 220) already considered the H word to be of T origin, but his assumption was based on data which do not pertain here. Vámbéry’s opinion was rightly rejected by both Gombocz (1907a: 315) and Bárczi (1941: 273). According to Németh (1943: 99–101), the history of the H word seems very clear. The oldest appearence of it is *soulum*, which regularly produced *sól*(*y*)*om* ‘a kind of falcon; *Falco peregrinus*’. Benkő (1953b: 40) considered the H word to be of unknown origin, but later (1955: 138) he claimed that its T etymology cannot be excluded. He saw no

phonetic or semantic problem with a T der. There is the morphological difficulty, however, of a lack of H data **sol* > **sól* to form a bridge between T *čavlï* and H *sólom* ~ *sólyom*. According to Palló (1970c: 472), the H word may originally have been T. She claimed that it forms part of the semantic group of hunting birds of T der in H (see **bese**, **herjó**, **karvaly**, **keselyű**, **kiköcsén**, **ölyv**, **szongor**, **torontál**, **turul** and § 7). Benkő (1967–1984/3: 570–571) was of the view that H *sólyom* may perhaps be an internal H der with the dim suff *+m* fr a copied OT base (cf. *čavlï*). However, he reiterated the morphological challenge, i.e. the absence of the basic word in the H sources. Ligeti (1986: 212–213, 228) accepted Benkő's opinion, but pointed out that the morphological problem is not a serious one. In the case of H **térd**, there is also no evidence of the basic word copied fr T; it comes up only in its derived form. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1344) did not change his position. To this I can now add that the word could have had a final *-n* in WOT, as it may have had in Mo and does have in Man. This would mean than the final *-n* became *-m* as early as in WOT (see **gyom**, **szám** and § 6.2.3).

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 220; Gombocz 1907a: 315; Kiselev 1939: 124–134; Bárczi 1941: 273; Németh 1943: 99–101; Malov 1952: 93–96; Benkő 1953b: 40; Benkő 1955: 138; Tamura–Imanashi–Sato 1966: No. 15521, 5D/3 4129; No. 18241, 5D/3: 4861; Norman 1967: 71; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 570–571; Räsänen 1969: 101; Palló 1970c: 472; Clauson 1972: 397; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 413; Dankoff 1983: 172; Vasil′ev 1983b: 32; Ligeti 1986: 212–213, 228, 292, 296; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1344.

SOM [šom] 'dogwood (tree), cornel, *Cornus*' | 1291 *sumbucur* [šum-bukur], c1395 *fumfa* [šum-fa] | *šom* < **šum* < **čum* ⟵ WOT **čum* || **somogy** [šomod′] in GNs and PNs | c1001/c1101 GN *fumigienfe* [šumid′-iense], 1055 GN *defumig* [de šumid′], 1138/1329 PN *somudí* [šomudi] | *šomod′* < *šom* {with suff *+gy* / *+d*} || **somlyó** [šomyō] in GNs and PNs | 1015//1403 PN *Sumlow* [šomlō] | *šomyō* < **šoml*(*y*)*ō* < **šumluγ* ⟵ WOT **čumluγ* | EOT **čumluk* {with suff *+lXk*} < **čum*.

OT –; **MT** ? *čum* 'pin, sapin, mélèze' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** ? *šĕmĕrt* 'čeremuha (jagody, cvety i derevo)' (Chuv), ? *šĕmĕrt*, *šŏmŏrt* 'čeremuha, jagody čeremuhi' (ChuvA), *šĕmrĕt*, Szp. *šŏmŏrt* 'a Prunus padus bogyója; die Beere von Prunus padus' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *šïm* 'kizil, kizilovyj' (Nog), *čum* 'kizil' (CrTat), *čum* '(bot.) kizil, kizilovyj' (Kum), *čum* 'bogyó; Beere' (KumN), *čum* 'kizil, kizilovyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *čüm* 'kïzïl mīve' (RTkmAB); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *čïmïlqan* 'krasnaja jagoda s kostočkoj' (Turfan *čil′an*, Ch *zur*) (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Os *cym*, *cumæ* 'kizil' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 321).

Mo *tsöm* 'Kornelkirschbaum, Kornelle' (Kalm).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is a plant name which is only found in a relatively limited group of T sources. The T word was borrowed by the Kalmucks (see *tsöm* 'Kornelkirschbaum, Kornelle' (cited by Ramstedt 1935: 432 fr Golstunskij 1860)). It is uncertain whether the T word is a genuine one. No historical data exist for

it; the forms in Chuv, YUygM and AmTr do not belong here. See also SibTatBD *šomürt* ‘čeremuha’, Kirg *čïmïldïrïk* ‘čina klubnenosnaja’, *čïmïldïk*, *čïmïldïrïk* ‘povilika’. The word most probably comes fr a Cauc lg (see Lezg *čumal* ‘kizil’, *žum* ‘ajva’, Tabas *čemel*). WOT copied it perhaps through Al. H not only borrowed the word as *čum*, but it also copied its T der **čumluk*, and used it as a GN (see **E/H**).

E/H The word is of Cauc origin. H copied it either via T or directly fr Al. According to Munkácsi (1912–1913c: 359; 1914–1915a: 347), the H word *som* ‘cornel’ is identical with Kum *čum* ‘Kornelkirsche (Beere)’ and its initial *s-* [š] shows the same correspondence as can be seen in the case of H **sátor**, **seprő**[2], etc. Bárczi (1941: 273; 1951: 58) accepted Munkácsi’s opinion. He considered that the H GN *Simugy* (present-day *Somogy*) may, however, be of Ugr origin because of its final *-gy*. Ligeti (1969a: 144) called attention to the fact that some of the OT lws in H share interesting geographic criteria with cognates limited to a narrow region of Turcia. In addition to *som*, these words include **kőris**, **sőreg** and **süllő**. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 571) presumed a copied OT word **čum* or its Chuv corresponding form **šum*. According to him, the H GN *Somogy* may be an internal der of the H word of T der. It was formed with the den nominal suff *+gy*, which is well-attested in H GNs. According to Ligeti (1986: 186, 292–293), the copied form was **čum* and the word could have been borrowed together with **körte** in the Northern Caucasus region. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1344) accepted Ligeti’s position. The GN *Somlyó* [šomyō], *Somlō* [šomlō] has nothing in common with the H verb (of unknown origin) *som-* [šom] ‘to hull, peel (off)’. This was the name of a region abundant with cornel. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1344) accepted the T origin of the noun *som*, but, according to him and Kiss (1988/2: 482), the GN *Somló* is a H participial form of the verb *som-* ‘to hit’.

◆ Munkácsi 1912–1913c: 359; Munkácsi 1914–1915a: 347; Ramstedt 1935: 432; Bárczi 1941: 273; Bárczi 1951: 58; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 321; Egorov 1964: 211; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 571; Ligeti 1969a: 144; Ligeti 1986: 186, 196, 287, 292–293; Kiss 1988/2: 482; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1344; Fedotov 1996/2: 109.

SÖPÖR ‘to sweep, to broom’ see **seper**.

SÖPREDÉK ‘mob’, **söprő** ‘draff, lees, dregs of wine’ see **seprő**[2]

SÖR [šör], **ser** [šer] ‘beer’ | 1392 PN *Seres* [šer-eš], c1395 *fer* [šer], 1436 ? PN *swr* [šör], 1522 PN *seorws* [šör-öš] | *šör* < *šer* < **šere* ← WOT **šire* < **sire* | EOT **sïra* ‘beer’.

OT –; **MT** *sïra*: *bal sïra* ‘honey beer’ (AKD), *šira* ‘Wein’ (LCC ← Pe); **NT** ***Chuv*** *săra* ‘pivo, pivnoj, pivovarennyj, pir, piruška, guljanka, večerinka’ (Chuv ← Tat), *săra* ‘pivo, piruška’ (ChuvA), *săra* Szp. id. ‘sör; Bier’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïra* ‘pivo, pivnoj’ (Tat), *sïra* ‘sör; Bier’ (TatB), *sïra* ‘das Bier’ (TatKR), *hïra* ‘pivo, pivnoj, pivovarennyj’ (Bashk), *sïra* ‘pivo’ (Kirg), *sïra* ‘beer’ (Kaz), *sïra* ‘pivo’ (KazB), *sïra* ‘das Bier’ (KazR), *sïra* ‘pivo’ (KarT, KarH), *sïra* ‘pivo’ (KrchBlk), *sïra* ‘Bier’ (KrchP), *sïra* ‘Bier’ (BlkP),

sïra ‘pivo’ (BlkD, Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 413)); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *sïra* ‘pivo’ (Alt), *sïra* ‘das Bier’ (AltR, AltTelR), *sïra* ‘pivo’ (AltQK), *sïra* ‘braga, pivo, medovyha’ (KhakB), *sïra* ‘das Bier’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR); ***Y*** –.

E/T Munkácsi (1901b: 545–546) was of the opinion that the ultimate source of H *sör* may be Skrt *súrū*, which appears in some T lgs. Joki (1952: 270–271) cited the Kam word *syra* ‘cerevisia’ fr Johann Eberhard Fischer’s MS (*Vocabularium continens trecenta vocabula triginta quatuor gentium maxima ex parte Sibiricarum*) and listed some T data. He accepted Munkácsi’s position (see **E/H**) that this international word may ultimately be of Aryan origin. This view was also advanced by Räsänen (1969: 418) and Egorov (1964: 183). Joki (1952: 270–271) did not exclude the possibility that the first element of the LMo construction *sire usun* ‘eine Art Bier’ also belongs here, noting: “obgleich das Wort hier volksetymologisch mit mo. *sire* ‘gelb’ zusammengefallen ist”. It may perhaps be a lw fr T. The Skrt word suggested is *súrā* ‘ein alkoholisches Getränk, eine Art Branntwein (RigVeda)’. It also occurs in the Ir lgs (see Avesta *hurā-*, Khot *hurā-* ‘fermented mare’s milk’, Pahl *hur* ‘an alcoholic drink, koumiss’ (Mayrhofer 1986–2001/2: 738)). In none of the OInd or Ir sources did I find /i/ in the first syllable, however this /i/ must be old, because the H initial *s-* [š-] shows a *si* > *ši* change, which reflects an immediate WOT origin. The Chuv word is of Tat der; the FUgr words in Cher, Voty, Zyr and Vog are T in origin. On the spread of the word in the various FUgr lgs, see Joki (1973: 317), Fedotov (1996/2: 30) and Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 413–414). The word *šira* ‘wine’ in the CC is originally Pe (see *šira* ‘new wine, an intoxicating kind of drink, the pressed juice of any fruit except olives, syrup’ (Steingass 1981: 774)). This Pe word is present in some T lgs such as Tt *şıra* ‘grape juice’, etc. T *sïra* is a wandering, cultural word of uncertain origin present in the NW and NE T lgs, and even in WOT in the form **šire*, of which H is the only witness, assuming that the Pe word is not of WOT origin.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 172), the H word may be T in origin and is identical with the Chuv word. Munkácsi (1901b: 545–546) was of the opinion that the ultimate source of *sör* may be Skrt *súrū*, which appears in some T lgs but is also known in Vog and Osty as forms borrowed fr SibT. Munkácsi mentioned that because of the initial *s-* [š] H *sör* could, however, have been taken over fr a lg other than those of the Vog and Osty words. According to Bárczi (1941: 274), the H word is of uncertain and debated origin. Hajdú (1953: 68–69) rejected Munkácsi’s etymological explanation. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 580), the H word is a typical international word which was borrowed by the Hungarians before 895 fr an unknown East European lg. He maintained that the T origin can be rejected because of serious phonetic problems. Later, he (1993–1997/2: 1348) added that the word was also taken on by some FUgr lgs and that it also has T corresponding forms. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *sör* among the T lws in H. Whatever the final origin of the

word is, in H it is a WOT lw. It is one of the few words which is front-vocalic, while other lg have the back-vocalic form (see § 6.4.3) and Chuv copied the Tat word. The final /e/ was felt to be a poss suff.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 172; Munkácsi 1901b: 545–546; Bárczi 1941: 274; Joki 1952: 270–271; Hajdú 1953: 68–69; Egorov 1964: 183; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 580; Räsänen 1969: 418; Joki 1973: 317; Steingass 1981: 774; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/2: 738; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1348; Fedotov 1996/2: 29–30; Dybo 2003: 413–414.

SŐREG [šȭreg] 'sterlet, sturgeon, *Acipenser stellatus*, *ruthenus*' | 1219/1550 ? GN *Seureg* [šewreg], 1245/1264 GN *seureg* [šewreg], c1395 *ſeureg* [šewreg], c1405 *Sereg* [šereg] | *šȭreg* < **ševrege* ← WOT **šivrigey* < **sibir* | T *sivrik*, *süyrik* < EOT *süvri* 'sharp, pointed' {with suff +*k*} < **sibiz*.

OT *süvri*: *süvri süŋün sančïp* 'mit spitzer Lanze gestochen' (UU II 86:48), *süvri šïšlar* 'sivri şişler' (Bang–Rachmati 1934: 253, 56; Clauson 1972: 791), *süwre* (Clauson read *süvrī*, MS <SUWRAY>) 'any pointed object, such as a spearhead, arrowhead, minaret, skewer, and other small objects', *süwrit-*: *ol yïāčïg̈ süwritti* 'he sharpened the point of the wood (or other)' (AK); **MT** *säwrī sinäk* 'komar' (AIM), *sivri* 'aiguillon, pointe' (AChag), *sivri* 'hadd, tīz' (AChagŠS), *siwri* 'spitz, zugespitz' (AChagZ), *sürü* 'spitz' (LCCG), *sürü čïbïn* 'Mücke' (LCCI), *süwrü čïbïn* 'sivrisinek' (AAH), *siwri čïbïn* 'moucheron, moustique', and in another dial (? Tkm) *siwri siŋäk* id. (ABul), *süri šibin* 'sivri sinek' (ATuh), *siwri* in Rūmi 'a sting, the sharp point of anything', *siwri siŋäk* in Rūmi 'a gnat' (AChagS), *sivri akıllu* 'dâhi' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *šĕvĕr*, *šĕvĕrkke* 'ostryj, ostrokonečnyj, ostro-, konusoobraznyj, (*razg.*) sorvanec, ozornik, postrel, prokaznik (*o rebenke*)', *šĕvrek* 'ostryj, zaostrennyj, (*peren.*) hitryj, plutovatyj, žulikovatyj, vorovatyj', *šĕvreke* 'ostryj, ostroverhij, ostrokonečnyj, klinom, klinoobrazno, veršina dereva, očiščennaja ot suč′ev, hlyst', *šüreke* dial. 'ostrokonečnyj, ostryj, treugol′nyj zagon, klin', *śevrik* 'sevrjuga, sevrjužij' (Chuv), *šĕvĕr sămsa* dial. 'sevrjuga' (Chuv), *šĕvĕr* 'ostryj, ostrokonečnyj, veršina, rezkij (napr. o vetre)', *šĕvreke* 'ostryj', *šüreke* 'ostrokonečnyj, ostryj, huligan, nečistyj duh', *šür* 'ostryj', *šürĕ* 'ostryj', *šürekkey pulă* 'sterljad′' (ChuvA), *šüreke* 'hegyes; spitzig', *šĕvĕr* 'hegyes; spitzig' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *söyräk* dial'ešč′, kotoruju taščat volokom' (Tat), *söyrö* 'ozïnborïn; komar' (TatD1), *sȭyrȭ* 'spitz', *sȭyrȭk* 'der Sterlet (Fisch)' (TatKR), *süyrü* 'očlï; zaostrennyj', *söyre* 'očlï; ostryj', *söyrek* 'čögä; streljad′', *sirük* id., *sürek* 'ukborïn (balïk); sevrjuga' (SibTat), *sürät-* 'zaostrit′' (SibTatBD), *süyrü* 'zugespitz, kegelförmig, der Sterlet (ein Fisch)' (SibTatTR), *süyrü* 'prodolgovatyj, konusoobraznyj' (Kirg), *süyĭr* 'pointed, conical, cone-shaped', ? *süyrĭk* 'white root of reeds' (Kaz), *sŭ̆yrĭk* 'ostryj' (KazB), *süyrü* 'zugespitz, kegelförmig' (KazR), *süyri*, *süyir* 'prodolgovatyj, konusoobraznyj', *süyrik* '(*bot.*) molodaja porosl′ kamyša (*vysotoju do odnogo metra*)' (Kklp), *süyri* '(kn.) prodolgovatyj, konusoobraznyj', *süyrik* 'usač (ryba)' (Nog), *sivri*, *süyrü* 'ostrokonečnyj, ostryj' (CrTat), *sivri* 'ostryj', *süvrü* 'ostryj, zaostrennyj, vystupajuščij' (KarSh), *süyrük*: *süyrük balïq* 'osetr, osetrovyj, osetrina, osetrinnyj', *süyrüžibin*

'komar, komarinyj' (Kum), *süyrü* 'hlestkij' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *süyri* 'prodolgovatyj', *süyrülik* 'prodolgovatostʹ', *süy-* 'vytjagivatʹ (volokno iz kokona), raskatyvatʹ (*testo*), (*teh.*) valʹcevatʹ', *süyrik* 'sevrjuga' (RTkmAB), *sivri* 'ostryj, ostrokonečnyj' (Az), *sivri* 'sharp, pointed, tapering' (Tt), *sivrik* 'yerden çıkan ilk bitki uçu' (TtDA), *sivri* 'spitz, zugespitzt, konisch' (TtR), *sivri* 'ostryj, ostrokonečnyj, zaostrennyj, vysokij, dlinnyj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sȗrük* 'der Sterlet' (TurkiTR); ***NE*** *sȗrü* 'konusoobraznyj, ostrokonečnyj, prodolgovatyj' (Alt), *sȗrü* 'spitz, in eine Spitze auslaufend' (AltLR), *sȗrü* 'veršiny gor, zubcy skal', *sürülü* 'imejuščij veršinu' (AltTK), *sȗrü* 'spitz, in eine Spitze auslaufend' (AltTelR), *sȗr* 'sopka, pik (zaostrennaja veršina gory), ostryj, konusoobraznyj' (Tuv), *sübür* 'ostrokonečnyj, zaostrennyj' (Tof); ***Y*** *üörbä* 'zaostrennyj kol, rožen', ostrokonnee orudie, pika' (Y).

Rus *sevrjuga* 'stellate sturgeon' (← T).

E/T The base of the T etymon for the H word was attested in EOT as *süvrī* 'with a tapering end, sharp, pointed' (see Clauson 1972: 791). According to Clauson, T *süvrī* was synonymous with *subī̄*, although the two words are "not connected etymologically unless they have a common foreign origin". The word *subī̄* shows uncertain vocalism (cf. Clauson 1972: 784–785); see also *subrān*, *subī̄la-*, *subï-*, *subït-*, ? *subrān*. Dankoff–Kelly only refer to *subi* 'long and pointed (of anything)', 'a man's head which is not round' is called *subï bāš* (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 262). Despite Clauson's opinion, *subī̄* cannot be considered as a synomym of *süvrī*, even if it has some overlapping meanings. On T *subī̄*, see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1282–1283), where they reconstruct PT **supï* 'cone-shaped, oval, long'. The basic meaning of *süvrī* is 'pointed, stinging, sharp' and the original sense of *subī̄* could be 'oval'. According to Clauson (1972: 792), *süvrit-* 'to sharpen' is a der of *süvrī* and was formed with the den verbal suff +(*A*)*d-*. This may, according to him, be a secondary form "with the *-d̲-* changed to *-t-* by false analogy fr *süvrittī*". Clauson paid special attention to the forms *sivir-* 'to be sharp', *sivri* 'sharp', *sivrit-* 'to sharpen' and, in Redhouse, *sivril-* 'to be sharp', *sivrilt-* 'to sharpen', but one cannot find this in other T sources, unless perhaps secondarily, one takes the verb *sivir-* into account. In some lgs (Tkm, Kirg, Kklp, Alt), the adequate form has the meaning 'prodolgovatyj; oblong'. As was rightly stated by Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 252), this meaning appeared under the influence of the T verb *süyrä-* 'tjanutʹ'.

Ramstedt (1935: 367), Poppe (1960: 46) and Räsänen (1969: 438) compared T *sivri* with Mo *sibüge*(*n*) 'awl', but Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 291) rejected this comparison because of the uncertain state of the suffs while Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 252) argued repeatedly in favour of it.

Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 291) considered the T fish name to be a dim form fr **sibri* 'Spitz', thus its original meaning could be 'Spitzchen'.

According to Tenišev (2001: 179) this T fish name is traditionally regarded as a der fr **sibri-* 'byť ostrym', but there may also be a secondary similarity between them. Rus *sevrjuga*, RusD *sevrjuk* (Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 589), *ševrjuga*, *ševriga* (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 421) and H *sőreg* go back to this T fish name. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1286–1287) reconstructed a PA form **si̱ŭ́bu* 'end' and they listed data fr each of the so-called "Altaic" branches. In PT, they assumed **sīb-ri* > **sīb-ri* 'sharp, sharp-edged'. They supposed that the T forms with a labial vowel may be secondary. This hypothesis cannot be excluded (see e.g. the Chuv data with initial *š-* and Y has a metathetic form *üörbe*). The reconstructed PMo **segül* 'tail, end' in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak's PA entry is not pertinent here. For the T fish name (1194), they reconstructed PT **sEbrük* 'sturgeon'. This was based on Tkm *süyrik*, Tat *söyrök*, Kum *süyrük* and Nog *süyrik*. The comparison of the T fish name with PTu **sabu-* 'white fish' is unclear. Chuv *šĕvĕr sămsa* is, according to them, "a contamination".

In fact, *süvrig* is secondary to *sävrig* < *sivrig* (see Chuv *š-* < *si-*). The labialisation evolved under the influence of the labial spirant in *sävrig* (see *äv* 'house' > *öy*). The noun *sivrig* is a dev noun fr the verb *sivri-*. This goes back to **sibiz* as *sämri-* does to *sämiz*, etc., that is **sibiz+I-* > **sibzi-* > *sibri-* > *sävri-* > *söyri-*. The adj **sibiz* changed to *šĕvĕr* in Chuv. The words *sivrik*, *sevrik*, *süvrik* 'having long, pointed ends', 'the fish with long and pointed nose' and Chuv *šĕvĕr sămsa* 'spiked nose, sharp-nosed' fr the verb *sivri-*, *sävri-*, *süvri-* with the suff *-(O)k* were formed. Perhaps we can suppose that **sibiz* is a complex form. We may suppose the existence of **sibV̆-* 'to make a hole by pricking, stinging', which is present in Mo *sibe-* 'to tattoo, mark with incisions in the skin, to perforate'. In this case, Mo *sibügen* 'awl' also forms part of this word-family. Man copied *sifi-* 'to wear a hairpin', *sifikū* 'a hairpin' fr Mo.

E/H After earlier attempts, Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 125) compared the H word with Tat and KhakQb forms. The word is missing in Gombocz (1912b). Gombocz (1917: 185) reconstructed BulgT **siwrik* '*Acipenser*' as a copied form. According to Németh (1921: 24), the H word may, despite the final *-g*, be of BulgT origin, because the corresponding Chuv form shows that it did not have a final *-k*. Later, Németh (1937: 139) called attention to the Tkm form. Bárczi (1941: 274) accepted the T etymology of the H word. Róna-Tas (1967: 173) pointed out that the Chuv origin may be supported with the Chuv construction, not as yet cited, *šürekkey pulă* 'sterlet, sturgeon; Acipenser'. Ligeti (1968a: 125) considered that the copied form was OChuv **šivrik*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 581), the H word is an OChuv copy. Ligeti (1986: 18, 63, 80) was of the opinion that H *sőreg* may be identical with Chuv *śĕvĕr* 'pointed, sharp', which corresponds to CT *sivri*, *süβri*. The T word was borrowed into Kalm *šögrliɢ* 'sturgeon, Acipenser' with its secondary initial *š-*. According to Ligeti, the word copied by the Hungarians could be **šiβrik*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1349) reconstructed **šiβrig* for the H word. In CT, it could have had the forms **süvri*, **sivri*

'spitz'. Benkő suggested that the word could only have been copied in the Black Sea region.

◆ Gyarmathi 1799; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 125; Gombocz 1917: 185; Németh 1921: 24; Bang–Rachmati 1934: 253; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Ramstedt 1935: 367; Németh 1937: 139; Bárczi 1941: 274; Poppe 1960: 46; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 291; Egorov 1964: 337; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 589; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 421; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 581; Ligeti 1968a: 125; Ligeti 1969a: 144; Räsänen 1969: 434, 438; Clauson 1972: 784–785, 791, 792; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 262; Ligeti 1986: 18, 63, 80, 82, 89, 188, 202, 204, 294, 526, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1349; Fedotov 1996/2: 456; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54, 59; Tenišev 2001: 179; Dybo 2003: 252; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1194, 1282–1283, 1286–1287.

SÖRTE 'bristle' see **serte**.

SÜLLŐ [šüllō̄] 'pike perch, zander, *Stizostedion lucioperca*' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Sileu* [šilleü], 1211 PN *silleu* [šilleü], c1395 *fcillew* [šilleü], 1514 *swllw* [šüllō̄] | *šüllō̄* < **šilleü* < *šilleγ* ← WOT **šilliγ* < **šil* 'tooth' {with suff +*lXg*} | EOT **tišlig* 'with teeth', *tišäk* 'a two-year-old sheep'.

OT *tiš* 'Zahn' (UHeilk I:97,100, etc.), *tīš* 'tooth, human or other, ploughshare', *ol anï tišlādi* 'he bit him with his teeth'. Also, if he struck him on the teeth, *ol orġāq tišādi* 'he sharpened the teeth of the scythe', *tišäk* 'a two-year-old sheep' (AK), *tïš* 'the tooth' (AQB); **MT** *tiš* 'Zahn' (UOg), *tiš* 'diş' (UY), *tiš* 'dent' (UHy), *tiš* 'tooth' (ABF), *tiš* 'tooth' (AGul), *tiš* 'diş' (AHMA), *tiš* 'ząb', *tišlä-* 'gryźć, kąsać' (AHŠ), *tiš* 'zub' (AHŠF), *tiš*, *diš* 'zub' (AIM), *diš*, *tiš* 'diş' (AIMI), *tiš* 'tooth', *azïġ diš* 'canine, large tooth' (AKD), *tiš* 'zub' (AM), *tiš* 'diş' (ANeh), *tiš* 'zub' (ANehF), *tiš* 'tooth' (ARbg), *tiš* 'zub' (ATef), *tiš* 'diş' (AYC), *tiš* 'dent' (AChag), *tiš* 'tooth' (AChagAb), *tiš* 'diş, dendân' (AChagAbA), *tiš* 'zub' (AChagBud), *tiš* 'tooth' (AChagG), *tïš* 'zub' (AChagLN), *diš*, *tiš* 'diş' (AChagMA), *tiš* 'tooth, (and metaph.) the iron piece which farmers put on a wooden plough' (AChagSC), *tiš* 'diş' (AChagŠS), *tiš* 'Zahn' (AChagŠSK), *tiš* 'Zahn' (AChagZ), *tiš* 'Zahn' (LCCG), *tiš* 'Zahn', *tišlä-* (tisla-) 'beissen' (LCCI), *tiš* 'diş' (AAH), *tiš* 'dent' (ADur), *tiš* 'Zahn' (AHou), *tiš* 'fog; Zahn' (AKav), *tiš* 'diş', (Tkm.) *diš* 'zub' (ATuh), *tiš* 'diş', (Tkm.) *diš* id. (ATuhA), *tiš* 'dent' (AmTr), *tiš* 'dent' (AmE), *diš* 'tooth' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *šăla* 'sudak, sudakovyj', *šăl* 'zub *i* zuby, zubnoj, zub, zubec (*pily, grabel′, borony, grebnja i t. p.*), zubec, zazubrina, (*teh.*) palec, valik, spica, kopyl, kristall, dol′ka, čast′ golovki, lukovicy', *šăllă* 'zubatyj, kakimi-l. zubami, zubčatyj, s zubcami, s zub′jami, (peren.) zubastyj, zloj, ostryj, rezkij' (Chuv), *šăla* 'sudak (ryba)', *šăllă* 'imejuščij zuby (zub′ja), s zubami (s zub′jami), zubastyj, zubčatyj' (ChuvA), *šăl* 'fog; Zahn', *šăla* 'fogas süllő; Sander, sudak' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïla* 'sudak balïgï, sudak' (TatD1), *teš* 'zub, zubnoj, (teh.) zubec', *tešle* 'zubčatyj, imejuščij zub′ja, (peren.) zubastyj, s zubami' (Tat), *sïla* 'sudak balïgï, sudak' (TatD1), *sïl* 'ïlïs; hvoja' (TatD1), *teš* 'kigi; spica u kolesa' (TatD1), *teš*: *teš ite* 'teš urtï; desna' (TatD1), *töš* 'teš; zub' (TatD1), *teš* 'zub' (TatD2), *teš* 'Zahn' (TatB), *ṭiš* 'der Zahn' (TatKR), *hïla* 'sudak' (Bashk), *teš* 'zub, zubnoj, zubec, zub, zubnoj,

(dial.) kosť, kostnyj', *tešle* 'zubčatyj, (peren.) zubastyj' (Bashk), *teš* 'fog' (BashkP), *šeš palïk* 'kopčennaja ryba' (SibTat), *tiš* 'zub', *tišti* 'imejuščij zuby, nazvanie tretʹej lunki pri igre v *toguz kumalak*, *tištū* imejuščij zuby' (Kirg), *tïs* 'tooth' (Kaz), *tïs* 'zub', *tïstï* 'zubčatyj, zubastyj' (KazB), *tis* 'der Zahn', *tistï* 'Zähne habend' (KazR), *sïla* 'sudak' (Kklp), *tis* 'zub' (Kklp), *tis* 'zub, zubnoj, (teh.) zubec' (Nog), *tiš* 'zub', *tišli* 's zubami, zubnoj' (CrTat), *diš* 'der Zahn' (CrTatR), *tiš* 'zub', *tišli* 'imejuščij zuby, zubastyj, snabžennyj zubjami' (KarT), *tis*, *kis* 'zub' (KarH), *tiš*, *diš* 'zub' (KarC), *čiš* 'zub' (KarSh), *tiš* 'der Zahn' (KarLR), *tiš* 'zub, zubnoj, zazubrina' (Kum), *tiš*, *tïš* 'fog; Zahn' (KumN), *tiš* 'Zahn' (KumN), *tiš* 'zub, zubnoj, zubovnyj, zub, zubec (napr. pily, grebenki)', *tišli* 'zubnoj, imejuščij zuby, s zubamy, s zubʹjami, zubčatyj' (KrchBlk), *tiš* 'Zahn' (KrchP), *tiš* 'Zahn' (BlkP); ***SW*** *dīš* 'zub, zubnoj, zub, zubec (*instrumenta, mašiny i t. p.*)', *dīše-* 'narezatʹ zubʹja (*na serpe*), točitʹ (*pilu*)', *dīšle-* 'prikusitʹ, sžatʹ zubami, kusatʹ(sja), otkusyvatʹ, estʹ' (Tkm), *diš* 'zub, zubec, zubčik, zubnoj', *dišli* 'zubčatyj, imejuščij zubcy, (peren.) zubastyj' (Az), *diş* 'tooth, tusk', *dişli* 'toothed, cogged, serrated, (bot.) having cloves, (cloven), (fig.) hardy, strong, obstinate, (n.) cog wheel', *dişe-* '(prov.) to roughen a millstone with a pick', *dişle-* 'to bite, nibble, gnaw, to tooth, serrate' (Tt), *diš* 'zub, zubnoj, zubovny, zubec, zubčik, zubʹja (vil, pily)', *dišli* 'imejuščij zuby, zubastyj, imejuščij zubʹja, zubčatyj, zazubrennyj' (Gag), *diš*, *dïš*, *dịš* 'Zahn' (Khor), *diš* 'Zahn' (SOg); ***Kh*** *tī*^{i}*š*, *tị*^{i}*š* 'Zahn', *tịšlämä* 'Trinken von Tee, wobei ein Stück Zucker in den Mund gelegt und der ungesüßte Tee in kleinen Schlucken genommen wird' (Kh), *tīš* 'Zahn' (KhT); ***SE*** *tiš* 'zub, zubnoj, zub, zubec (instrumenta, mašiny i t.p.), lemeh', *tišli* 'imejuščij zub, zuby, imejuščij zubʹja, zubčatyj' (Uzb), *tiš* 'tooth, ploughshare' (TurkiJ), *tüsh*, *tish* 'tooth' (TurkiSh), *teš*, *tiš* 'zub' (TurkiL), *tiš*, *čiš* 'der Zahn' (TurkiTR), *tiš* 'zub' (MUyg), *tif*, *čif*, *tiç* 'zub, zuby' (Sal), *tʻiš*, *tı̲š*, *tʻši̲* 'dent' [Pot. *tiš´*] (SalK), *tïs*, *tʻıs* 'zub, zuby' (YUyg), *tes*, *tïs* 'zub' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tiš* 'zub, vilka dlja vytaskivanija mjasa iz kotla' (Alt), *tiš* 'der Zahn', *tištū* 'Zähne habend, gezähnt' (AltR), *tiš* 'zub' (AltL), *tiš* 'zub, zuby' (AltQK), *tiš* 'zub, vertel' (AltTK), *tiš* 'der Zahn', *tištū* 'Zähne habend, gezähnt' (AltTelR), *tïs* 'zub' (Khak), *tis* 'der Zahn', *tistïġ* 'Zähne habend' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *tiš* 'der Zahn' (KhakQchR, KhakShR, ChulR), *diš* 'tooth' (FY), *diš* 'zub, zubnoj, zubec, zub', *dištig* 'imejuščij zuby, s zubami', *diže-* 'terjatʹ moločnye zuby (o detjah)' (Tuv), *dïš* 'zub, zuby', *dïštïġ* 'imejuščij zuby, zubastyj' (Tof); ***Y*** *tīs* 'zub, zuby, klyki' (Y), *tīs* 'zub' (YS), *tīs* 'Zahn', *tīstāk* 'mit Zähnen' (Dlg).

Mo *silüge* 'three-year-old sheep', *sidün* 'tooth', *sidüleŋ* 'three-year-old (horse or ox), two-year-old sheep' (L).

E/T The immediate T etymon for H *süllő* is WOT **šilliɣ*, which is a den adj formed fr WOT **šil* 'tooth' with the well-known suff +*lXg*, on which see Erdal (1991: 139–155). The copied form was front-vocalic. The WOT form **šil* > Chuv *šăl* can be explained either by the phonetic change PT **tīš* > **čïš* > **šiš* > WOT **šil* > Chuv *šăl*

(where **čïš* to **šiš* may be the result of an assimilation) or through the change **tīš* > **šiš* > WOT **šil* > *šĕl* > Chuv *šăl* (where the unusual **t-* > **š-* change may have resulted fr an assimilation in the same way). In any case, the strong palatalizing effect of the long /ī/ influenced the initial *t-*, which became [tʹ]. The *š* > *l* change went through the /*lč/ > /l/ stage.

One can find various opinions in the literature on the CT base of this word. Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 242–244) provided a clear overview. The reconstructed base could be **tīš* (see Räsänen 1969: 481; Sevortjan 1974–1980: 243), or **tī̈š* (see Clauson 1972: 557; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 285; and Ščerbak 1970: 197 with a question mark). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak's (2003: 1375) attempted comparison between PT **dīlʹ* 'tooth' and PTu **ǰul* 'wedge' and which also includes a reference to Mo *dulday* 'stick, staff' (cf. *dulduy* (L)) cannot be accepted (see below).

According to Ramstedt (1922–1923: 23), Poppe (1924: 782) and Tenišev (2001: 228), Chuv *šăl* 'tooth' is not connected with T **tīš*, but goes back to **šiš* < **sīš* 'spit'. This is not so easy. Chuv *šăl* may derive fr **šil* and thus fr **sil.* This can be compared to Mo *sidün*, which may come fr an earlier **sildün.* This was Poppe's suggestion in a personal letter to Róna-Tas. The same **sil* is present in Mo *silüge* 'three-year-old sheep', that is a sheep with full teeth. See also *sidüleŋ* 'three-year-old [horse or ox], two-year-old [sheep]'. This was copied into a few Sib lgs, for example *siläkkä* 'der Hammel' (KhakQbR), *siläkä* id. (KhakQchR), *sïleke* 'hološčennyj baran' (Khak). Mo *silüge* has its equivalents in T as follows:

OT *tišäk* 'a two-year-old sheep' (AK); MT ? *šïšuq* 'şiş(kin), şişmiş' (AHMA), *šišäk* 'młoda (dwuletnia) owca, jagnię' (AHŠ), *šišäk* 'dvuhletka (dvuhletnjaja ovca)' (AHŠF), *šišek* 'şişek, iki yaşlık koyun' (AIMI), *šišek* 'angeschwollen, eine grosse Schafart, zweijähriges Lamm' (AChagŠSK), *šišäk* 'iki yaşındaki koyun' (AAH), *šišäk* 'brebis (de deux ans)' (ABul), *šišäk* 'zweijähriges Schaf' (AHou), *šišäk* 'godovalaja koza' (ATuh), *šišek* 'oğlak' (ATuhA); NT *Chuv* –; *NW šešäk*: *šešäk kaz* 'gusynja na vtoroj god posle vyvoda ptencov', *šešäk käjä* 'koza v vozraste posle vtorogo okota', *šešäk sarïk* 'ovca v vozraste posle vtorogo okota' (Tat), *šešäk* 'dvuhletnyj, dvuhgodovalyj (o melkom skote I guse), trehgodovalyj (o medvede)' (Bashk), *šišek* 'dvuhletnij valuh, (južn.) molodoj nehološčennyj baran' (Kirg); *Kh šišäk* 'Schaf, 1–2 Jahre alt' (KhT); *SW šisäk* 'baran v vozraste bolee 4-h let' (Az), *šišek* 'dvuhgodovalyj jagnenok' (Gag), *šišäk*, *šịšäk*, *šịšä́g*, *šišäk*, *šịššäy*, *šïšak*, *čịššäy*, *šịšäy* 'Jungschaf (1–2 Jahre), Lamm (0–6 Monate)' (Khor); *NE* –; *Y tisägä*, *tisäŋä* 'trehtravnoe životnoe, telenok ili žerebenok po tretʹemu godu (dvuhletnij, dvuletok, strigun), tolʹko s oseni ėtogo goda u nih vypadajut moločnye zuby, počemu nazyvajutsja takže *tīsīr tisäg(ŋ)ä*' (Y). For the etymology of CT *tisăk*, *šisäk*, Ščerbak (1961: 115–116), Räsänen (1969: 424) and others suggested *siš-* > *šiš-* 'to swell', which is not acceptable, but the ders fr *šiš-* 'to swell' may have influenced the changes. See *šišek* 'angeschwollen, eine grosse

Schafart, zweijähriges Lamm', *šiš-* 'dick sein, anschwellen' (AChagŠSK). *šišik*, *šišek*, etc. 'opuhol; swelling', which is another word and was formed fr *siš-*, *šiš-*. The Y data are very clear. On the system of denoting the age of the animals by referring to their teeth, see Kőhalmi (1959: 1–10).

Though in Chuv we find *šăla* 'sudak' and *šăla pulă* 'sudak', and *šăla* has the same meaning as the H word, we have to suppose for phonetic reasons, that H *süllő* goes back to WOT **šilliγ*, EOT **tīšlig*. The Chuv equivalent of WOT **šillig* is *šăllă* 'zubatyj' (cf. Chuv *šărttanăn śăvarĕ šăllă* 'u ščuki pastʹ zubami; the jaw of the pike is full of teeth'). Chuv *šăla* goes back through **šilä* to **šiläg* < **šiläk*. The forms *šiläk*, *tišäk* 'the animal with full teeth' derive fr the verbs *šilä-*, *tišä-*, which were formed with the den suff *+A-* (Erdal 1991: 413) and the dev suff *-(O)k*. This is the Chuv equivalent of CT *tišek*, *šišek*. MBulg **šilä* was copied by all the T lgs, the speakers of which came to the Volga later than the ancestors of the Chuvash people. In these lgs, the *š-* was replaced by *s-*. Thus I agree with Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 257) that the following T data may be of MBulg origin: *sīle*: *sīle balïk* 'rečnoj sudak' (Tkm), *sīle*: *sīle balïk* 'raznovidnostʹ sudaka, berc' (TkmD), *silä* 'rod melkoj ryby' (UzbD), *sïla* 'žereh' (KazD), *sīla* 'sudak' (Kklp, KklpD, TatD), *hïla* 'sudak' (Bashk). The word became a common fishing term in the Volga region. This means that the H word was copied fr another WOT dial which contained **šil* 'tooth', and added the suff *+lXg* to the base to express the name of the pike perch, the fish with teeth. Interestingly, this fishing term in the Volga region also became one in the Danube region, as the H word was copied into Austrian and Rom. This marks a change in the position held by Róna-Tas (1982b: 150). Earlier, I supposed that the H word *süllő* goes back to OBulg **šiläg* and not **šillig*, the long *-ll-* being of H origin.

E/H The possible T origin of *süllő* was mentioned early on by Pallas (1811/1: 246). His opinion was strengthened by Räsänen (1920: 264). Katona (1927: 191) was of the view that the oldest H data for *süllő* exhibit perfect parallels with Chuv *šăla* 'pike perch, zander'. He thought that the Chuv word may be either a dim with *+k* fr the base *šăl* < **šil* 'tooth' or a der with *+lXg* fr the same base. He also pointed out that the Chuv word *šăla* and H *fogas* (synonymous with *süllő*; of FUgr origin) show an exact semantic parallel. Both of them have the meaning '(fish) with teeth'. Ligeti (1935a: 216–217) and Bárczi (1941: 276–277) accepted Katona's T etymology. Ligeti thought that the correspondence between Chuv *šăl* and CT *tïš* can be regarded as perfect. Therefore, Ramstedt (1922–1923: 23) and Poppe's (1924: 78; 1927: 115) attempted comparison between the Chuv word and T *šiš* 'Bratspiess' cannot be accepted. Later, however, Ligeti (1975: 286) claimed, that the T etymology of *süllő* can be considered as uncertain, since one can find no data fr other T lgs, whereas the word *tïšlïg* can denote a fish name. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 628) regarded H *süllő* to be a lw fr a Chuv-type OT lg, and the copied form to be **šillig*. He pointed out, how-

ever, that the interrelation between the Kip words (cf. Bashk *hïla*, Kklp *sïla*) and the Chuv form (*šăla*) is unclear. Róna-Tas (1982b: 150) dealt with the H word in detail. Ligeti (1986: 17, 46–47) thought that *süllő* may go back to the Chuv form of CT *tïš-ak*. Earlier etymological attempts concerning this word were hampered by the Bashk item *hïla* 'zander' and the Kklp form *sïla* id., but these words are copies fr Tat, which had a corresponding form borrowed fr Chuv. According to Ligeti, Clauson's (1972: 563) suggestion that the Mo form *šilegü* corresponds to CT **tišäk* through lambdacism represents an important observation. T *tišäk* 'a two-year-old sheep' can, as was stressed by Ligeti, go back to *tišä-* 'to lose the milk teeth'. Ligeti thought that T *tišäk* (Y *tisägä*) has a phonetic variant *šišäk*. He maintained that the unusual *t-* > *š-* change in the word can be explained as stemming fr a regressive assimilation. Thus the secondary T *šišäk* cannot be compared with Mo *šilegü*. Otherwise, the exact corresponding form of T *tiš+ä-k* is represented in Mo: WMo *sidü-le-ŋ* 'two-year-old (horse or ox), two-year-old (sheep)', whereas we have *sidü*(*n*) 'tooth' and *sidüle-* 'to teethe' (L). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1372), H *süllő* goes back to a Chuv-type form **šillik*. The ModChuv word may, however, go back to OChuv **šiläk* which corresponds to CT **tišäk*. The H word was borrowed into Austrian Grm (*Schill*), Bavarian (*Schiele*), Slvk (*šul*) and Rom (*şalău*) (see also Tamás (1966: 717–718)). It occurs in Serb as *šileg* and in Alb as *shilek*, the latter two most probably being fr DBulg.

According to Eren (1999: 388–390; 2002: 391), Tt *šišek* (< *tišek*) corresponds to the ModChuv form. He considers that the semantic side of this etymology can also be explained. Although the widespread meaning of Tt *šišek* is 'one- or two-year-old sheep', in one dial it can also denote a fish name.

◆ Pallas 1811: 246; Räsänen 1920: 264; Ramstedt 1922–1923: 23; Poppe 1924: 782; Katona 1927: 191; Poppe 1927: 115; Ligeti 1935a: 216–217; Bárczi 1941: 276–277; Kőhalmi 1959: 1–10; Ščerbak 1961: 115–116; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 285; Egorov 1964: 332–333; Tamás 1966: 717–718; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 628; Ligeti 1969: 144; Räsänen 1969: 424, 481; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 557, 561, 563; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 242–244; Ligeti 1975: 286; Róna-Tas 1982b: 150; Ligeti 1986: 17, 46–47, 79, 84, 294, 526, 530; Erdal 1991: 139–155, 413, 424; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1372; Fedotov 1996/2: 440–441; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54, 59; Eren 1999: 388–390; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 151, 168; Tenišev 2001: 228; Eren 2002: 391; Dybo 2003: 257; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1375.

SÜLY [šüy] 'scurvy' | 1259 PN *Sul* [šül], a1500 *swlÿ* [šüli], 16th c. *süöl* [šüöl] | *šüy* < *šūl′* < **šiγül* ← WOT **šiγül* | EOT *sigil*, *sögöl* < PT **sigöl* 'wart'.

OT *sögül* 'Warze' (UHeilkI 554:73), *sigil*, *sögöl* 'wart', *sögnä-*: *är sögül sögnädi* 'the man treated the wart', *sögnägü* 'a pustule that appears between the nail and the skin' (AK); **MT** *siwel* 'a hard lump which emerges on a hand or a limb', *sigil* in Rumi (AChagSC), *sigil* 'basur memesi' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *šăklă*, *šăkl′ă*, *šĕkĕl*, *šĕkĕlĕ*, *šĕkĕllĕ* 'borodavka' (Chuv, Fedotov 1996/2: 439), *šĕpĕn*, *šĕwĕn* 'borodavka' (Chuv, Fedotov 1996/2: 458); ***NW*** *söyäl* 'borodavka' (Tat), *höäl* 'mozol′' (Bashk), *süyäl* 'Warze' (Sib-

TatTR), *sȭl* 'borodavka, mozol'' (Kirg), *süyel* 'tumour, swelling, pimple, wart' (Kaz), *šüyel* 'borodavka, mozol'' (Kklp), *šüyel* 'borodavka' (Nog), *süwel* 'pryščik' (KarK), *süyel* 'borodavka' (RKum); ***SW*** *siŋŋil* 'borodavka' (Tkm), *ziyil* 'borodavka' (Az), *siğil*, *siyil* 'wart, a small callosity, congenital callosity on the inner surface of the shank of the horse, white stocking on a horse's leg' (Tt); ***Kh*** *siyil* 'Warze, Sommersprosse' (Kh); ***SE*** *sŭgal* 'borodavka' (Uzb), *sögɛl*, *sügɛl* 'wart' (TurkiJ), *sögäl* 'borodavka' (MUyg), *sökil* 'tache de rousseur, tache hépatique' (Sal); ***NE*** *sȭl* 'borodavka' (RAlt), *sȭl* 'borodavka, mozol'' (AltQK), *süäl* 'Warze' (ChulR), *sȭl* 'borodavka' (Khak), *sȭl* 'borodavka' (Tuv), *sȭl* 'borodavka' (Tof); ***Y*** *üön* 'nasekomoe, gadina, borodavka' (Y), *üön* '(Collect) Insekte' (Dlg).

E/T The PT form may have been **siɣül*, or even **siŋül* (see Tkm). Forms like *sigil*, *sügül* etc. are secondary but very early. WOT **sigül* continued to be used in WOT. Clauson (1972: 820) treats the word as a simplex. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1273) (with Ramstedt) first reconstructed a Mo **sögel* fr the Kalm item *sȭl* 'Warze' (Kalm), which is a Kip lw. They also cited Ord *sȭl* 'chocant, révoltant, deplaisant, dégoutant, déshonorant, pas joli à voir à entendre, laid', which is another word (see Khal *sȭljȭ* 'odd, unpaired'). Then they took the isolated Man word *sog´a* <sogiya> 'pock, pustule (especially on a child)' and reconstructed **si̯ȍge* as an "Altaic" base. This is not acceptable, whereas the Y and Chuv data are more interesting. Y *üön* goes back to *sȭn* < **sögün* and Stachowski (1993: 251) may be right to see a coll +*n* here. The meanings 'insects' and 'wart' stem fr similarity. Chuv has *šăklă*, *šĕklĕ*, *šĕkĕlĕ*, *śĕkĕl*, which occurs in Ašmarin and is also covered by Fedotov (1996/2: 439). These forms and all their dial variants come fr WOT **sigil*. Chuv also contains *šĕwĕn* (*šĕpĕn* seems to be an irregular form, which was already noted by Munkácsi (see Ašmarin 1928–1950/17: 379) and by Räsänen (as *šăʙăń* in a note on p. 148 of his copy of Paasonen 1908). Chuv *šĕwĕn* derives fr WOT **sigün*, and shows the same coll suff as Y does. The discrepancy in the second consonant is due to the illabial (*sigil* > **šăkăl* > **šăklă*) and labial (**sigül* > *šăwăl*) qualities of the second vowel. All this means that *-l* was originally a separate morphological unit. Kashgari cited *sögnä-* and *sögnägü*, which both point to a short form **sög*. The Chuv word was copied by Cher *šïgïle*, *šïgïl´* (see Fedotov 1996/2: 457).

Some lexicographers mixed the word up with the T word **sekil* 'white patch on the leg or the forehead of a horse, a small callosity, congenital callosity on the inner surface of the shank of the horse, white stocking on a horse's leg, etc.' This is also present in Chuv: *sakăl* 'pežina, beloe pjatno (na nogah u losadi)' (< WOT **säkil*). Cher copied the Chuv word as *šagïl* (Fedotov 1996/2: 6). The word is present in AHou, who read it as *sägül* 'Pferd mit weissen Flecken an der Füssen'. The data have now been collected by Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 226–227). The word *sekil* was tied to the H ethnonym *Székely*, a group of Hungarians who live in Transylvania.

E/H Vámbéry (1914: 201) connected the H word with T *süyel*, *süel*, which turned out to be correct. Mariánovics (1911: 350) stood by the Sl origin of the H word, which Gombocz (1911a: 413–414) and later Kniezsa (1955: 947–948) rejected. Gombocz did not mention the word at all in (1912b). The H word has long been considered to be of FUgr der. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 556 with earlier literature) cited Cher, Mord, Finn, Saami and Selkup data and reconstructed U **ćiklä*, **ćüklä*, or **ćikl′ä*, **ćükl′ä*. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 36) claimed the same and refined the database. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 629; 1993–1997/2: 1372) accepted Lakó and Rédei's opinion, but added that, though the possible A origin of the Ur word has to be investigated, the T der of the H word must be rejected. P. Tálos (1983: 82–83) called the attention to the problems of the U origin, quoted some T words, but finally suggested a Grm origin. In fact there are serious problems with the U origin. U or FUgr /ć/ is regularly represented in H by /č/ <cs> (see § 5.6.4). Both the Cher and the Mord words are independent copies fr the T lgs. The case reminds one of the source of **sért** in so far as both words are originally T, and thus the irregular H correspondence of the initial disappeared. Some scholars linked H *süly* to H dial words like *sú*, *suj* which denote different illnesses, but as Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1372) remarked, this is not clear. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of the word.

◆ Paasonen 1908: 148; Gombocz 1911a: 413–414; Mariánovics 1911: 350; Vámbéry 1914: 201; Ašmarin 1928–1950/17: 368, 379; Németh 1928–1930: 79; Kniezsa 1955: 947–948; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 556; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 629; Räsänen 1969: 429; Clauson 1972: 820; Tálos 1983: 82–83; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 36; Kicsi 1991: 131–132; Stachowski 1993: 251; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1372; Fedotov 1996/2: 6, 439, 457–458; Dybo 2003: 226–227; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1273.

SŰRŰ [šūrū] 'dense, thick (of woods or soup)' | 1347 GN *Swrew* [šüreü], p1372/c1448 *ſewrew* [šürū] | *šūrū* < **šireu̯* < **čireγ* ⟵ WOT **čiräγ* | T **čīrag*, **čīräg*.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *šăra* 'gustoj, častyj, plotnyj, gusto, často, plotno, gustoj, vjazkij, nasyščennyj, gusto, gustoj, plotnyj (*o gaze i t. p.*)' (Chuv), *šăra* (*šŏra*, *šĭra*) 'gustoj, častyj, často, uboristo' (ChuvA), *šăra* Szp. id. 'sűrű (pl. erdő, leves); dicht (z.B. v. Walde), dick (z.B. v. einer Suppe)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *cïyraq* 'tïgïz itep katïlgan ǰep; krepko skručennaja nitka; orčïk; vereteno', *tïyraq* 'nïk, taza; zdorovyj, krepkij; katï; tverdyj' (SibTat), *čïyrak* 'krepkij, vynoslivyj, (peren.) smelyj, lovkij (gl. obr. o detjah, kotorye smelo i lovko ezdjat verhom na lošadi)' (Kirg); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *čïyrak* 'krepkij, vynoslivyj, smelyj, lovkij, plotno skručennyj (o nitkah, prjaže)' (Alt), *čīrak* 'dick, fest' (AltR, AltTelR), *čïyïrak* 'krepkij, dužij, plotnyj (o materii)' (AltQK), *šĭ̄rax* 'krepkij, vynoslivyj, čelovek krepkogo telosloženija' (Khak), *tĭ̄rax* 'krepkij, zdorovyj' (KhakB), *šĭ̄rak* 'sil′nyj' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *čiġiraġ* 'strong, robust, powerful, massive, solid, vigorous' (L), *čiyreg* (Khal), *šīrag* (Bur), *čīrəg* id. (Kalm).

E/T Ramstedt (1935: 443) compared Kalm *čīrəg* to T **tïgrak* with a question mark. Clauson (1972: 471) discussed the T word *tïgrāk* 'firm, tough' (cf. also Erdal 1991: 247) as the der of the verb *tïgrā-* 'to be tough, sturdy' (Clauson 1972: 472). According to Ščerbak (1997: 156), the T verbs **tïgra-* and *tïgda-* 'stanoviťsja krepkim, tverdym' seem to have a nominal base. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 395) reconstructed PT **Tïgra-*, **Tïgïr´* 'firm, though, narrow, compact, firm' and they connected it with the T word *tïgïz* 'narrow' which is attested in some T lgs (Tkm *dïkïz* 'firm, though', Bashk *tïgïz* 'firm, narrow', Kirg *tïgïz* 'narrow', Alt *tūs* 'narrow', Chuv *tăvăr* 'narrow', Y *tïÿïs* 'narrow'). Further, they compared the PT word with PMo **čigirag* 'firm, tough, strong'. Chuv *tăvăr* 'tesnyj, uzkij, plotnyj' and Chuv *tăkăs* id. were discussed earlier by Egorov (1964: 234) in the same entry. He compared these words with their T equivalents and considered that Chuv *tăvăr* to be a genuine word that can be opposed to *tăkăs*, which is copied fr CT (see also Fedotov (1996/2: 186, 187)). The T word was borrowed by Mo and fr there it was copied into Tu (*čira*) and Man (*čira*, *čiran*) (see Doerfer (1985: 115)). That means that EOT **tïgïz* and *tïgra-* are related the way *sämiz* and *sämri-* are, that is *tïgra-* goes back to **tïgïza-* > **tïgza-* > *tïgra-*, and *tïgïz* has its equivalent in Chuv as *tăvăr*, and the same word is a lw fr Tat as *tăkăs*.

OT *tïgrak* 'firm, tough' is indeed interrelated with Mo *čigirag* as its source. This fact is also accepted by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak with slight uncertainty. While reconstructing the PA form **čikr´o* 'firm, strong', they mention Ščerbak's (1997: 156) opinion concerning the T etymology of the Mo word and note "Mong. may be < Turk. but not necessarily." The word sometimes occurs as a re-borrowed form in the T lgs (cf. e.g. Alt, Khak, Tuv). It was copied fr Mo into Man as *čira* (see Doerfer (1985: 115)).

The relationship between EOT **tïgïz* ~ WOT **tïgïr* and other words should remain open. (See EOT **tïk-* (see **dug**), **tïŋ* (see *čăn*, the prefix of the highest degree, and *či* (Chuv)), *tïŋ* 'schwer, fest, stark, kräftig, sehr, in hohem Grade' (AltLR, AltR, AltLR, KhakShR, KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakQchR), *tïŋ* 'strong, brave' (Kaz), *tïŋ* 'bodryj, kepkij' (Kirg), Mo *čiŋ* 'firm, firmly', etc.), **tïń* (see Y *tïÿïs* 'žestkij, plotnyj (koža), predmet, imejuščij plotnyja pory', **tïgï-* (Tof *tïgï-* 'plotno, tugo nabivať, napihivať, konopatiť (ščeľ)', *tïgïl* 'očeń gustoj (o šerstnom pokrove)', Tuv *dïgï-* 'plotno (tugo) nabivať, protalkivať, prosovyvať').

The initial H consonant *s-* [š-] in *sűrű* points to either an initial **š-* or **č-* in the copied form. The earlier form of Chuv *śăra* must be reconstructed as **čiräg* because we have to exclude a word-intitial EOT **y-* here. There are chronological problems with the *č-* in the earlier form of *śăra*. The *ti-* > *č-* change did come about earlier than the 12th–13th c., as we see fr the VBulg inscriptions (Róna-Tas 1976a: 178; 1982: 140), and fr H **térd** (← WOT **tir* > Chuv *čĕr*). This may be different with a long *ī*. As we have seen in the case of *šăl* (see **süllő**), *tī-* > *č-* may have occurred earlier than

ti- > *č-*. In this case, we can suppose that WOT **čiräγ* goes back to a form like **tīräg* < **tī̄rag*. If this could be proved, then we may suppose that **tī̄rag* comes fr *tïgrak*, a dev noun fr *tïgra-*. Until then, we can only suppose that WOT *čiγräγ* is represented as *śără* in Chuv, as *sűrű* in H and in various forms in certain Sib lgs.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 172) considered the H word to be of T origin, but his comparison was based on data which does not pertain to the H word. According to Mészöly (1911: 388), the H word is an internal der fr the verbal base *sír-* 'to turn something, to move something around'. Gombocz (1912b: 118) regarded the Chuv origin of the H word as dubious. According to him, the Chuv word *śără* does not have corresponding forms in the T lgs. Gombocz's position was accepted by Ligeti (1935d: 218–221), who thought that *śără* is a FUgr lw in Chuv. Bárczi (1941: 277) and Benkő (1947: 29) were of the opinion that *sűrű* is of uncertain origin, but that it may be interrelated with H *ser-*, *sir-*, *sür-* 'to twist, spin'. Later, Benkő (1967–1984/3: 633) regarded H *sűrű* to be an internal der fr a base of onomatopoeic origin and rejected its possible T etymology. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1374), H *sűrű* may be a der fr the onomatopoeic H base **sürr*, which has other ders such as *sürög-* 'to bustle', *sürget-* 'to urge'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *sűrű* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 172; Mészöly 1911: 388; Gombocz 1912b: 118; Ligeti 1935d: 218–221; Ramstedt 1935: 443; Bárczi 1941: 277; Benkő 1947: 29; Pais 1962: 63; Egorov 1964: 234; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 633; Clauson 1972: 471–472; Róna-Tas 1976a: 178; Róna-Tas 1982: 140; Doerfer 1985: 115; Erdal 1991: 247; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1374; Fedotov 1996/2: 97–98, 186–187; Ščerbak 1997: 156; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 395.

sÜv [šüv] *arch* 'uncle, nephew, brother-in-law or sister-in-law' | 1138/1329 PN *sue* [šü-e], 1274 GN *syueteluke* [šiv-e-telüke], 1399 PN *Syw* [šiw], c1405 *ſiw* [šiw], 1539 *ſů* [šū], *ſůem* [šü-em], dial *süvöm* 'brother-in-law' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 1006) | *šū̆*, *šüv* < *šiv* < **siγ* ← WOT **siγ* < **siŋil* | EOT *siŋil* 'younger sister'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *siŋilim qunǰwywg* 'my younger sister pincess' (RMKT E 20, RMBilg E 17), *tört siŋillärniŋ* 'der vier Schwestern' (UUII 62(26):2), *siŋīl* 'a man's younger sister' (AK); **MT** *singi* 'soeur cadette' (UHy), *siŋil* 'kocanın kızkardeşi' (AIMI), *singil* 'sister' (AKD), *siŋil* 'mladšaja sestra' (ATef), *siŋil* 'sœur cadette' (AChag), *siŋil*, *siŋli* 'küçük kız karındaş' (AChagAb), *siŋil*, *siŋli* 'küçük kız karındaş' (AChagAbA), *singil*, *singli* 'kisebbik leánytestvér, húg [younger sister]' (AChagAbV), *sinkil* (r: *singil*) 'sestra mladšaja' (AChagB), *siŋil* 'mladšaja sestra' (AChagBud), *siŋil* 'die jüngere Schwester' (AChagR), *siŋi* 'die jüngere Schwester' (AChagR fr the Uyg–Ch WB 36a), *siŋil* 'younger sister' (AChagSC), *siŋil* 'küçük hemşire, abla' (AChagŠS), *sinkil* 'jüngere Schwester' (AChagŠSK); **NT *Chuv*** *šăllăm* 'moj mladšij brat, bratiška, bratniki, bratiškin, bratiška, bratok (*obraščenie k mladšemu po vozrastu*)', *silĕm* '(ust.) nazvanaja sestra (tak nazyvali drug druga devuški, zaključivšie sojuz družby)' (Chuv), *šăllăm* 'moj mladšij brat', *šălăm* 'moj men´šoj brat', *šănkăl* 'mladšij brat' (ChuvA),

šăllăm, *šăllu*, *šăl′lĕ* ‘öcsém, öcséd, öccse; mein, dein, sein jüngerer Bruder’ (ChuvP), *šănkălăm* ‘moj mladšij brat’ (Chuv, Egorov 1964: 333); ***NW*** *seŋel* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (Tat), *selen* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (TatD1), *seŋne* ‘jüngere Schwester’ (TatB), *heŋle* ‘mladšaja sestra, sestrenka’ (Bashk), *siŋne* ‘seŋel; mladšaja sestra’ (SibTat), *siŋli*, *siŋni* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (SibTatBD), *siŋdi* ‘mladšaja sestra (v otnošenii staršej sestry, no ne brata), mladšaja rodstvennica (v otnošenii staršej)’ (Kirg), *sĭŋĭl*, *sĭŋlĭ*, *sĭŋdĭ* ‘younger sister (in relation to the elder sister but not to the brother)’ (Kaz), *sĭŋlĭ* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (KazB), *siŋli*, *siŋdi* ‘die jüngere Schwester’ (KazR), *siŋli* ‘mladšaja sestra (*tol′ko po otnošeniju k staršej sestre*)’ (Kklp), *siŋli*, *siŋili* ‘mladšaja sestra, sestrenka (po otnošeniju k staršej sestre)’ (Nog), *siŋli* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (KarT, KarSh), *silli* ‘devuška, sestra’ (KarH); ***SW*** *siŋli* ‘sestra’ (TkmD); ***Kh*** *siŋli* ‘Schwägerin (Schwester des Mannes)’ (KhT); ***SE*** *singil*, *singli* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (Uzb), *siŋil* ‘younger sister’ (TurkiJ), *siŋni* ‘die jüngere Schwester’ (TurkiTR), *siŋli*, *siŋni* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (TurkiL), *siŋil* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (MUyg), *siŋne*, *siŋni*, *sïŋne* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (Sal), *siŋil* ‘petite soeur’ (SalK), *sïŋnï* ‘sestra (mladšaja)’ (YUyg), *sïŋnï* ‘moja mladšaja sestra’, *exke sïŋnï* ‘mladšaja žena (t.e. žena mladšego rodstvennika)’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sīne* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (AltQK), *sïynï* ‘mladšaja sestra’ (AltTK), *sīn* ‘die jüngere Schwester’ (AltTelR), *siŋni* ‘mladšij brat muža, syn staršego brata muža’ (Chul, Dul′zon 1954: 66, apud Tenišev 2001: 311), *siŋnim* ‘younger brother’ (Chul, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1225); ***Y*** ? *hiŋil* ‘jung, Anfänger’ [according to Stachowski 1993: 104, it goes back to **yäŋi-l*] (Dlg).

E/T The words *siŋīl* ‘a sister younger than oneself’ and *äkā̆* ‘a sister older than oneself’ stand in opposition within the T kinship terminology. There are only a few contemporary T lgs where the meaning ‘younger sister’ is not expressed by an independent word.

Clauson (1972: 839) regarded T *siŋil* to be a simplex. Tenišev’s view (2001: 311) that the T word is a characteristic Kip lexeme cannot be supported, because it is also attested in other branches of the T lgs. Tenišev (2001: 311) thought that forms such as Kirg *siŋdi*, Kaz *siŋli*, etc. may be metathetical developments, however they can also be secondary forms lexicalized with Px3.sg. The internal T etymology of the word proposed by Tenišev (2001: 311) by which the word may be a der fr the verbal base **siŋ-* ‘ukryvat′sja, prjatat′sja’ is unacceptable. Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 265–266) discussed the T words under four subheadings: *siŋil*, *siŋli* (forms with Px3.Sg.), *sīn* and *sïyïn*, and mentioned that *+l* may be a dim suff.

The obsolete Chuv word *silĕm* ‘nazvanaja sestra’ is a Tat lw (see TatD *säläń* ‘mladšaja sestra’ cited by Egorov 1964: 190). In the entry Chuv *šălăm*, *šăllăm*, *šălnăm*, *šănkăl* ‘moj mladšij brat’, Fedotov (1996/2: 441) also mentioned Cher *šol′o*, *šol′ï* ‘mladšij brat’, Voty *šïnglar*, *šïglar* ‘obraščenie ženy staršego brata k mladšemu bratu muža’ which was borrowed fr Chuv. The Chuv words go back to WOT **siŋilim* >

**siŋlim* > **šillim* > *šăllăm*, where *+m* is the first-person poss suff. The basic word is thus **siŋli*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1224–1225) discussed PTu **seŋgi* ‘relative by marriage’ and PT **siŋil* ‘younger sister, younger brother’ under the entry PA **seyŋi* ‘relative by marriage’. This proposal, however, calls for a detailed phonetic and morphological explanation. According to the EOT morphological rules, if T *siŋil* were a der it should go back to a verbal base. In the group of lexemes with the ending -(*X*)*l*, however, we do not find words fr the kinship terminology. The suff -(*X*)*l* forms adjs and advs (cf. Erdal 1991: 330–331). One can also presume that this is a case of an old compound, but its constituent parts were already obsolete in the OT period.

E/H According to Lakó (1941–1943: 455), the H word may be the outcome of an internal H back-formation. Németh (1942b: 296) claimed a T origin for *süv*. He pointed out that terms of kinship sometimes undergo unusual semantic changes. The T word *siŋil* is widespread in the T lgs with the meaning ‘younger sister’ but it even has the sense ‘younger brother’ in Chuv. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 636), H *süv* may perhaps be of OT origin and the copied form of the Chuv type could be **šig*, which corresponded to a CT basic word **siŋ*. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1375) pointed out that the etymology has some weak points. The original phonetic shape in H could be either *sí* or *sű*. The form with the final segment *-v* could have resulted fr back-formation. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *süv* among the T lws of the H lg. The present dial and arch forms realised as *süv* are back-formations fr *süvöm* < **šū*.

◆ Lakó 1941–1943: 455; Németh 1942b: 296; Egorov 1964: 190, 333; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 636; Clauson 1972: 839; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 1006; Erdal 1991: 330–331; Stachowski 1993: 104; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1375; Fedotov 1996/2: 441; Tenišev 2001: 311; Dybo 2003: 265–266; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1224–1225.

Sz

szágom [sāgom] *Cum dial* ‘mirage’ | *szágom* [sāgom] (Mándoky 1993: 129) | *sāgom* < **sagum* ← Cum *sagïm* | MT *sakïm* id.

Of Cum origin.

OT *saqi-* ‘appear dimly or in outline’, *sāqïġ* ‘mirage’ (AK), *saqïm*, *saqïġ* ‘mirage’ (AQB); **MT** *salġum* ‘miraž, marevo’ (ATef), *saġïm* (Houtsma erroneously has *sagam*) ‘Luftspiegelung’ (AHou), *saġïm* ‘miraž’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *haġïm* ‘marevo, miraž’, *saġïm* ‘mgla, marevo, miraž’ (Bashk), *sakïm*, *zakïm* ‘miraž, marevo, legkoe dviženie vozduha’ (Kirg), *saġïm* ‘mirage’ (Kaz), *saġïm* ‘miraž, marevo’ (Kklp), *sagïn* ‘marevo, miraž’ (Nog), *saġïn* ‘marevo’ (Kum), ? *salqïn* ‘ten′, prohlada, tenistyj, prohladnyj, mračnyj, neveselyj’; ***SW*** *sālġïm* ‘miraž’ (Tkm), *salgım: ılgım salgım* ‘miraž, marevo’ (TtB); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for the H word may be a der fr the verb *sakï-* ‘to appear faintly’ with the suff *-(X)m* (see Clauson 1972: 805–806). A synonym, *sakïg*, can be found in Karakhanid; this is a der fr the same base with the suff *-(X)g* (see Clauson (1972: 808)). Cf. *usukmïškā sākïg kamug sūv körünűr* ‘to the thirsty man every mirage seems to be water’ (AK) and *sakïg ol körü barsa dunyā iši* ‘the affairs of this world, if you go to look at them, are a mirage’ (AQB). Another der is that with the suff *-Xn* (see Nog, Kum, TtD in the database). The etymological status of KhakQ *šagïn* ‘zarevo’ is questionable. Because of its initial *š-* and its semantics, it seems not to belong here.

The MT and some contemporary T lgs contain forms with *-l-* which may be secondary, according to both Clauson (1972: 826, under the entry *salkïm*, which shares no etymological ties with these words) and Tenišev (2001: 22, **sakïn*, **sakïm* ‘miraž’). Tenišev thought that the secondary forms could have emerged due to the influence of the first element of the twin word *ïlgïm sagïm* (> *ïlgïm salgïm*), which is documented in Tt, however this explanation calls for further investigation.

Mo *salkin* ‘wind’ appears in many T lgs, but has nothing in common with T *sakïn*, *sakïm*, *sakïg* ‘mirage’ (see *salkun* ‘Luftzug, Wind’ (LCC), *saykin* ‘der Wind, der über das Gras dahinfegt und es zusammenwirft’ (ChagR), *sa′lhïn* ‘legkij veterok’ (Tof), *salkïn* ‘veter’ (Alt), *salġïn*, *salkïn*, *salvïn*, *salgïŋ* ‘veter’ (AltTK), *salgïn*, *salkïn* ‘veter’ (AltQK), *salgïn* ‘veterok, dviženie (struja) vozduha, vozduh, atmosfera, teplyj vozduh (zimoj ne byvaet), temperatura vozduha vesnoj’ (Y), *salkïn* ‘prohlada, prohladnyj, veter, (peren.) prijatnyj’ (Kirg), *salqïn* ‘prohlada, prohladnyj, (peren.) holodno, neprivetlivo’ (Kaz), *salxïn* ‘prohladnyj’ (Kklp), *salkin*, *salkïm* ‘prohlada, ten′, (peren.) besstrastnyj, ravnodušnyj, hladnokrovnyj’ (Nog), *salkïn* ‘holod, moroz, stuža’ (Tat), *salġïm* ‘holodno, holodnyj’ (SibTat), *halqïn* ‘holod, moroz’ (Bashk), *salqïn* ‘prohlada, prohladnyj, prohladno’ (Kum), *salqïn* ‘ten′, prohlada, mračnyj, neveselyj, holod-

nyj, passivnyj' (KrchBlk), *salqïm* 'prohlada, prohladnyj, prohladno' (Kar), *salqïn* 'prohladnyj' (CrTat), *salkin* 'prohlada, prohladnoe tenistoe mesto' (Uzb), *salqin* 'prohladnyj, svežij, prohladno, svežo' (MUyg), *salqïn* 'prohlada, prohladnyj veter' (TurkiL), *salqïn*, *selgin* 'holodnyj veter' (YUyg), *salkïn* 'prohladnyj' (Tkm), *salkın* 'serinlik, güneşsiz açık ve iyi havalı yer' (TtD), *sulxăn*, *sulxăm*, *solxăm* 'prohlada, ten′, prohladnyj, tenistyj, holodok, mračnyj, neveselyj, zont' (Chuv)).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1332) took PT **sĀkï-* 'mirage' as a starting point and compared it with PMo **sokar* 'blind', which is not acceptable fr a phonological and semantic point of view.

E/H The word is a rare dial word, heretofore unrecorded. The *-g-* is a Kip trait. The word occurs in Mándoky's collection (1993: 129). In fact, Mándoky was the first to claim the T origin of the word, but did not go into detail.

◆ Clauson 1972: 805–806, 808, 826; Mándoky 1993: 129; Tenišev 2001: 22; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1332.

SZAKA, **szak** [såkå, såk] 'uvula, the recurved point of a fishing hook or a lance, red wattle on a chicken', *dial* 'small piece torn from or broken off a wheel, chamfer, the part at the meeting of the blade and the handle of the knife, the part of the angle or harpoon which bends backward at the tip' | 1522 ? PN *Zakws* [såk-oš], 1533 *saka* [såkå], 1578 *szakaia* [såkā-yå], 1693 *szak* [såk] | *såkå* < **sakaγ* ← WOT **sakaγ* | EOT *sakak* 'a double chin', T 'fish's gill'.

OT *saqā* 'foot of a mountain' (AK), *saqaq* 'chin' (AK); **MT** *saqaq* 'podborodek' (AHŠ), *saqaq* 'podborodok' (AM), *saqaq* 'podborodok' (ANehF), *saqaq*, *saqaġ* 'double menton' (AChag), *saqaq* 'gerdan' (AChagAbA), *saqaq* 'ami áll és nyak között van [the part between the chin and the neck]' (AChagAbV), *saqaq* 'kadyk, dvojnoj podborodok' (AChagB), *saqaq* 'dvojnoj podborodok' (AChagBud), *saqaq* 'chin' (AChagG), *saqaq* 'das Doppelkinn' (AChagR), *saqaġ* 'the part between the chin and the chest' (AChagSC), *saqaġ* 'ġabġab, zaqan' (AChagŠS), *saqaġ* 'Doppelkinn' (AChagŠSK), *saġaq* 'Kinn' (LCCI), *sakak* 'çene altı' (AAHI), *saġak* 'Kinn' (AHou), *sakak* 'çenenin altındaki sarkık et, gerdan' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *suxa* 'žabry, žabernyj', *pulă suxi* 'ryb′i žabry' (Chuv), *pulă saxi*, *pulă sužxi* 'žabry' (ChuvA), *suxa* 'kopoltyú; Kieme' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *saŋak* 'žabry (u ryby), nižnaja čeljust′, borodka, vystup plotničego topora, čerenok zastupa', *sagak* 'samyj nižnij sučok dereva' (Tat), *saŋaq* 'balta tügeseneŋ askui yagïndagï kečkenä čïgïntï; vystup na nižnej storone obuha topora, borodka topora' (TatD1), *haġaq* 'borodka topora' (Bashk), *haŋaq* 'haġaq' (BashkD1), *saŋaq* 'balta sakalï (balta tütäseneŋ askï yagïna čïgïp tora torgan urïnï); vystup na nižnej storone obuha topora' (SibTat), *sagak* '(u čeloveka) vtoroj podborodok; (u životnogo) podgrudok, (peren.) serebrjanaja cepočka, soedinjajuščaja paru *söykö*, podšejnyj remen′, podborodnik, podgubnik (čast′ uzdy)' (Kirg), *saġa* 'estuary, mouth

of a river, foot of a mountain, joint of a blade and hilt (of a knife, dagger etc.)', *saġaq* 'angle formed by the neck and chin' (Kaz), *saġaq* 'ganaš' (KazB), *saqau* 'eine Geschwulst unter der Kehle des Füllens', *saġaq* 'der Winkel zwischen Hals und Kinn' (KazR), *saġaq* 'mesto pod podborodkom; žabry (u ryby)' (Kklp), *sagak*, *saŋgak* 'žabry (ryby)' (Nog), *saġaq*: *saġaqla* 'okoloušnye železy' (KrchBlk), *saġaq* 'žabra (u ryby)' (RKrchBlk); ***SW*** *sakak* 'podborodnik' (Tkm), *saqaq* 'malen′kij platoček, kotorym ženščiny zakryvajut rot' (TkmD), *sakak* 'double chin, dewlap' (Tt), *sakak* 'boyunduruğun altında bulunan ağaç, çenenin altı, sarkık gerdan' (TtD), *sakak* 'çene altı, çenenin altındaki gapgap' (TtDA), *saqaq* 'das Doppelkinn' (TtR); ***Kh*** *saq* 'Gaumen' (KhT); ***SE*** *saqaq* 'dvojnoj podborodok' (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 221), *saqaq* 'žabry u ryby' (TurkiL), *saqaq* 'čeljust′' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** ? *sägiyä*, *sigiyä*, *säŋiyä* 'podborodok, u životnyh: nižnjaja guba', ? *soġuo* 'zatverdelyj naryv v zobu, pričinjajuščij inogda smert′ skotine, ili na klučice, zob (u čeloveka)' (Y).

? **Mo** *saġad* 'obstacle, hindrance, obstruction, delay' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word could be a word *saka* with the original meaning 'foot of a mountain', which is documented in Kashgari. According to Clauson (1972: 805), it is obsolete in the ModT lgs and has only been documented in Kaz. It is questionable, however, whether this word can be separated fr other words with similar phonetic shapes in contemporary T lgs which denote 'žabry' (Levitskaja in Dybo 2003: 140, *sagak*) and 'ust′e reki', 'istok, verhov′e reki' (Levitskaja in Dybo 2003: 158–159, *saka*). Clauson did not attempt to find an etymological connection between the word *saka* 'foot of a mountain' and the lexemes *sakak* 'double chin' and *sakal* 'beard' (cf. **szakáll**), both documented since the OT period. With some slight uncertainty, the two latter words can be considered (see Clauson 1972: 805) ders fr a reconstructed verb **sakā-*, on which see Clauson (1972: 807–808), who wrote "?D *sakak* (*sakāk*) obviously cognate to *sakāl*, and prob. a Dev. N. fr. **sakā-* in the sense of 'something hanging down, pendulous', of a human being, 'double chin', of a bovine, 'dewlap', and the like", cf. also Clauson (1972: 808–809). Despite Räsänen's opinion (1969: 396), Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 158) set apart the two homophones words *saka* 'podnožie gory, ust′e reki, etc.' and *saka* 'nižnij konec lezvija topora', though, along with *sakak* 'double chin' (Levitskaja in Dybo 2003: 162–163) and *sakal* 'beard' (Levitskaja in Dybo 2003: 164–166), they may be etymologically linked to the T etymon for H *szaka*.

The words *saka*, *sakak* and *sakal* may share the same ultimate verbal base **sak-* 'to hang down'. The first and second word may go back directly to the ders **sak-gA* and **sak-gAk*, resp. Despite Levitskaja's opinion (Dybo 2003: 163), the reconstructed T verb **sak-* 'to hang up, hang out' must be separated fr the well-known verb *sark-* '(of a liquid) to overflow, drip, to hang limply' (Clauson 1972: 847–848). Their possible PT connection requires further investigation. On the der **sak-gA*, see Erdal (1991:

376–382). The suff in **sak-gAk* may be the compound element *-gAk*, see Erdal (1991: 391), which coincided with *+gAk*, a suff that forms words for parts of the body, see Erdal (1991: 74–76). It would be difficult to determine whether this is a case of the morphological segmentation **sak-gAk* or **sak-gA+k*. Fr a semantic perspective, the change *sak-gA* > *sakka* > *saka* 'foot of a mountain' and the semantics of **sak-gA+k*, which, in this case, would have been formed with a dim suff, 'the part below the chin' can be explained. The word *sakanak* 'korotkie paločki *kerege* [rešetki jurty]' (see Levitskaja in Dybo 2003: 163–164) can hardly belong here. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1231) noted under the PT head **saŋak* 'gills, place on neck where the jaw ends, beard, barb (of an axe)' that there is some confusion between this root and PT **sakak*. They discussed PT **saŋak* under the PA entry **seŋa* 'fringe, lock of hair' while PT **sakak* can be found under the entry PA **šek'a* (1325–1326). Based on Kashgari's *saka* 'foot of a mountain' and Kaz *saga* id., Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1201) reconstructed PT **saka* with the same meaning. They compared the PT form with some "Altaic" parallels and they were led back them to PA **sə̆kà* 'heap, pile, hill'.

E/H H has four homophones: (1) *szak*[1], *szaka*[1] 'double chin, side whiskers', (2) *szak*[2], *szaka*[2], *szakály*, *szakáj* 'small piece torn from or broken off a wheel, chamfer, the part at the meeting of the blade and the handle of the knife', (3) *szak*[3] 'oil meal, oil cake after pressing', (4) *szaka*[4] 'the part of the angle or harpoon which bends backward at the tip' (see Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 473–474). With the exception of (3), these words share the same origin. All go back to a meaning 'something hanging down, like the thing hanging down'. It was Munkácsi (1909a: 348) who first regarded the H word to be of T der, in comparing it with Chag *sakak* 'Doppelkinn' and its Kaz corresponding form. According to Beke (1918: 82), the H word may have originated in the BulgT lg; he cited the Chuv word *suxa*, *pulă-suxi* 'branchia'. He claimed that Chuv also has *śuxa* 'collar', which was borrowed into Cher in the sense of 'double chin'. (Despite his opinion, these Chuv words are not interrelated.) The secondary H form *szak* stems fr a back-formation because *szaka* was felt to be a Px.3.Sg form. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 648–649), the H word is of uncertain origin but it may ultimately be linked to the T verb **saka-* 'to hang up', which is a cognate of the T etymon for H **szakáll**. Later, he (1993–1997/2: 1382) viewed the H word as belonging to the OT lws in H. The copied form could have been **sakak* (< **saka-* '(herab)hängen [intr]'). On the unusual development of the final segment in the H word, see **csipa** and **eke**. The word *szak* is secondary and is due to a back-formation, as previously observed by Beke. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szaka*, *szak* among the T lws in H.

◆ Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 473–474; Munkácsi 1909a: 348; Beke 1918: 82; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 648–649; Räsänen 1969: 396; Clauson 1972: 805, 807–809, 847–848; Erdal 1991: 74–76, 376–382, 391; Benkő 1993–

1997/2: 1382; Tenišev 2001: 220–222; Dybo 2003: 140, 158–159, 162–166; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1201, 1231, 1325–1326.

SZAKÁLL [såkāll] 'beard' | 1086 PN *Zacal* [såkāl], c1405 *ʒakal* [såkāl], 1493 *zakallos* [såkāll-oš] | *såkāll* < **sakal* ⟵ WOT **sakal* | EOT *sakal* 'beard'.

OT *saqalï ärtiŋü köp ärti* 'sein Bart [war] sehr reichlich' (UU III 30,30), *saqal*, *saqāl* 'beard', *saqāq bičär saqāl oxšār* 'he cuts the chin (in secret) while he caresses the beard' (AK), *kökčin saqal* 'greybeard' (AQB); **MT** *saqal-luġ* 'bärtig' (UOg), *saqal* 'beard' (ABF), *saqal* 'beard' (AGul), *saqal* 'sakal' (AHMA), *saqal* 'boroda' (AIM), *saqal* 'alt çene üzerinde biten kıllar' (AIMI), *saqal* 'beard' (AKD), *saqal* 'beard' (AKor), *saqal* 'boroda' (ANehF), *saqal*, *saqqal* 'beard' (ARbg), *saqal* 'boroda' (ATef), *saqal* 'barbe, favoris' (AChag), *saqal* 'der Bart' (AChagR), *saqal* 'liḥya' (AChagSC), *saqal* 'lihye, rîš, saqal' (AChagŠS), *saqal* 'Bart' (AChagZ), *saqal* 'Bart' (LCCI), *saqal* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *saqal*, *ṣaqal* 'barbe' (ADur), *saqal* 'Bart' (AHou), *saqal* 'szakál (sic!); Bart' (AKav), *ṣaqallï* 'szakálas; bärtig' (AKav), *ṣaqal* 'boroda' (ATuh), *saqal* 'sakal' (ATuhA), *saxal* 'barbe' (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *suxal* 'boroda, borodka, (peren.) borodač, boroda, usy (u životnyh, ryb), borodka (u petuha, indjuka) etc.' (Chuv), *suxal* 'boroda' (ChuvA), *suxal*, Szp. *sagal* 'szakáll; Bart' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sakal* 'boroda, borodka plotničn′ego topora' (Tat), *sakal* 'iyäk; podborodok' (TatD1), *saqal* 'balta tügeseneŋ askui yagïndagï kečkenä čïgïntï; vystup na nižnej storone obuha topora, borodka topora' (TatD1), *saqal* 'iyäk; podborodok' (TatD2), *sakal* 'szakáll; Bart' (TatB), *saqal* 'der Bart' (TatKR), *haqal* 'boroda' (Bashk), *haqal* 'borodka topora' (BashkD2), *saġaltïrïq* 'yägännеŋ astagï kayïšï; remen′ uzdy (pod nižnej čeljust′ju)' (SibTat), *saġal* 'boroda' (SibTatBD), *sakal* 'boroda' (Kirg), *saqal* 'beard' (Kaz), *saqal* 'boroda' (KazB), *saqal* 'der Bart' (KazR), *saqal* 'boroda' (Kklp), *sakal* 'boroda' (Nog), *saqal* 'boroda' (CrTat), *saqal* 'der Bart' (CrTatR), *sakal* 'boroda' (KarT), *saġal* 'boroda' (KarT, KarH), *saqal* 'boroda' (KarSh), *saqal* 'boroda' (Kum), *sakal* 'Bart' (KumN), *saqal* 'boroda, podborodok' (KrchBlk), *saq'al* 'Bart' (KrchP), *saqal* 'Bart' (BlkP); ***SW*** *sakgal* 'boroda' (Tkm), *saqqal* 'boroda' (TkmD, Dybo 2003: 164), *saqal* 'boroda' (RTkmAB), *saggal* 'boroda' (Az), *sakal* 'beard, whiskers, (naut.) dolphin striker under the end of a bowsprit' (Tt), *sekel* 'boroda' (TtD, Dybo 2003: 165), *saqal* 'der Bart' (TtR), *sakal* 'boroda' (Gag), *saġġal*, *saqġa̲l*, *saqqa̲l*, *sa̲qġal*, *saqġa̲l*, *saqġal*, *saqqa̲l*, *saqqal-i̲*, *saqqal*, *sa̲qġa̲l* 'Bart' (Khor), *saqqal* 'Bart' (SOg); ***Kh*** *saqqal*, *saqgal* 'Bart' (T *saq*(*q*)*al*) (Kh), *saqqal* 'Bart', *saqqa*(*l*) 'Kinn' (?) (KhT); ***SE*** *soqol* 'boroda' (Uzb), *saqal*, *saq'al* 'beard, hair from a beard' (TurkiJ), *saqal* 'a beard' (TurkiSh), *saqal* 'boroda' (TurkiL), *saġal* 'der Bart' (TurkiTR), *saqal*, (dial.) *saxal* 'boroda' (MUyg), *saġal* 'baki, boroda' (Sal), *saxal* 'barbe' [Pot. *sagal*] (SalK), *saqałtïq* 'lenta na podborodke, uderživajuščaja šljapu' (YUyg), *saqal* 'boroda, usy' (YUygM); ***NE*** *sagal* 'boroda, bakenbardy' (Alt), *saġal*, *sāl* 'der Bart' (AltR), *sagal*

'boroda' (AltL), *saġal* 'der Bart' (AltLR), *sagaldu* 'borodatyj' (AltQK), *sagal*, *sāl* 'boroda', *sagal-čačï* 'rastitel′nost′ na golove, boroda-volosy' (AltTK), *saqal*, *saġal* 'der Bart' (AltTelR), *saġal* 'boroda, bakenbardy, usy' (Khak), *saġal* 'boroda' (KhakB), *saġal* 'der Bart' (KhakSR), *sagal*, *sagïl* 'beard' (FY), ? *segel* 'podborodok', *segel salï* 'boroda', *sal* 'rastitel′nost′ na lice (boroda, usy)' (Tuv), *sa˝hal* 'rastitelnost′ na lice (boroda, usy)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *saqal* 'beard, beard of grain, fibres of roots' (L).

E/T As noted by Dybo (2003: 164–166) the T etymon for the H word does not have a generally accepted etymology. Brockelmann (1954: 115) connected the T word *sakal* 'beard' with T *sakak* 'chin' and thought that they were both formed fr the same verbal base *saka-* 'to hang up'. Clauson (1972: 808–809) accepted this etymology. According to him, T *sakal* is "obviously cognate to *sakāk*, and probably a Dev. N. fr. *sakā-* in the sense of 'something hanging down', 'beard'". Räsänen (1969: 308) attempted to explain the T and Mo corresponding words as deriving fr a third lg. On other unconvincing etymologies for the T word *sakal*, see Tenišev (2001: 222–223) and Egorov (1964: 198). On its ders, see Dybo (2003: 165). Many authors have compared the T word with Mo *sakal* (see e.g. Ramstedt 1935: 308; Joki 1952: 259; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1326). The Mo form may be a borrowing fr T. On the spread of the T word, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 89–90) under the entry *aksakāl* 'Dorfschulze'. The Tu parallels (see Cincius 1975–1977/2: 56) were copied fr Mo, cf. further Doerfer (1985: 100).

The etymology of T *sakal* calls for further investigation. The explanation that it is a der of **saka-* 'to hang up, hang down' and was formed with the dev nominal suff *-(X)l* may be highly likely semantically, but it is not entirely clear phonetically. The word must have contained an old geminated internal consonant (see the data for the NW branch and the Kh form *sakkal*, among other items). There are morphological problems with the suggested etymology as well. The *-(X)l* suff mainly forms adjs and not nouns (see Erdal 1991: 330–332). An adj can change into a noun if the noun it qualifies disappears: *sakkal* could have been separated fr *sakkal sač* and existed as an independent noun.

According to Berta's proposal, the T word can be explained with an old compound. Its first element may be the PT noun *sak-ga* 'something hanging down', which includes the dim form *sak-ga+k* 'chin' (see **szaka**). The second element of the assumed compound may be **alï*, the Px3.sg. form of *al* 'front, facing, prior position' (cf. Clauson (1972: 121), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 124) and Radloff (1893–1911/1: 349, 373–376)). In the early period, *al* only occurred with Px3.sg. AChagAb, AChagSC and AMGh represent the earliest authoritative sources for this word.

The disappearance of the final vowel in the reconstructed compound (PT **sak-ga al+ï*) in the OT period can be regarded as obvious. It is worth noting that in some

T lgs the T word also carries the sense of 'the part of an object, of an instrument which hangs down, feather etc.' (see e.g. TatD *sakal* 'vystup na nižnej storone obuha topora, borodka topora', BashkD *hakal* 'borodka topora' etc.) H *szakáll* has the same secondary meaning as well.

E/H Following earlier authors, Vámbéry (1870: 173) suggested that the H word is of T origin. Munkácsi (1901a: 194) and then Gombocz (1907a: 315–316) accepted the T etymology. Gombocz (1912b: 119) reconstructed an OChuv form **sakal* for the H word, and both Bárczi (1941: 279) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 652) agreed with his position. According to Ligeti (1986: 183, 186), the T word was copied by the Hungarians after the FUgr *s-* > H *ø-* change had taken place in EAH. The copied form could have been **sakal*. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1383), T **sakal* goes back to the verbal base **saka-* '(herab)hängen [intr]'). On the suff *-(X)l*, see **tulok**, **turul**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 173; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 349, 373–376; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1907a: 315–316; Gombocz 1912b: 119; Ligeti 1935a: 196, 215; Ramstedt 1935: 308; Bárczi 1941: 279; Joki 1952: 259; Brockelmann 1954: 115; Clauson 1960a: 311; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 89–90; Egorov 1964: 198; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 652; Räsänen 1969: 14, 308, 396; Sinor 1969: 277; Rassadin 1971: 224; Clauson 1972: 121, 808–809; Kolesnikova 1972: 288; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 124; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 56; Doerfer 1985: 100; Ligeti 1986: 118, 183, 186, 202, 313; Erdal 1991: 330–332; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1383; Fedotov 1996/2: 69; Tenišev 2001: 222–223; Dybo 2003: 164–166; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1326.

SZÁL [sāl] 'raft' | 1211 ? PN *zalas* [sāl-åš], 1568 *szálat* [sāl-åt], 1569 *ʒal-on* [sāl-on] | *sāl* < **sal* ← WOT **sāl* | EOT *sāl* 'raft'.

OT *sāl* 'raft', 'It means the same as Yabāqu, Tatār *tār* 'raft'. Skins are inflated and their mouths tied, then they are bound together and made like a flat rooftop above the water, and people sit on them and use them to cross. It can also be made from reeds or branches' (AK); **MT** *sal* 'radeau' (AChag), *sal* 'su gečejek bir nesnedir ki aġajlarï birbirine baġlayub suya bïraġurlar batmaz anïŋla su gečerler [a thing used for crossing rivers, they fasten timbers together and launch them on the water and they do not sink, with it they cross the water]' (AChagAb), *sal* 'su keçecek bir nesnedir ki ağacları birbirine baglayub suya bıragurlar batmaz anıngla su keçerler' (AChagAbA), *sal* 'valami amivel a vízen átkelnek [something with which to cross the water]' (AChagAbV), *sal* 'plot, sudno, kotoroe svjazyvaetsja iz ščepok i breven' (AChagB), *sal* 'plot' (AChagMA), *sal* 'a thing constructed of wood and reeds on which they sit and thus cross deep rivers' (AChagSC), *sal* 'sal, bir nevi kelekdir, nehir ve büyük sularda merbute tašïnïlan direk' (AChagŠS), *sal* 'eine Art Floss, Mast im grossen Wasser' (AChagŠSK), *sal* 'su üzerindeki sal' (AAH), *sal* 'su üzerindeki sal' (AAH); **NT *Chuv*** *sulă* 'plot, parom, perevoz' (Chuv), *sulă*, *solă* 'plot, perevoz, parom' (ChuvA), *sulă*, *sul* Szp. *sulă* 'tutaj, szál; Floss' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sal* 'plot, plotovoj' (Tat), *sal* 'szál, tutaj; Floss' (TatB), *sal* 'das Floss' (TatKR), *hal* 'plot, plotovoj' (Bashk), *sal* 'sal; plot' (SibTat), *sal* 'plot, splav lesa (gl. obr. molem)' (Kirg), *sal* 'raft, logging tim-

bers' (Kaz), *sal* 'plot' (KazB), *sal* 'das Floss' (KazR), *sal* 'plot' (Kklp), *sal* 'splav (lesa)' (Nog), *sal* 'plot' (CrTat), *sal* 'das Floss' (CrTatR), *sal* 'plot' (KarSh), *sal* 'plot' (Kum), *sal* 'Floss' (KumN); ***SW*** *sāl* 'plot' (Tkm), *sal* 'plot' (Az), *sal* 'raft, stretcher etc.' (Tt), *sal* 'hayvan, araba, saban gibi şeyleri güneş veya yağmurdan korumak için yapılan çatış' (TtD), *sal* 'das Floss' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sol* 'plot, derevjannyj pomost, nastil iz breven' (Uzb), *sal* 'plot' (MUyg), *sał* 'plot' (Sal); ***NE*** *sal* 'plot, splav lesa' (Alt), *sal* 'das Floss' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *sal* 'plot' (AltL), *sal*: *saličaq* 'plot' (AltQK), *sal* 'plot' (Khak), *sal* 'plot, splavljajuščijsja les' (KhakB), *sal* 'das Floss' (KhakShR), *sal* 'raft' (FY), *sal* 'plot' (Tuv), *sal* 'plot' (Tof); ***Y*** *āl* 'vodohodnoe sudno, barka, barkas, barža, nauzok (navozok), voobšče bol'šaja lodka, plot' (Y).

Mo *sal* 'raft, float' (L).

E/T With regard to the supposed T etymon for the H word, Kashgari stated that it carries the same meaning ('support') in Karakhanid as the word *tār* does in the Tatār and Yabāqū dials. On this latter word, see the entry in Clauson (1972: 528): *tār* 'a raft made of inflated skins fastened together': "*tār* … almost synonymous with 1 *sāl*, which seems, however, to mean 'a raft made of timber', *al-'imd* is not a common Ar. word, but would etymologically mean 'a support'. Tatār, Yabāqū … *tār* 'a raft', that is skins are inflated and their necks tied, then they are fastened together and made like a platform on the top of the water, and people sit on them and cross (rivers), they are also made of reeds and branches", cf. also Räsänen (1969: 463) and Tenišev (2001: 537). On the spread of the T word *sal* 'raft', see Joki (1952: 260–261) and Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 229–231). Doerfer felt that Sinor's (1961a: 171) suggestion of Yurak-Sam *śie* and Kam *sō* 'Floß' possibly being interrelated with T *sal* was unconvincing. Egorov's (1964: 194) position on the dev origin of the T word *sal*, Chuv *sul* is hardly acceptable. Fedotov (1996/2: 59) pointed out that the Cher dial words *šolo* 'plot' and *šal* id. are of Chuv der. On the basis of the Tkm and Y data, one can assume an old etymologically long **ā* in the word (cf. Ščerbak (1970: 196), Tenišev (2001: 537), Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 177)). The Chuv forms *sulă*, *sul* show that the old long vowel was shortened in this word early on, otherwise one would expect an initial *š-* in Chuv (see **sár**[1], **sár**[2], **sárga** etc.). The final reduced vowel in Chuv may be secondary, and it is not very likely to have preserved the PT final vowel (PT **sālV*).

The T etymon for the H word seems to be a simplex. On the arguments concerning the usage and function of the suff *-(X)l*, see **szakáll**, **tulok** and **turul**.

On the reconstructed PT form **sāl* 'rafter', see Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1205–1206). They accepted that Mo *sal* id. is a T lw, however they thought that a comparison of the T word with PMo**salga* 'stretcher, litter' and PTu **salk-* 'pole, post, frame of a loom, paddle on a ski stick' allows for the reconstruction of PA **salkV* 'a kind of board, frame'. Nonetheless, the semantic and morphological aspects of this comparison pose serious difficulties.

E/H Following earlier opinions, Vámbéry (1870: 173) called attention to the T origin of H *szál* 'raft'. Munkácsi (1884a: 263) strengthened his etymology. Gombocz (1912b: 119) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sal*. Pais (1936: 342–343) claimed that the H word *szál* 'raft', which is of T origin, cannot be identical with the homophonous H word *szál* 'thread, fibre, etc.' Bárczi (1941: 279) separated three homophones: (1) *szál* 'one element of something', (2) *szál* 'thread' and (3) *szál* 'raft'. According to Bárczi, the first and the second *szál* may be of FUgr origin. The third item is plausibly an early T lw. Rásonyi (1942: 315) mentioned that the H word has a dial variant with *-l* > *-l′* (*szál* > *száj*). According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 656), H *szál* may be an OT lw if it was borrowed as a woodworking term, but if it is identical with the word *szál* 'one element of hair, fur' H might also have inherited it in ancient times fr FUgr. In this latter case, the semantic change can be explained by the way the 'raft' was made fr timbers bound together. According to Kiss (1987: 202–203), the OT origin of the H word is a preferable etymological solution, however the international spread of the word and the fact that it occurred in H relatively late, i.e. in the 16th c., open up the possibility that it was borrowed fr another lg., e.g. fr OttT. Ligeti (1986: 300–301) considered the H word to be an early T lw and, according to him, it should not be confused with the homophonous H words mentioned above. The word was copied as an important term in transport. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1385) accepted Ligeti's standpoint and regarded *szál* as an internationally widespread word in the old Eastern European shipping terminology. The Hungarians could have copied it either fr T or Sl.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 173; Munkácsi 1884a: 263; Gombocz 1912b: 119, 185; Ramstedt 1935: 309; Pais 1936: 342–343; Németh 1937: 139; Bárczi 1941: 279; Rásonyi 1942: 315; Joki 1952: 260–261; Sinor 1961a: 171; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 229–231; Egorov 1964: 194; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 656; Räsänen 1969: 397, 463; Ščerbak 1970: 196; Clauson 1972: 528; Ligeti 1986: 117, 183, 186, 300–301; Kiss 1987: 202–203; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1385; Fedotov 1996/2: 59; Tenišev 2001: 537; Dybo 2003: 177; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1205–1206.

SZÁM [sām] 'number' | †1086/[12th c.] ? PN *Zamudi* [sām-udi], p1372/c1448 *ʒamabalol* [sām-ābålōl] | *sām* < **sam* ⟵ WOT **sām* < **sān* | EOT *sān* 'number'.

OT *sanï*, *sanïnča*: *altmış iki koti sanı gang ögüz içinteki ḳum sanınča bodistvlar* '62 *koti* kadar Ganj ırmağı içindeki kum sayısınca bodhisattvalar' (UTekinKuan 84s), *sansïz* 'zahlreich' (UTT III 102), *sanïnga*: *ol näŋ kiši sanïnga kirmäz* 'der gehört durchaus nicht zu den Menschen' (UTTV B:114), *san* 'Zahl': *sanï saqïšï* 'Zählung und Zählen' (UTTIV A:25), *saġïš* 'Nummer, Zählung' (UTTVII 21:3), *san* 'Zahl' (UTTVII 9:14), *sana-* 'zählen' (UTTVII 12:2,3), *san* 'Zahl' (UUII 15:11), *san* 'number' (UXuanzangIndex), *sān* 'number', *qōy sāni näčä* 'what is the number of sheep?', *sā-* 'count': *är qōyuġ sādï* 'the man counted the sheep (or other)' (AK), *san* 'Zahl' (BL 20,21); **MT** *sanaġuluġsïz* 'unzählig' (UOg), *san* 'sayı' (UY), ? *sanïn* 'nombre', *sanagčï* 'diseur de bonne aventure, devin', *sanaguluqsuz* 'innombrable' (UHy), *sanagčïg* 'ex-

cellent, beau, merveilleux, étonnant' (UHyS), *sana-* 'zählen, abzählen' (UCivSa 04:9), *san* 'number' (ABF), *sansïz* 'countless, uncountable' (AGul), *sana-* 'saymak, hesapmak' (AHMA), *san*, *sanï* 'liczba, ilość' (AHŠ), *say-* 'sčitať', *san* 'čislo, količestvo', *sana-* 'sčitať' (AHŠF), *sa-* 'saymak' (AIMI), *sa-* 'to count', *sana-*: *sanaġïl*! 'count! (imperative)' (AKD), *san* 'number' (AKor), *san* 'cena, dostoinstvo, počet' (AM), *san* 'čislo, količestvo' (ANehF), *san* 'number, count', *saqï* id. (ARbg), *san* 'čislo', *samaq* 'čislo, isčislenie' (ATef), *san* 'sayı' (AYC), *san* 'compte, nombre' (AChag), *san* 'ḥisāb ve saġïš [number, calculation]' (AChagAb), *san* 'hesap ve sagış' (AChagAbA), *san* 'szám', *sana-*, *say-* 'számít' (AChagAbV), *sayqulur* 'sosčityvaetsja' (AChagB), *san* 'number' (AChagG), *san* 'sčet' (AChagLN), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (AChagR), *san* 'šumāra wa ḥisāb [number, counting] in general (quotn.), and šumāra wa 'arḍ-i laškar 'numbering and reviewing troops' in particular etc.' (AChagSC), *san* 'hesap, ta'dad' (AChagŠS), *san* 'Zählung' (AChagŠSK), *san* 'Zahl, Zählung, Berechnung' (AChagZ), *san* 'Anzahl', *sana-* 'zählen, rechnen' (LCCI), Tkm. *sa-* 'saymak', Kïpč. *sana-* id. (AAH), *ṣaymaq* 'nombre, compte' (ADur), *san* 'number' (AMGh), *ṣana-*, *ṣay-* 'sčitať, prinimať' (ATuh), *sana-*, *say-* 'saymak' (ATuhA), *san* 'nombre, (grande) quantite' (AmTr), *san* 'emel, zan, tahmin, tassavur, şöhret' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *sum* 'sčet, (ust.) mnogo deneg, bogatstvo, kapital, (ust.) mera sčeta nitok v prjaže, česť, počet, uvaženie' (Chuv), *su-* 'sčitať, počitať, pričityvať nagovor', *sum*, *som* I 'sčet', ? *sum*, *som* II 'rubľ (assignacijami)' (ChuvA), *su-* Szp. id. 'számlálni, számítani, becsben tartani, megbecsülni; zählen, rechnen, schätzen, ehren', ? *sum* 'rubel (papirosrubel); Rubel (Papier-Rubel)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *san* 'čislo, količestvo, čislovoj, količestvennyj, čislennosť, količestvo, (gram.) imja čislitelʹnoe, (gram.) čislo, nomer, cifra, cifrovoj' (Tat), *san-saġïš* 'isäp, san; učet, čislennosť' (TatD2), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung, die Ehre, die Reputation, die Achtung, die Würde' (TatKR), *han* 'čislo, količestvo, čislennosť, količestvennyj, (gram.) čislitelʹnoe' (Bashk), *san* 'un meŋ; desjať tysjač' (SibTat), *san* 'čislo, količestvo, sčet, nomer (gazety, žurnala), (peren.) nesmetnoe količestvo, (inogda) desjať tysjač, (mat. gram.) čislo, (gram.) čislitelʹnoe' (Kirg), *san* 'number, quantity' (Kaz), *san* 'čislennosť, količestvo, čislo, sčet' (KazB), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (KazR), *san* 'čislo, cifra, čistitelʹnoe, količestvo' (Kklp), *san* '(v razn. znač.) čislo, (gram.) čislitelʹnoe, količestvo, sčet' (Nog), *san* 'čislo, sčet, nomer' (CrTat), *san* 'sčet, čislo, značenie, mysl', predpoloženie' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (KarLR, KarTR), *sanav* 'čislo, količestvo, sčet, podsčet, podsčityvanie, perečislenie' (Kum), *san* 'čislo, cifra, čislennosť, količestvo', *sanam* 'sčet' (KrchBlk), *san* 'Zahl' (KrchP), *san* 'Zahl, Anzahl' (BlkP); ***SW*** *sān* 'čislo, količestvo', *sāna-* 'sčitať' (Tkm), *sān* 'čislo' (RTkmAB), *say* 'čislo, sčet, čislennosť, količestvo', *say-* 'sčitať, nasčityvať, isčisljať', *san* 'izvestnosť, slava, počet, reputacija' (Az), *say-* (*-ar*) 'to count, to enumerate, to take into account, to regard, to count as, to esteem, to respect, to value, to deem, to suppose, to imagine to be' (Tt), *san*

'die Ehre, die Reputation, die Achtung, die Würde' (TtR); ***Kh*** *sā^{a}na-* 'zählen' (T *sā-n-a-*), *sā^{a}nag* 'Zahl, Nummer', *sāy-* 'zählen' (Kh); ***SE*** *sån* 'čislo, količestvo, (gram.) imja čislitel'noe, nomer' (Uzb), *san*, *sān* 'piece, number' [according to Jarring, it is of Pe origin] (TurkiJ), *sân* 'total, amount' (TurkiSh), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (TurkiTR), *san* 'čislo, količestvo, čislennost', sčet' (MUyg), *san* 'nombre' (SalK), *san* 'čislo, količestvo' (YUyg), *san* 'čislo, količestvo, mera' (YUygM); ***NE*** *sana-* 'dumat', pomyšljat', želat', namerevat'sja, zabotit'sja, skučat', toskovat'' (Alt), *sana-* 'dumat', rešat', hotet'' (AltQK), *sana-* 'dumat', želat', mečtat'' (AltTK), *san* 'sčet, čislo' (Khak), *san* 'sčet, zadača, otčet pastuha za pogolov'e otary, štuka, edinica sčeta melkogo skota' (KhakB), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *san* 'die Zahl, die Rechnung' (ChulR), *san* 'number' (FY), *san* 'čislo, količestvo' (Tuv), *san* 'čislo, sčet, cifra' (Tof); ***Y*** *āx-* 'sosčityvat', sčitat', sčet vesti, sčisljat', izsčityvat', pričisljat' s Acc., stavit' v sčet čto, cenit', ocenivat' čto (Acc.) po čem (Instr.), čitat' (knigu, pis'mo)', *aġïs* 'čislo' (Y), *aksān* 'Anzahl, Zahl', *āk-* 'lesen, rechnen, betrachten, halten', *āgïl/ïn-* 'gehalten, betrachtet werden' (Dlg), *āgī*, *agī* 'Lesen, Rechnen, Zählen', *āk-*, *ak-* 'rechnen' (DlgS).

Mo *sana-* 'to think, reflect, ponder, to hold an opinion, to intend, plan, to remember, keep in mind, to recall, to long for' (L), *sana-* 'conjecturer, penser' (HY).

DBulg *σαμφής* [sampses] 'bulgarische Würde', *sampsi* id. (869/870) (Moravcsik 1958/2: 266).

Rus *samčij* 'upravljajuščij hozjajstvom' (Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 554).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is a der fr PT **sā-* 'to count' (on the verbal base, see **szán**[1]). The suff for the T etymon may be the dev nominal *-Xn* (on which see Erdal 1991: 300–308; on OT *san* 'number, the set of things counted', see Erdal 1991: 306–307). The suff *-Xn* forms nouns and adjs. The final segment *-m* of the H word may stem fr the phonetic change *-n* > *-m*, which is a well-known feature in Chuv, however it does not appear in every case. On the WOT nasals, see § 6.2.3.

Nevertheless, it is also possible that the T etymon was formed with the ending *-(X)m*, which is a well-known suff as of the OT period (see Erdal 1991: 290–300). The Bulg and Chuv data with *-m* may derive fr a form with either *-m* or *-n*. In the case of the former, one can presume a morphological difference between EOT and WOT. Three solid reasons may be listed for reconstructing an original WOT form with *-(X)m*: (1) We have no other data in the corpus of OT lws in H which clearly show the Chuv sound change *-n* > *-m*. (2) The suff *-(X)m* could be added to the base **sā-* 'to count' to form the lexeme **sā-(X)m* meaning 'number as the unit of counting'. Cf. the initial meaning of OT *yem*, which is not 'food', but 'one portion of the food', and OT *ičim* did not first denote 'drink', but 'a mouthful of liquidness'. (3) The DBulg **samči* 'the person in charge of the economy' came about early and this was copied by the Slavs.

On the basis of the T data, one actually cannot decide whether the final segment *-m* in the T etymon EOT **sā-Xn* ~ WOT **sām* (a) resulted fr a phonetic change or (b) represents another der.

Explanations can be found in the literature of T *sān* having been borrowed by the Sl lgs (cf. Clauson 1972: 830–831) and appearing as ORus *sanъ* 'Rang, Würde', Rus *san* 'hoher Rang, Würde'. Fasmer (1964–1973/3: 554–555) thought that the Sl forms may be copies fr DBulg, but he did not rule out the IE origin of Sl *sanъ*. Baskakov's idea (1953: 392) that Khak *san* may be of Ir der does not hold water. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 232–233) discussed this problem in great detail and finally rejected the borrowing of Sl *san* 'a kind of high position' fr T. He claimed that the sporadic occurrences of this word in the ModT lgs with the meaning 'honorific rank, dignity' may be a Pe lw (cf. *sān* 'honour, reputation, respect, fame, dignity, rank') and that their ultimate base is IE in origin (cf. OInd *sānu* 'Gipfel, Höhe, Spitze'). Poceluevskij (Dybo 2003: 187–188) disagrees, believing the Sl words to be T borrowings.

The question whether Bashk *hum* 'rubl'', Tat *sum* id., Tkm *sōm* id., Kaz etc. 'rubl' mentioned by Räsänen (1969: 427) are copied forms fr MBulg or independent fr the T lexeme under discussion calls for further investigation, but seems implausible. Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 305) distinguished T *som* 'rubl'', *sān* 'čislo, sčet' (> Chuv *sum*), and TatD *som*, *savïm* 'sčet nitok v pražke', which all come together in Chuv.

The PA reconstruction **sāmo* 'shape, appearance' offered by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1207) with the headings PT **som* 'number, honour, shape, silhouette', PTu **sāma* 'sign' is unacceptable. To be fair, they themselves noted that this comparison cannot be taken as read.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 173) compared Chag *san* and Tt *say* 'number' with the H word *szám*. Munkácsi (1901a: 194) and then Gombocz (1907a: 316) concurred on the T etymology. Gombocz (1912b: 119) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sam*. Bárczi (1941: 280) was of the same opinion. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 233) rejected Poppe's (1960: 29) position that one can suppose the form **sām* in PT on the basis of the H word and he accepted Gombocz's (1912b: 119, 186) explanation. According to Róna-Tas (1967: 176), H *szám* may consist of a preserved T long vowel. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 667–668) was of the view that the OChuv copied form could be either **sam* or **sām*. He pointed out that the final *-m* in the copied T form represents a Chuv feature. Palló (1978b: 116–120) agreed with Bang (1923: 117) that T *sā-* 'zählen' and *sā-* 'denken' go back to the same base, but she observed that the PT base **sā-* could have undergone a semantic split early on and that this is the reason that one can find it in H as various borrowed forms with distinct meanings (*szám* 'Zahl', *szán-* 'denken', *szán-* 'reuen, bedauern, erbarmen [etc.]'. See, however **szán**[1] and **szán**[2]. Ligeti (1986: 35–36) accepted the OChuv origin of the H word and rejected Hovdhaugen's view (1972: 211) that H *szám* cannot have come fr OChuv because in this case the first consonant

in H would be an *s-* [š-]. Doerfer (1973: 199) ruled out Hovdhaugen's position. Ligeti noted that the lg fr which the OT lws in H were copied must have contained not only secondary diphthongs, but also preserved long vowels. In such cases, one cannot expect initial **š-* in the copied forms. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1390), H *szám* comes fr OT **sam* (< T **sā-* 'zählen, denken'). In any case, the length in H *szám* represents a secondary H development.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 173; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1907a: 316; Gombocz 1912b: 119, 186; Bang 1923: 117; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 280; Pais 1942: 301; Baskakov 1953: 392; Moravcsik 1958/2: 266; Poppe 1960: 29; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 231–233; Egorov 1964: 192, 195; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 554–555; Róna-Tas 1967: 176; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 667–668; Räsänen 1969: 400, 427; Clauson 1972: 830–832; Hovdhaugen 1972: 208–211; Doerfer 1973: 199; Palló 1978b: 116–120; Ligeti 1986: 35–36, 117–118, 183, 186, 199, 253; Erdal 1991: 290–308; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1390; Róna-Tas 1994: 105; Fedotov 1996/2: 53, 61–62; Dybo 2003: 124–126, 187–188, 305; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1207.

SZÁN[1] [sān] 'to have pity for, to regret' | p1372/c1448 *ʒantnak* [sān-tnåk] | **szánalom** [sānålom] 'pity' | *sān-* < **sān-* < **sayin-* ← WOT **sayïn-* | EOT *sakïn-* 'to think anxiously about something, to be worried'.

OT *saqïn-*: *qaġan mw qïsayïn tedim saqïndïm twrwq buqalï sämiz buqalï ïraqda b.lsär sämiz buqa twrwq buqa teyin bilmäz ärmiš teyin anǰa saqïndïm* 'I said (to myself) "Shall I press (him to become) Kaghan?". "If you try to distinguish between a lean and a fat ox from a distance, you cannot tell which is which" – that is what I thought' (RMTon 5-6), *üč qarlwq yawlaq saqïnïp* 'the Three Karluk (tribes) had evil thoughts' (RMShin N 11), *saqïn-* 'to think' (RTIrk 42), *näčä yavlaq saqïnč saqïnurbiz* 'Täglich wie viele üble Gedanken sinnen wir' (UChuast 293-4), *saqïn-* 'bedenken' (MManIII Nr.12 Rückseite 1), *saġïnč* (r: *saqïnč*) 'Gedanke' (MManIII Nr.6,II: 2,5,11), *saq(ï)nmaq* 'überlegen' (MManIII Nr.6,II Rückseite 9), *saqïn-* 'to think' (UXuanzang-Index), *saqïn-* 'denken, planen, bedenken, gesonnen sein': *ät öz ärtimligin saqïnïp* '[des Leibes] Vergänglichkeit bedenkend' (UTTIII 137), *saqïnč* 'Gedanke' (UTTVI 160), *saqïn-* 'denken, sich vorstellen, beabsichtigen' (UTTVII 15:3), *saġïn-* (*saqïn-*) 'to think of, help (with words)': *ol maŋa ädgü saġïndï* (*saqïndï*) 'he thought well of me in his heart'. *saqïn-* 'to be wary', *ol mindin saqïndï* 'he was wary of me'. Kashgari's remark: "The *qāf* in this word is harder than in the former." (AK), *qutaḏmïš kiši kör saqïnmïš käräk* 'a fortunate man must be thoughtful' (AQB), *saqïn-* 'bedenken': *saqïnmasar* (sāqiṃmāsār̲) 'wenn er nicht bedenkt' (BD 16), *saq-* 'denken (?)': *saqsar* 'wenn man so denkt' (sāhk̲sār̲ – sā hk̲ sā r̲) (BK 2); **MT** *saqïn-* 'sakınmak, düşünmek, ictinap etmek' (UY), *saqïndurgučï* 'assistant, le bras droit (de l'empereur)' (UHy), *saqïn-* 'penser, délibérer, considérer' (UHyS), *saqïn-* 'denken, meinen' (UCivAd 03:11), *saqïnč* 'anxiety' (ABF), *saġïn-* 'to think, imagine, suppose', *saqïn-* 'to think, to take care of oneself' (AGul), *saqïn-* 'sakınmak, çekinmek, düşünmek' (AHMA), *saġïn-* 'powierzać, ufać', *saqïn-* 'myśleć, sądzić, stzreć się, uważać' (AHŠ), *saġïn-*

‘dumaťˊ, veritˊ’ (AHŠF), *sāġïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, razmyšljaťˊ’ (AIM), *saġïn-* ‘sanmak, oranlamak’ (AIMI), *saqïn-* ‘to think, to reflect, reckon, expect, to beware, be cautious, fear God’ (AKor), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, razmyšljaťˊ, zabotitˊsja, bereˇcˊsja’ (ANehF), *saqïn-* ‘to think’ (ARbg), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, razmyšljaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ’ (ATef), *saqïn-* ‘sakınmak, düşünmek, ictinap etmek’ (AYC), *saġïn-* ‘mentionner, croire, penser à, juger’ (AChag), *saġïn-* ‘sanmaq’ (AChagAb), *saġïn-* ‘sanmak, anmak’ (AChagAbA), *saġïn-* ‘vél, gyaníť’ (AChagAbV), *saġïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, vspominaťˊ’ (AChagB), *saġïn-* ‘vspominaťˊ, pomniťˊ, toskovaťˊ, skučaťˊ’ (AChagBud), *saġïn-* ‘to think, consider’ (AChagG), *saġïn-* ‘vspominaťˊ, dumaťˊ’ (AChagLN), *sagïn-*, *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ’ (AChagMA), *saġïn-* ‘yād kardan; to remember, have in mind; tašawwur kardan; to meditate, imagine; ḥaḏar kardan; to be wary’ (AChagSC), *saġïn-* ‘sayamaq, yad ve xatira götürmek’, *saqïn-* ‘iǰtinab, hazar etmek, čekinmek, saqïnmaq’ (AChagŠS), *saġïn* ‘Wunsch’, *saġïnǰ* ‘Wunsch, Nachdenken’, *saġïn-* ‘zählen, weinend die Verdienste des Toten aufzählen’ (AChagŠSK), *saġïn-*, *saqïn-* ‘hoffen, vermuten’ (AChagZ), *saġïn-* ‘denken, meinen, glauben’, *saġïnč* ‘Gedanke, Gedanken’ (LCCG, LCCI), *saġïn-*, *san-* (vocalized *saġan-*) ‘saymak’, *saġïš* ‘hisap, sayış’ (AAH), *saġïnč* ‘emel, umu’ (AAHI), *ṣaġïš* ‘nombre, compte’ (ABul), *ṣaġïš* ‘das Rechnen’, *ṣaġïš-* ‘mit einander rechnen’ (AHou), *saġïn-* ‘vél, gondol, gondolkozik; meinen, denken, nachdenken’ (AKav), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, razmišlaťˊ’ (ATuhF), *sagïn-*, *sakïn-* ‘penser, croire, compter, réfléchir’ (AmTr), *sağın-* ‘iyi düşünmek, mülâhaza etmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *sagïn-* ‘skučaťˊ, soskučitˊsja, toskovaťˊ’ (Tat), *sagïn-* ‘vspominaťˊ, obraščaťˊsja’ (TatD1), *saġïn-*, *sagïn-* ‘iske töšörü, iske alu; vspominaťˊ’ (TatD2), *saġïn-* ‘epekedni, búslakodni vki után; sich sehnen, schmachten’ (TatB), *saġïn-* ‘denken, nachdenken, bedenken, sich sehnen’ (TatKR), *haġïn-* ‘toskovaťˊ, tomitˊsja’ (Bashk), *saġïn-* ‘soskučitˊsja’ (SibTatBD), *sagïn-* ‘toskovaťˊ, skučaťˊ po komu-čemu-l.’ (Kirg), *saġïn-* ‘to think over, to think, to consider’ (Kaz), *saġïn-* ‘soskučitˊsja, skučaťˊ, stoskovaťˊsja, toskovaťˊ’ (KazB), *saġïn-* ‘denken, nachdenken, bedenken, sich sehnen’ (KazR), *saġïn-* ‘toskovaťˊ, skučaťˊ, dumaťˊ o koml.’ (Kklp), *sagïn-* ‘skučaťˊ, toskovaťˊ, želaťˊ’ (Nog), *saġïn-* ‘pomniťˊ, vspominaťˊ, dumaťˊ, skučaťˊ’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *saġïn-* ‘toskovaťˊ, skučaťˊ, čuvstvovaťˊ, predčustvovaťˊ, predugadyvaťˊ, kazaťˊsja’ (Kum), *saġïn-* ‘vspominaťˊ (v razgovore), upominaťˊ kogo’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sāy-* ‘sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ’, *sāgïn-* ‘meškaťˊ, medlitˊ’ (Tkm), *saqïn-* ‘skučaťˊ’ (RTkmAB), *sakın-* ‘to be cautious in word and deed’ (Tt), *saqïn-* ‘gedenken’ (TtR), *sakïn-* ‘uklonjaťˊsja, byťˊ nerešiteľnym, robeťˊ, stesnjaťˊsja’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *såġïn-* ‘skučaťˊ, soskučitˊsja, toskovaťˊ, istoskovaťˊsja, želaťˊ, hoteťˊ’ (Uzb), *sægïn-* ‘to long for, to yearn’ (TurkiJ), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, grustitˊ’, *saġïn-* ‘vspominaťˊ, grustitˊ’ (TurkiL), *seġin-* ‘skučaťˊ, soskučitˊsja, toskovaťˊ, stoskovaťˊsja, istoskovaťˊsja’ (MUyg), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, zamyšljaťˊ’ (YUyg), *saqïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ, zamyšljaťˊ, grustitˊ, toskovaťˊ’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sagïš* ‘um, mysľˊ, duma, raspoloženie k čemu-l.’ (Alt), *sagïn-* ‘dumaťˊ, podumaťˊ, obdumaťˊ, skučaťˊ, toskovaťˊ’ (AltL), *saġïn-*

'denken, nachdenken, bedenken' (AltLR), *sagïš* 'um, mysl′, duma' (AltQK), *sagïš* 'um, soznanie, mysl′, duma, nastroenie, čuvstvo', *sagïš-* 'sovmestno dumat′, rešat′' (AltTK), *saġïn-* 'dumat′, mysliť, pomyšljat′, želat′' (Khak), *saġïn-* 'denken, nachdenken, bedenken' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *saġïn-* 'denken, nachdenken, bedenken, sich sehnen' (KhakSR), *saġïn-* 'denken, nachdenken, bedenken' (KhakShR), *saktïr-*, *sagïn-* 'vspominat′ kogo-l, toskovat′, skučat′ po komu-l, zapominat′' (Tuv), *saġïn-* 'denken, nachdenken, bedenken' (TuvSR), *saġïn-* 'dumat′, podumat′, pomniť, vspominat′, skučat′, grustiť' (Tof); ***Y*** *aġïn-* 'pominat′, pomniť, pamjatovat′, vsegda dumat′ o kom, o čem, vspominat′, pripominat′, napominat′ etc., toskovat′, stoskovat′sja skučat′, stradat′ po kom, tužiť s Acc., stradat′ pred rodami, mučiť sja, terpeť bol′ pri nastuplenii rodov (preimuščestvenno o korove ili drugom životnom)' (Y), *aqïn-* 'sich erinnern, sich sehnen' (Dlg).

E/T The immediate T etymon for the H word may be WOT **sagïn-* 'to think anxiously about something, to be worried, to hesitate', which had the form **sakïn-* in EOT but very early also *sagïn-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 812–813). The T word is well documented as of the earlier sources. The weakening of the internal *-k-*, which otherwise represents a Kip phenomenon, is also a WOT feature (cf. **bán**[2]). In Kashgari, one can find *-g-* instead of *-k-* once, but this may also be a misspelt form.

The T verb *sakïn-* represents a refl form with the dev suff *-(X)n-*, see Erdal (1991: 612). The suff was added to the base *sak-* 'to think', which comes up in the early sources relatively sporadically. Erdal considered this verbal base to be a simplex, but it seems to be a der formed with the suff *-(X)k-*, on the suff, see Erdal (1991: 645–649). The correct segmentation of *sakïn-* may therefore be **sā-k-ïn-*. The verb may go back to the same PT verbal base **sā-* 'to count' as the H words **szám** and **szán**[2].

Under the entry PA **sɨ̯ə́kʿà* 'to think, worry', Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1265–1266) included PT **siāk-* 'to think, contemplate, worry, to miss, intelligence, thought, worry, to read, to remember, mourning, sad remembrance' with its "Altaic" parallels PTu **siaK-* 'to speak within oneself, to respond, call back', PMo **sege-*, **seke-* 'to recover (one's senses), intelligence'. They also noted that the form *sagïn-* in Kashgari seems very strange.

Ramstedt's (1935: 312) proposal that Mo *sana-* ['meinen, denken'], T *sana-*, *san-* id. and also T *san* 'Zahl' may have their ultimate base in Chuv has already been rejected by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 228–229). Doerfer did not accept Poppe's (1960: 29) comparison, according to which OT *sa-* 'zählen', *san* 'Zahl' etc. show an ancient genetic interrelation with Tu *sā-* 'erfahren' and Kor *sān* 'Rechnung'. There are semantic difficulties in comparing the T data with the Tu form. The Tu item occurs in all dials with the meaning 'erfahren, wissen, verstehen' and the T base could have carried the original sense of 'zählen' and thence 'schätzen' > 'betrachten als etwas'

> ‘denken’. As was rightly pointed out by Doerfer, Mo *sana-* is obviously a T lw because its base and suff are only known in T.

Besides PT **sā-* ‘to count’, its der *sana-* (< **sā-Xn+A-*) ‘to count’ existed early on (see Clauson 1972: 781–782). Its first occurrence may be the item in line 27 of the EOT inscription RMTon: <SNGLI> *sanagalï* in the passage *ol suv kudï bardïmïz sanagalï tüšürdümüz* ‘We went upwards on the riverbank. We let (them) dismount [from horses] in order to count [them]’. The literature contains some other readings and interpretations of this passage (cf. *ašïngalï* ‘um herüberzukommen’ (Radloff 1899: 14–15), *asïngalï* ‘um abzukochen’ (Aalto–Ramstedt–Granö 1958: 39), *asangalï* ‘in order to be fed’ (Tekin 1968 : 251, 287), *asïngalï* ‘in order to climb’ (Tekin 1995: 218). See the correct solution in other, even early, editions of the inscription: *sanagalï* ‘saymak için’ (Orkun 1936–1941/1: 110), ‘čtoby peresčitaʹ (svoe vojsko)’ (Malov 1951a: 62, 67; Ajdarov 1971: 329), ‘um zu zählen’ (Rybatzki 1997: 60, 107). In discussing the verb *san+a-* ‘to count’, Erdal (1991: 423) observed that Clauson’s (1972: 264, 248) reading of *ašangalï* “is likely but not necessary”. Clauson himself preferred the reading and interpretation *ašangalï* ‘to eat’ but did not completely rule out the reading *asïngalï* ‘to cook’.

Another der fr **sā-* may be its conv *sayu*, which is documented in line 9 of the Southern side of RMKT: <yIrSYW: BRDG> *yer sayw bardïg* ‘you went everywhere’. As Erdal mentioned (1991: 306–307), the meaning of this construction in etymological terms could be ‘counting the places where you went’.

PT **sā-* ‘to count’ occurs as *sā-* in Karakhanid (see *sā-*: *är kōnïg sādī̄* ‘the man counted the sheep’ (AK), *kamug ädgülükni atamïš sayu* ‘has named and counted up all the advantages’ (AQB)). Otherwise, as Clauson (1972: 781–782) previously noted, the verbal base *sā-* is “in its original form obsolete everywhere; it has become *say-* in NW Krım, Nog, SW Az, Osm., Tkm. (*sāy-*), but it has been displaced, in all other languages completely, and in these partially, by *sanā-* (Tkm. *sāna-*)”. On the T base verb, see also Räsänen (1969: 390) and Dybo (2003: 124–126). According to Kashgari, the base **sā-* could have been the source of the dev desiderative suff *+sA-*. Erdal (1991: 529) rejected Kashgari’s statement because **sā-* “is attested … with the meaning ‘to count’, however, and probably never signified ‘to wish’ or even ‘to think’.” Erdal’s critical remark may, nevertheless, be correct, but only if the verb *sāk-* ‘to think’, which is documented as of the OT period, is etymologically independent fr *sā-* ‘to count’. Erdal (1991) listed the following possible ders for **sā-* ‘to count’: *sa-n* ‘number’ (300–301, 306–307), *sa-n+a-* ‘to count’ (308, 423), *sa-yu* (403), *sa-n-iš-* ‘to belong to’ (565), *sa-n-* ‘to be reckoned to be’ (611–612). He separated these forms fr *sak-* and its ders (cf. *sak-ïš* ‘counting, computation’ (271), *sakïnč* ‘thought’ (< *sakïn-Xnč* 280), *sak-ïn-* ‘to think, imagine, plan etc.’ (612), *sakïn-tur-* ‘to permit to think’ (822)). Clauson (1972) was of another opinion. He also mentioned some other lex-

emes which may go back to *sā-* 'to count' (781–782) (cf. *sā-g* 'the intellect' (803), *sāk-* "prob. an Emphat. f. in *-k-* fr. *sā-*" (804), *sagū (sāgū)* 'corn measure' (805), *sāglïg* 'anything counted' (809), *sagūlā-* 'to measure' (811)). Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 158) attempted to find an etymological connection between the verbs **sā-* and *sak-* 'dumaťˊ, sčitaťˊ za … etc.' She considered the latter to be a der of the former with a suff of intensivity. It is worth noting that the verb *sak-* 'to think' became obsolete relatively early and was replaced by its der *sakïn-* (*sākïn-*) 'to think' (Clauson 1972: 812–813). This phenomenon parallels to the history of the base **sā-*, which became obsolete and was also replaced by the der *sanā-* 'to count' (Clauson 1972: 835). The distribution of *sā-* and *sāk-* seems parallel as well. It is clear that both represent old forms because their ders come up in the oldest T documents, however both can only be found in Karakhanid.

Under the entry PA **si̱ōye* 'to consider, count', Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1275) discussed PT **sā*(*y*)- 'to count, to consider' and compared it with PTu **sū-* 'to mark, sign', PMo **sigü-* 'to judge, examine' and PKor **hjəi-* 'to count'. They claimed that **sā-n* 'number, count' is common in T and thence **sān+a-* 'to count, determine' went to Mo *sana-* 'to think'. This is correct, however the "Altaic" parallels cannot be accepted.

E/H The two H verbs *szán-*[1] (WOT **saγïn-*) and **szán**[2] (WOT **san-*) are mixed up even in the newest literature. H *szán-*[1] 'to have pity' and **szán**[2] 'to wish, to intend' etc. are of a different der, but they have been contaminated during their long history in H.

Vámbéry (1870: 173) first regarded the H verb *szán-*[1] 'to have pity for, to regret' to be T in origin. Munkácsi (1901a: 194) strengthened the T etymology. Gombocz (1912b: 119–120) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **san-*. Bárczi (1941: 281) presumed an early T lw (*san-*). According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 672), the H verb comes fr OT and its copied form in T could be either **san-* or **sān-*. The original meaning of the verb in H could be 'to think, plan, want' but it could also denote 'to like, to have a good wish', which is known fr Chuv. The verb also carries the sense of 'to count' in several T lgs and it belongs to the same word-family as the T etymon for **szám**. Palló (1978b: 120) was of the opinion that the T copied form could be **sagïn-*, which goes back to *sakïn-* (< *sāk-* < **sā-*). Later, Palló (1982: 159–160) thought that the immediate T source of H *szán-*[1] could be a Kip form **sagïn-*. Ligeti (1986: 36) maintained that the ultimate base of the H verb *szán-*[1] is *sā-* 'to count'. This base explains the T ders *sān* 'number', *sana-* 'to count', *sān-* 'to think, consider' and also the Chuv corresponding form of this latter form, which is *sun-* 'to wish, want, be with good intent, like, hope, expect'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1392) supposed a T copied form **san-* 'denken, planen, wollen' [< T **sā-* 'zählen, denken']. He did not, however, exclude the possibility that the verb **sagïn-* 'bedauern, schonen' was also borrowed fr T and that these verbs then

coincided in the H lg. This hypothesis would be borne out by the different meanings of the H verb.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 173; Radloff 1899: 14–15; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1912b: 119–120; Ramstedt 1935: 312; Orkun 1936–1941/1: 110; Bárczi 1941: 281; Malov 1951a: 62, 67; Joki 1952: 260; Aalto–Ramstedt–Granö 1958: 39; Poppe 1960: 29; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 228–229; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 672; Tekin 1968 : 251, 287; Räsänen 1969: 390; Ajdarov 1971: 329; Clauson 1972: 248, 264, 781–782, 803–805, 809, 811–813, 835; Palló 1978b: 120; Palló 1982: 159–160; Ligeti 1986: 36, 186, 320; Erdal 1991: 271, 280, 300–301, 306–308, 403, 423, 529, 565, 611–612, 645–649, 822; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1392; Róna-Tas 1994: 105; Menges 1995: 159; Tekin 1995: 218; Rybatzki 1997: 60, 107; Dybo 2003: 124–126, 158; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1265–1266, 1275.

SZÁN² [sān] ‘to wish, to intend something for somebody/something, to devote’ | p1372/ *ʒantnak* [sān-tnåk] | *sān-* < **san-* ⟵ **sān-* || **szándék** [sāndēk] ‘intention, plan’ | c1380 *ſandÿk* ‘cogitatio’ | *sāndēk* < *sān-* {with suff *-dĀk*} | *sān-* ⟵ WOT **sān-* | EOT *sān-* ‘to think’.

OT *san-* ‘to be reckoned to be’: *muŋa tuġmiš kišilär luqususï yultuzqa sanur* ‘Die in diesem Jahr geborenen Menschen gehöre dem luqususi Stern an’ (UTT VII 17,4-5), *san-* ‘daran denken’ (UTTI 198), *san-* ‘(zu etwas) rechnen’ (UTTVI 34), *san-* ‘gehören zu, gerechnet werden’ (UTTVII 17:6,20), *sān-*, *san-* ‘to be reckoned’, *anuq utru tutsa yōqqa sānmās* ‘if one offers what food is available (to the guest, then hospitality) is not reckoned as thought’. This is coined to advise a person to offer what he can as host (AK), *bilip sözläsä söz biligkä sanur* ‘When a man speaks knowledgeably, his words are counted as wisdom’ (AQB), *sana-* ‘berechnen’ (sāṇā – sā ṇā) (BL 11,15); **MT** *san-* ‘düşünmek’ (UY), *sana-* ‘zählen, abzählen’ (UCivSa 04:9), *san-* ‘düşünmek’ (AHMA), *san-* ‘myśleć, sądzić, liczyć’ (AHŠ), *san-* ‘dumaťˊ, mysliťˊ, polagaťˊ, rassčitivaťˊ, sčitaťˊ’ (AHŠF), *ṣān-* ‘sčitaťˊ’ (AIMI), *san-*: *sanġïl!* ‘think!, suppose! (imperative)’ (AKD), *san-* ‘to think’ (AKor), *sanmaduq yöndin* ‘from a direction that he had not thought of’ (ANeh, Cl.), *san-* ‘dumaťˊ, mysliťˊ, polagaťˊ, rassčitivaťˊ, sčitaťˊ’ (ANehF), *san-* ‘to have evil intentions’ (ARbg), *san-* ‘dumaťˊ, pologaťˊ’ (ATef), *san-* ‘düşünmek’ (AYC), *san-* ‘estimer, conjecturer, se précautionner, se préparer’, *sana-* ‘compter, estimer’ (AChag), *sana-* ‘hesap almak, saymak’ (AChagAbA), *sana-* ‘számít [to reckon]’ (AChagAbV), *sanmaq* ‘čislo, sčet’ (AChagB), *san-* ‘qiyās kardan [to estimate, judge, deem]’ (AChagSC), *san-* ‘zann etmek’ (AChagŠS), *san-* ‘meinen, dafürhalten, schätzen, urtheilen, denken, glauben, vermuten’ (AChagZ), Tkm. *ṣan-* ‘sağan-, say-’ (AAH), *ṣana-* ‘zählen’ (AHou), *san-* ‘to count’ (AMGh), *saan-*, *ṣa'an-* ‘sčitaťˊ, polagaťˊ, dumaťˊ’ (ATuh), *saan-* ‘sanmak’ (ATuhA), *san-* ‘istemek, dilemek, düşünmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *sun-* ‘želaťˊ, hoteťˊ, žaždaťˊ, obeščaťˊ, suliťˊ prost.’ (Chuv), *sun-*, *son-* ‘želaťˊ’ (ChuvA), *sun-* ‘kívánni, akarni; wünschen, gönnen, wollen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ, podsčitaťˊ, sosčitaťˊ, sčesťˊ, sčitaťˊ s kem-čem-l.’ (Tat), *sana-* ‘számlálni, számítani, vminek tartani; zählen, rechnen’, *saġï* ‘merengés, tűnődés, bánkódás; Nachsinnen, Bekümmernis’ (TatB), *hana-*

‘sčitaťˊ, peresčityvaťˊ, sčitaťˊ kem-čem, prinimaťˊ za umnogo’ (Bashk), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ ustno, dumaťˊ, pomyšljaťˊ, zamyšljaťˊ, skučaťˊ, toskovaťˊ’ (Kirg), *sana-* ‘to think, to suppose, to imagine, to consider’ (Kaz), *sana-* ‘posčitaťˊ, sčesťˊ, sčitaťˊ’ (KazB), *san-* ‘denken, sich einbilden, glauben, überlegen, voraussetzen’ (KazR), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ’ (Kklp), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ, isčisljaťˊ’ (Nog), *san-* ‘sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ, rascenivaťˊ’ (CrTat), *san-* ‘denken, sich einbilden, glauben, überlegen, voraussetzen’ (CrTatR), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, sosčitaťˊ, sčitaťˊ, polagaťˊ, dumaťˊ, podumaťˊ, pripominaťˊ, namerevaťˊsja’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *san-* ‘sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ’ (KarSh), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, posčityvaťˊ, perečisljaťˊ, sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ’ (Kum), *sana-* ‘zahlen, rechnen’ (KumN), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ kogo-čto-l.’ (KrchBlk), *sana-* ‘zahlen’ (KrchP), *sana-* ‘zählen, rechnen’ (BlkP); ***SW*** ? *sāy-* ‘sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ’, *sāna-* ‘sčitaťˊ’ (Tkm), *sāna-* ‘sčitaťˊ’ (RTkmAB), *san-* ‘polagaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ, sčitaťˊ, prinimaťˊ za kogo-libo’ (Az), *san-* ‘to deem, suppose, think, to imagine, (arch) to desire, to wish’ (Tt), *san-* ‘denken, sich einbilden, glauben, überlegen, voraussetzen’ (TtR), *san-* ‘sčitaťˊ, dumaťˊ, polagaťˊ’ (Gag), *saṇa-*, *sa̲na-*, *sana-*, *suniˊ-*, *sa̲na̲-*, *sa̲naˊ-*, *sāna-* ‘zählen’ (Khor); ***Kh*** *san-* ‘denken, vermuten’ [Az *san-* < T *sān-*], *sā[a]na-* ‘zählen’, *sāŋg-* ‘vermuten, glauben, meinen, sich vorstellen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ, otsčityvaťˊ, sčitaťˊ (kem-l.), prinimaťˊ (za kogo-l.)’, *sanåq* ‘sčet, isčislenie, (redk.) čislo, perečenˊ, spisok’, *son* ‘čislo, količestvo, (gram.) imja čislitelˊnoe, nomer’ (Uzb), *sana-* ‘dumaťˊ, sčitaťˊ’, *sanaq* ‘razmyšlenie, vysčityvanie’ (TurkiL), *sani-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ, dumaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ’ (MUyg), *sana’-* ponud. ot *sana-* ‘gadaťˊ (bukv. zastaviťˊ sčitaťˊ)’ (Sal), *sana-*, *sanə-* ‘compter’ (SalK), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ’ (YUyg), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sana-* ‘dumaťˊ, pomyšljaťˊ, želaťˊ, namerevaťˊsja, zabotiťˊsja, skučaťˊ, toskovaťˊ’ (Alt), *sana-* ‘dumaťˊ, rešiťˊ, imeťˊ namerenie’ (AltL), *sana-* ‘dumaťˊ, rešaťˊ, hoteťˊ’ (AltQK), *sāna-* ‘dumaťˊ’, *sana-* ‘dumaťˊ, želaťˊ, mečtaťˊ’ (AltTK), *sana-* ‘sosčitaťˊ’ (Khak), *sani-* ‘to reckon’ (FY), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, rascenivaťˊ, priznavaťˊ’ (Tuv), *sana-* ‘sčitaťˊ, podsčityvaťˊ, čitaťˊ, zanimaťˊsja čteniem (pro sebja, myslenno)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sanā-* ‘mysliťˊ, mniťˊ, dumaťˊ, razmyšljaťˊ, razsuždaťˊ, umstvovaťˊ, zaključaťˊ, polagaťˊ, predpolagaťˊ, pomyšljaťˊ etc.’ (Y), *sanā-* ‘dumaťˊ, podumaťˊ, zadumaťˊ, želaťˊ, poželaťˊ’ (YS), *hanā-* ‘denken, sich vornehmen, planen, vorhaben, hochschützen, ehren, feiern’ (DlgS).

Mo *sana-* ‘to think, reflect, ponder, to hold an opinion, to intend, plan, to remember, keep in mind, to recall, to long for’ (L), *sana-* ‘conjecturer, penser’ (HY).

E/T The copied form of the H verb could be WOT **sa-*(*X*)*n-* ‘to think, suppose, to wish, to desire’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 833 and Erdal 1991: 611–612). Fr semantic point of view the most important item is Chuv *sun-*, whose meaning is in harmony with that of the H verb, although one can find verbs with very similar semantics in the other T lgs as well. On the ultimate base of the T etymon, see **szán**[1]. In the ModT

lgs, the T etymon for the H verb *san-* was mainly displaced by *sana-* (< **sā-(X)n+A-*) and some other lgs show evidence of re-borrowed Mo forms (see e.g. Y).

On the Cher words *šonaš-*, *šunaš-*, *šamaš-*, see Fedotov (1996/2: 62).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 174) attempted to compare H *szán-*[2] with certain T data. On Munkácsi's and Bárczi's positions, see **szán**[1]. Gombocz (1912b: 119–120) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **san-* (see **szán**[1]). According to Palló (1978b: 120; 1982: 157–158), the H verb is of OT origin and its copied form could be **sān-* (refl), which goes back to the base **sā-* 'zählen' ~ 'denken'. Neither Benkő (1967–1984/3: 672; 1993–1997/2: 1392), nor Ligeti (1986: 36) distinguished the two words by origin (see **szán**[1]).

◆ Kalmár 1770: 20; Vámbéry 1870: 174; Gombocz 1912b: 119–120; Egorov 1964: 195; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 672; Clauson 1972: 833; Palló 1978b: 120; Palló 1982: 157–158; Ligeti 1986: 36; Erdal 1991: 611–612; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1392; Róna-Tas 1994: 105; Fedotov 1996/2: 62; Ščerbak 1997: 144.

SZÁNDOK [sāndok] in *szándok-láda* [sāndok-lādå] 'trousseau box' | *szándok* [sāndok] (Mándoky 1993: 129) | *sāndok* ← Cum **sanduk* | T *sandïk* 'chest, box' ← Ar.

Of Cum origin.

OT –; **MT** *ṣanduq* 'sandık' (UY), *ṣandūq* 'sarcophagus' (AGul), *sandūq* 'sunduk' (ANehF ← Ar), *ṣanduq* 'sandık' (AYC), *sunduk*, *sïnduk* 'Kasten, Schrein' (LCC); **NT** ***Chuv*** *suntăx* 'sunduk, sundučok, sundučnyj, jaščik (vydvižnoj), jaščiček etc.' (Chuv), *suntăx*, *sontăx* 'jaščik, sunduk, lavka v perednej časti izby s jaščikom ili poločkoj vnizu dlja posudy i proč., penal, četyreugol'naja korzina, často s kryškoj, uzor na grudi ženskoj rubahi po obeim ee storonam', *suntăk*, *sontăk* 'jaščik, sunduk' (ChuvA), *suntăx* 'láda, skatulya, tartó; Kiste, Kasten, Schrein, Schachtel' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sandïk* 'sunduk, sundučnyj' (Tat), *sondok* 'sandïk; sunduk' (TatD2), *sandïk* 'láda; Lade, Kiste, Koffer' (TatB), *handïq* 'sunduk, sundučnyj' (Bashk), *sandïq* 'sunduk' (SibTatBD), *sandïk* 'sunduk' (Kirg), *sandïq* 'trunk (luggage)' (Kaz), *sandïq* 'sunduk' (Kklp), *sandïk* 'sunduk, sundučnyj' (Nog), *sandïq* 'sunduk' (CrTat), *sanduq* 'sunduk, kovčeg', *sandïq* 'sunduk' (KarSh), *sandux* (KarT), *sunduk* 'čemodan, sunduk, jaščik' (KarT, KarH), *sundux* 'sunduk, bol'šoj jaščik' (KarT), *sandïq* 'sunduk' (Kum), *sandïq* '(ust.) sunduk, (peren.) grob' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sandïk* 'sunduk' (Tkm), *sandïg* 'sunduk, magazin (vintovki), kassa' (Az), *sandık* 'chest, coffer, box, cash box etc.', *sanduka* 'sarcophagus' (Tt), *sandïk* 'sunduk, jaščik, lar′, grob, čemodan' (Gag); ***Kh*** *sanduq* 'Kiste' (Kh ← Pe); ***SE*** *sandiq* 'sunduk' (Uzb), *sanduq* 'chest, trunk, box, case' (TurkiJ), *sanduk* (sic!) 'sunduk' (TurkiL), *sanduq* 'sunduk, jaščik' (MUyg), *santux*, *sandux*, *sentux* 'lar′, jaščik, sunduk' (Sal), *sandux* 'caisse, valise' (SalK); ***NE*** *sunduk* 'sunduk' (Khak); ***Y*** *sundūk*, *suntūk* 'sunduk, bol'šoj jaščik' (Y ← Rus), *hundūk*, *hunduk*, *sunduk* 'Truhe, großer Koffer' (Dlg ← Rus).

E/T The T words listed in the database ultimately go back to Ar *ṣundūq*, *ṣandūq* 'Kiste, Kasten, Truhe, Koffer, Gehäuse', *ṣundūqa*, *ṣandūqa* 'Kasten' (Wehr) which

appears in Pe as *sanduġ* with the same meanings. The word was copied via T mediation into the Sl lgs (Rus, Ukr *sunduk*; cf. Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 803) and into the FUgr lgs of the Volga region (see Fedotov 1996/2: 59).

E/H The word only appeared in Mándoky's collection (1993: 129). The dial word came under the influence of H *szándék* 'intention' (**szán**[2]).

◆ Egorov 1964: 197; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 803; Räsänen 1969: 401; Scherner 1977: 81, 85; Mándoky 1993: 129; Fedotov 1996/2: 59.

SZAPU [såpu] 'bucket, wooden pail (with a handle)' | c1395 *zapu* [såpu] | *såpu* < *sapū* < **sapaų̄* < **sapaγ* ← WOT **sapaγ* < **sap* {with suff +*Ak*} | EOT **sap*.

Of possible T origin.

OT –; **MT** *sap* 'manche d'un instrument', *sapaġ* 'tige d'un feuille, manche d'un instrument' (AChag), *sapak* 'der Stiel, der Stengel' (AChagR), *saġït* 'Gerät, Instrument' (LCC), *saġït* 'equipment' (AMGh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *savăt sapa* 'posuda, tara' (Chuv ← Tat), *savăt-sapa* 'posuda voobšče' (ChuvA), *sapa*: *savăt sapa* 'edények, mindenféle edény v. tartó; allerlei Gefässe, Gefass und Geschirr' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *saba* 'saba (bol′šoj burdjuk dlja prigotovlenija i hranenija kumysa)', *savït* 'posuda, sosud' (Tat), *saba* 'kožannyj tursuk' (TatKR), *haba* 'saba (prokopčennyj kožanyj sosud iz škury krupnyh životnyh dlja hranenija kumysa', *hauït* 'posuda, spsud' (Bashk), *haba* 'yïlqï tirěhěnän qïmïθ äsětěügä těgělgän ður hauït' (BashkD1), *saba* 'saba (bol′šoj kožanyj burdjuk, v kotorom prigotovljajut kumys)', *sōt* 'kožannyj nagrudnik, nadevavšijsja na sostjazanijah', *čïnžïr sōt* 'pancir' (Kirg), *saba* 'large leather bag for processing and storing kumiss', *sauït* 'dishware, container, vessel, receiver, ? coat of mail, armor' (Kaz), *saba* 'saba, burdjuk iz konskoj škury dlja kumysa' (KazB), *saba* 'ein Ledersack zum Bereiten des Kumiss' (KazR), *saba* 'bol′šoj kožanyj burdjuk (dlja prigotovlenija i hranenija kumysa)', ? *sawït* '(ist.) pancir′, kol′čuga, laty' (Kklp), *savït saba* '(sobir.) raznaja posuda' (Nog), *savut* 'posuda', *savut saba* 'posuda, kuhonnye prinadležnosti' (CrTat), *savut* 'sosud, posudina, tara, oružie, voinskie dospehi' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *saġït* 'posuda, oružie, voinskie dospehi' (KarC), *saba*: *savut saba* 'vsjakaja posuda', *savut* 'posuda, sosud, žban, oružie' (Kum), *saba*: *savut saba* 'posuda' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sowut* 'dishes, vessel' (TkmD, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1197), ? *säbät* 'korzina' (Az), *sabu* 'mešok' (AzD); ***Kh*** *säbū*, *säbi* 'mittelgroßer Lehmkrug' (KhT); ***SE*** *saba*, *sava* 'burdjuk, mešok iz škury dlja hranenija i perevozki židkostej (vody, vina, kumysa i t. p.), (spec.) tonkaja baran′ja koža prostoj vydelki, iduščaja na podnarjad obuvi' (Uzb), *kara sava* 'kuhonnaja posuda' (TurkiL); ***NE*** *saba* 'bol′šoj kožanyj burdjuk, v kotorom gotovjat kumys, berestjanaja posuda, (*obl.*) tujas (ženskː) burdjuk' (Alt), *sap* 'rukojatka' (AltTK), *saba* 'grosses Birkenrindengefäss, welches bei der Opferung eines pferdes am Opferfeiertage zur Frühlingszeit für das Getränk verwendet wird' (KhakShR), *sava* 'posuda' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *saba* ‘any container or receptacle, vessel, vase, purse, wallet, internal organs, abdomen, matrix, uterus (anat.), river bed’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word was earlier identified by some scholars with the Kip word *saba* < *sapa* ‘a kind of container’. There are no OT or MT data for this word and it appears only sporadically in the ModT lgs. The Chuv word *sapa* is, for phonetic reasons, a Tat lw. Known in a relatively limited area of Turcia, the word is present in the Mo lgs (see Mngr *sawā*, Ord *sawa*, Khal *sav*, Bur *haba* and Kalm *sav*, cf. Dybo (2003: 126–127). Ramstedt (1935: 315) connected the T and Mo word forms. Poppe (1962a: 7) pointed out that the MMo word *saba* goes back to **sapā*. Egorov (1964: 174) erroneously thought that the T words come fr Pe *säbäd*, which may be of Ar origin, but Fedotov (1996/2: 4) did not support his position. According to Räsänen (1969: 391), Joki (1952: 258) and Ščerbak (1997: 208–209), the T words are perhaps of Mo der, and Dybo (2003: 126) accepted their respective opinions. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1197) discussed PA **sAgut* ‘dishes, vessel, instrument’ under **sagu* ‘a kind of vessel’. The comparison of the PT word with PMo **sagsu* ‘a kind of basket made from bamboo’ is unacceptable because of morphological uncertainty. It is worth noting that the word group, attested in some T lgs, shows a final segment *°n*: *saban* ‘bočka’ (KhakQb), *saban* ‘kadka’ (Khak), *saban*: *savut saban* ‘kuhonnye prinadležnosti’ (KarC). These data can hardly be separated fr the word form *saba* < *sapa*. According to Berta, they may be words with different dev suffs: **sap-gA*, **sap-gAn*. In this case, one could reconstruct a T historical form **sap-gAk* for H *szapu*. However, we do not know of any verbal base which would fit into this context. For semantic reasons, the verb *sap-* ‘to graft, join on’ (see Clauson 1972: 784) surely cannot constitute the basis for such a reconstruction. The T word *saba* comes up in some T lgs as a part of a hends formed with *sawut*. The spread of the word *sawut* coincides with that of *saba*. It is dominant in the NW branch of the T lgs, otherwise it can be regarded as sporadic. See Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 131) for an overview of its spreading. It is also documented in Chuv as a lw fr Tat. Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 131) suggested that *sawut* may be related to Mo *sab* ‘vmestilišče, posuda, sosud’ and thus she came to see a possible interrelation between T *sawut* and *saba*. This seems, however, not to be very likely. Clauson (1972: 806) contended that the T word *sawut* was originally Pe (*sāxt*). This explanation calls for further investigation. The T word *sagu* ‘Holzbutte’ which Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 225) discussed very briefly, does not pertain here. A number of words were contaminated in the T lgs. The base of one group is *sap* ‘handle’. This may have had a der in WOT **sapaγ* ‘a small vessel with a handle’ < PT *sapak*. T *saba* is a Mo lw. The words like *saban*, *sagu* (also Pe, Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 225), are partly ders and partly different words.

E/H Early on, Munkácsi (1904: 359) compared the H word *szapu* with certain T words. Gombocz (1907a: 317) then listed some T data in addition to Munkácsi’s col-

lection; he believed the H word to be of T origin. According to him, T could have contained an old form **sapak*. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 120) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sapag* for the H word. Németh (1912: 452) accepted Gombocz's opinion. Bárczi (1941: 281 s.v. *szapul-*) did not exclude the possible T der of the H word *szapu*, however he noted that the etymology presents serious phonetic problems. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 676–677; 1993–1997/2: 1395) considered the starting point of the H word to be unknown and rejected a T etymology for phonetic reasons. According to him, the word could originally have denoted 'irgendein Gefäß oder Behältnis'. The H word occurs in Vulgar Lat in the form *sapo* 'Hohlmaß zum Messen'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szapu* among the T lws in H. The uncertainty of the etymology lies in the absence of the form **sapak* with the meaning 'small vessel, container with a handle', but see Chag *sap* 'manche d'un instrument', *sapag* 'tige d'un feuille, manche d'un instrument' (AChag). The datum *sapak* 'der Stiel, der Stengel' (AChagR) is the same as in AChag.

◆ Munkácsi 1904: 359; Gombocz 1907a: 317; Gombocz 1912b: 120; Németh 1912: 452; Ramstedt 1935: 315; Bárczi 1941: 281; Joki 1952: 258; Poppe 1962a: 7; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 225; Egorov 1964: 174; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 676–677; Räsänen 1969: 391; Clauson 1972: 784, 806; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1395; Fedotov 1996/2: 4; Ščerbak 1997: 208–209; Dybo 2003: 126–127, 131; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1197.

SZÁR [sār] *arch* 'light-coloured, yellowish, pale, (partly) bald' | a1002/c1018/1190 GN *σαγάρβρυεν* [saɣar-brēn] (Szárberény), 1086 GN *zaczardi* [sek-sār-di], 1109 GN *Zaarberin* [sār-beriń], 1256/1273 GN *zaharhyg* [saɣar-hiď], c1282 PN *Zar* [sār] *Ladislaum*, c1395 *ʒarpoʒthow* [sār-postō] | *sār* < **sar* ← WOT **sar* | EOT *sāz* 'pale'.

Of possible T origin.

For the T data, see **sár**[2] and **sárga**.

E/T The etymon for the H word is WOT **sār* 'pale', the equivalent of EOT *sāz*. On the latter, see Tkm *sāzmïk* 'serovatyj', *sazmïk bulutlar* 'serovatye tuči' and Chuv *sără* 'seryj' and Erdal (2007: 86). In Chuv it is opposed to *šură* 'white': *χĕlle šură*, *śulla sără* 'In winter white, in summer gray (the rabbit)'. It denoted colourless skin, hence also the bald patches on the head or feet of men or horses. Therefore I do not think that the name of the *Sarkel* or *Šarkel* can be connected with it. Interesting is that the *sā* > *si̯a* > *ša* change did not take place in WOT, whereas *z* > *r* change did, see **sár**[1]. The semantic range 'bald'–'pale' may be similar to 'bald'–'multi-coloured', on which see **tar**, **tarka**.

E/H The H word is only known fr old documents. It was fixed around 1395 (in the *Wordlist of Beszterce*) as the name of a material (*ʒarpoʒthow* [sār-postō], a kind of cloth (*postō*), the colour of which is rendered as *coccinatus* (read *coccanatus* 'scarlet yellow'). In another source (the *Wordlist of Schlägli*, c1430), it has the meaning *croceus* 'saffron yellow'. It occurs as the nickname of a Hungarian prince *Ladislaus Zaar* "Ladislaus the Bald", set down by Simon de Kéza in 1282 (Szamota–Zolnai

1902–1906: 886), and later became a family name (*Zaar*, *Zar*, *Szár*), attested as such fr 1403 on (see Kázmér 1993: 971).

It is debated whether the GN fixed in a Gr document (originally written in 1002) as *σαγάρβρυεν* [saɣar-brēn] (read Sārberēn), and later as *Zaarberin*, pertains here. The place was later named *Vörösberény* [Vörösberēń], hence *sār* would be the same as *vörös* 'red', or red-yellow like saffron. The soil in Berény is in fact red fr bauxite. The uncertainty with the meaning began in the 13th c. The monastery of Szekszárd where king Béla I was buried in 1063, was called *Szög Szárd* (today Szekszárd). Kézai (1282) remarked: *In suoque monasterio dicto Sceug Zard sepelitur. Hic enim caluus erat et colore brunus, propter quod suum monasterium diminutiue sicuti erat ipse corpore dispositus sic vocari iussit* (Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 180, Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 886, 936). "He [Bela I] was buried in his monastery called Sceug Zard. He [King Béla I] ordered to name it so, because he [? his brother Ladislaus] was bald and brownish, and the monastrey['s name got] a diminutive, because he was from that [small] stature". It is uncertain that this early etymology of the place name is acceptable (Kiss 1988/2: 547), but the colour name *szög* occurs here as 'bald' and *szár* as 'brownish'. The second with the dim suff +*d*. The GN occurs in 1086 as *zaczardi* [sak-sar-di].

According to Melich (1904: 135), it is possible that the original meaning of the H word *szár* could be 'red'. This hypothesis was based on the GN *Vörösberény*, i.e. 'Red Berény', which was earlier called *Szárberény*. Melich otherwise considered the word *szár* of unknown der. Pais (1939: 21) regarded it to be of T origin. He thought that its T etymon may be **sarargar* > **sargar* > *sagar* and his etymology was built on the AltQKR item *sagar* 'bleich', which could be, according to him, a der fr a T verb **sarar-*. The AltQ item is fr Radloff (1893–1911/4: 262), who cited Verbickij (1884: 282) and may be a metathetic form of *sarga*. Palló (1961: 130–131) was of the opinion that the H words *szár* and *szagar* may go back to different T words. She thought that H *szagar* may be connected with T *yagïz* 'dunkel-, rotbraun' (~ **yagïŕ*) and H *szár* 'bald' may be interrelated with T *yarasa* 'Fledermaus' (< **yara*), i.e. bat, an animal with no hair (on its skin). Benkő (1967–1984/3: 677) viewed H *szár* as a copy of the CT corresponding form of the Chuv word, which was taken into H as **sár**[2] 'yellow, blond'. The original sense of H *szár* could be 'light, white'. According to Ligeti (1986: 66), the etymology of H GN *Szárberény* is uncertain and its T roots are dubious. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1395) changed his position in acceptance of Ligeti's view. According to his later stance, the H word *szár* is of unknown der and its beginnings in OT cannot be accepted for phonetic reasons.

◆ Verbickij 1884: 282; Radloff 1893–1911/4:262; Szamota–Zolnai 1902–1906: 886, 936; Melich 1904: 135; Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 180; Pais 1939: 21; Palló 1961: 130–131; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 677; Ligeti 1986: 66; Kiss 1988/2: 547; Kázmér 1993: 971; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1395; Stachowski 2001: 181; Erdal 2007: 86.

SZÁRNY [sārń] ‘wing’ | p1372/c1448 *ʒarnyokott* [sārń-okott] | *sārń* < **śārn* ← WOT **ćа(γ)rïn* | EOT *yarïn* ‘shoulder blade’, MT *yagrïn* id.

OT *iki yaranïn bašïnïn* (sic!) ‘seine beiden Schultern’ (UMIII 8,3-10), *yarïn* ‘shoulder blade’ (AK), *yarïn* ‘omuz, sırt’ (AQB), *yarịnä* ‘shoulder blade’ (KhWl); **MT** *yaġrïn* ‘shoulder blade’ (ABF), *yaġrïn* ‘shoulder blade’ (AGul), *yaġrïn* ‘lopatka’ (AIM), *yaġrïn* ‘shoulder blade’ (AKD), *yaġrïn* ‘lopatka’ (ANehF), *yaġrïn* ‘shoulder blade’ (ARbg), *yaġrïn* ‘épaule’ (AChag), *yaġrïn* ‘plečevaja kostʹ, lopatka’ (AChag-Bud), *yagrïn* ‘spinnaja lopatka’ (AChagMA), *yaġrïn*, *yaurun* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (AChagR), *yaġrïn* ‘šāna wa katif; shoulder blade, shoulder’ [also called *yaġïr* and *käbzä*] (AChagSC), *yaġrïn* ‘yaġrïn, atïŋ omuzlarï arasïnda yaġlu yeri, arqa tarafï’ (AChagŠS), *yaġrïn* ‘Wunde auf dem Pferderücken’ (AChagŠSK), *yaġrïn* ‘Kamm, der obere Theil des Rückens (zwischen den Schulterblättern), Schulter, Schulterblatt’ (AChagZ), *yaġrïn* ‘kürek kemiği’ (AAH), *yaġrïn* ‘omuz başı, ketf’ (AAHI), *yaġran* (sic!), *yaġrïn* ‘Schulterblatt’ (AHou), *yaurum* (sic!) ‘lapocka; Schulterblatt’ (AKav), *yawrun* ‘shoulder blade’ (AKav, Cl.), *yaġrïn* ‘shoulder blade (of a person, or horse)’ (AMGh), *yaġrïn* ‘lopatka, plečo’ (ATuh), *yaġrïn* ‘yağrın’ (ATuhA), *yaġrïn* (*yaġïrnï*) ‘sırt, sırtın yukarı kürek kısmı’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śurăm* ‘spina, hrebet, spinka (odeždy), (dial.) hrebet, grjada’ (Chuv), *śurăm*, *śorăm* ‘spina, pojasnica, vyšivka na spine kaftana’ (ChuvA), *śurăm* Szp. id. ‘hát; Rücken’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yawrïn*, *yavïrna*, *yavïrnï*, *ǰawïr*, *ǰawïrïn* ‘iŋbaš, kulbašï; plečo, pleč platʹja’ (TatD1), *yawrïn* ‘iŋbaš, kulbašï; plečo; ǰilkä; zatylok, spina, plečo’ (TatD2), *yaurïn* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (TatKR), *yaurïn* ‘plečo, plečiki’ (Bashk), *yaurïn* ‘pleči’ (BashkD1), *yauïrïn* ‘pleči’ (BashkD2), *yaurïnbaš* ‘plečo’ (BashkD3), *yaurïn* ‘iŋbašï, ǰilkä; plečo; arka; spina; kalak söyäge; lopatka’ (SibTat), *yaŭrïn* ‘plečo, predpleć́e, perednij’ (SibTatBD), *yaurun* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (SibTatBR), *yaurïn* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (SibTatTR), *žōrun* ‘lopatočnaja kostʹ’ (Kirg), *žaurïn* ‘(anat.) scapula, shoulder blade’ (Kaz), *žaurïn*, *žauïrïn* ‘lopatka (plečevaja kostʹ)’ (KazB), *žaurŭn* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (KazR), *žaŭïrïn* ‘plečo’ (Kklp), *yavïrïn* ‘plečo, zapleć́e’ (Nog), *žaurŭn* ‘das Schulterblatt’ (CrTatR), *yuvrun* ‘plečo’ (KarT), *yavrun* ‘hrebet, spina, plečo, lopatka, krylo’ (KarT, KarH), *yaġïrïn* ‘lopatka, hrebet’, *yaŋïrïn* ‘plečo’ (KarC), *yavrun* ‘verhnjaja časť, spiny meždu plečami, zagorbok’ (Kum), *džaŭrun*: *džaŭrun qalaq*, *džaŭrun süyek* ‘lopatka, lopatočnaja kostʹ’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yagïrnï* ‘spina, spinnoj’ (Tkm), *yāqrïn* ‘lopatka’ (RTkmAB), *yağrın* ‘withers, space between the shoulder blades and the neck’ (Tt), *yağrın* ‘sırt, iki kürek arası’, *yağrını* ‘sırt, arka’ (TtD), *yağırnı*, *yarnı* ‘sırt, iki kürek kemiği arası’ (TtDA), *yaġrï* ‘das Kreuz des Pferdes’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *yaġrin* ‘verhnjaja časť spiny u pleč, zagorbok, spina’ (Uzb), *yaghrün* ‘a shoulder blade’ (TurkiSh), *yaġïr*^{e}, *yaġrï* ‘pleči’, *jarġï* ‘lopatka (kostʹ)’ (Sal), *yagrə̂* ‘épaule’ [Pot. *yagrin* ‘omoplate’] (SalK), *yarïn* ‘plečevaja lopatka’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *dʹarïn* ‘(anat.) lopatka’ (Alt), *yarïn* ‘das Schulterblatt, die Schulter’ (AltR, AltLR, AltQKR, AltTelR), *dʹarïn* ‘plečo’, *yarïn* ‘pleče-

vaja lopatka, plečo' (AltL), *d′arïn* 'plečo, plečevaja lopatka' (AltQK), *d′arïn* 'lopatka, plečo' (AltTK), *čarïn* 'lopatka, lopatočnaja kost′, verhnjaja čast′ spinki šuby' (Khak), *čarïn* 'lopatka, spinka šuby' (KhakB), *čarïn* 'lopatka (čeloveka i životnogo)' (Tuv), *nyarïn* '(anat.) lopatka, lopatki' (Tof); ***Y*** *sarïn* 'plečo, poperečnik pleč, myšca' (Y), *sarïn* 'plečo' (YS), *sarïn* 'Rentierschulterblatt zur Vorhersage der weiteren Verlaufs der Reise' (Dlg), *hanny* 'Schulter' (DlgS).

E/T As already mentioned by Clauson (1972: 970), besides the OT word *yarïn* 'shoulder blade', the word *yagrïn* has occurred with a similar phonetic shape and the same meaning since the MT period. Later, *yarïn* became obsolete and was displaced in many lgs by *yagrïn*. *yagrïn* seems prima facie to be the primary form of *yarïn*, however on the basis of our data the two words share no obvious etymological interrelation (see also Levitskaja (in Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 65–67)). Both forms, **yarïn* and **yagrïn*, are listed in the database.

Clauson thought that *yagrïn* had emerged out of the confusion between *yarïn* 'shoulder blade' and *yagïr* (see Clauson 1972: 905), originally 'a saddlegall'. On the latter word, see Levitskaja (in Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 65). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 465) supported Clauson's opinion. According to them, PT **yarïn* 'shoulder, shoulder blade' may go back to PA **dărV*(*mV*). However, the comparison between PT **yarïn* and PTu **darama* 'waist, back' and PMo **dere*(*me*) 'pillow, cushion' is unacceptable for phonetic and semantic reasons. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 176–178), Tenišev (2001: 242) and others rejected the etymological link between *yagïr* and *yagrïn*, but erroneously ignored the diversity of *yagrïn* and *yarïn*. Later, Doerfer (1985: 76) changed his position and connected T *yagrïn* and *yagïr*. One has to pay special attention to the Chuv word because *śurăm* demonstrates several characteristic phonetic correspondences between CT and Chuv, such as Chuv *ś-* < **ǰ-* < CT *y-* in initial position; *-u-* < **-a-* and *-ă-* < **-ï-* in the first and second syllables, resp; and *-m* < **-n* in word-final position. It is worth noting that ModChuv *śurăm* goes back to OChuv **ǰarïm* or *ǰagrïm*. According to Berta (1989a: 9–10; 1990: 34–35), *ǰarïm* may be identical with the first element of the H tribal name *Gyarmat*. However, this tribal name was copied into H with an initial *gy-*. If Berta's proposal can be substantiated in future and H *szárny* has the same ultimate source, it either could have been borrowed fr another WOT dial or must represent a later lw than the segment *Gyarm-* in the H tribal name. T *yarïn* can hardly be a simplex. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 176–178) noted that the ending *°n* can be found relatively often in the T names of body parts. However, actually we can propose no etymology for it. On the basis of the Kar data, it is possible that the semantic change 'shoulder blade' > 'wing' had occurred as early as in T.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1882a: 629) who first considered H *szárny* to be of T origin when he compared it with Tat *yarun*, *yarïn* 'shoulder blade'. Budenz (1883: 448)

backed up Vámbéry's position with other T data. Later, however, Vámbéry (1914: 133–223), omitted *szárny* fr the list of H words of T origin. According to Rásonyi (1934: 158–160), the word meaning 'wing' in the T lgs may also carry the sense of 'shoulder blade' (cf. Rus *krylo* 'wing' and *kryl'ca* 'shoulder blade'; see also Mo *dalu* 'shoulder blade', *dali* 'wing of a bird', *dalabčin* 'wing(s), anything resembling or suggestive of wings', *jigasun-u d.* 'fins of fish'). Moór (1939: 6, n. 5) rejected the T source for *szárny*. He thought that such an etymology is fraught with difficulty and suggested that H *szárny* can much more likely be explained as a dim form of H *szár* 'shinbone'. According to Bárczi (1941: 282), the H word may be a plausible OChuv lw. Though such a path is strewn with semantic stumbling blocks, the supposed semantic change 'shoulder blade' > 'wing' comes up in other lgs as well. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 683–684) ruled out Moór's rationale and considered the H word to be of uncertain origin, however he did not exclude the possibility that *szárny* may go back to a Chuv form **śarïn*. Rédei (1978: 120) accepted Moór's etymology. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1398) did not rule out the OChuv roots (← **śarïn* or **śagrïn*) of the H word, but he could also imagine H *szárny* representing an internal H development fr *szár* 'Unterarm'. In both cases, the H word would have had a bisyllabic structure. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szárny* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 629; Budenz 1883: 448; Vámbéry 1914: 133–223; Rásonyi 1934: 158–160; Moór 1939: 6; Bárczi 1941: 282; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 176–178; Egorov 1964: 220; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 683–684; Clauson 1972: 905, 970; Rédei 1978: 120; Doerfer 1985: 76; Berta 1989a: 9–10; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 65–67; Berta 1990: 34–35; Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992: 226; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1398; Fedotov 1996/2: 142; Tenišev 2001: 242; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 465.

SZATÓCS [såtōč] 'grocer, grand handler' | 1522 PN *Zathoch* [såtōč], 1577 *szatoczj* [såtōč] 'fishmonger', 1585 'grocer, chandler' | *såtōč* < **satōč* < **satiwči* < **satiγči* ← WOT **satïγčï* | EOT *satïgčï* 'merchant, salesman'.

OT *satïgčï er* 'satıcı' (RTTII), *satïgčï* 'satıcı' (UTekinKuan), *Qïsaq satïġčïqa* 'dem Kaufmann Kysak' (UUsp 124), *it ätin satġučï* 'Hundefleisch-Verkäufer' (UTT IV A:58-59), *satïġ yuluġ* 'Verkauf' (UTTVI 104), *satïġ* 'Handel' (UTTVII 28:10), *satïġsïz* 'priceless' (UXuanzangIndex), *satïġ* 'Verkauf' (UUII 77:25), *sat-*: *ol tawār sattï* 'he sold the merchandise (or other)', *satıġçı* 'merchant' (AQB), *satïg* 'Verkauf' (sattih – sa tti h) (BE 9); **MT** *sat-* 'satmak' (UY), *satïgčï* 'marchand' (UHy), *satïġ* 'Verkaufspreis, Preis, Verkauf, Handel' (UCivSa 02:5), *satïġčï* 'tradesman' (ABF), *sat-* 'to sell, to trade' (AGul), *satïgčï* 'satıcı, tüccar' (AHMA), *sat-* 'sprzedawać' (AHŠ), *sat-* 'prodavat'' (AHŠF), *ṣātïčī* 'prodajuščij, raznosčik' (AIM), *satïġčï* 'satıcı' (AIMI), *satïġčï* 'merchant, trader' (AKD), *satïġčïlïq* 'commerce, trade, trading' (AKor), *satġučï* 'prodavec, torgovec' (ANehF), *satïġ* 'trade' (ARbg), *satïġ* 'prodaža, torgovlja' (ATef), *sat-* 'satmak' (AYC), *satïġčï* 'crieur' (AChag), *satqun alïb* 'satun alub' (AChagAbA), *satqun alïb* 'megvevén [having bought]' (AChagAbV),

satqučï ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (AChagB), *satġučï* ‘prodavec, kupec, torgaš’ (AChagBud), *sat-* ‘to sell’ (AChagG), *sat-* ‘prodavat′’ (AChagLN), *satqučï*, *satgučï* ‘prodavec’ (AChagMA), *satïġčï*, *satuġčï* ‘der Verkäufer, der Händler’ (AChagR), *satïġčï* ‘auctioneer, retailer who keeps goods on hand and sells them’, *satġučï* ‘a general term for seller’ (AChagSC), *satïġčï* ‘dellal, simsâr’ (AChagŠS), *satïġǰï* ‘Vermittler, Verkäufer’ (AChagŠSK), *satïġǰï* ‘Händler’, *satïǰï* ‘Verkäufer’ (AChagZ), *satov* ‘Handel’ (LCCG), *satuxčï* ‘Verkäufer’, *satuq*, *satux* ‘Handel, Verkauf’ (LCCI), *sat-* ‘satmak’ (AAH), *saṭ-* ‘sprzedawać’ (ABul), *ṣaṭïǰï* ‘marchand, commerçant’ (ADur), *saṭïčī̄* (*saṭčï*) ‘Verkaufer’ (AHou), *sat-* ‘elad; verkaufen’ (AKav), *satïn al-* ‘to purchase’ (AMGh), *saṭ-* ‘prodavat′’ (ATuh), *sat-* ‘satmak’ (ATuhA), *sat-* ‘vendre’ (AmTr), *sat-* ‘prodat′, torgovat′’ (AmD), *sat-* ‘to sell’ (AmCh), *satu* ‘satış; satın alınacak şey, pazar yeri’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sutuśă* ‘(ust.) torgovec, kupec’ (Chuv), *sutuś*, *sutuśă* ‘torgovec, prodavec’ (ChuvA), *sut-* Szp. id. ‘eladni; verkaufen’, *sută* ‘eladó áru; die zu verkaufende Ware’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *satučï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (Tat), *satïučï* ‘eladó, szatócs, kalmár; Verkäufer, Krämer’ (TatB), *satūčï* ‘der Verkäufer’ (TatKR), *hatïučï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’, *hat-* ‘prodavat′, (peren.) prodavat′, predavat′ čto’ (Bashk), *satučï* ‘prodavec’ (SibTatBD), *satūču* ‘prodajuščij, prodavec’ (Kirg), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (KirgR), *satušï* ‘salesman, vendor, seller’ (Kaz), *satušï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (KazB), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (KazR), *satïŭšï* ‘prodavec’ (Kklp), *satuvšï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (Nog), *satïdžï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (CrTat), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (CrTatR), *sat-* ‘prodavat′, torgovat′’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *satuvču* ‘prodavec’ (KarT), *satuvcu* ‘prodajuščij, prodavec’ (KarH), *satïdžï* ‘prodavec’ (KarC), *satuwču* ‘der Verkäufer’ (KarLR, KarTR), *satïvču* ‘prodavec’ (Kum), *sat-* ‘verkaufen’, (*saudugerči* ‘Händler, Kaufman’) (KumN), *satïŭču* ‘prodavec, torgovec, spekuljant’ (KrchBlk), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, kaufen’ (KrchP), *satūcu* ‘Verkäufer, Händler’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *satïġčï* ‘(ust.) melkij torgovec’, *satïǰï* ‘prodavec’ (Tkm), *satïčï* ‘prodavec’ (RTkmAB), *satïǰï* ‘prodavec’ (Az), *satıcı* ‘salesman, seller, pedlar, dealer’ (Tt), *satïǰï* ‘der Verkäufer’ (TtR), *satïǰï* ‘prodavec’ (Gag), *sat-*, *sa̲t-* ‘verkaufen’ (Khor), *sat-* ‘verkaufen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *sat-* ‘verkaufen’ (Kh), *sa·t-* ‘verkaufen’ (KhT); ***SE*** *satuvčï* ‘prodavec’ (Uzb), *satïš* ‘sale’ (TurkiJ), *sat-* ‘to sell, to give in barter’ (TurkiSh), *sat-* ‘torgovat′, prodavat′, pokupat′’ (TurkiL), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (TurkiTR), *satquči* ‘prodavec’, *setikči* ‘prodavec’ (MUyg), *satkuči*, *sï’kuči* ‘prodavec, prodavščica’, *satïxči* ‘kupec’ (Sal), *satquᴅži*, *sadaxči* ‘marchand’ (SalK), *satïġzï* ‘torgovec, prodavec’, *satïġ* ‘torgovlja’ (YUyg), *satïġ* ‘torgovlja, plata, cena’, *sadïġ* ‘torgovlja’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sadučï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’, *sadu* ‘prodaža, torgovlja’ (Alt), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (AltR), *sat-* ‘prodavat′’ (AltL), *sadïġǰï* ‘der Handelsmann’ (AltLR), *sadučï* ‘torgovec’ (AltQK), *sat-* ‘prodavat′’ (AltTK), *sadūčï* ‘der Händler’ (AltTelR), *sadïġǰï* ‘prodavec, torgovec’ (Khak), *sat-* ‘verkaufen, handeln’ (KhakQbR), *sadïġčï* ‘der Handelsmann, der Kaufmann’ (KhakQchR, KhakSR), *sadïġǰï* ‘der Handelsmann, der Kaufmann’

(KhakShR), *sadïgzï* ‘der Handelsmann, der Kaufmann’ (ChulR), *sat-* ‘to sell’ (FY), *sadïgžï* ‘prodavec, torgovec, kupec, kupečeskij’ (Tuv), *sa˝tïgšï* ‘torgovec, prodavec’ (Tof); ***Y*** *atī* ‘tovar, cěna (prodažnaja), obměn, prodaža, torg, torgovlja’ (Y), *atīhït* ‘Kaufmann, Händler’ (Dlg).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is T *satïgčï* ‘merchant’, which is a der fr the well-known T verbal base *sat-* ‘to sell’ > *sat-ïg* ‘selling, trade’ with the nomen actoris *+čI*. On the verbal base, see Clauson (1972: 798–799); on *satïg* ‘selling, trade’, see Clauson (1972: 799) and Erdal (1991: 201).

Following Bang’s (1923: 117–118) position, Clauson (1972: 798–799) claimed that T *sat-* ‘to sell’ may represent an old caus form with the suff *-(X)t-* and in this case the ultimate base of the verb would be PT **sā-*, on which see **szán**[1] and **szám**. In another context, Ramstedt (1949: 217) connected the segments of T *sat-* and *sa-* with a number of question marks (see also Joki’s sceptical view (1952: 259)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1193) repeated the segmentation of *sat-*. Erdal (1991) does not list OT *sat-* among the verbal forms with caus *-(X)t-*. This possible further segmentation has no effect on the relation between the T etymon and the H word *szatócs*, thus this question can remain open.

Although *satïgčï* and *satgučï* were listed together in the database, they can surely be kept distinct – except for some ModT data – with the difference between their morphological ders being completely clear. The source for H *szatócs* was *satïgčï* and not the form with the historical participle, *sat-gUčI*. This latter form shows a perfect semantic match with *satïgčï* in some T lgs (see e.g. MUyg *satkuči* ‘prodavec’ vs. *setikči* ‘prodavec’, Sal *satkučï* ‘prodavec, prodavščica’ vs. *satïxčï* ‘kupec’, etc.). Based on the EOT corpus, Erdal (1991: 372) attempted to find a semantic difference between them. He rightly pointed out that OT *satïgčï* ‘merchant’, “denoting the social class of merchants, is opposed to *satgučï* … *satgučï* brings the action itself, the deed into focus”. Erdal’s statement, however, was made on the basis of several OT items, and the two ders may, in some cases, overlap. Historically, however, one may assume a differentiation: the original meaning of *satïgčï* could have been ‘merchant, a person who deals with merchandise’ and *satgučï* could have been ‘the person who sells something’.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 189) believed H *szatócs* to be of T origin, however he thought that it had been copied fr OttT. Gombocz (1907a: 317) claimed that the T corresponding form is widespread in the T lgs and later (1912b: 119–120) he reconstructed an OChuv copied form **satïgčï* for the H word. According to Róna-Tas (1967: 173), this word has a perfect corresponding form in Chuv. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 687; 1993–1997/2: 1400) accepted Gombocz’s T etymology. Ligeti (1986: 58, 304–305) called attention to the fact that the oldest occurrences of the H word are relatively late (16th

c.). Despite this late appearance, it may be an early lw in H. He thought that it had been copied fr T at the same time that **ács** and **szűcs** had been borrowed.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 189; Gombocz 1907a: 317; Gombocz 1912b: 119–120; Bang 1923: 117–118; Bárczi 1941: 282–283; Ramstedt 1949: 217; Joki 1952: 258–259; Egorov 1964: 197; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 687; Räsänen 1969: 405; Clauson 1972: 798–799, 801; Ligeti 1986: 58–59, 71, 85, 89, 183, 185, 195, 202, 301, 304–305, 530; Erdal 1991: 201, 372; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1400; Fedotov 1996/2: 67–68; Dybo 2003: 214–215; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1193.

SZÉK [sēk] 'chair, seat, bench, throne' | 1156 GN *Saulscekei* [šaul-sēk-ei], p1372/c1448 *ʒekbe* [sēk-be] 'pulpit', c1395 'a kind of bench in a church', p1416/c1451 'throne' | *sēk* < **sekü* ← WOT **säkü* | EOT *säkü* 'a (stone) bench'.

OT *säkü* 'bench' (AK); **MT** *seki* (AAH), *sekü* 'seki – bir arşın kadar yükseltilmiş bir mahaldir, kapı önünde bir miktar yüksek mahal, ahır sekisi – seyisin oturduğu yülksek yer' (AAHI), *säkü* 'banc' (ABul), *säkü* 'Bank' (AHou), *seki*, *sekü* 'yerden biraz yüksek sedir, peyke şeklinde oturacak yer' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sak* 'lavka, skam′ja, skamejka, nary, skamejka (sadovaja)' (Chuv), *sak* 'lavka dlja siden′ja, skam′ja', *sakă* 'nary, lavka' (ChuvA), *sakă*, Szp. *sak* 'a falhoz erősített pad, lóca; wandfeste Bank' (ChuvP), *sak*, *sakă* 'nary, skam′ja' (→ Cher *šage*); ***NW*** *säke* 'splošnye nary (v izbe)' (Tat), *sike* 'säke; nary', *säke* 'ülčäü berämlege: ber säke taktasïna jäep kipterelgän jïläk-jïmeš kagï küläme; edinica izmerenija: količestvo fruktovoj pastily, razmerom s odnu dosku nar' (TatD1), *sike* 'säke; nary; kinder sugu stanï, kinder urïnï; tkackij stan' (TatD2), *säke*, *sike* 'pad, tatárágy; Bank, Pritsche' (TatB), *hike* 'nizkaja skamejka dlja posudy (okolo očaga), (dial.) nary' (Bashk), *hike* 'hauït-haba öθtäle, urïndïq' (BashkD1), *hike* 'skam′ja, nary' (BashkD3), *seki* 'nebol′šoj ploskij vystup v predgor′jah' (Kirg), *säkĭ* 'plank bed' (Kaz), *säkĭ* 'lavka, lavočka, nary, skam′ja' (KazB), *säkĭ* 'ležanka' (Kklp, Tenišev 2001: 518); ***SW*** *seki* 'glinobitnoe vozvyšenie dlja sidenija ili ležanija' (Tkm), *säki* 'trotuar, terassa, vozvyšennoe mesto dlja sidenija, pomost′, polok' (Az), *seki* 'stone seat, raised bank of earth (which serves as a couch in a tent), (geog.) terrace, pedestal' (Tt), *seki* 'toprak üstündeki yükseklik, set, alçak ayaklı iskemle' (TtD), *seki* 'taş ve topraktan oturmak için bahçe ve havlıda yapılan mahal, sedir' (TtDA), *säkkü* 'Estrade, Steinbank' (SOg); ***Kh*** *säkki*, *säkkū*, *säkū*, *sikū* 'Estrade' (KhT); ***SE*** *sōki* 'glinobitnoe vozvyšenie dlja sidenija ili ležanija' (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 518), *sökü* 'holodnaja ležanka (bez podtopki i dymohoda) – ustraivaetsja v kamyševom žiliščе', *sökücek* 'polочki v uglu kamyševogo žiliščа (dlja sohranenija, naprimer, provianta ot sobak)' (TurkiL), *sükä* 'mesto dlja sidenija ili ležanija' (MUygD, Tenišev 2001: 518), ? *soge* 'teplaja ležanka' (Sal); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *eġe* 'vymoina, jamy i bugry (na dne protočnogo vodoema)' (YS).

E/T Clauson (1972: 819) considered the T etymon for H *szék* to be a Pe lw fr *sakū* 'bench, platform, terrace'. According to Tenišev (2001: 518–519) and Dybo (2003: 224–225), the T word does not provide an acceptable etymology. Räsänen (1969: 408) did

not reject Ramstedt's explanation (Ramstedt 1949: 227) that T *säki* may be connected with Sino–Kor *sjɐ̯k* 'mat, matting, seat'. In his suggestion, Ramstedt also mentioned Tu and Mo data. Joki's (1952: 298) opinion was similar to Ramstedt's. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 262–264) and Ligeti (1986: 49) rightly rejected these positions. Doerfer thought that the Pe word *säkū* may be of T origin. Therefore, the T word may also contain an internal T etymology. The Kip data point to an old geminate in the word. In the UzbD word, the long vowel may be secondary. The Sal word *soge* 'teplaja ležanka' can hardly pertain here. It may represent a Ch lw in Sal. As Fedotov demonstrated (1996/2: 5–6), the T word exists in some FUgr lgs as a copied form. Fedotov attempted to demonstrate that it has some corresponding forms in Mo and Tu, but his idea is not acceptable. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1246) were of the view that, despite Clauson's explanation, Pe *sakū* may be a T lw and not vice versa. They reconstructed PT **sekü* 'bench' and listed the following "Altaic" parallels under the entry PA **sík'e* 'a detail of the house entrance': PTu **siK-* 'penthouse, a bar (under a threshold, into which the door heel is inserted)' and PMo **seg* 'tent'. This is based on the isolated Kalm item *seg* 'Vorhang, Schirm, Dach, Zelt auf dem Wagen', which Ramstedt (1935: 321) correctly compared with T *sek*, but is in fact a lw fr T.

E/H According to Balassa (1894: 265), H *szék* might have been inherited fr Ugr. It was Munkácsi (1895a: 177) who first pointed out that H *szék* may be of T origin and listed some T corresponding forms fr the VT lgs. Gombocz (1907a: 317) noted that the T word is also known in some other branches of T and later (1912b: 120) he reconstructed an OChuv copied form **säki*. Pais (1957: 59) discussed the H GNs with the element *szék*. He considered that they may derive fr two sources. Some of them are related to H *szék* ~ *szík* 'morass' and the others may be tied to H *szék* 'seat', which is a form copied fr T. The vowel in this latter word goes back to a short, open *e* [ä] and it shows no alternation with *í* [ī]. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 699), the copied OT word could be **säkü* or **säki*. Décsy (1983: 25–27) erroneously thought that the H word is of FUgr origin and that the T words also ultimately come fr FUgr. Ligeti (1986: 121–122, 197) regarded the H word to be of T der and assumed a copied form **säkü* or **sākü*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1406) accepted the T etymology of the word and ruled out Décsy's explanation.

◆ Balassa 1894: 265; Munkácsi 1895a: 177; Munkácsi 1896: 7; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Munkácsi 1906b: 370; Gombocz 1907a: 317; Gombocz 1912b: 12, 16, 120; Räsänen 1920: 204; Ramstedt 1935: 321; Bárczi 1941: 284; Ramstedt 1949: 227; Joki 1952: 298; Pais 1957: 59; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 262–264; Egorov 1964: 173; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 699; Räsänen 1969: 408; Clauson 1972: 819; Décsy 1983: 25–27; Ligeti 1986: 49, 85, 121–122, 183, 185, 197, 202, 315, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1406; Fedotov 1996/2: 5–6; Tenišev 2001: 518–519; Dybo 2003: 224–225; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1246.

SZÉL [sēl] 'wind' | PN 1181 *Zeles* [sel-eš], 1138/1329 ? PN *sele* [sel-e], *selle* [sell-e], c1390 *feel* [sēl] | *sēl* < **sēl* ← WOT **śēl* < **ǰēl* | EOT *yēl* 'wind'.

OT *yil* (r: *yel*) ‘Wind’ (UTTI 15), *kičig oġlan yil tartsar* ‘Wenn ein kleiner Knabe vom bösen Geist befallen ist’ (TTVII 27:8), *yel* ‘wind’ (UXuangzangIndex), *yēl* ‘breeze, demon’ (AK), *tiriglig tidüküŋ bu yil teg keçer* ‘what you call life is transient as the wind’ (AQB), *yel* (ye̲l – ye l̲) ‘Wind’ (BI 6); **MT** *yel*, *yil* ‘yel’ (UY), *yäl* ‘vent’ (UHy), *yäl* ‘vent’ (UHyS), *yel* ‘wind’ (AGul), *yel* ‘yel’ (AHMA), *yel* ‘wiatr’ (AHŠ), *yel* ‘veter’ (AHŠF), *yēl* ‘veter’ (AIM), *yäl* ‘wind’ (AIMI, Cl.), *yel*, *yil* ‘wind’ (AKD), *yäl* ‘wind’ (AKor), *yil* (r: *yel*) ‘veter’ (AM), *yel* ‘wind’ (ANeh, Cl.), *yel* ‘veter’ (ANehF), *yel* ‘veter, duh’ (ATef), *yil* ‘yel’ (AYC), *yel* ‘vent’ (AChag), *yelgüč* ‘legyező’ (AChagBL), *yel* ‘veter’ (AChagBud), *yel* ‘wind’ (AChagG), *yel* ‘veter’ (AChagLN), *yel* ‘veter’ (AChagMA), *yäl* ‘der Wind’ (AChagR), *yel* ‘wind’ (AChagSC), *yel* ‘bad, ruzgar’ (AChagŠS), *yil* ‘Wind, Nordwind’ (AChagŠSK), *yel*, *yil* ‘Wind, Wehen, Luftzug’ (AChagZ), *yel* ‘Wind’ (LCCG, LCCI), *yäl* ‘ruzgâr’ (AAH), *yel ünü* ‘rüzgâr sesi, sarsar’ (AAHI), *yel* ‘wiatr, vent’ (ABul), *yäl* ‘wiatr, vent’ (ADur), *yel* (Houtsma: *yäl*) ‘Wind’ (AHou), *yel* ‘wind’, *yelli* ‘windy’ (AMGh), *yäl* ‘veter’ (ATuh), *yel* ‘yel, rüzgâr’ (ATuhA), *yel* ‘vent’ (AmTr), (*yel*: *yeler yel* ‘hızlı esen rüzgar’) (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śil* ‘veter, vetrovoj, vetrjanoj’ (Chuv), *śil* ‘veter’ (ChuvA), *śil* Szp. id. ‘szél, Wind’ (ChuvP), *yel*: *yel tum xayarĕ* ‘a széltől származó betegség; eine Krankheit, die vom Winde herrührt’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ǰil* ‘veter, vetrjanoj, vetrenyj, vetrovoj’ (Tat), *ǰil*, *yel* ‘veter’ (TatD1), *yil* ‘szél, Wind’ (TatB), *el* [*yel*] ‘veter, vetrovoj, vetrjanoj’ (Bashk), *yel* ‘veter’ (BashkD2), *yelämek* ‘yomšak ǰil, ǰiläs, nebol′šoj veterok, prohlada, külägä, ten′’, *yelle* ‘ǰille, vetrenyj, avïrulï (“päri kagïlgan”), bol′noj (tronutyj nečistoj siloj)’ (SibTat), *yel* ‘veter’ (SibTatBD), *yil* ‘der Wind’ (SibTatBR), *žel* ‘veter (nebol′šoj, ne očen′ sil′nyj), vetry (gazy v želudke i kiškah), (nazvanie nekotoryh boleznej v narodnoj medicine) prostuda, (sev.) prostrel’ (Kirg), *žel* ‘wind’ (Kaz), *žel* ‘veter’ (KazB), *ǰel* ‘der Wind’ (KazR), *žel* ‘veter’ (Kklp), *el* [*yel*] ‘veter, vetrjanoj’ (Nog), *el′* [*yel*] ‘veter’ (CrTat), *yäl* ‘der Wind’ (CrTatR), *yėl′* ‘veter, dunovenie, dyhanie, vetrenyj, pustoj, nepostojannyj’ (KarT, KarC), *yėl* ‘veter’ (KarH), *yel* ‘veter, gazy (v kišečnike)’ (Kum), *yel* ‘Wind’ (KumN), *džel* ‘veter, (mn.) gazy, vetry, (med.) revmatizm’ (KrchBlk), *ǰel* ‘Wind’ (KrchP), *zel* ‘Wind’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *el* [*yel*] ‘veter, vetrjanoj, (med.) brucellez, gazy (v kišečnike), (peren.) zloba, gnev, razdraženie’ (Tkm), *yel* ‘veter’ (RTkmAB), *yel* ‘veter, (med.) revmatizm’ (Az), *yel* ‘wind, the wind, flatulence, breaking wind, rheumatism’ (Tt), *yel* ‘rüzgâr’ (TtDA), *yäl* ‘der Wind’ (TtR), *yel*, *yäl*, *yęl*, *yē*^{l}, *ye·l*, *yę*^{e}*l*, *ye’l* ‘Wind’ (Khor), *yil* ‘Wind’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *yel*, *yę·l* ‘Wind’ (Kh), *ye·l* ‘Wind’ (KhT); ***SE*** *yel* ‘veter, vetry, gazy (v kišečnike)’ (Uzb), *yel* ‘wind, gases from the stomach or the bowles, syphilis, rash, rheumatism’ (TurkiJ), *yil* ‘wind’ (TurkiSh), *yel* ‘veter, vozduh, vozduh v tuše barana’ (TurkiL), *yäl* ‘der Wind’ (TurkiTR), *yäl* ‘veter, (med.) gripp, prostuda, vospalenie, rak’ (MUyg), *yel* ‘veter’ (Sal), *yėl*, *yil* ‘vent’ (SalK), *yel*, *ǰil* ‘veter’ (YUyg), *yil* ‘veter’, *yïl*, *yėl* ‘veter’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *yäl* ‘der Wind’ (AltR, AltLR), *d′el* ‘vozduh, veter’, *yel* ‘veter, vozduh’ (AltL), *yäl*, *d′äl* ‘der Wind’ (AltTelR), *čil* ‘veter’

(Khak), *čil* 'veter, nevidimyj duh (oščuščaemyj kak veter)' (KhakB), *yäl* 'der Wind' (ChulR), *čelbi-* 'vejat′' (Tuv); ***Y silliä*** 'burja, vihr′' (Y), *sälär-* 'dummes Zeug reden, schwatzen' (Dlg).

E/T The T etymon for *szél* is well attested as of the OT period. Its original EOT form could have been *yel* 'wind' with a closed *-e-* (cf. the data in the sources written in Brahmi script and see also the ModT data in Az and Chuv). The Tkm and Kh words do not show that the vowel was etymologically long. On the T data, cf. Räsänen (1969: 195), Clauson (1972: 916–917), Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 174–176) and Tenišev (2001: 40). T *yel* also carried the sense of 'demonic possession'. The semantic connection between 'wind' and 'demonic possession' could be explained by the popular belief that wind and evil spirits are interrelated. ATef *yel*, however, carries the metaphorical meaning '(a good) spirit'.

Both the Zyr word *s′ïl* 'burja' and the first element of the Voty word *sil′töl* 'uragan, burja' are of Chuv origin, see Fedotov (1996/2: 117). According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1508), PT **yẹl* 'wind' may be genetically interrelated with PMo **salki* 'wind', PTu **sal-di-* 'cool wind' and PKor **sar-* 'gentle, cool'. There are serious phonetic problems with this hypothesis.

E/H After earlier attempts, Vámbéry (1870: 174) also proposed a T etymology for the H word. Gombocz (1907a: 317) accepted this and later (1912b: 121, 180) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **śäl*. He noted that a double correspondence exists between PT initial *y-* and H *gy-* and *sz-*. These different initials may show that OChuv consisted of various dials. Bárczi (1941: 285) accepted Gombocz's etymology. According to Károly (1955: 311), the H word *szellet* 'soul' in the text of the first H translation of the Bible may be etymologically interrelated with H *szél* 'wind' and *szellő* 'breeze'. Ligeti (1960: 296) accepted Gombocz's (1912b: 180) opinion on the OChuv dial differences. He thought that, although the VBulg inscriptions preserved the ancient OChuv initial *ǰ-* in the 14th c., the H words *szél*, *szűcs* etc. with initial *sz-* cannot have been copied later than the 9th c. It is another question if the forms with *ǰ-* represent an earlier stage than those with *ś-*. According to Róna-Tas (1967: 176), the copied T form could have contained a secondary open vowel *-ä-*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 705–706) considered the H word to be of OChuv origin and repeated Gombocz's reconstruction. Ligeti (1986: 23, 118, 122) regarded it as a MChuv lw. He pointed out that the differences in vowel quality between the CT and Chuv features are not strange. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1409–1410), the H word may be an early T lw fr OChuv, however these differences in vowel quality call for further investigation. The T lgs show a closed *-e-* in the word, but one may expect an open *-ä-* for the H copied form. According to Róna-Tas (1997b: 54), the problem of vowel quality in this word can be viewed as analogous to that of the T etymon for H **szérű**. See further **gyűlöl**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 174; Gombocz 1907a: 317; Gombocz 1912b: 12, 121, 180; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 285; Károly 1955: 311; Ligeti 1960: 296; Ligeti 1961: 29; Egorov 1964: 213; Róna-Tas 1967: 176; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 705–706; Räsänen 1969: 195; Clauson 1972: 916–917; Rédei–Róna-Tas 1972: 287; Ligeti 1986: 13, 23, 25, 118, 122, 183, 197, 203, 305, 527; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 174–176; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1409–1410; Fedotov 1996/2: 116–117; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54; Tenišev 2001: 40; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1508.

SZENDEREDIK [senderedik] 'to slumber, to doze', **szenderít**, **szendereg** [senderīt, sendereg] id. | p1372/c1448 *ſendereteſſegeuel* [sendereteššēg-ēvel] 'inward peace', c1456 *ʒendereleth* [senderelet] 'peace (of mind)', 1527 *el zǒndǒrǒdǒt* [el söndörödöt], 1528 *elzenderedec* [el-sendered-ēk] | *sender°* ~ *söndör°* < **sen-* ~ **sön-* {with suff *-dVr-* } ⟵ WOT **sön-* 'to die down, to disappear' or *sender°* < **söndür-* ⟵ WOT **söntür-* | EOT *söntür-* 'to let something die out, to extinguish (esp. fire or evil influence)' < **sön-* ' to die out, to extinguish', see **szűnik**.

Of debated T origin.

OT *söntür-* 'beseitigen' (UHeilk II), *söntür-* 'aufhören lassen' (UTTVI 446); **MT** *söndür-* 'to extinguish' (AGul), *söndür-* 'söndürmek' (AHMA), *söndür-* 'gasić' (AHŠ), *söndür-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (AHŠF), *söndür-* 'gasıt́ (ogoń)' (AIM), *sȭndū̆r-* 'yanmağı durdurmak' (AIMI), *söndür-* 'to extinguish a fire' (ANeh, Cl.), *söndür-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (ANehF), *söndür-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (ATef), *sündür-* 'eloltani (tüzet, gyertyát, fáklyát stb.) [put out (a fire, candle, torch etc.)]' (AChagBL), *süyündür-*, *sündür-* 'pogasıt́, potušıt́' (AChagBud), *söndür-* 'auslöschen' (AChagR), *söndür-* 'to extinguish a fire' (AChagSC), *söyindür-*, *söndür-* 'auslöschen' (AChagZ), *söndür-* 'löschen' (LCCI), *söyündür-*, *söndür-* 'söndürmek' (AAH), *söyündür-* 'zgasić' (ABul), *söyündir-* (MS *säyündir-*) 'auslöschen' (AHou), *söndür-* or *söwündür-* (spelt *sävindir-*) 'elolt; auslöschen' (AKav), *sövündür-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (ATuh), *sövündür-* 'söndürmek' (ATuhA), *sondur-* 'éteindre' (AmTr), *sondur-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (AmD), *söyündür-* 'söndürmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *sünter-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́, (peren.) gasıt́, tušıt́, vyključat́, glušıt́, ostanavlivat́' (Chuv), *sünter-* 'tušıt́' (ChuvA), *sünter-* 'oltani, kioltani; löschen, auslöschen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sünder-* 'gasıt́, pogasıt́, tušıt́, potušıt́, glušıt́, zaglušat́, zaglušıt́, vyključat́, vyključıt́' (Tat), *sündärä*, *sünderi'*, *sünderä* 'sänderä; polati' (TatD1), *sünder-* 'gasıt́, potušıt́' (TatD2), ? *sündärä* 'függő ágy; Hängebett, Hängepritsche', *sünder-* 'oltani, kioltani; löschen, auslöschen' (TatB), *sündĭr-* 'auslöschen, vernichten' (TatKR), *hünder-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́, glušıt́, vyključat́' (Bashk), *söndĭr-* 'to put out, to extinguish' (Kaz), *söndĭr-* 'zagasıt́, zatušıt́, potušıt́' (KazB), *söndür-* 'auslöschen' (KazR), *söndir-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (Kklp), *söndir-* 'tušıt́, gasıt́, zaduvat́, zaglušat́, vyključat́ (svet, radio), stirat́, vytirat́' (Nog), *söndür-* 'gasıt́' (CrTat), *söndür-* 'auslöschen' (CrTatR), *s´on´d´ur-* 'gasıt́' (KarT), *sėndir-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (KarH), *söndür-*, *söndir-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́' (KarC, KarSh), *söndür-* 'auslöschen' (KarLR, KarTR), *söndür-* 'gasıt́, tušıt́, (peren.) podavljat́, glušıt́' (Kum), *soṇnu̯r-* 'auslöschen' (KumN), *söŋdür-* 'unjat́, utešıt́, zaglušıt́ čto, umen´šıt́, ubavıt́ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *söndür-* 'gasıt́,

vyključat′’ (Tkm), *söndir-* ‘gasit′’ (RTkmAB), *söndür-* ‘gasit′, pogasit′, potušit′’ (Az), *söndür-*, *söyündür-* ‘to extinguish (a fire), to put or switch off (a light or lamp)’ (Tt), *söyündür-* ‘auslöschen, vernichten, ausrotten’, *söndür-* ‘auslöschen’ (TtR), *sündür-* ‘gasit′, tušit′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sŭndir-* ‘gasit′, tušit′, (peren.) podavljat′, glušit′, zastavljat′ ugasnut′’ (Uzb), *sön-*, *söndil-* (!) ‘s’éteindre’ (SalK); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *sönö-* ‘to be extinguished, go out (of fire), to perish, to be exterminated, annihilated, to end, cease to be, disappear’ (L).

E/T According to Palló (1982: 161–162; see **E/H**), the T base of the H word-family *szenderedik-*, *szenderít-* and *szendereg-* may be the T caus verb *sön-tür-* of *sön-* ‘to die down, to disappear’. On the T verb *sön-*, see **szűnik**. On the T caus verbal form *sön-tür-*, see Clauson (1972: 837) and Erdal (1991: 809–810). Treating this caus form as the etymon for the H word group seems problematic for both morphological and serious semantic reasons. However, the base of the H family of verbs may go back to the T verb discussed under **szűnik**.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1914: 205) who first regarded the H verb *szenderedik-* to be of T origin. According to Bárczi (1941: 286), it is of unknown der. Beke (1952: 60) determined that the second element of the obsolete H words *napszentület*, *napszendület* etc. ‘sunset’ may perhaps be connected with the word-family of the verb *szenderedik-*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 721–722), *szenderedik-* belongs to a group of words whose source is unknown and thus its T etymology cannot be accepted. Palló (1982: 161–162) reconstructed a copied T caus form **söndür-* (< *sön-*) for the H verb. She claimed that the T verb could have been copied with a metaphorical meaning. Kakuk (1985: 268) did not accept Palló’s etymological proposal. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1417), the members of the H word-family are ders fr a fictitious stem. He also suggested that the internal segments *-d-* and *-r-* may represent H suffs, that the ultimate base of the family may be onomatopoeic in origin, and that the group’s initial meaning could have been ‘schlummern’. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szenderedik-* among the T lws in H.

The H word **szender-* is not caus either in the everyday or in the methaphorical sense, thus we cannot consider the T caus suff *-tUr-* here (Erdal 1991: 809). Perhaps it may be a H der fr the same verbal stem in **szűnik**. In any case, it came under the influence of the H verb *szundít-* ‘to doze, to slumber’.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 205; Bárczi 1941: 286; Beke 1952: 60; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 721–722; Clauson 1972: 837; Palló 1982: 161–162; Kakuk 1985: 268; Erdal 1991: 809–810; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1417; Róna-Tas 1994: 106; Horváth 1995: 353–354.

SZÉP [sēp] ‘beautiful’ | 1127–1131 ? PN *Scipched* [sīp-čed], 1138/1329 PN *Zepefíensi* [sēp-ešiensi], mid-13th c./c1300 *fcepfegud* [sēp-šēgüd] || **szebb** [sebb] ‘more beautiful’ | p1372/c1448 *zepp* [sepp] | *sēp* < **sip* ⟵ WOT **sip* | T **sip* ‘beautiful, swift’ (> Chuv *šep* ⟶ Tat, Bashk) | See **sebes**.

Of debated T origin.

OT *šäp* or *šap* 'a particle of hastening, like the Arabic *hallā*, *šap käl* 'come quickly', see also 'the trousseau of the bride' is called *säp*. It is her property' (AK); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *šep* 'horošij, otličnyj, prekrasnyj, zamečatel′nyj, horošo, otlično, prekrasno, zamečatel′no, krasivyj, izjaščnyj, krasivo, izjaščno', *šepĕr* 'otlično, prekrasno', *šeplĕ* 'to že čto *šep*, 'silnyj, krepkij'', *šeplĕx* 'sila' (Chuv), *šep* 'zdorovyj, bojkij (vse kačestva horošie, o čeloveke), zdorovyj, tučnyj (horošo vozit, o lošadi), bol′šoj, ob″emistyj (o voze, napr. drov, hvorostu), krasivyj, horošij, krasivo, horošo, izjaščno' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *šäp* 'bystro, beglo, horošo, zamečatel′no, bystryj, beglyj, horošij zamečatel′nyj' (Tat), *šäp* 'mnogo, silno', *šäple* 'silnyj' (TatD1), *šäp* 'bystrij, silnyj, zamečatel′nyj', *šäplek* 'provorstvo, horošee kačestvo, *razg.* zdorov′e', *šäplä-* 'uskorjat′, ubystrat′' (Bashk), *šäp* 'ariu, yaqši, bik yaqši' (BashkD1), *šäp* 'mnogo' (BashkD3), *šäpkir* 'kurzsichtig', *sība* 'schön' (SibTTR), *šip*, *šïp* 'podražatel′noe slovo vyražajuščee bystroe, provornoe dejstvie, bistro' (Kirg); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** ? *sep* 'pribavka, ukrašenie' (AltQK), ? *sip* 'neboľšoj rečnoj zaliv' (Khak), *sep* 'protok (bokovoj rukav reki)' (Tuv), *sep* 'rečnoj zaliv' (Tof); ***Y*** ? *sïp*: *sïp gïn-* 'bystro, momental′no proskočit′, proštygnut′', *sip gin-* 'izdat′ legkij svistaščij zvuk' (YS).

Os *sæpp* 'rys′'.

E/T Chuv *šep*, *šeplĕ* 'krasivyj, horošij; beautiful, good' go back to **sip*. The Chuv forms demonstrate a wide range of meanings derived fr an onomatopoeic base (see Kirg), the sound of the rapid movement of an animal or human being that is fast, strong and beautiful. This base may be exist in several lgs, but the noun is only original in Chuv. In all other lgs (Tat, Bashk), the source is VBulg. The word was borrowed by Os: *sæpp* 'rys′ (alljur)', *sæpp kænyn, sæppæj wajyn* 'bežat′ risju' (Abaev 1958–1989/3: 72). The word in Os first denoted 'fast', nevertheless it does not seem to pertain to the original Ir stock. As mentioned by Fedotov (1996/2: 454), Radloff (Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1016) provides an explanation in his dict of Tat *šäp* deriving fr Rus *šibko*, but this is not acceptable. Rus *šibko* 'hard, fast' comes fr *šibkij* 'fast' and this has its roots in *šibat′* 'to hit, to cast'. The word **sip* is a typical WOT word, preserved only in Chuv and copied fr WOT by Os and H. In fact, H copied it twice (see **sebes**).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 174) considered the H word to be of T origin. Wichmann (1908: 459–460) compared it with FUgr words. Bárczi (1941: 287) rejected Wichmann's explanation, whereas Rédei (1964: 106) agreed with it. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 581–582) regarded a FUgr etymology (**śeppä* 'geschickt') as more likely than a T starting point. The Chuv word *šep* 'beautiful' is only known in a limited part of Turcia. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 726–727), the H word is of uncertain der, however it may perhaps be FUgr in origin. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 474) reconstructed a FUgr base **śepä*. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1420), the ultimate base of the

word in question could be FUgr **śeppä* 'geschickt'. On the change FUgr **pp* > H *p*, see § 5.6.1. The word-internal vowel could first have been an *-ë-* or *-i-*, which was preserved in the comp form *szebb*. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szép* among the T lws in H. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1420), it is possible that the word is originally FUgr. He added *šebär* 'Meister' (KazR), *šeber* 'foreman, master (expert craftsman), tailor' (Kaz), *čiber* 'schön' (KarTR) and *čäber*, *čäbär* etc. 'prijatny' (Kar) as semantic parallels to the FUgr data (Finn *seppä* 'Schmied, Meister, Künstler', FinnD 'geschickt' and Saami(N) *čaep´pe* 'id., klug, Schmied') (cf. Kirg *čeber* 'iskusnaja masterica, master'). All these T words are ultimately Mo in origin (see Mo *čeber* 'clean, pure, neat, immaculate'). The basic problem with tracing the word back to FUgr is that it only occurs in Finn, Est and Saami and with the semantics 'clever, skilful' > 'master'. The Osty parallel, suggested by F. Mészáros (1963: 178–179), is not acceptable due to phonological and morphological problems (see Rédei 1986–1991/2: 474). The T word is present in Chuv and Os with the semantics 'quick' > 'beautiful'. One would expect an *š-* as an initial in H, but Os also features *s-*. The expected *š-* appears in the word *sebes* [šebeš] 'quick, fast' (see **sebes**).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 174; Radloff 1893–1911/4: 1016; Wichmann 1908: 459–460; Bárczi 1941: 287; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 72; F. Mészáros 1963: 178–179; Egorov 1964: 337; Rédei 1964: 106; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 726–727; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 581–582; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 474; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1420; Fedotov 1996/2: 454.

SZEPLŐ [seplõ] 'freckle, sun spot, stain' | early 13th c./c1350 *fceplev* [seplõ], p1416/c1450 *zèplǫ* [seplõ] | *seplõ* < **sepleγ* ← WOT **säpliγ* < **säplik* < **säp* {with suff *+lXk*} | EOT *säpil-* 'to be equipped with, to be sprinkled', *säpgil* 'a freckle which appears on the face'.

Of T origin, but this is debated fr a morphological point of view.

1 OT *säpgil* (MS <SANKIL>) 'a freckle which appears on the face' (AK); **MT** *sipkil* (-b-) 'points noirs et jaunes qui se montrent sur la peau de l'homme et sur les moissons', *sipki* (-b-) 'demi-jaune' (AChag), *sepkil* 'vesnuščatyj' (AChagMA), ? *sipkel* 'Splitter' (AChagŠSK); **NT *Chuv*** *saplăk* 'latka, zaplata, zaplatka' (Chuv), *saplăk* 'zaplatka', *sapla-* 'činiť, zaplatiť, prišiť zaplatku' (ChuvA), *saplăk* 'folt; Fleck (zum Flicken)', *sapla-* Szp. id. 'foltozni; flicken' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sipkel* 'vesnuška, krapinka' (Tat), *sipkel* 'szeplő; Sommersprosse, Fleck' (TatB), *hipkel* 'vesnuška' (Bashk), *hipke´l* 'matež' (BashkD2), *seplä-* 'yamau, tegü; latať, šiť' (SibTat), *sepkil* 'vesnuški, mateži' (Kirg), *sekpĭl* 'freckles' (Kaz), *sekpĭl* 'vesnuški, pigmentacija kože' (KazB), *sepkil* 'vesnuški' (Kklp), *sepkil* 'vesnuški, vesnuščatyj' (Nog), *sepkil* 'vesnuški' (CrTat), *sėpkel´*, *sepkil´* 'vesnuški' (KarSh), *sepkil* 'vesnuški, vesnuščatyj, konopatyj' (Kum), *sepkil* 'vesnuška, konopuška, rodinka, vesnuščatyj' (KrchBlk), *sepk´il* 'Fischschuppe, Warze, dann überhaupt "Flecken im Gesichte"' (KrchP), *sepx´il* 'Sommersprossen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *sepgit* 'točka soedinenija, styk, šov, gran´, granica' (Tkm), *säpg´i* 'pryšč, pryščik, syp´' (Az); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sepkil* 'vesnuški, vesnuščatyj' (Uzb), *säpkil* 'vesnuški',

säpkä, *säpkü*, (dial.) *säpgün* ‘syp′, vesnuška’, *sepil-* ‘sypat′sja, sejat′sja, (dial.) spotykat′sja, provalivat′sja’ (MUyg); ***NE*** ? *sep* ‘pribavka, ukrašenie’ (AltQK), *simkĭ* ‘vesnuški’, *simkĭlĭg* ‘vesnuščatyj’, sikpe ‘vesnuški’ (Khak), *sekpil* ‘vesnuška’, *sek*: *ulug sek* ‘točka’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *äbir* ‘krap, krapina, pjatna, vesnuški na tele, pestrota, krapčatyj, pestryj, rjaboj’ (Y).

Mo *seb* ‘blemish, flaw, defect, weak spot, loose hairs, disharmony, disagreement’, *sebke* ‘freckle, pimple’ (L).

2 OT –; **MT** *sepil-* ‘dökülüp sačïlmaq’ (AChagŠS), *sipil-* ‘zerstreut werden’ (AChagŠSK), *sep-* ‘zerstreuen, umherstreuen, umhergiessen, spritzen’ (AChagZ), *säp-* ‘bryzgat′, kropit′’ (ATuh), *sep-* ‘serpmek’ (ATuhA), *sepil-* ‘serpilmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sap-* ‘streuen, sprengen, (be)giessen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sibel-* ‘posypat′sja, rassypat′sja, razbryzgivat′sja, opryskivat′sja’ (Tat), *sibel-* ‘razojtis′, razbrestis′, razvalit′sja, rassypat′sja’ (TatD1), *hibel-* ‘nakrapyvat′, morosit′, posypat′, obsypat′’ (Bashk), *seplä-* ‘yamau, tegü; latat′, šit′’ (SibTat), *sep-* ‘sypat′, posypat′, sejat′, bryzgat′’, *sebil-* ‘sypat′sja, possypat′sja’ (Kirg), *sebĭl-* ‘zasevat′sja, zaseivat′sja’ (KazB), *sebil-* ‘ssypat′sja, possypat′sja, byt′ posejannym’ (Kklp), *sebil-* ‘sypat′sja, rassypat′sja, razbryzgivat′sja, byt′ razbryzgivannym, kropit′sja, polivat′sja’ (Nog), *sepil-* ‘razbryzgivat′sja, kropit′sja, sypat′sja, rassypat′sja’ (CrTat), *sebil′-* ‘rassypat′sja’ (KarT), *sebil-* ‘byt′ obryzgannym, opyskannym, byt′ posejannym, sejat′sja’ (Kum), *sep-* ‘sypat′ čto, sejat′ čto, bryzgat′ čem’, *sebil-* ‘sypat′sja, zasevat′sja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sepil-* ‘byt′ rassypannym, rassejannym, razbrosannym, rassypat′sja, rasseivat′sja, razbrasyvat′sja, byt′ razbryzgannym, razbryzgrivat′sja’, *sep-* ‘rassypat′, rasseivat′, razbrasyvat′, bryzgat′’ (Tkm), *säp-* ‘sejat′, zasevat′, bryzgat′, vysypat′ (o sypi)’, *säpil-* ‘byt′ razbrosannym, rassypannym, sejat′sja, vyseivat′sja’ (Az), *sepil-* ‘byt′ rassypannym, rassejannym’ (AzD), *sep-* ‘to sprinkle (rain or fluid), to drizzle, to scatter’ (Tt), *säp-*, *sif-*, *sāp-*, *sęp-*, *sip-* ‘ausstreuen’ (Khor), *säp-* ‘(aus)streuen’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *säp-* ‘zerstreuen, verschütten’ (Kh), *säp-* ‘zerstreuen, verschütten’, *säpälä-* ‘zerstreuen, verschütten’ (KhT); ***SE*** *sepil-* ‘razbryzgivat′sja, byt′ razbryzgivaemym, kropit′sja, polivat′sja, vysevat′sja, byt′ vysevaemym (vrazbros), sypat′sja, posypat′sja’, *sep-* ‘bryzgat′, razbryzgivat′, kropit′, pleskat′, polivat′, sejat′, vysevat′ (vrazbros), sypat′, posypat′’ (Uzb), *sæp-*, *sɛp-* ‘to sprinkle’ (TurkiJ), *sip-* ‘to strew, to sprinkle, to scatter’ (TurkiSh), *sepil-* ‘sypat′sja, sejat′sja, (dial.) spotykat′sja, provalivat′sja’ (MUyg); ***NE*** ? *see-* ‘sypat′, podsypat′’, *sep-* ‘sypat′, posypat′ čem-l, sejat′, bryzgat′, polivat′’ (Alt), *sep-* ‘pripravit′, posypat′ čem-nibud′, sdelat′ pribavku, rassejat′, razbryzgat′, sejat′, posypat′ čem-nibud′, idti o melkom dožde, snege’ (AltQK), *säbil-* ‘ausgestreut sein’ (AltTelR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *sebeki* ‘trifle, a thing of little importance’, *sebke* ‘freckle, pimple’ (L).

E/T The T data *sepkil* ‘vesnuščatyj’ (AChagMA), *sipkel* ‘vesnuška’ (Tat), *sipkel* ‘Sommersprosse, Fleck’ (TatB), *hipkel* ‘vesnuška’ (Bashk), *sepkil* ‘vesnuški’ (Kirg, Kklp), *sepkil* ‘vesnuški’ (Uzb), *säpkil* ‘vesnuški’ (MUyg) etc. make it possible to recon-

struct an early nominal base **säp* or **sep*, which could have denoted *'spot'. Räsänen (1969: 411) cited Mo *seb* 'Schmutz, Unreinigkeit, Schinne, Kleie, Schüppen' as the original nominal base of the T words. See also Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 241). These T words were formed with the suff *+KIl*, which is den and served the function of forming words for colours and geometric shapes, see Erdal (1991: 98). Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 241) considered T *sepkil* 'vesnuška' as a dev der. The form *sekpil* appears in some lgs as a secondary, metathesized form (see the database).

The T etymon for the H word, however, should kept distinct fr these T ders. It goes back to the same base **säp* (*sep*) 'spot' but it was formed with the suff *+lXk* (cf. Erdal 1991: 121–131) or *+lXg* (cf. Erdal 1991: 139–153). Fr a phonetic point of view, both possibilities can be accepted, however in terms of semantics the der with *+lXk* seems more likely. Chuv *saplăk* 'spot' may derive fr **säplik* and represents a very good parallel to the H form. Egorov's (1964: 178) attempt to identify Rus (*zaplata*) as the source of the Chuv word is not borne out by the available evidence. Of course, one cannot dismiss the possibility that WOT **säplik* > **säplig* was a metathetic form of **säpkil*. Despite Tenišev's (2001: 379) carefully formulated opinion, the T word **säp* has nothing to do with the homophonous T word *sep* 'rod ščeloka, kotorym vydelyvaetsja koža'. Under PA **s̲iobe* 'freckles, pimples', Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1270–1271) reconstructed the following words: PTu **subgu* 'fish skin, skin, bark', PMo **seb* 'defect, scab, freckles' and PT **seb-* 'freckles'. They rightly noted that the MMo (MA) word *sebkil* 'freckles' may represent a copy fr T. They also mentioned that the der of the T form fr **sep-* 'to scatter' does not seem very likely.

Under heading 2, there is a small collection of data of the T verbal base *säp-* 'to scatter, sprinkle' and its ders. According to Ligeti (see **E/H**), *szeplő* can be derived fr the unknown nominal counterpart of the verb *säp-*. Proving the etymological link between this verb and the nominal base reconstructed under heading 1, however, calls for further investigation. Still, the interrelation can be strengthened by some data under heading 1 (cf. *sipki* (-b-) 'demi-jaune' (AChag), *säpg'i*, *säpišik* 'pryšč, pryščik, syp'' (Az), *säpkä*, *säpkü*, (dial.) *säpgün* 'syp', vesnuška' (MUyg) which seem to contain a verbal base *säp-*. In addition, the semantic connection between **säp* 'a spot' and *säp-* 'to scatter, sprinkle' seems very likely. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1212–1213) attempted to reconstruct the PT base as **sep-* 'to scatter, sprinkle' under the heading PA **săp'í* 'to sprinkle, scatter'. They discussed PT **sep-* 'to equip, fit out, add, addition, dowry' separately fr this verb under the entry PA **s̲i̲ăp'ú* 'to add, addition' (1268).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 174) and then Munkácsi (1901a: 194) considered the H word to be of T origin. Gombocz (1907a: 317–318) reconstructed a T copied form **sipläg* and later (1912b: 122) OChuv **siplig*. Németh (1935–1939: 526; 1942a: 8) and then Benkő (1967–1984/3: 729) reconstructed a T copied form **seplig* or **siplig* for the H

word which may be a der fr *sep* 'spot'. According to Ligeti (1986: 315), the H word may go back to a T form **sëplik*. H *szeplő* has long constituted part of the H lexicon. In the sources fr the mid-14th c., it also carries metaphorical meaning. Ligeti had no doubt about the T origin of the word but he thought that the T copied form was etymologically interrelated with the unknown nominal counterpart of the T verb *säp-* (*sep-*) 'to strew'. He rightly pointed out that, on the basis of the Mo word *seb* 'tache (sur le visage, sur les habits), souillure', 'weak spot' one can definitely conclude the existence of a corresponding nominal form in the T lgs. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1421–1422) considered H *szeplő* to be a plausible T lw, however its dev origin **seplik* (< T **säp-* or **sep-* 'verstreuen') seems, according to him, very complicated. Using Ligeti's investigation as a starting point, he thought that there could be a nomen-verbum in the T lgs. The T etymon for the H word could be a der formed with the suff *+kIl* fr this nominal part of the nomen-verbum. On the final long vowel in H, see **bölcső**, **gyeplő**. According to Benkő, the H word was copied with *-ë-* in the first syllable and its original meaning could have been 'Sommersprosse, Leberfleck, etc.'

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 174; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1907a: 317–318; Gombocz 1912b: 122; Németh 1935–1939: 526; Bárczi 1941: 287; Németh 1942a: 8; Egorov 1964: 178; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 729; Räsänen 1969: 411; Ligeti 1986: 82, 194, 200, 313, 315; Erdal 1991: 98, 121–131, 139–153; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1421–1422; Fedotov 1996/2: 12; Tenišev 2001: 379; Dybo 2003: 241; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1212–1213, 1268, 1270–1271.

SZER [ser] 'part of a village, street, group of people; row, line, order' | [c1200] GN *ſcerÿ* [seri], †1015/[c1220]/1274/1323/1403 ? GN *zeru* [serü], 1138/1329 *in villa scer* [ser], c1150/13–14th c. *Scerii* [seri], 1575 *szeren* [ser-en] | *ser* < **śer* ← WOT **čer* < **ǰer* | EOT *yer* 'ground, land'.

OT *yagïz yer* 'brown earth' (RMKT E 1, RMBilg E 2), *bardwq yerdä* 'in the places to which you went' (RMKT E 24, RMBilg E 24), *yer yarodï* 'the earth became light' (RTIrk 26), *yer* 'earth' (RMShin E 2), *yir* (r: *yer*) 'Land' (UTTI 6), *yir* (r: *yer*) 'Erde' (UTTI 22), *yir* 'Erde, Land' (UTTVI 115), *yer suv igäsi* 'Erd- und Wassergeist' (UTTVII 29,4,21), *yir suv üzä* 'auf dieser Erde' (MManIII Nr.7:8), *yerig täŋrig* 'earth and heaven' (UMI 14,4), *yer* 'land' (UXuangzangIndex), *yēr*, *yer* 'earth or land or ground', *ēr* 'ground', dial variant of *yēr* (AK), *yer* 'earth, ground' (AQB), *yer* 'Erde': *yerdin* (yertiṃ – ye rtiṃ) 'von der Erde' (BA 29); **MT** *yir* (r: *yer*) 'Land' (UOg), *yer*, *yir* 'yer' (UY), *yir* 'terre' (UHy), *yir* 'terre' (UHyS), *yir* 'Boden, Land, Landstück' (UCivSa 01:15,20), *yär* 'ground' (ABF), *yär* 'place', *yer* 'place, earth, ground' (AGul), *yer* 'yer, yurt, dünya' (AHMA), *yer* 'miejsce, ziemia' (AHŠ), *yer* 'zemlja, mestnosť, mesto' (AHŠF), *yēr* 'mestoprebyvanie, strana, zemlja' (AIM), *yir* 'yer' (AIMI), *yer*, *yir* 'earth' (AKD), *yär* 'earth, land' (AKor), *yir* 'zemlja, mesto' (AM), *yer* 'earth, ground' (ANeh), *yär* 'zemlja, mestnosť, mesto' (ANehF), *yer* 'place, distance' (ARbg), *yer* 'zemlja, mesto' (ATef), *yer*, *yir* 'yer' (AYC), *yer* 'terre, place' (AChag), *yer*

'zemlja, mesto, polosa zemli' (AChagBud), *yer* 'earth, place' (AChagG), *yer* 'zemlja' (AChagLN), *yer* 'mesto' (AChagMA), *yär* 'das Land, die Erde' (AChagR), *yer* 'earth', and metaph. 'place, bed' (AChagSC), *yer* 'turâ, araz, mahal, qara yer' (AChagŠS), *yer*, *yir* 'Erde, Boden, Ort, Stelle, Platz' (AChagZ), *yer*, *yir* 'Erde, Boden, Erdboden, Ort, Stelle, Aufenthaltsort, Wohnort, Land' (LCCG), *yer* 'Boden, Erdboden, Ort' (LCCI), *yer* 'yer, arazi' (AAH), *yer* 'terre' (ABul), *yėr* 'terre' (ADur), *yär* 'Land, Ort' (AHou), *yir* 'föld; Erde' (AKav), *yer* 'place, site, area, ground, position, situation, point, part' (AMGh), *yär* 'zemlja' (ATuh), *yer* 'yer' (ATuhA), *ier* 'place, terre, surface' (AmTr), *yer* 'mesto, zemlja' (AmD), *yer* 'earth, ground, place, site, spot' (AmCh), *yer* 'toprak, ülke, diyar', *yir* 'yer, arz, zemin' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śĕr* 'zemlja, zemlja, mir, suša, počva, grunt' (Chuv), *śĕr* 'zemlja, zemlja kak veščestvo, počva, zemlja kak planeta, učastok zemli, vladenie, etc.' (ChuvA), *śĕr* Szp. id. 'föld; Erde' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *jir* 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemnoj, zemlja, počva, grunt, zemel′nyj, počvennyj, gruntovoj' (Tat), *jir*, *yer* 'jir; zemlja, mesto' (TatD1), *yer* 'jir; zemlja' (TatD2), *yir* 'föld, hely, egy darab szántóföld; Erde, Boden, Ort, Stelle, Platz' (TatB), *er* [*yer*] 'zemlja, počva, grunt, učastok, zemli' (Bashk), *yär*, *ir*, *yer* 'jir; zemlja' (SibTat), *yär* 'zemlja, mesto' (SibTatBD), *yir* 'die Erde' (SibTatBR), *žer* 'zemlja, mesto, rasstojanie' (Kirg), *žer* 'land, earth, soil, the earth (planet), country, place' (Kaz), *žer* 'zemlja, mesto, punkt, territorija, mestnost′' (KazB), *jer* 'das Land, die Erde' (KazR), *žer* 'zemlja, mesto' (Kklp), *er* [*yer*] 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemlja, počva, grunt, pol (zemljanoj), (v razn. znač.) mesto' (Nog), *er* [*yer*] 'zemlja, mesto' (CrTat), *yer* 'zemlja, strana, kraj, zemlja, počva, mesto' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *yer* 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemlja, počva, grunt, mesto, mestnost′, postel′, služ. slovo vmesto' (Kum), *yer* 'Erde' (KumN), *džer* 'zemlja, territorija, učastok, mesto' (KrchBlk), *jer* 'Erde, Ort' (KrchP), *zer* 'Erde, Ort, Stelle' (BlkP); ***SW*** *er* [*yer*] 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, počva, grunt, mesto, mestnost′' (Tkm), *yer* 'zemlja' (RTkmAB), *yer* 'zemlja, počva, mesto, postel′' (Az), *yer* 'the earth, surface of the earth, ground, place' (Tt), *yär* 'das Land, die Erde, der Ort, Platz, die Stelle' (TtR), *er* [yer] 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemnoj, zemlja, počva, grunt, mesto, mestnost′, kraj, pol' (Gag), *yẹr*: *ġïzzï yẹr*, *ġïzzị yẹr* 'Winterweide', *yẹr*: *xonak yẹr*, *särt yẹr* 'Sommerweide', *yẹr* 'Raum, offener Platz', *yẹr*, *yẹ^{e}r*, *yēr*, *yẹär* 'Land, Erde, Boden' (Khor), *yẹr* 'Ort, Platz, Stelle, Boden, Erde, Land' (SOg); ***Kh*** *yer*, *yẹr* 'Ort, Würde, Rang, Erde, Erdboden' (Kh), *ye·r* 'Land, Ort, Raum', *yēräk* 'Stellchen' (KhT); ***SE*** *yer* 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemnoj, zemlja, počva, grunt, zemel′nyj, počvennyj, gruntovoj, mesto, mestnost′' (Uzb), *yer*, *ye*, *yɛr*, *yē*, *yey* 'ground, earth, land, floor, world, field, place' (TurkiJ), *yer* 'ground, land, the earth, place, locality' (TurkiSh), *yä*, *yäî*, *yeî*, *yer* 'zemlja, mesto' (TurkiL), *yär* 'das Land, die Erde, der Ort, Platz, die Stelle' (TurkiTR), *yär*, *yā̈* 'zemlja, zemnoj šar, mesto, mestnost′, zemlja, počva, grunt' (MUyg), *yer*, *yir*, *yïr*, *yeř* 'zemlja, mesto' (Sal), *yėr*, *yir*, *ʏùr* 'terre, place' (SalK), *yer* 'zemlja, mestnost′' (YUyg), *yer* 'zemlja' (YUygM); ***NE*** *d′er* 'zemlja, vladenie, mesto, mestnost′, strana'

(Alt), *yär* ‘das Land, die Erde, der Ort, Platz, die Stelle’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *d′er*, *yer* ‘zemlja, mesto’, *čer* ‘zemlja’ (AltL), *d′er* ‘zemlja, mesto, mestnosť, strana, rodina’, *čer* ‘zemlja, pol, mesto’, *t′er* ‘zemlja, mesto’, *čir* ‘zemlja’ (AltQK), *d′er* ‘zemlja, mesto, kraj’ (AltTK), *čir* ‘zemlja (vselennaja), mesto, mestnosť, počva’ (Khak), *čir* ‘zemlja’ (KhakB), *yär* ‘das Land, die Erde, der Ort, Platz, die Stelle’ (ChulR), *ǰïr* ‘place, earth’ (FY), *čer* ‘zemlja, suša, (astr.) Zemlja, kraj, mesto, zemnoj, zemljanoj’ (Tuv), *čer* ‘zemlja, suša, mesto, mestnosť, storona, kraj, zemnoj, zemljanoj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *sir* ‘zemlja, zemnoj šar, zemlja, strana, okrug, počva, grunt etc.’ (Y), *hir*, *sir* ‘Erde, Land, Welt, Seite, Teil, Raum, etc.’ (Dlg), *hir* ‘Erde, Boden, Fußboden’ (DlgS).

E/T On the historical data for the T word *yer* ‘ground, earth (as opposed to sky), land, soil, place’ etc., which is known as of the OT period and is well attested in the ModT lgs, see Räsänen (1969: 198) and Clauson (1972: 954) (cf. also Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 149, 311), Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 191–192) and Tenišev (2001: 53, 88)). As can be concluded fr the database, the older forms of the word sometimes point to a vowel **ä* and sometimes to an **e*. The item in the Brahmi source is harmonious with the Chuv item. It seems plausible that the PT basic form could have been **yer*(*V*). Cincius (1975–1977/1: 355) listed some Tu corresponding forms which may be borrowings fr the T lgs. Fedotov (1996/2: 110) attempted to find a link between the T word and Mo *siruy*, *sirugay*, but this is unacceptable. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1008) compared PT **ǰẹ̈r* ‘earth, land’ with a PMo base **ǰir-* ‘litter of grass or leaves spread under an animal being flayed, doormat’. Only Mo *ǰirig* ‘litter, etc.’ and *ǰirum* exist, the latter denoting a narrow mat, fr *ǰirum* ‘line’ and this is thus inappropriate for semantic reasons. PTu **ńerke* ‘earth, hearth’ can hardly belong here.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 174–175) considered the H word *szer* to be of T origin early on, however he compared *szer* with T words which do not pertain here. According to Bárczi (1941: 287), *szer* is of FUgr origin. In the entry *yēr* ‘ground’, Clauson (1972: 954) noted H *szer* as an early T lw. According to Sinor (1973: 482–483), the T etymology of the H word may be based on the assumption that the word *szer* meant ‘place’ as a constituent of some H GNs and therefore may be identical with CT *yer* ‘ground, place’. On the correspondence CT *y-* ~ H *sz-* [s], see **szél**, **szűcs**. According to Sinor, the famous H GN *Pusztaszer* mentioned by Anonymous in the *Gesta Hungarorum* (c1200) as the place where the conquering Hungarians gathered and took a blood oath (see also **eskü**) may be a calque fr T (see Alt *ēn yer* ‘pustyr’, Bashk *tašlandïk yer*, Az, Tkm *boš yer*). *Puszta*, the first element of the H GN, is a Sl lw. One can find a perfect parallel to the H GN *Pusztaszer* in Kar (see *pustayer* ‘pustynia; Wüste’). Benkő (1967–1984/3: 730–732) rejected the T origin of H *szer*, which may, according to him, form part of the U legacy in H. Later (1993–1997/2: 1422), however, he changed his position and accepted Sinor’s etymology. Benkő supposed a T copied form **śer*. According to him, there was another, homophonous, word *szer* in H that carried the

sense of ‘Ordnung, Anordnung [etc.]’ and these words could have been confused during the history of the H lg. Ligeti (1986) did not include H *szer* among the T lws in H. Benkő’s suggestion is very plausible. The U word *śerɜ* ‘Reihe, Ordnung’ covers all the meanings (see Rédei 1986–1991/2: 475) which the H word *szer* does with the exception of ‘land, part of a village’. The other etymology according to which there exists only one word *szer* and its meaning ‘part of a village’ < ‘line of houses’ < ‘line, order’ goes back to the Ur word is possible but less probable.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 174–175; Bárczi 1941: 287; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 149, 311; Egorov 1964: 211; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 730–732; Räsänen 1969: 198; Clauson 1972: 954; Sinor 1973: 482–483; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 355; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 475; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 191–192; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1422; Fedotov 1996/2: 110; Tenišev 2001: 53, 88; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1008.

SZÉRŰ [sērű̄] ‘threshing floor (round)’ | †1015/[ca. 1220]/1274/1323/1403 GN *Zeru* [sērű̄], c1395 *ʒerew* ‘areum’ [sērű̄], ‘threshing floor’, 1636 ‘ring’ | *sērű̄* < **sürüγ* ← ? WOT **čürüγ* | EOT *yüzük* ‘finger ring’ < *yüz* ‘joint (of a finger)’.

Of debated T origin.

For the data, see **gyűrű**[2].

E/T The H word was tied to EOT *yüzük* ‘ring’ (see the details under **gyűrű**[2]) earlier, but this is improbable for semantic reasons (see **E/H**).

Berta, perhaps following Räsänen, thought that the H word *szérű* may go back to T *sürüg* fr *sür-*, *sürü-*, *sürä-* ‘to drive (animals)’. Perhaps he supposed that the horses were driven round during threshing. The form *sürüg* does exist, with the meaning ‘flock, herd, something driven’, but a shift fr the horse being driven to the field where the threshing was done is unlikely.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 175) considered the H word to be of T origin early on. He thought that H *szérű* may be interrelated with Tt *ser-* ‘to spread out, lay out, tend’. According to Budenz (1879: 464–465), the H words **gyűrű**[2] ‘ring’ and *szérű* ‘threshing floor’ may go back to the different variants of the same T word. The H initial *gy-* in **gyűrű**[2] shows that the initial Chuv *ǰ-* was still preserved in its copied form, and that it was already spirantized to *ś-* in the copied form of *szérű*. Gombocz (1907a: 357–358), and later Bárczi (1941: 288), accepted Budenz’s explanation. Gombocz (1912b: 122–123, 180) reconstructed an OChuv form **śürüg* for the H word. Paasonen (1913: 50–51) had doubts about the etymology. Ligeti (1935a: 214) pointed out that the vocalism in the etymology H *szérű* ← OChuv **śürüg* does not correspond to that of the other T lws in H. T *-ü-* is usually replaced by either *-ö-* or *-ű-* in the first syllable of H words. According to Ligeti, in addition to H *szérű*, the H dial word *dészű* (cf. **gyűszű**) provides the only example of T *-ü-* being replaced by *-é-* in the first syllable. Later, despite Paasonen’s (1913: 50–51) opinion, Ligeti (1958: 449–450) argued for the T etymology of *szérű* suggested by Budenz and Gombocz, however he saw semantic problems in this etymology. It is futile to assert that the word under discussion could

have had the original meaning ‘round, a place in the form of a ring’ (cf. the H phrase *nap és hold udvara, szérűje* ‘halo, ring, circle round the moon or sun’) because the T word *yüzük* first denoted ‘finger ring’ and its meaning ‘ring, circle’ is secondary. The latter word never carried the sense of ‘area, treshing floor’ and *szérű* is not known in the sense of ‘finger ring’. Despite this semantic problem, the interrelation of H *szérű* and **gyűrű**[2] with T *yüzük* cannot be ruled out. Ligeti (1959: 451–453) did not comment on Räsänen’s (1955a: 52) etymology. Räsänen thought that the word in question may go back to T *sür-*, *sürü-*, *sürä-* ‘to drive (animals)’. This etymological attempt can hardly be correct. T *sür-* is a tr verb, thus its der with the suff *-(X)g* would signify ‘herd’ or ‘driving’. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 743) considered H *szérű* to be a plausible OChuv lw fr **śürüg* with the meaning ‘round object, circle’, but he also agreed with Ligeti’s position on the semantic stumbling blocks. Ligeti (1986: 14, 23) rejected Budenz’s generally accepted earlier T etymology because of these semantic hurdles. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1428), Budenz’s etymology can only be allowed if the original meaning of the H word was ‘ringförmiger Platz, Gegenstand’. It seems, however, that the basic sense of the word was ‘Tenne’. Róna-Tas (1997b: 54, 59) thought that the earlier etymology of *szérű* certainly poses some problems, but it may, together with **szél** and **szűcs**, have been copied fr a Chuv dial other than that of the majority of the early T lws in H. Now Róna-Tas considers the semantic difficulties of decisive importance. The threshing field is circular, because the horses go round, and threshing by flail perhaps represents a later method than that by horses. But the threshing field itself is independent fr the circle made by the horses and is not in the form of a ring, that is a double circle. Considering the vocalism of the first syllable and other phonological problems, the T etymology of the word is doubtful. It is more probable that *szérű* pertains to H *szer* ‘line’.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 175; Budenz 1879: 464–465; Szarvas–Simonyi 1890–1893/3: 230; Gombocz 1907a: 357–358; Gombocz 1912b: 122–123, 180; Paasonen 1913: 50–51; Ligeti 1935a: 214; Ramstedt 1935: 371; Bárczi 1941: 288; Joki 1952: 268; Räsänen 1955a: 52; Ligeti 1958: 449–450; Ligeti 1959: 451–453; Ligeti 1961: 29; Palló 1961: 128; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 146–147; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 251–252, 287; Egorov 1964: 198, 212; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 743; Clauson 1972: 844, 846, 850–851; Ligeti 1986: 14, 23; Erdal 1991: 205, 323; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1428; Fedotov 1996/2: 112; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54, 59; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 485–486, 1320.

SZESZ [ses] ‘fumes, vapour, spirits, alcohol, humours’ | 1531 *zeze* [ses-e], 1585 ‘alcohol’, 1604 *Széſz* [sēs] | *ses* < **sis* ← WOT **sis* | Tt *sis* ‘fog, mist, vapour’.

OT –; **MT** *sis* ‘Nebel, Morgennebel, feiner Regen’ (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** ? *sers* ‘vlaga, syrost’’ (CrTat); ***SW*** *sis* ‘mgla’ (Az), *sis* ‘fog, mist, (prov.) freckle, freckles, (arch) small brown or reddish spots on the coat of a horse’ (Tt), *sis* ‘ein dichter Nebel’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *sïs tuban* ‘neprogljadnyj syroj tuman’ (KhakB), *sïs* ‘Dunst, brenzlicher Geruch, brenzlich stinkend’ (KhakShR); ***Y*** *īs* ‘sil′nyj, edkij, kop-

til′nyj dym, v kotorom vešajutsja koži, čtoby oni sdelalis′ nepromokaemymi, dym, čad' (YS), *ïs*: *ïs tuman* 'dichter Nebel' (Dlg).

E/T The H word *szesz* may be related to the T word *sis*, which only appears as of the MT period, however, and is represented in the NT lgs very sporadically. In this case, one can suppose a semantic change 'fog' > 'fumes, alcohol, etc.' in H. Chuv contains *pu* and *păs* in the sense of 'par' (cf. Fedotov (1996/1: 403)) and *yăs-păs* 'durnoj zapah' (ChuvA).

One has to separate the following T word-families:

1. EOT *yīḏ* 'scent, odour, smell' (cf. Clauson 1972: 883). According to Clauson, this word may originally have been neutral in connotation; we can find, e.g. the phrase *yīd yïpār* 'a pleasant smell', but *yīḏ* usually denotes 'an unpleasant smell, stink'. Some MT sources contain the form *yïyï*, which seems to go back to *yïd+ï-g* (cf. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 182)).

2. In a separate entry, Clauson discussed EOT *iš* (*ïš*) 'soot, dirty smoke' (1972: 254) and pointed out that fr the medieval period *ïš* was confused with *ïs*, which is a secondary form fr *yïḏ*. The situation certainly proves extremely chaotic between these two forms, indeed Clauson sometimes erred in determining whether one or the other form may belong to *yïd* or *ïš*. I do not think that *ïs* must in all cases be considered as a secondary form of *yïd*. Zieme (1997: 444–445) suggested that H *szesz* has its origin in **yïs*, a variant of *ïs* with prothetic *y-*. He proposed that the word-initial *y-* became *s-* in H as in T *yel* → *szél* 'wind'. This poses serious chronological problems.

3. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 380–382) covered the T word *īs* 'odour, smell'. This word has to be separated fr *ïš* (on the T data of **īs*, *ïš* 'dym, kopot′'; cf. Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 379–380 and Tenišev 2001: 370–371), but, as mentioned by Sevortjan and Tenišev, confusion exists between the T words **īs*, *ïš* 'dym, kopot' and *isu*, *ïs*, *iys* 'zapah' in some T lgs (cf. MUyg *is* 'zapah, dym, kopot′, ugar' < '*zapah dyma', Bashk *eθ* 'kopot′', *yeθ* 'ugar', Az *his* 'kopot′', but *iy* < *ið* < *id* 'zapah' etc.). According to Tenišev, the T forms *is*, *ïs*, *ïš* may go back to Mo *isu*, *išu* 'saža, kopot′'. Poppe (1960: 116, 129) and Ramstedt (1935: 210–211) thought that the T and Mo words are genetically interrelated.

4. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 580) connected PT **ïys* 'smoke, soot, dirty smoke, scent, odour, fumes' with PMo *(*h*)*isu* 'soot' under the entry PA **iysV* 'soot, smoke'. They discussed the T forms *ïš*, *ïs* etc. separately and suggested that they may come fr PT **īl′*(*č*) 'smoke'. They noted that the root originally meant 'soot, smoke' and that it should always be kept distinct fr PT **yïd-* 'smell' and **ïys* 'smell, odour, fumes'. They discussed the latter word under the entry **ŋi̱ūya* 'smell' together with PTu **ŋō-* 'to smell, smell' (2003: 1033). Because of the problematic comparison, they noted that "[t]he Turkic form may belong here if **-d* is a result of dissimilation (**yïd*

< **yïy*) or a suff." The final segment may be a suff (cf. **szőlő**) but the comparison they made cannot be accepted.

E/H The H word *szesz* 'alcohol' with the original meaning 'Duft, Dunst, Ausdünstung' may, according to Munkácsi (1908d: 292), be of T origin (cf. TtR *sis* 'ein dichter Nebel', KhakShR *sïs* 'Dunst, brenzlicher Geruch, brenzlich stinkend'). Gombocz (1912b: 123) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sis*. Bárczi (1941: 289), Ligeti (1986: 305) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 745; 1993–1997/2: 1429) accepted the T etymology of the H word, but Benkő observed that the absence of the T data in the majority of the sources renders this etymology slightly uncertain. The der of the T plausible copied form is also unknown. Ligeti (1986) included H *szesz* among the T lws in H without any remarks. The fact that the word is present in Y and in Tt solidifies the etymology.

◆ Munkácsi 1908d: 292; Gombocz 1912b: 123; Ramstedt 1935: 210–211; Bárczi 1941: 289; Poppe 1960: 116, 129; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 182; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 745; Clauson 1972: 254, 883, 886; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 379–382; Ligeti 1986: 305; Erdal 1991: 201; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1429; Fedotov 1996/1: 403; Zieme 1997: 444–445; Tenišev 2001: 370–371; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 580, 1033.

SZÍN [sīn] 'colour, face, external appearance, the best part of something, the upper part of something' | 1116–1131 ? PN *Scinissa* [sinissa], 1146 ? PN *scines* [sīn-eš], late 12th c./c1195 *fcine* [sīn-e] | *sīn* < **sin* ← WOT **sin* | EOT *sin* 'the human body, external appearance'.

OT *sïnïndan* 'aus seinem Gliede' (MMan III 16, 1), *biš közünür tavgird* (?) *ätöz sïnlarï* 'die fünf Glieder des sichtbaren *tavgird* (?) Körpers' (MMan III, 18,13), *sïnïn boḏïn kïrtïšïn* 'his body, stature, and complexion' (USuv 593,20-1, Clauson 1972: 832), *sīn* 'stature, height', *bōḏluġ sīnlïġ kiši* 'a tall man'. Hence 'the grave' is called *sīn* since it [is made] according to one's height, *sīn* 'grave' (AK), *boḏ sïn* 'body, stature' (AQB); **MT** (*san* 'vücud') (UY), *sïn* 'tulovišče, telo' (ATef), *sïn* 'lieu de sépulture' (AChag), *sin* 'der Körper, die Gestalt, das Äussere, das Gesicht, das Aussehen' (AChagR), (*sïn* 'Grabstein, den Verstorbenen darstellend') (LCCG), *sïn* (Houtsma: *sin*) 'Grabhügel, Abgottsbild' (AHou), *sïn* 'şahıs, put' (ATuh), *sin* 'şekil, kıyafet, biçim' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *săn* 'lico, vnešnosť, naružnosť, vid, oblik, obraz, oblik, kartina, vid, pejzaž, izobraženie, portret, fotografija, fotosnimok, cvet, ottenok, (ust.) maska' (Chuv ← Tat), *săn* 'vnešnij vid, oblik, lico, naružnosť, krasyvaja vnešnosť, cvet, vid, obraz, izobraženie, portret, shodstvo, otraženie, zerkalo, maska' (ChuvA), *săn* Szp. id. 'arc, arculat, szín; Gesicht, Antlitz, Aussehen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïn* 'figura, izvajanie, skuľptura, izobraženie, risunok, telosloženie, stan, osanka, korpus' (Tat), *sïn* 'gäüdä; tulovišče, telo, korpus; tös, kïyafet, räveš; vnešnyj vid, oblik; külmäkneŋ öske öleše; verhnjaja častʹ platʹja; surät, räsem; risunok, kartinka; räsem; risunok' (TatD1), *sïn* 'Götze, Götzenbild' (TatB), *sïn* 'das Äussere, die Gestalt, die Menschengestalt' (TatKR), *hïn* 'tulovišče, stan, korpus, obraz, oblik' (Bashk), *hïn* 'käwðä

töðölöšö, töθ, kiäfät, räüěš' (BashkD1), *sïn* 'buy-sïn, kïyafät; vnešnosť, figura' (SibTat), *sïn* 'vnutrennee kačestvo, dostoinstvo', *sïnïn ketir-* 'obezobraziť, lišiť kogo-l. prijatnoj vnešnosti, krasoty, lišiť vnutrennih dostoinstv', *sïyak* 'lico, vnešnosť, vnešnij vid (čeloveka – obyčno prijatnyj), statnosť' (Kirg), *sïn* 'a man's figure, outward appearance' (Kaz), *sïn* 'das Äussere, die Gestalt, die Menschengestalt' (KazR), *sïn* 'stan, figura', *sïyaq* 'vnešnosť, vnešnij vid čeloveka' (Kklp), *sïn* 'stan, figura', *sïyaq* 'vnešnjaja, naružnaja storona' (Nog), *sïn* '(nadgrobnyj pamjatnik, nadgrobie), primeta, vnešnij vid, oblik' (Kum), *sïn* 'nadgrobie, nadgrobnyj, oblik, vnešnij vid' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *siyoq*, *siyox* 'vid, vnešnosť, naružnosť oblik, lico' (Uzb), *sïn* 'telo, korpus' (TurkiL), *sin* 'stan, figura, vnešnij vid', *siyaq* 'forma, vnešnij vid, naružnosť' (MUyg); ***NE*** *sïn* 'rost, stan, tulovišče, stvol (rastenija), hrebet (gornyj), dlina' (Alt), *sïn* 'das Äussere, die Gestalt' (AltR), *sïn* 'rost, naružnosť, vid figura, stan čeloveka' (AltL), *sïn* 'die Menschengestalt' (AltLR, AltTelR), *sïn* 'rost, stan, spina, hrebet (gornyj)' (AltQK), *sïn* 'stan, rost' (AltTK), *sïn* 'rost, hrebet (gornyj), dlina' (Khak), *sïn* 'rost (čeloveka), gornyj hrebet' (KhakB), *sïn* 'das Äussere, die Gestalt' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *sïn* 'stan, gornyj hrebet' (Tuv), *sïn* 'gornyj hrebet, pokrytyj lesom' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *sinǰi* 'appearance, shape, mark, symptom' (L).

E/T The T lgs contain two homophonous nouns *sïn*. Tenišev (2001: 266) was of the opinion that they may be etymologically interrelated. One of them could have had the basic meaning 'the human body' and the other might have carried the original sense of 'tomb' (see Clauson (1972: 832) and, with some confusion, Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 262)). Kashgari confused these words under the entry *sïn* 'size, stature', in noting that one says *bōḏluġ sïnlïg kiši* 'a tall man' and that hence 'a tomb' is called *sïn* since it is as long as a man is tall. Baskakov's suggestion on the Ch origin of the word (1987: 73) is not acceptable.

It is in many cases a simple task to maintain the distinction between the homophonous word meaning 'tomb' (see e.g. *sïn* 'Grab' (UTTVI 290), *sïn* 'Grab' (UUI 58), *sïn* 'tomb' (UXuanzangIndex), *sïn* 'tombeau, tertre' (UHy), *sïn* 'Friedhof' (UCivMi 03:5), *sïn* 'mezar' (AHMA), *sïn* 'grave' (AKD), *sïn* 'grave' (ARbg), *sin* 'mezar' (AChagŠS), *sin* 'Grab' (AChagŠSK), *sin* 'Grab, Grabmal' (AChagZ), *sin* 'kabir, mezar' (AAHI), *sin* 'Grabhügel' (AHou), *sin* 'mezar, kabir, merkat' (AOtT), *sïn* 'Denkstein, Grabstein' (KumN), *sïn* 'Grabmal, Grabstein' (KrchP), *sïn* 'Grabmal, Grabstein' (BlkP), *sin* 'tomb, grave, pit' (Tt), *sin* 'kabir, mezar' (TtD) and *sin* 'mezar, kabir, gâvur mezarı' (TtDA)) fr the other word *sïn*. In some cases, however, it presents a challenge to separate it fr the word with the original meaning 'the human body' because semantic overlapping may occur between them (cf. *sïn* 'Grabstein, den Verstorbenen darstellend' (LCCG) etc.). The editors of the ModT dicts – as one can see

in some cases – have also confused the two words (cf. *sïn* 'nadgrobnyj pamjatnik, nadgrobie, primeta, vnešnij vid' (Kum), *sïn* 'nadgrobie, oblik, vnešnij vid' (KrchBlk)).

The T etymon for H *szín* is attested in the VT region, in some other Kip lgs, in the SibT and in one part of the SE branch. The confusion of the early T bases cannot be detected in these two latter T branches. In Chuv, it is a lw fr Tat (cf. Egorov (1964: 181)). Chuv *śan*: *śan-śurăm* 'telo, tulovišče, korpus' does not pertain here. On the data, see Räsänen (1969: 418, 422), Tenišev (2001: 266) and Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 400–401). On the den verbal der *sïn+A-* see Clauson (1972: 835) and Erdal (1991: 423). The T word is also represented as a copy in Cher, cf. Fedotov (1996/2: 25). Tenišev (2001: 266) hypothesized PT **sïyn* and **sïyn-ak*. He erroneously thought that a reconstruction of the diphthong can be supported with the correspondence Og *-i-* ~ other T lgs *-ï-*.

On the semantic change 'colour' > 'external appearance', see Chuv *ĕrenke*, *ĕrenkĕ* 'vid', Fedotov (1996/1: 155–156 ← Tat ← Pe *räng* 'colour'). The corresponding T words generally denote 'colour', but the word is attested with the meaning 'external appearance' in Chuv. On the NPe etymology of the Chuv word, see Scherner (1977: 64).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1293–1294) discussed PT **sï*(*y*)*n* 'body, stature, monument, tomb, the exterior, idol, foreign person' with the understanding that the T words under this heading probably represent a single root. That is, however, not the case. They compared the T word with PMo **süne-sü* 'soul'. This comparison must be rejected because of serious semantic, phonetic and morphological problems.

E/H Two homophonous words exist in H: *szín* 'shed, bar, small house', which is of Sl der, and *szín* 'colour, appearance, etc.', which comes fr T. Some dicts separate a third *szín* 'stage, scene' but this pertains to *szín* 'shed, bar' perhaps under the influence of Lat *scena* and *szín* 'appearance'. On the details, see Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1436). Vámbéry's (1870: 175) effort of tracing the H word *szín* 'colour' back to T was based on T words which cannot possibly belong here. According to Munkácsi (1901b: 574), the H word with the meanings 'form, figure' and 'colour' may stem fr T, but the other H word *szín* denoting 'superficies' may go back to IIr (cf. Skrt *sā'nu-* 'das Oberste eines Dinges', etc.). Bárczi (1941: 290) considered the H word to be of unknown origin. He thought that a T etymology here poses both phonetic and semantic problems. Pais (1963: 111) argued in favour of the T etymology. According to him, the historical H item *Scina* (read *sina*) may be a H dim form with the suff *+a*. The word could have carried the original sense of 'face' in H and its dim form would have meant 'pretty face'. Pais also pointed out that his attempted etymology is borne out by the fact that one can also find high vocalic forms in the T lgs. Beke (1948: 40–44) observed that H contains two homophones *szín*. One of them has the meaning 'Hütte, Scheune' and is a Sl lw. The other H word *szín* denotes 'Farbe, Bildnis, Gesicht, Angesicht [etc.]' and is, beyond any doubt, originally fr T.

He also stressed that the Chuv corresponding form may be of Tat der. Fr the meaning 'external' fr among the T words, one can explain the senses of 'face' and 'surface' among the H words. He called attention to Lat *color* 'colour' which, however, first had, the sense of 'Hülle, Aussenseite' (see also Lat *facies* 'die ganze äussere Gestalt, Antlitz, Angesicht' and *superficies* 'der obere Teil einer Sache'). According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 758–759), the T source of H *szín* is not verified. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1436) regarded the H word as being unknown in origin. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *szín* among the T elements of the H lexicon.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 175; Munkácsi 1901b: 574; Bárczi 1941: 290; Pais 1963: 111; Beke 1948: 40–44; Egorov 1964: 181; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 758–759; Räsänen 1969: 418, 422; Clauson 1972: 832, 835; Pais 1974: 397; Scherner 1977: 64; Baskakov 1987: 73; Erdal 1991: 423; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1436; Fedotov 1996/1: 155–156, 1996/2: 25; Tenišev 2001: 266; Dybo 2003: 262, 400–401; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1293–1294.

SZIRONY [siroń] *dial* 'thin hide rope, strap (used for embroidery or as a whip), refrozen thin layer after the melting of snow', dial *cirma* [tsirma], *cirom* [tsirom], *szirany* [sirań] | 1138/1329 ? PN *Cirun* [sirun], c1405 *ſiron* [siron], 1572 *Zyrmot* [sirmot], 1577 *szirony* [siroń], 1786 *tzirommal* [cirom-mal] | *siroń* < *siron* ~ *sirom* < **sirum* < *siyrum* ⟵ WOT **sïyrum* < **sïdrum* | EOT **sïdrïm* 'a strip, a leather strap' {with suff -(*X*)*m*} < *sïdïr-* 'to strip, peel, scrape' < **sïd-* 'to come away in layers'.

1 **sïd-ïr-*: **OT** Og *sïḏrïm* 'strap', *sïdrïm īšliġ är* 'a man who completes a job and leaves nothing over for someone else', but *sïḏïr-* is not described as Og, *bu är ol sïḏrïm sïḏïrġān* 'this is a man who is always cutting strips of leather from a hide and peeling off the hair'. The same for anyone who is characterized by peeling something. (AK); **MT** *ṣïrïl-* 'to slip' (AIM), *ṣïrïl-* (MS *ṣïr-*) 'to slip' (AIMI), *sïrïm* 'courroie qui retient l'étrier' (AChag), *sïrïm* 'remen′' (AChagBud), *sirim* 'sirim, čerm, gön, tasma oyulġamaq' (AChagŠS), *sirim* 'Leder, schichtenartiges Leder' (AChagŠSK), *sirim* 'Riemen, Riemen am Steigbügel', *sïrïm* 'Lederstreif, Riemen' (AChagZ), *sirim* (r: *sïrïm*) 'üzengi kayışı', *sïyïrïm* 'beyaz kayış' (AAH), *sïyïr-* 'to slide' (AMGh); **NT *Chuv*** *šăyăr-* 'carapaťsdiraťobdiraťkožu)ssaživaťnanosiťssadiny' (Chuv), *šăyăr-* 'carapaťsodraťrazmjagčaťlyko kočedykom ili derevjaškoj, perenosno – draťsdiraťChuvA); ***NW*** *sïyïr-* 'sïdïru, tïrnatu – tire turïnda; sodraťobodrať – o kože', *sïyïr-* 'sïdïru, tïrnatu – tire turïnda; sodraťobodrať – o kože' (TatD1), *hïδïr-* 'draťsdiraťBashk), ? *siril-* 'sörtelü, kïrïlu, betü; stiraťsja, shoditťisčezaťSibTat), *sïyïr-* 'sdiraťobdiraťsïyïrtmak* 'petlja (kak orudie kazni)' (Kirg), *sïyïr-* 'to strip, to strip off, to peel, to skin, to flay' (Kaz), *sïyïr-* 'mesti, podmetaťčistiťvyčiščaťsdiraťobdiraťkogo-čto-l.' (Kklp), *sïyïr-* 'otbiraťotnimaťNog), *sïyïr-* 'otnimaťotbiraťčto, (jur.) iz″-jaťkonfiskovaťčto' (KrchBlk), *sïyïr-* 'otbiraťotnimaťBlk, Dybo 2003: 412); ***SW*** ? *sïr̄-* 'vytiraťstiraťotdergivaťbriť(sja), vynimaťiz nožen, obnažať(napr. sablju)' (Tkm), *siyir-* 'sdiraťocarapaťoblupiťsčiščaťpal′cem ili hlebom s posudy ostatki pišči' (Az), *sırım* 'leather thong, strap', *sıyır-* 'to tear, peel off, to strip off, etc.' (Tt),

sïrïm ‘der Lederriemen’, *sirim* ‘der Steigbügelriemen’ (TtR), *sïyïr-* ‘zagrebaťˊ (zerno v kuču), gresti, sdiraťˊ (kožu i t.p.)’ (Gag); ***Kh*** – ; ***SE*** *særïl-*, *sæyil-*, *sïrïl-*, *siril-*, *sil-* ‘to slide down, to glide’ (TurkiJ), *sïzïr-* ‘tereťˊ, sčišaťˊ’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *sïyïr-* ‘sdiraťˊ, snimaťˊ, obdiraťˊ (kožu, koru, odeždu), potrevožiťˊ, razberediťˊ (ranu)’ (Alt), *sir-* ‘die äussere Bekleidung eines Gegenstandes abreissen’ (AltR, AltTelR), *sïr-* ‘sdiraťˊ kožu, stegaťˊ (odejalo)’ (AltQK), *sïyïr-* ‘sodraťˊ škuru, kožu’, *sīr-* ‘sodraťˊ’ (AltTK), *sïr-* ‘abreissen, abhäuten’ (AltTelR), *sïzïr-* ‘soskablivaťˊ, vyskrebaťˊ čto-l., sdiraťˊ (koru)’, *sïzïm* ‘(ust.) lenty na šamanskoj kolotuške’ (Khak), *sïzïr-* ‘abreissen (die Rinde), Ruthenhiebe geben’ (KhakSR, KhakShR), *sïzïr-* ‘das Wild ausnehmen’ (ChulR), *sïdïm* ‘kožanyj arkan, lasso’ (Tuv), *sīla-* ‘skobliťˊ mezdru škury prjamym skrebkom’ (Tof); ***Y*** ? *siri*, *sirī* ‘osobennym sposobom vydelannaja nepromokaemaja byčačˊja koža, iz kotoroj šˊjut kožannye meški’ [cf. Tel *širi*, Mo *siri*] (Y).

2 **sïdVtur-*: **OT** –; **MT** *sïdïr-* ‘kırmak’ (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sătăr-* ‘tereťˊ, rastiraťˊ, protiraťˊ, gladiťˊ, poglaživaťˊ’ (Chuv), *sătăr-* (*sĭdĭr-*) ‘tereťˊ, natiraťˊ, obtiraťˊ, potiraťˊ, rastiraťˊ, skobliťˊ, sgrebaťˊ, mazaťˊ zamazkoj, etc.’ (ChuvA), *sătăr-* ‘dörgölni, dörzsölni, simogatni; reiben, schaben, streichen, streicheln’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïdïr-* ‘draťˊ, sdiraťˊ, sodraťˊ čto-l., stegaťˊ, hlestaťˊ’ (Tat), *sïdïrt-* ‘iškïtu; obtereťˊ’ (TatDI), *hïðïr-* ‘draťˊ, sdiraťˊ, snimaťˊ čto’ (Bashk), *sïtïr-* ‘čistartu, sïdïru; čistiťˊ, sdiraťˊ’ (SibTat), *sïdïr-* ‘soskablivaťˊ (napr. mezdru s koži), rezaťˊ tonkimi rovnymi poloskami, založiv v *sïdïrgï*, sryvaťˊ gorstˊju jagody s vetvej, obryvaťˊ kljuvom metelki trav (ob utke, guse), sdiraťˊ rtom listˊja, vetočki s kustarnika (o verbljude), opravljaťˊ kljuvom svoi perˊja (o ptice)’ (Kirg), *sïdïr-* ‘to skin an animal, to bark a tree, (fig.) to dart by, to sweep past, to sweep through, to go fast’, *sïdïrïm*: *sïdïrïm taspa* ‘leather strap’ (Kaz), *sïdïr-* ‘ehaťˊ rysˊju, sdiraťˊ (*koru*, *škuru*)’ (Kklp), *sïdïr-* ‘draťˊ, sdiraťˊ (napr. kožu s dereva), snimaťˊ (napr. škuru)’ (Nog), *sïdïr-* ‘snimaťˊ, otdeljaťˊ, sdiraťˊ, otdiraťˊ, sryvaťˊ’ (KarC), *sïdïr-* ‘sdiraťˊ (škuru), (peren.) nasilˊno otnimaťˊ, grabiťˊ, razdevaťˊ’ (Kum), *sïdïr-* ‘carapaťˊ, sdiraťˊ (kožu, koru i t.p.), snimaťˊ, staskivaťˊ s kogo (napr. odeždu)’ (KrchBlk), *sïdïr-* ‘obodraťˊ (kožu)’ (Blk, Dybo 2003: 392); ***SW*** ? *sïdïrt-* ‘sodraťˊ, pocarapaťˊ’, *xamïŋï sïdïrt-* ‘sodraťˊ kožu’ (Tkm); ***Kh*** ? *sïdur-* ‘Blätter von den Bäumen abreißen (man greift den Zweig mit der Hand, beim Zurückziehen bleibt die Faust voller Blätter), Blätter abstreifen’ (Kh); ***SE*** *sidir-* ‘stiraťˊ, smetaťˊ, sgrebaťˊ, skresti, soskrebaťˊ, sdiraťˊ, obdiraťˊ’ (Uzb); ***NE*** *sïdïr-* ‘byťˊ knutom’ (Alt), *sïdïr-* ‘gnaťˊ, prognaťˊ’ (AltTK), *sïdïm* ‘kožannyj arkan, lasso’ (Tuv), *sïdïm* ‘petlja arkana’(Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo **sidur-*, cf. *šudr-* ‘abhobeln, (gegen die Richtung der Haare) kratzen, abschaben (die Haare, die Wolle) (Kalm), *šudar-* ‘skresti, soskrebaťˊ’ (Bur), but *šūda-* ‘doler’ < *šū* ‘doloire de charpentier’ (Ord).

E/T The T noun **sïdïr-*(*X*)*m*, perhaps **sïdur-*(*X*)*m*, may be a plausible T etymon for the H word *szirony*. On the suff, see Erdal (1991: 290–300). As noted by Erdal (1991: 296), it is only in the Kashgari compendium that this der is attested as part of

the OT corpus: *sïdr-ïm* ‘a strap’. The second-syllable vowel in the verbal base was regularly lost in the der with -(*X*)*m*. In WOT, /d/ became /y/ before /r/, thus we can reconstruct a secondary WOT form **sïyrïm*. Perhaps **sïdur-um* > **sïdrum* > **sïyrum*. On **sïdur-*, see Mo **sidur-*.

The verbal base *sïdïr-* can hardly be a simplex. Erdal (1991) did not mention it among the ders, Clauson (1972: 799) reconstructed a base **sïḏ*(-) for *sïdïr-*. The T verb *sïḏïr-* ‘to strip, peel, scrape’ seems, however, not to be a caus form, as Clauson (1972: 802) assumed (albeit with a question mark). It may be a verb formed with the dev verbal suff -(*I*)*r-*. (On this suff, see Erdal 1991: 535–538). As Erdal pointed out, the occurrence of the suff -(*I*)*r-* is relatively limited and its exact function uncertain. In the verb *sïḏ-Ir-*, the suff may serve the same function as it does in *adïr-* ‘to separate (tr), etc.’ (Erdal 1991: 535) < **adX*-(*I*)*r-*. The reconstructed T verb **sïḏ-* < **sïd*(-) could carry the meaning ‘to come away in layers, peel off (intr)’. The der *sïḏ-Xg* ‘one of the two skirts of a robe from the thighs up to the collar’ (AK) can be explained fr this verbal base. The verb *sïḏïr-* ‘to strip, peel, scrape’ has some other ders beside *sïdr-ïm*. Cf. *sïḏr-ïl-* pass (Clauson 1972: 802–803), *sïḏr-ïš-* Co-op. (Clauson 1972: 803), *sïḏïr-ġāq* lit ‘constantly scraping (the ground)’, ‘a cloven hoof’ (AK). T (*sïdrïm* > *sïyrïm* >) *sīrïm* was borrowed into Pe as *sīrum* ‘Lederriemen’. The Pe word and the T etymon were discussed briefly by Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 309) who thought – without any knowledge of the H background – that Gombocz’s (1912b: 123–124) explanation, i.e. OChuv **sïrïm* ⟶ H *szirony*, is not very convincing because of the final segment *-ny* in the H word. However, *-ń* is secondary to *-n*, and *-n* is alternates with *-m* in this word in the H dials.

Many sources unexpectedly contain *-d-*. On the data for T *sïdïr-* ‘to strip, peel, scrape’, see under **2** and Levitskaja (in Dybo 2003: 412–413). The verb has a likely corresponding form **sidur-* in Mo, however, according to Doerfer (1985: 50–51), the correspondence of the vowels in the second syllables (T *-ï-* ~ Mo *-u-*) is problematic. In the Tu dials one can find *sidi-* ‘abkratzen, abhobeln’, Man *šudu-*. According to Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 392), one cannot exclude a genetic interrelation between these “Altaic” forms. Under the entry *sïdïr-*, Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 391–392) mentioned that the Kh word *sïdur-* may show the old internal T *-d-* and that Bashk *-ð-* also represents **-d-*. Forms in the other T lgs with *-d-* may have been re-borrowed fr the Mo lgs. Disagreeing with Levitskaja, Berta suggested that these T forms may go back to an OT form **sïd-tUr-* or **sïd-Xt-Ur-*, which are ders fr the same base as **sïd-ïr-*. They may also be the original of the Kalm and Bur words. Räsänen (1969: 414) did not separate the T verbs **sïd-ïr-* and **sïd-tUr-*, as was done by Levitskaja (Dybo 2003). Chuv *sătăr-* is a Tat lw. The Chuv words *săran* ‘koža (vydelennaja), kožanyj, koževennyj’ (Chuv), *săran* (*sĭ̆ran*, *sŏran*) ‘vydelennaja koža krupnogo skota’ (ChuvA), *săran*, Szp. *sŏran* ‘nem cserzett bőr; ungegerbtes Leder’ (ChuvP) may come

fr **sïyran* < **sïdïran*. The *-y-* in place of *-d-* before *-r-* occurs regularly, but the labial vowel in the Viry dials points to **suran*, as does the *s-* instead of the expected *š-*. The labial vowel is also reflected in the FUgr words of Chuv origin: Cher *suran* and Voty *suron*. Therefore, Chuv *săran*, etc. does not pertain here. As already noted by Egorov (1964: 183), it is a Mo lw (Mo *sura*(*n*) 'remen′'), and was mediated by Tat. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1241) reconstructed PT **sïdïr-* 'to rub off, peel off' and connected it with PTu **sidu-* 'to rub off, peel off' and PMo **sidur-* 'to rub off'. Mostaert (1941/1968: 631) cites an Ord word *šū* 'doloire de charpentier' and adds LMo *šuu*. According to him, Ord *šuda-* is a den verb fr this word. In any case, we have to maintain a distinction between the Ord form, on the one hand, and those in fr Kalm and Bur, on the other.

E/H Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 127) considered H *szirony* 'the peeled wicker used in spinning [hántolt fonóvessző], leather strap, etc.' to be a lw fr Chuv, and he placed it side by side with Chuv *săran* 'syromatnaja koža' and certain other corresponding T forms. Later, Munkácsi (1901b: 574–575) pointed out that the T word had also been borrowed into Pe. Having discussed the etymology of the H word a third time (1903a: 253), he claimed that one has to distinguish three homophones words *szirony* in H. One of them is *szirony ~ szilony* 'Reif' which was by him erroneously compared with T *salkïn ~ salgïn* 'Kälte'. Another is *szirony ~ szirom* 'Sämischleder, gefärbte Haut', which goes back to T words that mean 'ungegerbte Haut', and the third one is *szirony ~ szilony*, which is a cognate of H *szilánk* 'splinter, chip'; H inherited this FUgr. Gombocz (1912b: 123–124) reconstructed an OChuv form **sïrïm* for the H word, although he did not exclude the possibility that H *szirony*, which is first documented in the 16th-c. H sources, may also be a later copy fr another T lg. Bárczi (1941: 291) viewed the H word as being of debated origin. He mentioned three possibilities: (1) It may be a lw fr a T lg (see e.g. Chuv *săran* < **sïran* ⟵ CT). (2) It may have been copied fr a T lg (see e.g. Ott *sïrïm*). (3) It may, perhaps, also be a Pe lw (*sirum* 'white leather'), where the word is a copy fr T. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 764) regarded that the H word as a possible internal der of the H verb *szil-* 'to cleave, split' and maintained that, although it may also have been borrowed fr T, the chronology of its copying cannot be determined. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1439) added that the T origin of the word can perhaps be strengthened by the known BulgT terminological influence on leather manufacturing in H (see **ködmön** and **szűcs**). Ligeti (1986) only mentioned *szirony* in brackets in his last monograph.

◆ Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 127; Munkácsi 1901b: 574–575; Munkácsi 1903a: 253; Gombocz 1912b: 123–124; Csűry 1935–1936/2: 350; Ramstedt 1935: 367; Bárczi 1941: 291; Mostaert 1941/1968: 631; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 309; Egorov 1964: 183, 332; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 764; Räsänen 1969: 414; Clauson 1972: 799–800, 802–803; Doerfer 1985: 50–51; Ligeti 1986: 318, 349; Erdal 1991: 290–300, 535–538; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1439; Dybo 2003: 391–392, 412–413; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1241.

SZIRT [sirt] ‘rock, cliff, occiput, crest (of mountain)’ | 1302 GN *zÿrtus* [sirt-uš], c1405 *nayk ʒirth* [ńak sirt], p1416/c1490 *kǫʒúrtot* [kō-surt-ot] | *sirt* ← WOT **sïrt* | EOT *sïrt* ‘the back of somebody, of something’, MT ‘hill, ploughshare’.

OT Og *sirt* ‘stream’ or ‘small valley’, Og *sirtlā-* – if one climbs up a small valley, in the Oġuz dial (AK); **MT** *sïrt* ‘épaule, omoplate, dos’ (AChag), *sïrt* ‘shoulder blade, shoulder’ (AChagAb), *sïrt* ‘spina’ (AChagMA), *sirt* ‘die Aussenseite, die Oberfläche, der Rücken’ (AChagR), *sïrt* ‘shoulder blade, shoulder’ (AChagSC), *sïrt* ‘sïrt, arqa’ (AChagŠS), *sïrt* ‘Rücken, Schulter’ (AChagZ), *sïrt* ‘Bergrücken, Hügel’ (LCCG), *sïrt* ‘yüksek arazi’ (AAH), *ṣïrt* ‘croupe, colline, hauteur’ (ABul); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sărt* ‘holm, gorka, vozvyšennostʹ’ (Chuv), *šărt* ‘(*dial*) grebenʹ’, *tu šărče* ‘grebenʹ gory’ (Chuv), *sărt* ‘holm, vozvyšennostʹ, spinnoj hrebet lošadi’ (ChuvA), *sărt* ‘hegy, domb; Berg, Hügel’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sïrt* ‘hrebet, otnosjaščijsja k hrebtu, hrebtovyj, spina, spinnoj, gornyj hrebet, krjaž, grebenʹ gory’ (Tat), *sïrt* ‘berär närsäneŋ artï, art yagï; zadnjaja storona čego-l.; öy artï; učastok za domom’ (TatD1), *sïrt* ‘berär närsäneŋ artï, art yagï; zadnjaja storona čego-l.’ (TatD2), *sïrt* ‘hát, hátgerinc, hegygerinc; Rücken, Rückgrat, Bergrücken’, *pïčak sïrtï* ‘késhát (késfoka); Messerrücken’ (TatB), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken, der Hügel’ (TatKR), *hïrt* ‘hrebet, hrebtovyj, hrebetnyj, hrebet, gornaja cepʹ, hrebtovyj, spina, spinnoj, zadnjaja častʹ čego, zad, zadnij, tylʹnyj’ etc. (Bashk), *hïrt* ‘tau arqahï, tau, art, tiθkărĕ’ (BashkD1), *hïrt* ‘iznanka’ (BashkD2), *sïrt* ‘arka; spina’ (SibTat), *sïrt* ‘vnešnjaja storona, vnešnostʹ, to čto nahoditsja ne vnutri, a za predelami čego-l., periferija, mestnostʹ, otstojaščaja daleko ot stolicy, ot goroda, tylʹnaja storona, spinka, obuh (noža, meča), syrty (vysokogornoe plato, vysokogornaja dolina)’ (Kirg), *sïrt* ‘outward appearance, exterior, exterior part, upper, back, hillock, hill, butt, back edge, head of an axe, the side opposite the blade on a knife or ax, (geogr.) height, elevation’ (Kaz), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken’ (KazR), *sïrt* ‘vnešnjaja, naružnaja storona, zadnjaja storona čego-l., vnešnostʹ čeloveka, obuh’ (Kklp), *sïrt* ‘vnešnjaja, naružnaja storona, zadnjaja storona čego-l., sever’ (Nog), *sïrt* ‘spina, hrebet (gornyj), sever’ (CrTat), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken’ (CrTatR), *sïrt* ‘spina, plečo, obratnaja storona’ (KarSh), *sïrt* ‘spina, (geogr.) plato, grebenʹ’ (Kum), *sïrt* ‘spina, plato, ploskogorʹe’ (KrchBlk), *sïrt* ‘Rücken, Rückgrat, Bergrücken’ (KrchP), *sïrt* ‘Rücken, Rückgrat’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *sïrt* ‘zadnjaja častʹ, vozvyšennostʹ, gornaja grjada, v roli služebnogo imeni za’ (Tkm), *sïrt* ‘spina’ (RTkmAB), *sïrt* ‘golovka bedrennoj kosti’ (AzD), *sirt* ‘veršina, grebenʹ, hrebet (gory, holmov)’ (AzD), *sırt* ‘upper part of a person’s back, back, ridge of an animal’s back, ridge (of a mountain), back of a knife, sword, etc., fur from the middle strip along the back of a beast’s skin’ (Tt), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken, das Äussere, die Aussenseite, die Erhöhung, der Hügel’ (TtR), *sïrt* ‘spina, zapleč́e, sklon, hrebet, grebenʹ, veršina (gory)’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sirt* ‘vnešnjaja storona, naružnaja storona, verh, poverhnostʹ, (geogr.) syrt, hrebet’ (Uzb), *sïrt, sït* ‘spine, back’ (TurkiJ), *siît* ‘hrebet (gory)’ (TurkiL),

sirt ‘vnešnjaja, naružnaja storona, poverhnostʹ’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *sïrt* ‘vnešnjaja storona, vnešnostʹ, spina, hrebet’ (Alt), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken, das Äussere, die Aussenseite’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *sïrt* ‘zadnjaja častʹ, spina’ (AltL), *sïrt* ‘spina, veršina, kryša’ (AltQK), *sïrt* ‘spina, hrebet, poverhnostʹ, naružnaja, vnešnjaja častʹ, storona’ (AltTK), *sïrt* ‘vnešnjaja storona čego-l., vnešnostʹ, obuh (topora i pr.), spina, hrebet’ (Khak), *sïrt* ‘spina, tylʹnaja storona, spinka’ (KhakB), *sïrt* ‘die Hinterseite, der Rücken’(KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *sirt* ‘grebenʹ (gory), hrebet, spina’ (Tuv), *si˝rt* ‘grebenʹ na hrebete gory, šivorot (u čeloveka), holka (u melkih životnyh), spina (u ryby)’, *sï˝rt* ‘spina (krupnyh životnyh)’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Rus *syrt* ‘vodorazdel, krjaž’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 820).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 846), T *sïrt* displays a highly diverse range of meanings, of which ‘back’ is perhaps the basic one. On his opinion, see **serte**. Tenišev (2001: 268) separated the T words *sïrt* ‘spina’ and **sirt* ‘ščetina’ and suggested that the latter word may go back to **sirk* and that it has the Mo corresponding form *sirkeg* ‘ščetina’. On the corresponding segments T **rt* ~ Mo **rk*, see T **bert* ‘krepkij’, Mo **berke* id. According to Tenišev, the Tuv item with a front *-i-* may be secondary. In listing the T data for *sïrt*, Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 418–420) did not separate the words meaning ‘back’ and ‘thick hair’ (on this latter, see **serte**). On the basis of Tenišev (2001: 268) and Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1259, 1260), however, Dybo (2003: 419, n. 352) remarked in a footnote that the T lgs may contain two homophones *sïrt*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1259) considered PT **sïrt* ‘back, spine, tableland, mountain ridge’ (see under the PA entry **sira* ‘hill, high mountain’) to be homophonous with PT **sïrt* ‘thick hair, bristle’ (see under the PA entry **sirpʻa* ‘thick hair, bristle’). This latter PT reconstruction was based on data fr Kashgari and some VT data. Räsänen (1969: 419–420) and Ligeti (1986: 97) also separated the words with the meanings ‘back’ and ‘thick hair’.

The semantic field of *sïrt* is very wide. One cannot rule out that it was derived fr an unknown base. This possibility was already mentioned by Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 419), who pointed out that the structure of *sïrt* is similar to that of *art* ‘the nape of the neck, back’.

E/H Following others, Vámbéry (1870: 175) considered H *szirt* to be of T origin and compared it with Chag and Tt data. Munkácsi (1901a: 194) and Gombocz (1907a: 357–358) accepted the T etymology. Later, Gombocz (1912b: 124) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sïrt* for *szirt*. Bárczi (1941: 291) regarded the H word as an early T lw. According to Ligeti (1960: 297), the word may have been copied fr the so-called *s-* (*ś-*) dial of Chuv and noted that the H initial *sz-* could only have been preserved in cases where the T original contained a front-vocalic *i*. Later, Ligeti (1961: 30) observed that H *szirt* represents the only lw in which the *s* was preserved before the vowel *-i-*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 765) assumed that the word was copied fr the OT word *sïrt*.

According to Ligeti (1986: 95–97, 542), H *szirt* cannot be an OChuv lw as it goes back to a possible Kip noun. Its two meanings 'nape' and 'rock, cliff' were both attested in the T lgs. It could have been borrowed into H at a time when the H back-vocalic *ï* still existed. This fact may be borne out by the dial item *szirtok* 'what has a bank, something steep' (Bálint 1957/2: 508). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1439), the T copied form could have been **sïrt* 'Bergrücken, Rücken', the word first having been documented in H with an -ï-. To this I can add that it was surely back-vocalic, independently of the quality of the /i/ sound.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 175; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1907a: 357–358; Gombocz 1912b: 16, 124; Bang 1917: 43; Bárczi 1941: 291; Bálint 1957/2: 508; Ligeti 1960: 297; Ligeti 1961: 30; Egorov 1964: 184; Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 820; Róna-Tas 1967: 177; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 765; Räsänen 1969: 419–420; Clauson 1972: 846; Ligeti 1986: 95–97, 185, 202, 305, 313, 540, 542; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1439; Fedotov 1996/2: 32; Tenišev 2001: 268; Dybo 2003: 418–420; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1259–1260.

szó [sō] 'word' | 1213/1550 ? PN *Zoufa* [sō-šå], early 13th c./c1350 *fcovol* [sō-vål] | *sō* < *saw* ← WOT **sav* ← PT **sab* | EOT *sav* 'speech, word' | Cf. POUgr **saw*(*ɜ*).

OT *küräg sabï andag* 'the deserteur's report was as follows' (RMTon 9), *bo sabïmïn ädgüti äšid* 'listen carefully to this speech of mine' (RMKT S 2), *qul savï* 'the slave's words', *sab* 'words, speech, message' (RTIrk 54), *sav elitip sav kälürüp* 'carrying messages to and from' (UChuas 104-105), *saw* (*sab*) 'Wort, Nachricht, Ruhm, Dinge', *sawïn inčä ayur* 'sagt es durch sein Wort' (UTTI 14,32), *sāw* 'Proverb, story, report, message, speech, news', *sāwčï* 'a messenger of God Most High'. Its root is *sāw* (AK), *sav*: *öt sav*, *öt sav ärig* 'advice' (AQB), *saw* 'Wort' (BD 21), **MT** *sabqaq*: *öčig sabqaq* 'informations, nouvelles' (UHyS), *sav* 'Wort, Sache, Geschäft' (UCivSa 19:13), *savčï* 'prophet' (ABF), *sav* 'haber, söz', *sava-* 'ses çıkarmak' (AHMA), *sawčī* (misspelt *sūrčī*) 'messenger, envoy' (AIMI), *sav* 'word, tidings', *söz sav* 'tidings, news' (AKor), *sawčï*, *savčï* 'prophet' (ARbg), *saw* 'slovo, reč'', *sawčï* 'prorok' (ATef), *savčï* 'messager, intermédiaire' (AChag), *savčï* 'Gesandter' (AChagŠSK), *sav* 'dava, söz', *savčï* 'davacı, yani davayı gören kadı, davayı faslettiğinden dolayı peygambere de ıtlak olunmuştur' (AAH), *sav* 'hikaye, kıssa, söz, haber' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *săvă* 'stih, stihotvorenie, stihovoj, stihotvornyj, stih, četverostišie, kuplet, (tekst) pesni, častuška i častuški, pesennyj, (dial.) melodija, napev' (Chuv), *săvă* 'pesnja, pesennye slova, osobye pesni, stihi, melodija pesni' (ChuvA); ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *sāvčï* 'svat, svaha' (Tkm), *sāv*: *ses-sāv yetenoq* 'nikakogo golosa ne slyšno' (TkmD, Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 128)), *sav* '(arch) word, saying, news, thesis, assertion' (Tt), *sav* 'söz, dedikodu, mektup, haber' (TtD), *sav* 'dedikodu' (TtDA); ***Kh*** *sāvčï*, *sāfčï*, *safčï* 'Brautwerber, Freier' [zu T *sāb* 'Wort, Rede'] (Kh); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for the H word, WOT **saw* < *sāb* 'speech' < PT **sābV*, is documented as of the EOT inscriptions and seems to be a simplex. (PT **sāb* 'word, speech' was discussed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1194) under the PA entry

**sāba* 'sign'.) According to Clauson (1972: 782–783), "the difference between this word [*sa:v*] and *sö:z*, if it is not simply caused by chronology or dialect (*sö:z* is rather rare in the early period), seems to be one of quantity. *sa:v* seems to mean 'a (full-length) speech; a narrative or story, a message', while *sö:z* seems to mean basically 'a single word, or short utterance'."

As was also pointed out by Clauson, although *sāb* is frequent in the OT and MT sources it appears very sporadically in the ModT lgs. It seems to have become obsolete because it was displaced by *sõz*, which previously occurred only seldom. On the T data for *sāb*, see Räsänen (1969: 391) and Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 128–129). One of the most commonly used ders of the word is *sab+čï* 'the prophet' and also 'go-between' (see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 226–227) and Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 129)).

It is an old question whether the words in Vog (*såw* 'Wort, Laut, Stimme, Melodie') and Osty (*saw* 'Lied das der Wahrsager singt', 'Stimme') (see Lakó 1967–1978/3: 591; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 885) which correspond to T *sab* 'word, speech' are T lws of the Ugr period or were independently copied fr T lgs of a later period.

The suggestion made by Egorov (1964: 181) and Fedotov (1996/2: 24) that Chuv *sămaχ* 'slovo' may be interrelated with Chuv *săvă* (< *sabmak*) is not impossible (see *+mAk* (Erdal 1991: 110)). One would expect *sumaχ* and in fact we find *somak* 'slovo' in ChuvA (Ašmarin 1928–1950/11: 181).

E/H The T etymology of the H lexeme *szó* was first proposed by Vámbéry (1870: 175). According to Gombocz (1924: 174), there are perfect correspondences between the H word and words in the OUgr lgs. However, one cannot rule out that the H word was not inherited fr Ugr, but is a T lw. In this case, the Hungarians and the Ob-Ugrians borrowed the T word independently fr each other. Pais (1943c: 346, n. 1) attempted to find an etymological link between H *száj* : *szá* 'mouth', H *szó* : *szav-* 'word' and the corresponding FUgr words. According to Bárczi (1952: 349), the H word *szó* may have been inherited fr Ugr, but it was borrowed fr T in the Ugr period. He thought that the word-initial *s-* in the H, Vog and Osty words could have been modified in Ugr and that it could have been pronounced similarly to a foreign *š-*. Ligeti (1953: 344; 1975: 279) assumed that the H word may have been borrowed fr T in the Ugr period. Sinor (1969: 274) accepted Ligeti's opinion, but he added that the Hungarians could also have copied this word independently fr the Ugr lgs. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 591–592) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 773–774) accepted Ligeti's opinion. Ligeti (1986: 139) considered the H word to be of PT der in Ugr. He pointed out, however, that the Ugr–T correspondence poses phonetic difficulties, because the *b* > *β* > *v* change seems only to have occurred in OT, being present in MT. Therefore, one cannot rule out that the spirantization T *-b* ⟶ OUgr *-b* > *w* represented a Ugr phonetic change in this word. This is an unnecessary hypothesis. In WOT and in the

lg of the OT inscriptions, <b> was already a spirant in the final position (see Erdal (2004: 63–67)).

Rédei (1986–1991/2: 885) and then Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1443–1444) regarded the H word as having originated in T in the Ugr period. Harmatta (1997: 74) proposed another etymology. He attempted to tie the Ugr words to Ir **srawa* (< PIE **k'léu̯es* 'Gehörtes') (cf. Avesta *srauuah-* 'Ruhm, Ansehen, Lobspruch, Spruch', OIr Ancient Pe *śavah-* 'Ruhm' in names, MIr Pehl *sraw* 'word, spell' (MacKenzie 1986: 76), Sogd *srwk* (srok) 'speech, hymn' (< **sruka*) (Gharib 1995: 362), Mayrhofer (1986–2001/2: 667–668)). According to Harmatta, T *sab*, *sav* is an independent word which could, however, also have been copied by the Ugrians.

I claim that the Vog and Osty words are separate copies fr an early WOT lg. The semantics of the Vog and Osty words is the nearest to that of Chuv. Chuv *săvă* also the carries meaning 'melody, song'. This sense was also present in H and preserved in *szózat* 'Ton, Klang, Lärm, Rede, Wort', first noted after 1372. See more details in § 8.5. The link between the Ir words and the T word requires further investigation.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 175; Gombocz 1924: 174; Ašmarin 1928–1950/11: 181; Bárczi 1941: 292; Pais 1943c: 346; Bárczi 1952: 349; Ligeti 1953: 344; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 226–227; Egorov 1964: 181; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 591–592; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 773–774; Räsänen 1969: 176, 391; Sinor 1969: 274; Clauson 1972: 782–783; Ligeti 1975: 279; Ligeti 1986: 139, 420; MacKenzie 1986: 76; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 885; Mayrhofer 1986–2001/2: 667–668; Erdal 1991: 110; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1443–1444; Gharib 1995: 362; Fedotov 1996/2: 20, 24; Harmatta 1997: 74; Dybo 2003: 128–129; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1194; Erdal 2004: 63–67.

SZONGOR [songor] *arch* 'a kind of falcon, *Pielfalcus*, *Gyrfalco*' | 1282 PN *zungur* [songor] (Györffy 1963–1998/2: 318), c1395 *ʒongor* [songor] | *songor* < **sonkor* ← Cum **soŋkur* | EOT *sïŋkur*, *suŋkur* 'the gerfalcon, *Falco gyrfalco*'.

OT *Šïŋqur* PN, i.e. 'Gierfalke' (UPfahl 12:18), *suŋqur* 'name of a bird of prey. It is smaller than the *toġril*' (AK), *sačïm boldï suŋqur tüsi teg šašut* 'my hair is thin as a falcon's plumage' (AQB); **MT** *šungqar* 'Habicht' (UOg), *šongqar* (*songqar*) 'gerfaut' (UHy), *ṣunqur* 'falcon' (AGul), *soŋqur* 'sokół' (AHŠ), *soŋqur* 'sokol' (AHŠF), *šunqar* 'al-ṣunġur', alternative reading *sunqur* (AIM, Cl.), *sunqur* 'doğanların şahı [kuş]' (AIMI), *šunqar* 'sokol' (AM), *sunġar*, *sunqur* 'faucon' (AChag), *sunġar* 'sunġur' (AChagAb), *sungar* 'sungur' (AChagAbA), *sonġar* 'madár, melyet az oszm. szongurnak neveznek, kerecsen [a bird called the songur by the Osmans, saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*)]' (AChagAbV), *šunqar* 'sokol iz razrjada hiščnyh ptic' (AChagB), *sunġar* 'krečet, lovčij sokol' (AChagBud), *suŋġar* 'der Falke' (AChagR), *sunqur*, *šunqar* 'a hunting bird of the hawk species' (AChagSC), *sonġar* 'sunqur, doġan' (AChagŠS), *sünġar* (sic!) 'Jagdfalke', *šunqar* 'eine Art Jagdfalke, Sperber' (AChagŠSK), *sonġur* 'der weisse Falke, Gerfalke, Geierfalke', *sunqur* 'Gerfalke, eine Art Jagdfalke' (AChagZ), *sonġur* 'Falke' (LCCI), *sonqur* 'bir nevi kuş' (AAH), *sonqur* 'sokół, espèce de faucon' (ABul), *sunqur* (Houtsma: *sonkor*) 'eine Art Falke', also documented as

PN (AHou, Cl.), ? *Sonqur* PN (AKav), *sunqur* ‘sokol’ (ATuh), *sunqur* ‘kara kuş’ and it is mentioned as the name of a slave (ATuhA), *sungar*, *sungur*, *sunkur* ‘akdoğan’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *šănkkar* ‘nazvanie pticy’ (ChuvA); **NW** *šoŋkar* ‘krečet, kreče-tovyj’ (Tat), *šoŋqar* ‘krečet’ (Bashk), *šoŋqar* ‘lačïn; sokol’ (SibTat), *šuŋqar* ‘sokol’ (SibTatBD), *šumkar*, *šunkar* ‘krečet (kirgizskie ohotniki različajut šest′ vidov), ėpitet molodca, bogatyrja (možet otnosit′sja i k ženščine), (redko, peren. iron. (o ženščine) legkogo povedenija)’ (Kirg), *sŭŋqar* ‘falcon’ (Kaz), *sŭŋqar* ‘sokol’ (KazB), *suŋqar* ‘der Falke’ (KazR), *suŋqar* ‘sokol’ (Kklp); ***SW*** *šuŋqar* ‘krečet, sokol’ (Tkm), *lājïn šuŋqar* ‘sokol’ (RTkmAB), *šungar* ‘krečet (ptica)’ (Az), *sungur* ‘falcon’ (Tt), *sungur* ‘doğan çeşitlerinden’ (TtDA); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *šunqor* ‘krečet’ (Uzb), *shunqar* ‘the shunkar falcon, *Falco Hendersoni*’ (TurkiSh), *šumqai* ‘hiščnaja ptica’ (TurkiL), *šuŋqar* ‘sokol, krečet’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *šoŋkor* ‘sokol’ (Alt), *šoŋqor* ‘der Falke’ (AltR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *siŋqor*, *šoŋqor* ‘falcon, gerfalcon’ (L), MMo *šiŋqor* ‘Edelfalke’ (SH).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 838), the vocalisation of the T etymon for the H word is uncertain. In OUyg, it is only noted as a PN and its phonetic shape was *sïŋkur* or *sïŋkor*. The word was copied into Mo in early times with the regular change *si-* > *ši-*. The Karakhanid word appeared as *suŋkur* and its form stems fr regressive assimilation. Ščerbak (1997: 147–148) thought that the original phonetic shape of the T word could have been *suŋkur* with the **su-* > **sï-* change occurring in Mo. Ligeti (1986: 96) considered the forms *soŋkur*, *suŋkur* as secondary and suggested that the older form could be *sïŋkur*. On the Mo data *siŋkur*, *šoŋur*, see Ligeti (1986: 96). The Mo word was re-borrowed by some T lgs; and these re-borrowed lexemes contain an initial *š-* (cf. Ščerbak (1997: 210)). According to Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 360–362), Pe *šonqār* ‘Gierfalke, Hierofalco gyrfalco’ may go back to Western MMo *šonkar* < Mo *siŋkor* < **sïŋkor*. The Mo word was also copied by Man (cf. *šoŋgon*, *šoŋkon* ‘Seeadler’, *šoŋkoro* ‘weißer Seeadler des östlichen Meeres’). According to Ramstedt, the word reached Kor (see Ramstedt (1951: 81), who compared T and Mo *šoŋkor* ‘Jagdfalke’ with Kor *sjoŋkot* id.). The word was also borrowed into Pe fr Chag (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 272–277).

E/H Munkácsi (1907: 342) considered the H word to be a T copy. Gombocz (1912b: 124–125) took it to be of T origin, but he did not reconstruct an OChuv copied form for it. Róna-Tas (1967: 173) noted that the corresponding Chuv form contains an initial *š-*. According to Ligeti (1979: 32–33), the H words *szongor* and *kerecset* could denote the same bird. (*Kerecset* is a Sl lw in H). Both of them became obsolete in the H lg and they were displaced by the word *kerecsen*, which could have resulted fr an internal H dev fr *kerecset*. According to Ligeti (1986: 95–96), on the basis of the corresponding initial consonants H *sz-* ~ Chuv *š-*, *szongor* certainly cannot be a Chuv lw. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1449) regarded it to be of plausible Cum origin. As he

pointed out, it was a well-known bird name in H in the 14th–15th c. and also a known family name, but they were later replaced by **sólyom**.

◆ Munkácsi 1907: 342; Gombocz 1912b: 124–125; Ramstedt 1951: 81; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 360–362; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 272–277; Györffy 1963–1998/2: 318; Róna-Tas 1967: 173; Clauson 1972: 838; Ligeti 1979: 32–33; Ligeti 1986: 95–96, 296, 540; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1449; Ščerbak 1997: 147–148, 210.

SZÓR [sōr] 'to spread, to scatter, to winnow' | c1405 *ʒoro lapath* [sōr-ō låpāt] | *sōr-* < **sawur-* ← WOT **sawur-* | EOT *savur-* 'to scatter, to winnow', MT *sav-* 'to spray, to turn away'.

OT *sawur-*: *är tarïg sawurdï* 'the man winnowed the wheat'. The same for anything that you winnow, (God Most High created a sky like turquoise) *savurdï ürüŋ qaš* 'he sowed therein (the stars as though they were) jade' (this is a white stone used to make seals) (AK); **MT** *savur-* 'savurmak' (AHMA), *sawur-* 'to scatter' (AKor), *sawur-* 'vejat′, dut′' (ATef), *savur-* 'cribler, jeter au vent' (AChag), *savur-* 'to strew, scatter' (AChagG), *sawur-* 'razvejat′' (AChagMA), *savur-* 'zerstreuen, werfeln', *sovur-* 'das Getreide werfeln' (AChagR), *sawur-* 'to scatter earth, threshed corn, and the like and toss them in the wind' (AChagSC), *saurman* 'die Ernte mit den Füssen auseiander werfend dem Winde überlassen' (AChagŠSK), *sawur-* 'streuen, zerstreuen' (AChagZ), ? *suvul-* (suul-) 'sich zurückziehen' (LCCG), ? *ṣaw-* 'yerini değiştirmek', *ṣawul-* 'to be diverted' (AAH), *ṣawul-* 'to turn away from the (right) road' (AHou), *ṣavar-*, *ṣovur-* 'unosit′, rasseivat′' (ATuh), *sovur-* (*savar-* added below the line) 'savmak, savurmak' (ATuhA), *sav-* 'geçiştirmek, defetmek, bastırmak, atlatmak, gidermek [to drive away, repulse, avoid, escape from, bring to an end, let loose]', *savul-* 'savuşturulmak, geçiştirilmek, atlatılmak, bertaraf edilmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *săvăr-* 'vejat′, proveivat′, pomešivat′, mešat′' (Chuv), *săvăr-* 'vejat′, pomešivat′ osobym obrazom, kak by veja', *sur-* 'vejat′' (ChuvA), *săvăr-* Szp. id. 'szórni; wannen, worfeln (Getreide)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** ? *suïr-* 'vydergivat′, vydernut′, vyryvat′, vyrvat′, vytjagivat′, vytjanut′, otsasyvat′, otsosat′, vysasyvat′, vysosat′, vytjagivat′, vytjanut′, vsasyvat′, vsosat′, vpityvat′, vpitat′, vtjagivat′, vtjanut′' (Tat), *suïr-* 'ǰil yäki suïrgïč yärdämendä kibäktän, čüp-čardan ayerïp čistartu, ǰilgärü (ašlïknï)' (TatE), *suwïr-*, *sïwïr-* 'vejat′' (TatD1), *sïuïr-*, *sauïr-* 'szórni; wannen, schwingen, worfeln' (TatB), *sapïr-* 'perebaltyvat′, vzbaltyvat′ (berja židkost′ kovšom i t. p. i opjat′ slivaja ee v ėtu že posudu), vejat′' (Kirg), *suïr-* 'vejat′', ? *sapïr-* 'to shake up (a liquid)' (Kaz), *suŭïr-* 'vejat′', ? *sapïr-* 'vzbaltyvat′ židkost′' (Kklp), *suvïr-* 'vydergivat′, vynimat′, vytaskivat′, vytjagivat′, vejat′, proveivat′', *sapïr-* 'vzbaltyvat′, razmešivat′ židkost′ (nabiraja ee kovšom ili čem-l. drugim i opjat′ slivaja v tu že posudu)' (Nog), *savur-* 'vejat′, tranžirit′' (CrTat), *sawur-* 'verfeln' (CrTatR), *savur-* 'brosit′ v vozduh, rassypat′' (KarT, KarSh), *suvur-* 'vytaskivat′, vynimat′, vydergivat′, vyryvat′, vejat′, očiščat′ ot sora, mjakiny putem vejanija' (Kum), *suŭur-* 'proveivat′ čto' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sovur-* 'vejat′, proveivat′, vzmetat′, (*peren.*) tranžirit′' (Tkm), *sovïr-* 'vejat′' (RTkmAB), *sovur-*

‘vejaťʹ, provejaťʹ, razvejaťʹ, rassejaťʹ, razbrasyvaťʹ, (*peren.*) rashodovaťʹ, tratiťʹ zrja, promatyvaťʹ’ (Az), *savur-* ‘to toss about violently, to throw into the air, to blow about, to winnow etc.’ (Tt), *savur-* tr. ‘vejaťʹ, proveivaťʹ, razveivaťʹ, razbryzgivaťʹ, razmahivaťʹ, podnimaťʹ *čto* v vozduh, vzdymaťʹ kluby (*čego-l.*), puskaťʹ (*dym*), brosaťʹ, govoriťʹ, izrygaťʹ (*brannye slova i t. p.*), naprasno tratiťʹ, brosaťʹ na veter (*denʹgi*)’ (TtB), *savur-* ‘zerstreuen, werfeln’ (TtR), *saur-* ‘mesti, vʹjužiťʹ (*o vʹjuge*, *meteli*), vejaťʹ, razveivaťʹ, proveivaťʹ (*zerno*), vorošiťʹ (*solomu*, *seno*), podnimaťʹ (*v vozduh*), vzdymaťʹ (*klubami*), (*prjam. i peren.*) rasseivaťʹ, razveivaťʹ, razgonjaťʹ, razvevaťʹ, kolyhaťʹ, peretočiťʹ (vino, solenʹja)’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *savur-* ‘worfeln (Weizen oder Gerste, indem man die Körner vom Stroh trennt)’ (Kh), *savur-* ‘worfeln’ (KhT); ***SE*** *sovur-* ‘vejaťʹ, proveivaťʹ, razveivaťʹ, razmetaťʹ, vzmetaťʹ’ (Uzb), *suġur-* ‘vejaťʹ, proveivaťʹ’ (UzbD, Dybo 2003: 275), *sōr-*, *sōra-* ‘to sift the grain from the chaff by throwing it in the air against the wind, to fan in the wind’ (TurkiJ), *saur-* ‘to winnow (grain)’ (TurkiSh), *sori-*, *soru-* ‘proveivaťʹ (zerno)’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *sobïr-* ‘smešivaťʹ, vejaťʹ, razveivaťʹ’ (Alt), *sobïr-* ‘auseinanderwehen, in Unordnung bringen’ (AltTelR), *sobïr-* ‘smešivaťʹ čto-l., vejaťʹ čto-l., razveivaťʹ čto-l.’ (Khak), *sabïr-* (*samïr-*) ‘vejaťʹ, perelivaťʹ (podnimaja židkostʹ i opjaťʹvylivaja obratno)’ (KhakB), *sār-* ‘studiťʹ, ostuživaťʹ (pomešivaja, perelivaja), vejaťʹ proveivaťʹ (zerno), peren. puskaťʹ obraščenie (tovar, denʹgi), vygodno prodavaťʹ (pereprodavaťʹ)’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *säwr-* ‘zerstreuen’ (Kalm, Ramstedt 1935: 319).

E/T On the data for the T etymon for H *szór-*, see Clauson (1972: 791) *savur-* ‘to scatter, to winnow’ (cf. also Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 275–276)). Clauson considered *savur-* to be the caus form of *sav-* ‘to spray’ (1972: 784), which has the pass form *savïl-*. According to Erdal (1991: 671), the first occurrence of the base *sav-*, despite Clauson’s (1972: 788) position, is not in ATef, but in UHeilk II 1,4 (*..önmiš qartqa ičgü savar käsärlärin sözlälïm* ‘auf dem Magen und auf dem Eigenweide zum Vorschein kommen. Enthülste...’ and AQB 6168 (*mini sav!* ‘drive away (imp)’). Erdal (1991: 271) thinks that *sav-ïš* ‘exorcism [Geisterbeschwörung]’ may also go back to the verbal base *sav-*. On the ders of *savur-*, see Erdal (1991: 647, 671).

T etymon for H *szór-* seems very likely to have been a copied form **sav-Vr-*, which derived fr OT *sav-* < PT **sabV-*. The original base was preserved in some T lgs (see *sav-* (*savar*) ‘gnaťʹ, progonjaťʹ, otgonjaťʹ, uvolʹnjaťʹ, izbavljaťʹsja, otdelyvaťʹsja, osvoboždaťʹsja, perezretʹ, zavjanutʹ’ (TtB), *sov-* ‘tratiťʹ, rashodovaťʹ, otvoditʹ, napravljaťʹ v storonu ot kogo-čego-l., svernutʹ’ (Tkm), *sov-* ‘prohoditʹ, minovaťʹ (*sezonu*), projti, proletetʹ mimo’ (Az)). On the basis of the historical and ModT data, the initial sense of OT *sav-* < PT **sabV-* could have been *‘to twirl, roll, stream’. It is a tall order to define whether the T etymon was a der with the caus suff *-(U)r-* (on which see Erdal 1991: 710–734) or a der with the dev verbal suff *-(I)r-* (on which see Erdal 1991: 535–538). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1231) reconstructed PT **sabur-*

'to winnow, scatter' and attempted to tie it to PTu **sebu-* 'to scatter', PMo **sib-* 'to hit, beat, to throw'. Mo *sibe-* carries the meaning 'to perforate, to tattoo' (L), but see Kalm *šiw-* 'werfen' (Ramstedt 1935: 362). The comparison also presents serious phonetic difficulties and thus cannot be accepted. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1232) separated another verbal base PT **sapï-* 'to sway, wave, shake up' fr PT **sabur-*, the reconstruction of which is based on data of Kashgari (*sabï-*), Kirg, Kaz, Kklp, Nog *sapïr-*.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 175–176) considered the H verb *szór-* to be of T origin and compared it with Chag and Tt data. Budenz (1873: 88) and then Gombocz (1907a: 358) agreed with the T etymology of *szór-*. Gombocz (1912b: 125) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sïwïr-* for it. According to Németh (1932: 9), Chuv *sur-* and H *szór-* may go back to an ultimate PT base **sabïr-*. Bárczi (1941: 293) felt the H verb was of T der. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 783–784) thought that the OT copied form could be either **savur-* or **saur-*. The verb originally represented an important term in animal husbandry. Palló (1982: 165) regarded the T word as a borrowing with its secondary meaning **savur-* 'to winnow'. According to her, the original sense of the T verb could have been 'to scatter'. She claimed that the copied T word was a caus form fr T *sav-* 'to scatter'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1450) supposed an early T lw which was copied as **saβur-* and assumed that the T word had the base **sav-* 'werfen, streuen'. It was certainly a term used in agriculture.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 175–176; Budenz 1873: 88; Gombocz 1907a: 358; Gombocz 1912b: 16, 125; Németh 1932: 9; Ramstedt 1935: 319, 362; Bárczi 1941: 293; Egorov 1964: 180; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 783–784; Räsänen 1969: 391; Clauson 1972: 784, 788–789, 791; Palló 1982: 165; Ligeti 1986: 63, 195, 287, 320, 530; Erdal 1991: 271, 535–538, 647, 671, 710–734; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1450; Fedotov 1996/2: 21; Dybo 2003: 275–276; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1231–1232.

SZÖCSKE [söčke] 'grasshopper' | [1275] ? GN *zechke* [sečke], 1366 PN *Zukche* [sökče], 1538 *ʒewkchewk* [sökčō̄-k], 1590 *szőczkő* [söčkō̄], 1643 *szőtskéc* [söčkē-k] | *söčke* < **sökče* < **sökšő̄* < **sököső̄* < *sök-* {with suffs *-V̄*, *+(V)š* and *+V̄*} < *sek-* ← WOT **sek-* | See **szökik**.

For the T data, see **szökik**.

E/T See **szökik**.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 176) considered the H word to be of T origin early on, however his position was based on data which do not belong here. Gombocz (1912b: 125) and later Bárczi (1941: 294) regarded the word in question as an internal development fr the H part of the verb *szök-* (see **szökik**). According to them, the development of the word can be explained in the following way: *szöcske* < *szëcskő*, *szöcskő* < *szökcső* < *szököső*. Kniezsa (1955: 954) rejected the suggested Sl origin because of serious phonetic problems and accepted Gombocz's explanation. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 791–792) was of the same opinion. According to Kiss (1976: 173–176), one can assume a word

split in the case of H *szöcske*. Thus, the following could have occurred fr the der of the verb *szök-* with *-(V)š-*: (1) the word **szekcső* 'rapids', as an aquatic term that could later be detected in some GNs, and (2) another word *szöcske* 'grasshopper'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1453–1454) did not change his view and accepted Gombocz's explanation.

It is important to note that Joki (1952: 265–266), in discussing the Kam word *segi* 'grosse Heuschrecke', assumed that it may have derived fr the T verb *sek-* 'hüpfen' and reconstructed a copied form **segik* '(das) hüpfende (Tier)'. His presumption may be correct and it may support the semantic side of the etymology of *szöcske*. He (1952: 265–266) listed some other T ders fr the verbal base *sek-* with the meanings 'Sprengsel, Heuschrecke', 'Floh' and 'Grashüpfer'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szöcske* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 176; Gombocz 1912b: 125; Bárczi 1941: 294; Joki 1952: 265–266; Kniezsa 1955: 954; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 791–792; Kiss 1976: 173–176; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1453–1454.

SZÖKIK [sök-ik] 'to leap, to jump, to escape, to flee' | 1198 ? PN *fcuke zeu* [süke seü], [c1200] GN *Zecuseu* [sekü-seü], c1405 *ʒektete fiw* [sek-tetē fū] 'to spring, dance', p1416/c1450 *ẓǫknèk* [sök-nek], c1456 'to flee' | *sökik-* < *sök-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **sek-* ← WOT **sek-* | EOT *sekri-* 'to jump', *sekärči* 'brigand', MT *sek-* 'to hop, skip along'.

OT *sikri-* (r: *sekri-*) 'springen' (UU IV 682:7), *sigrik* 'Sprung (?)' (MTTII B:59), *sekri-*: *är suwqa sekrīdi* 'the man jumped into the water (or other)' (AK), *säkirtip* 'setting (the army) in motion' (AQB, Cl.); **MT** *säkri-* 'sauter, bonder' (UHy), *säkir-* 'to jump, start up' (AGul), *segri-* '(göz) seğrimek', *sekirt-* 'sıçratmak' (AHMA), *säkir-* 'skakać, podskakiwać', *säkir-*, *sek(i)r-* 'skakać, drżeć' (AHŠ), *säkir-* 'prygaťˊ, podprygivaťˊ' (AHŠF), *segir-* 'prygaťˊ' (AIM), *sikir-* 'sıçramak' (AIMI), *sekri*! 'jump (imp)' (AKD), *säkirt-* 'to make jump/spring, urge against, press forward' (AKor), *säkirt-* 'zastaviťˊ prygaťˊ' (ANehF), *sekri-* 'to jump' (ARbg), *sekri-* 'prygaťˊ, skakaťˊ' (ATef), *segri-*, *segin-* 'sauter, bondir' (AChag), *segri-* 'sïčramaq [to jump]' (AChagAb), *sigri-* 'sıçramak' (AChagAbA), *sigri-* 'ugrál, szökell [to jump, skip]' (AChagAbV), *segre-* 'futni, szaladni, gyorsan menni, elillani, álmából felugrani [to run, dash, go fast, take off, wake with a start]' (AChagBL), *sekri-* 'skakaťˊ' (AChagMA), *säkri-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (AChagR), *segri-*, *segir-* 'to jump' (AChagSC), *sek-* 'sïčramaq, atlamaq', *sekri-* 'uyqudan sïčrayub qalqmaq, ürpermek, sïčramaq' (AChagŠS), *sek-* 'springen', *sikri-* 'aus dem Schlafe aufspringen' (AChagŠSK), *segri-* 'zappeln, klopfen, zucken', *sigri-* 'springen' (AChagZ), *sekir-* 'springen, hüpfen' (LCCI), *säk-*, *säkri-* 'sıçramak' (AAH), *säkrit-* (? *säkirt-*) 'das Pferd antreiben' (AHou), *säkri-* 'to spring up, to jump (of a horse)', *sekri-* 'to spring up (of a horse)' (AMGh), *säkir-* 'prygaťˊ, tancevaťˊ' (ATuh), *segir-* 'oynamak, kımıldamak, seğirtmek' (ATuhA), *sekˊ-* 'sautiller, balancer', *sekˊir-* 'sauter, attaquer' (AmTr), *sekir-* 'napasťˊ, naskočiťˊ'

(AmD), *sekir-* 'to spring, jump, rush' (AmCh), *segir-* 'koşmak, seğirtmek, hafif kımıldamak, seğrimek', *segri-* 'sıçramak' (AOtT), *säkri-* (or *sägri-*) 'to jump' (AOtT, Cl.); **NT *Chuv*** *sik-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, buševatʹ, neistovstovatʹ, dvigatʹsja' etc. (Chuv), *sik-* 'prygatʹ, dvinutʹsja s mesta, vyvihnutʹsja, padatʹ, etc.' (ChuvA), *sik-* Szp. id. 'ugrani, szökni, ráragadni (betegség); springen, anstecken (eine Krankheit)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *siker-* 'prygatʹ, prygnutʹ, skakatʹ, skaknutʹ, (peren., prenebr.) pljasatʹ, tancevatʹ', *sikerüče* 'prygun' (Tat), *sikertkä* 'čigerkä; kuznečik' (TatD1), *siker-* 'ugrani, szökni; springen', *sikertkä* 'szökcse, sáska; Grashüpfer, Heuschrecke' (TatB), *sikĭr-* 'springen, hüpfen' (TatKR), *hiker-* 'prygatʹ' (Bashk), *sikerek* 'tiktormas, kĭbĭrsĭk; poprygun, egoza, neposedlivyj' (SibTat), *sägir-* 'prygatʹ', *säkir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ' (SibTatBD), *sekir-* 'vskakivatʹ, prygatʹ' (Kirg), *sekir-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (KirgR), *sekir-* 'to dance, to jump, to leap, to spring' (Kaz), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, zaskakatʹ, podprygivatʹ' (KazB), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, pljasatʹ' (KazR), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, pereprygivatʹ, pereskakivatʹ' (Kklp), *sekir-* 'besitʹsja' (Nog), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ' (CrTat), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, tancevatʹ' (KarT), *sėkir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, pljasatʹ, tancevatʹ' (KarH, KarC), *säkir-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (KarTR), *sekir-* 'prygnutʹ, podprygnutʹ, podskočitʹ, brosatʹsja, kidatʹsja na kogo-čto' (KrchBlk), *sekʹir-* 'springen' (KrchP), *sekir-* 'springen, aufspringen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *segre-*, *sekre-* '(knižn.) begatʹ' (Tkm), *säk-* 'semenitʹ, hoditʹ bystro, melkimi šagami', *säkdir-* 'zastavitʹ prygatʹ, brositʹ rikošetom (kamenʹ, disk)' (Az), *seğir-* 'to twitch nervously, to tremble', *seğirt-* 'to run, to hasten' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sakra-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, podprygivatʹ' (Uzb), *sɛki-*, *seki-* 'to jump, to leap', *sɛkɛri-*, *sɛkrɛ-*, *sekrɛ-* 'to jump' (TurkiJ), *sekiî-*, *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, podprygivatʹ (naprimer o ljaguške)' (TurkiL), *säxri-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (TurkiTR), *säkri-*, (dial.) *säkli-* 'prygatʹ, podprygivatʹ, podskakivatʹ, skakatʹ' (MUyg), *seker-* 'prygatʹ' (Sal); ***NE*** *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, pljasatʹ' (Alt), *säkir-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, pljasatʹ' (AltL), *sekir-* 'pljasatʹ' (AltQK), *sekir-* 'prygatʹ, podprygivatʹ, skakatʹ, toptatʹsja na meste' (AltTK), *segir-* 'prygatʹ, skakatʹ, pljasatʹ' (Khak), *segir-* 'springen, hüpfen' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *säkir-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (KhakShR), *säkir-* 'springen, hüpfen, tanzen' (ChulR), ? *segir-* 'hvatatʹ' (Tuv); ***Y*** *äkkiriä-*, *ärkiriä-* 'skakatʹ, pljasatʹ (boľee govoritsja o šamanah), prygatʹ, vskakyvatʹ, podskakivatʹ' (Y), *äkkirā̆-* 'springen, hüpfen' (Dlg).

Mo ? *sekü-* 'to raise, lift up, open by lifting up' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb could be the T verbal base **sek-* 'to spring' (cf. the PT form **sēk-* 'to jump' reconstructed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1201–1202)). Its occurrence cannot be verified in OT and one can only find the first documented item for it in MT. It also appears sporadically in the ModT lgs. Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 222–224) discussed this word under an entry which she divided into four headings. The monosyllabic verbal base *sek-* is only attested with the meaning

'skakat', prygat', hodit' podskakivaja, skoro hodit', tancevat', etc.' in some MT sources, in the SW branch of the contemporary T lgs and in Chuv.

On the basis of Tkm *sāk̄dir-* 'galopirovat'', one can assume that the original vowel in the T verb was a long open *ā̄*, while the Chuv corresponding form *sik-* points to an earlier closed **e*. This important distinction between some CT and Chuv data can be seen in certain other examples fr our corpus (see § 6.3.2). The data for the second heading (*sigän-*) in Levitskaja (in Dybo 2003: 222) need further investigation. The third (*sekir-*) and fourth (*sekre-*) items belong here etymologically. These are ders that do not immediately pertain to the T etymology of the H verb *szökik-*, however they are worth a brief investigation. T *sekir-* could theoretically be a metathesized form fr *sekri-* 'to jump, start off (intr)', which was attested as early as in OT (see Clauson (1972: 822) and some additional data in Erdal (1991: 480)), but *sekir-* could also have resulted fr another der. Clauson thought that the verb *sekri-* represents a plausible der, but he added a question mark here having regarded the ModT forms *sekre-*, *sekir-* as unusual. Erdal believed he had found the base of *sekri-* in the UMaitr item *sekiz* 'quick-witted', which appears there a few times (see e.g. 4r23). That is the base which Clauson also expected. Erdal otherwise only mentioned it as the base for *sekri-*, but he did not analyze it. However, it can hardly be a simplex. The word *sekiz* can be understood in two ways: (1) It may have been a der fr *sek-* with the suff *-(X)z* (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 323–327); (2) It could also have been an immediate der fr *sekir-*, i.e. **sekir-(X)z* > *sekiz*.

On the basis of the T data, one can view the base of these interrelated forms as having been T *sek-* 'to spring, jump, move quickly'. T *sek-* could have had a der with the suff *-(I)r-* – which carries an inchoative meaning – (on the suff, see Erdal 1991: 535–538). *sekiz* 'quick-witted' may have been formed fr this verb *sekir-* with the suff *-(X)z*, and another der *sekri-* 'to jump, start off (intr)' may have developed fr *sekiz* with the suff *+I-*.

Clauson (1972: 822) also discussed the word *sekärči* 'brigand' as belonging here. This can be explained as **sek-är+čI*, i.e. the suff of the nomen agentis could have been added to the aorist. On other ders of *sekri-*, see *sekri-(O)k* (Clauson 1972: 822; Erdal 1991: 242). EOT contains two items for this der. One of them is attested in the Kashgari compendium, *sekrik* 'any place in the mountains that is crossed by jumping' (that is a local noun), and the other is in a passage written in Manichean script (MTT II 2,59) as *sigrik*. As noted by Erdal, the writing of the velars in this document is, however, somewhat confused. Erdal also noted the item for the CC *sikrik* 'Kurier'. These data can be considered as very important in terms of the etymology of the H verb, primarily in semantic terms. The verb *sek-* and its ders are connected not only with the semantic field 'to spring, jump', but also with that of 'to move quickly'. One can assume that the T word *sekiz* 'quick-witted' developed on the basis of the

metaphorical use of this latter sense of the word and also H *szökik-* 'to run away, to escape quickly' can be better explained on this basis. See, however, H **szöcske**, which can be understood very well on the basis of the meaning 'to jump'.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 176) proposed a T etymology for H *szökik-* and his idea was based on etymologically correct T data. Munkácsi (1901a: 194) and Gombocz (1907a: 358) accepted his explanation. Gombocz (1912b: 125) later reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sik-* or ? **säk-* for the H verb, which was slightly corrected to **sek-* by Németh (1935–1939: 527). Bárczi (1941: 294–295) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 793) accepted the T etymology. Benkő suggested that the copied T form could be either OT *sek-* or *sik-* denoting *'to jump'. Palló (1982: 166) also assumed a T copied form **sek-* and thought that the *e* > *ö* change had occurred in H. Ligeti (1986: 185) and Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1454) agreed with the T etymology of the word. According to Benkő, the earlier form of the copied T verb in H was *szëk-* and the H verbal suff *-ik-* was only added to the copied T verb later.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 176; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1907a: 358; Gombocz 1912b: 16, 125; Németh 1935–1939: 527; Bárczi 1941: 294–295; Joki 1952: 266; Egorov 1964: 190; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 793; Clauson 1972: 822; Palló 1982: 166; Ligeti 1986: 185, 320; Erdal 1991: 242, 323–327, 480, 535–538; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1454; Fedotov 1996/2: 48–49; Dybo 2003: 222–224; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1201–1202.

SZŐLŐ [sölȫ], **szöllő** [söllȫ] 'grape, wine grape, *Vitis vinifer*' | 1075/†1124/†1217 GN *sceulleus* [söllȫ-š], 1121/ GN *Zeuleus* [sȫlȫ-š], p1372/c1448 *ȝewlewt* [sȫlȫt], dial *szellő* [sellȫ], *szöjlő* [söylȫ], *szöllyő* [szöll′ȫ] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 599) | *sőlő̄* ~ *söllő̄* < **selleɣ* ~ **seleɣ* < **śeleɣ* ⟵ WOT **čeleɣ* < **ǰeleɣ* | EOT **yelek* < **yeglek* < *ye-* 'to eat' {with suffs *-(X)g* and *+lAk*}.

PT **ye-*, *yē-* 'to eat'. There exists an *e* ~ *i* alternation under the influence of the initial *y-*, and an /e/ > /i/ tendency. In OT and MT, I read all data with a closed /e/.

OT *ye-* 'to eat': *keyik yeyü tabïšgan yeyü* 'eating gazelles and hares' (RMTon 8), *ye-* 'to eat' (RTIrk 17), *ye-* 'essen' (UHeilk I:63), *yem ičim twar yedimiz yungladïmïz ärsär* 'Speisen und Gaben verzehrt und verbraucht haben sollten' (UTTIV A:38), *yemägil* 'esse nicht!' (MManIII Nr. 12:1), *ye-* 'to eat' (UXuangzangIndex), *ye-* 'essen': *yemiš käräk* 'muß man essen' (yemiṣ kārāk – ye mi ṣkyā ryā k̲) (BI 19), *yē-*: *är aš yēdi* 'the man ate the food (or other)' (AK), *yegū̄* 'food': (treat your guests well) *içür bir yegü* 'giving [them] food and drink' (AQB); **MT** *ye-* 'fressen' (UOg), *ye-*, *yi-* 'yemek' (UY), *yämiš* (*ǰämiš*) 'fruit' (UHy), *yi-* 'essen, genießen' (UCivMi 22:3), *yä-*, *ye-* 'to eat' (AGul), *ye-* 'yemek', *yek* 'şeytan'(AHMA), *ye-* 'jeść, spożywać' (AHŠ), *ye-* 'est′, potrebljat′' (AHŠF), *yēgü* 'edibles' (AIMI), *ye-* 'to eat food' (AKD), *ye-* 'to eat, devour, consume', *ye-* 'est′, potrebljat′' (ANehF), *ye-* 'to eat' (Rbg), *ye-* 'kušat′, est′', *yäk* 'd′javol, šajtan', *yegü* 'eda' (ATef), *ye-, yi-* 'yemek' (AYC), *ye-* 'manger' (AChag), *yi-, ye-* 'yemek' (AChagAb), *ye-* 'yemek' (AChagAbA), *ye-* 'est′, požirat′' (AChagBud), *ye-* 's″est′, s″edat′' (AChagMA), *ye-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen',

(AChagR), *ye-* 'tenavül etmek, ekt etmek' (AChagŠS), *ye-* 'essen, zu sich nehmen, etwas verzehren, geniessen' (AChagZ), *ye-* 'essen' (LCCG), *yä-* 'yemek', (AAH), *yä-* 'jeść, spożywać' (ABul), *yä-* 'mange', *yämäk* 'manger, nourriture' (ADur), *yä-* 'essen' (AHou), *yä-* 'eszik; essen' (AKav), *ye-* 'to eat, to be decayed' (AMGh), *yä-* 'est″' (ATuh), *ye-* 'yemek' (ATuhA), *ie-* 'manger' (AmTr), *ye-*: *yiyü* 'yiyerek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śi-* 'est′, kušat′, točit′, gryzt′, proedat′, progryzit′, est′, raz″edat′, razrušat″' etc.; ***NW*** [**aša-* Tat, Bashk], *ye-*, *yi-* 'ašau; kušat″' (SibTat), *yĕ-* 'kušat″' (SibTatBD), *že-* 'est′, kušat′, vkušat″' (Kirg), *že-* 'to eat' (Kaz), *že-* 'est′, kušat″' (KazB), *ǰe-* 'essen' (KazR), *že-* 'est′, kušat″' (Kklp), *ye-* 'est′, kušat′, upotrebljat′ pišču, točit′, podtačivat′ (o červjah), razmyvat′, podmyvat′ (o vode), raz″edat′ (o kislotah), (peren.) rastračivat′, rashodovat′ (čužoe)' (Nog), *ye-* 'est′, kušat″' (CrTat), *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (CrTatR), *yė-* 'est′, kušat″' (KarSh), *dže-* '(ust.) est′, kušat″' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *iy-* 'est′, kušat′, prinimat′ pišču' (Tkm), *ī-* 'est″' (RTkmAB), *ye-* 'kušat′, est″' (Az), *ye-* 'to eat, to feed, to consume, to dissipate, etc.' (Tt), *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (TtR), *i-* 'est′, kušat″' (Gag), *yẹ-*, *ye-*, *yē-* 'essen' (Khor), *yẹ-* 'essen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *yē-* 'essen, verbrauchen' (Kh), *yē-* 'essen' (KhT); ***SE*** *ye-* 'est′, kušat″' (Uzb), *ye-*, *yi-*, *yē-*, *yɛ-* 'to eat, to consume' (TurkiJ), *ye-* 'to eat' (TurkiSh), *ye-*, *yi-* 'est′, kušat″' (TurkiL), *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (TurkiTR), *yi-* 'est′, kušat″' (MUyg), *ye-*, *yi-*, *yiǐ-*, *yeǐ-*, *yï-*, *yī-* 'est′, kušat″' (Sal), *yi-*, *yi̲-*, ʏɪ̲-, *x′i-* [Pot. *dže-*] 'manger' (SalK), *yi-*, *ʒi-*, *ǰi-*, *ʃi-* 'est′, kušat″' (YUyg), *ye-*, *yi-*, *dže-*, *dži-* 'kušat′, est″' (YUygM); ***NE*** *d′i-*, *d′i-* 'est′, požirat′' (Alt), *yīläk* 'der Erdbeere ähnliche Beeren' (AltR), *d′e-*, *ye-* 'est′, kušat″', *čiylek* 'jagoda' (AltL), *yigläk* 'die Erdbeere, der Erdbeere ähnliche Beeren (Himbeere, Brombeere)', *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (AltLR), *d′e-*, *d′i-*, *t′i-*, *če-*, *či-* 'est′, požirat′, istrebljat″' (AltQK), *yīläk* 'der Erdbeere ähnliche Beeren' (AltQKR), *d′e-*, *d′i-* 'kušat′, skušat′, est″' (AltTK), *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (AltTKR), *čĭ-* 'est′, poedat′ čto-l.', (Khak), *yä-* 'essen, verzehren, geniessen, empfangen' (ChulR), *ǰi-* 'to eat' (FY), *či-* 'est′, kušat″' (Tuv), *či-* 'est′, s″est′, kušat″' (Tof); ***Y*** *siä-* 'est′, kušat′, žrat′, upotrebljat′ v pišču, sedat′, poedat′, vyedat″' [*ǰäǰän*, *dyädyän* 'zemljanika, *Fragaria elatior*, plod i rastenie, knjaženika, *Rubus articus*' ← Mo] (Y), *hiä-*, *iä-*, *siä-* 'essen', *igiliktä* 'rote Johannisbeere' [← Evnk] (Dlg), see also **gyümölcs**.

Mo *ǰetegene* 'strawberry', *zėtgėnė*, *zėdgėnė* 'szamóca [strawberry]' (KhalK), *ǰeme* 'carrion', *ǰimis, ǰimes* 'fruit' (L).

E/T Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1531) compared the T verb *yē-* 'to eat' with Mo *ǰogug*, *ǰog* 'food, meal', which is unacceptable fr a phonetic and semantic point of view. The Mo word for eating is *ide-* 'to eat'. Many words derive fr the basic verb **yē-* 'to eat'. The best known EOT word that was also preserved in MT but was later lost is *yek* 'demon', which occurs together with *ičgek* as *yek ičgek* 'the demons (who eat your flesh and drink your blood)' (see *yek* 'demon' (ABF), *yäk* 'der böse Geist' (AChagR), *yäk* 'şeytan' (AAH), *yäk* 'devil, satan' (AKor), *yek* 'şeytan'(AHMA), *yek*

'd'javol' (AIM) and *yek* 'şeytan' (AKor); see also *yem* 'food', *yem ičim* 'food and drink' (ARbg) etc.).

Fr the perspective of the H word *szőlő*, the most important der is **ye-lek*. Since *+lAk* is a den suff (Erdal 1991: 121), either we suppose that there also existed a noun **ye* or we have to consider a der as a starting point. This may have been *-(X)g*, **yeg* or *-gA*, **yege-*. In both cases, we have to proceed fr **yeglek* > **yēlek*. This der is common in the Kip and Sib lgs:

ǰiläk 'jagoda, jagodnyj' (Tat), *ilek* 'ǰiläk' (TatD), *yeläk* 'ǰiläk; jagody', *iläk* 'ǰiläk; jagoda' (TatD1), *ǰiläk* 'ǰimeš: yözem, örek, kara ǰimeš h. b. š.; frukty: izjum, urjuk, černosliv i dr.' (TatD2), *yiläk* 'bogyó; Beere' (TatB), *yeläk* 'jagoda, jagodnyj', *yeläk-yemeš* '(*sobir.*) frukty i jagody, plody, plodovyj' (Bashk), *yeläk* 'ǰiläk; jagoda', *iläk* 'ǰiläk; jagoda', *čiläk* 'ǰiläk; jagoda' (SibTat), *yĕläk* 'jagoda' (SibTatBD), *židek* 'jagoda (KazB), *yelek* 'jagoda' (Nog), *džilek* 'klubnika' (CrTat), *džilek* '(*bot.*) zemljanika'(KrchBlk), *ǰilek* 'Beere' (KrchP), *čigelek* 'zemljanika' (RTkmAB), *čiyäläk* 'zemljanika, zemljaničnyj' (Az), *çilek* 'strawberry, bot. *Fragaria vesca*' (Tt), *čilek* 'zemljanika' (Gag), *d'ilek* 'jagoda', *d'istek* 'jagoda' (Alt), *d'īlek*, *d'iglek*, *t'iglek*, *čiylek* 'jagoda' (AltQK), *ᵗyiläk* 'der Erdbeere ähnliche Beeren' (AltTelR), *čistek* 'jagoda' (Khak). As we see in some SW lgs, the anlaut is irregular and begins with *č-* under the influence of *čiye* 'cherry'. The /g/ was preserved in Tkm, AltQK. Another group of plant names with /g/:

OT *yigdä* 'Brustbeere' (UHeilk II:1, 118,130), *yigdä* 'the service tree in Turkic', *yigtä* 'the service tree in Turkmān-Oguz', *yigdä* 'service tree', *bār yigdä* 'the large service tree' (AK); MT *yigdä* 'the jujube tree' (UCiv, Cl.), *yigdä* 'jujube' (ABF), *yigdā* 'al-ġubairā' (AIM), *yigde* 'iğde ağaçı' (AIMI), *yigde* 'jujube tree, jujube' (AKD), *čigdä*, *yigdä* 'jujube' (ARbg), ? *ǰigrüg* 'mellbogyó; rote Brustbeere; jujube rouge' (AChagBL), *čikda* 'Brustbeere', *ikde* (*ǰikde*) 'rote Brustbeere' (AChagŠSK), *yigdä*, *igdä* 'Zizyphus' (AHou); NT *NW žiyde*, (južn.) *žigde* 'džida, loh uzkolistnyj, grudnaja jagoda' (Kirg), *ǰide* 'džida (*frukt*)', ? *židek* 'berry' (Kaz), *žiyde* '(bot.) džida' (Kklp), *džiyde*, *žiyde* '(*bot.*) džida' (RKklp); *SW igde* '(*bot.*) loh, dikaja maslina, dikaja džida (*derevo i plody*)' (Tkm), *iydä* 'loh, lohovyj' (Az), *çiğde* [it may be a lw because of the initial *ç-*] 'jujube tree, (*bot.*) *Zizyphus sativus*; jujube' (Tt), *īdä*, *ịdä*, *yigdä*, *igdä*, *ǰigda*, *ịddä*, *ig'dä* 'Ölweide' (Khor), *yigdä*, *īdä*, *igdä*, *igdä*, *idä*, *igidä* 'Ölweide, *Elaeagnus angustifolia*' (SOg); *Kh* **ịdä*, *gīdä*, *gị·dä* 'Ölweide, *Elaeagnus angustifolia*' (Kh), *gīdä*, *īdä*, *yīdä* 'Ölweide, *Elaeagnus angustifolia*' (KhD); *SE dʒigdɛ* 'a species of Oleaster, *Eleagnus angustifolia*, with eatable but tasteless fruit, the fruit of the jigda tree' (TurkiJ), *ǰigdä* 'grudnoe derevo ili loh' (TurkiL), *ǰigdä* '(*bot.*) džida, loh' (MUyg), *ʒigde*, *ʒiġte*, *ʒigte* 'džigda, derevo *loh*' (YUyg), *džigde* 'derevo loh' (YUygM).

On the correspondence of T *yigdä* (*yigtä*) ~ Mo *ǰigde* ~ Tu *ǰikte*, see Doerfer (1985: 73), who thought that the word-final segment *°kte* may perhaps represent a well-

known Tu suff and that it is therefore possible for the word to be of Tu origin (Tu → Mo → T). Ščerbak (1997: 123) assumed a T lw in the case of MMo *jigde* 'grudnaja jagoda, loh (AIM)'. Under the entry PA **ji̲utke* 'a kind of berry', Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1549–1550) presumed a genetic interrelation between PT **yidge*, **yidge-lek* 'jujube, strawberry, berry', PMo **jedegene* 'strawberry' and PTu **jüksi-*, **jükte* 'blueberry, berry'. Under the PT heading **jidge, jidgelek* however, one can find some T words which cannot possibly belong here, such as Chuv *sïrla*. It remains an open question whether **yegde* is a metathetic form of **yedge*. In any case, we find **yegde* < **ye-g-dä*.

In Chuv, we come across *śïrla* 'jagoda, jagody, jagodnyj' (Chuv), *śïrla* 'jagoda' (ChuvA) and *śïrla* 'bogyó; Beere, Gartenerdbeere; klubnika' (ChuvP). This was long compared to H *szőlő* (see **E/H**) under the supposition that it is a continuation of PT **yedleg* > **ǰedleg* > *śirle* > *śïrla*. However, this is improbable. The changes *y* > *ǰ* > *č* > *ś* and *d* > *δ* > *r* have different chronologies. In Chuv, *śi-* 'to eat' is front-vocalic. The origin of the supposed /d/ in the word presents us with problems. We may suppose a change **ye-dU+lAk* > **yedülek* > **ǰedüleg* > **ǰedleg* > **śiřele* > Chuv *śïrla* 'berry', but this calls for too many hypotheses. On T *-dU*, see Erdal (1991: 332–334) and **koldus**.

The Chuv word *śïra* may be tied to Chuv *śïr*(*ă*) 'svetlo-koričevnyj, kaštanovyj'.

The SibT words *d´istek* 'jagoda' (Alt), *čistek* 'jagoda' (Khak) may also belong here. (Tenišev (2001: 121–122) supposed a reconstructed form **čistek*). For further comparisons, such as those fr **yelek* 'berry' etc., see Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 88–89). It is worth noting that the words listed above denote various berry fruits in the Kip and Oyr lgs (see also the following Tat data: *artïš ǰïläge* 'možževel´nik', *büre ǰïläge* 'birjučina, volč´ja jagoda, volč´e lyko', *kayïn ǰïläge* 'zemljanika', *kaz ǰïläge* 'moroška', *kura ǰïläge* 'malina', *kük ǰïläk* 'golubika', *narat ǰïläge* 'brusnika', *sayïskan ǰïläge* 'paslen gor´kosladkij', *torna ǰïläge* 'sparža', *tülämä ǰïläge* '(*bot.*) voronij glaz', *et ǰïläge* 'krušina, paslen', *ǰir ǰïläge* 'klubnika').

Fr the data mentioned above, one must perhaps distinguish the items that mean 'oleaster, olive'.

E/H According to Munkácsi (1882: 58–61; 1901a: 192–193), the original phonetic shapes of H *szőlő* could have been *szillé*, *széllő* and they denoted 'berry'. Munkácsi considered the H word to be of T der, comparing it to OChuv **śirläü* (> Chuv *śïrla*, cf. Tat *yiyläk*, *yizläk*). According to Gombocz (1907a: 358), the H word *szőlő* goes back to OH **sződlő* and he (1912b: 125, 180) reconstructed an OChuv dial copied form **śidläg*. Munkácsi (1921–1925: 232–233) strengthened his earlier opinion with the fact that the T words that may be linked to H *szőlő* could first have carried the sense of 'berry'. Ligeti (1933a: 275–277; 1935a: 215) reconstructed the T copied form as **śidläg*, which could have had a CT corresponding form **yeðläk*. Bárczi (1941: 295) accepted the Chuv origin of the H word. Benkő (1953a: 51; 1953b: 58) discussed its H

dial forms. According to him, the internal segment *-dl-* in the T copied form **śidläk* reconstructed by Gombocz could have been changed to *-ll-*, as happened in the case of Sl *vidlo* ⟶ H *villa* 'fork'. According to Palló (1959: 250), the etymology of H *szöllö* < **szödlö* ⟵ OChuv **yed+läk* > Chuv *śïrla* 'Beere' ~ CT *yīläk*, *yiläk* can be considered as correct. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 794) was of the view that the T word had been copied into H as **śiläg* or even **śidläg*. Its initial meaning could have been 'berry' and the sense of 'grape, wine grape' only occurred in H. Ligeti (1986: 23, 293–294) supposed a MChuv lw **śigläk* 'grape'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1455) accepted Ligeti's etymology. According to Berta (2005a: 73–76), the T etymology of H *szőlő* cannot be rejected outright, but it is not very likely. He proposed an internal H etymology, according to which *szőlő* < *szőllő* < ? **szövlő* may have derived fr the OH verb *szöv-*, *szől-*, *szőll-* 'to spin'. On the H verb, see Benkő (1967–1984/3: 791; 1993–1997/2: 1453). If the H word was of internal H origin, it first denoted not 'grape, wine grape', but the intergrown tendrils of the plant. On the archaeobotanical spread of the grape, see Csoma (1999, 2000). The semantic background of Berta's proposal, 'to spin' >> 'a plant the tendrils of which spin', is unlikely. Of the two possibilities, WOT **ǰedläg* and **ǰegläg* > **ǰeleg*, the second is more probable if we take the T background into account. The word first meant berry, but also the berry of the grape; the H word narrowed its semantics to the latter.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/5: 1445–1446; Munkácsi 1882: 58–61; Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 2167; Munkácsi 1901a: 192–193; Gombocz 1907a: 358; Gombocz 1912b: 125, 180; Munkácsi 1921–1925: 232–233; Walde 1930: 223–227; Ligeti 1933a: 275–277; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Ramstedt 1935: 471–472; Bárczi 1941: 295; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 221; Benkő 1953a: 51; Benkő 1953b: 58; Ligeti 1958: 449; Palló 1959: 250; Kluge 1960: 850; Ligeti 1960: 296–297; Ligeti 1961: 29; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 88–89; Egorov 1964: 213–214, 226; Végh 1964: 372; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 791, 794; Räsänen 1969: 111, 194, 202; Vásáry 1969: 465; Clauson 1972: 413, 878–879, 883, 886–888, 890–891, 910–911; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 325–326, 333–335; Musaev 1975: 251; Reuter 1978: 64–65; Doerfer 1985: 73; Ligeti 1986: 23, 25, 29, 79, 183, 194–195, 201, 287, 293–294, 527, 530; Erdal 1991: 121, 201, 218, 332–334, 451, 464, 484–492, 494, 624–651, 795; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1453, 1455; Fedotov 1996/2: 114–115, 156–157; Ščerbak 1997: 123; Szabó 1997: 80; Csoma 1999; Kluge 1999: 882; Csoma 2000; Tenišev 2001: 39, 121–122, 140; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 871, 1531, 1537, 1549–1550; Berta 2005a: 73–76.

SZÚNYOG [sūńog] 'mosquito, gnat, *Culex pipens*' | 1230 GN *Zunug* [suńug], c1395 *ʒunug* [suńog], dial *szunyák* [suńāk], *szunokok* [sunok-ok] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 599) | *sūńog* < **sunug* < **sinuk* ⟵ WOT **siŋuk* | EOT *siŋäk* 'a buzzing insect, mosquito'.

OT *siŋäk* 'Fliege' (UUII 35: 23), *siŋäk*, *siŋ̄äk* 'gnats' in the language of the sedentary populace. The nomads use this word for 'flies', *kömīčä siŋ etti* 'the gnats buzzed'. The same for flies that buzz. (AK); **MT** *sīŋäk* 'komar' (AIM), *sinġek* (sic!) 'flies, fly' (AKD), *siŋäk* 'muha' (AM), *siŋäk* 'muha, komar' (ANehF), *siŋäk* 'fly, mosquito' (ARbg), *singäk* 'moucheron' (AChag), *singäk* 'komar' (AChagB), *siŋek*

'komar' (AChagBud), *singek* 'muha' (AChagMA), *siŋäk* 'die Fliege, die Mücke' (AChagR), *siŋäk* 'gnat' (AChagSC), *singek* 'böjek, sinek, čibin' (AChagŠS), *singek* 'Käfer, Fliege' (AChagŠSK), *siŋek*, *sinek* 'Fliege' (AChagZ), Tkm. *siŋäk* (*siŋ*(*g*)*äk*) 'mouche' (ABul), *sinäk* 'mouche' (ADur), Tkm. *siŋäk* (spelt *siġäk*) 'Mücke' (AHou), *siŋäk* 'moška, moškara, moskit' (ATuh), *siŋek* 'sivri sinek' (ATuhA), *senak´* 'vespe, frelon', *sinak´* 'espèce de mouche' (AmTr), *siŋek*: *sokar siŋek* 'iğneli sinek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *šăna* 'muha, mušinyj, (dial.) pčela' (Chuv), *šăna* 'muha, komar, pčela, nazv. igruški' (ChuvA), *šăna* Szp. id. 'légy; Fliege' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sinäk* 'die Fliege' (CrTatR), *sinaq*, *sinėk* 'muha' (KarC), ? *simit* 'pšeničnaja muha' (KarC); ***SW*** *siŋek* 'muha' (Tkm), *siŋek* 'muha' (RTkmAB), *sinäk* 'moskit' (Az), *sinek* 'fly, zool. *Musca*', *sinek* 'sinek' (TtDA), *sinäk* 'die Fliege' (TtR), *sinek* 'muha, muška, nasekomoe' (Gag), *sinäk*, *sinnäk*, *sịnäk* 'Fliege' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *siŋek* 'muha' (TurkiL), *sïŋgek* 'ovod' (YUyg), *sïŋek* (sic!) 'nasekomoe (na skotine)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *sek* 'komar', *seek* 'ovod' (Alt), *sēk*, *sek* 'komar, moška' (AltL), *sä*(*:*)*k* 'die Sandfliege' (AltLR), *seek* 'komar' (AltQK), *seek* 'muha', *sig-* 'vpityvat´sja (o židkosti)' (Khak), *sā̄k* 'das Geschmeiss' (KhakSR, KhakQbR, KhakQchR).

Mo *simagul*, *simugul* 'small insect, midge, gnat, mosquito' (L).

Os *dzynga*, *dzinga* 'komar' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 406).

E/T The T etymon for H *szúnyog* is *siŋäk*. Clauson (1972: 838) and Tenišev's (2001: 185–186) explanation that *siŋäk* is a dim form of *siŋ*, which is of onomatopoeic origin, seems acceptable. Erdal (1991: 445) did not reject Clauson's etymological rationale and wrote that the verb *siŋilä-* 'to whirr or whine or make some similar sound' is "related to the onomatopoeic *siŋ* and to *siŋäk* 'fly, mosquito' … but [the] immediate base [is] not attested". Berta suggested that the word is a der fr T *siŋ-* 'to sink into' (EOT), 'to find room, to go in, to fit in, to soak into the earth (of water), to be absorbed, to be digested (of food), to penetrate' (Kaz), *sin-* 'to crouch down (to hide oneself), to be hidden, to be humiliated, to be cowed, to subside and be absorbed, to be swallowed, digested' (Tt) (see also Mo *singge-* 'to be absorbed into something, to dissolve (in liquid), to be imbibed, saturated, to be digested (of food), to set (of the sun)'). This is improbable. It is another question whether one can assume an interrelation between the PT verb **siŋi-* > OT *siŋ-* and OT *simür-* 'to swallow'. Erdal's position was that one cannot. The Mo verb *sime-*, *simi-* 'to draw a liquid into the mouth, suck up or in, to sip, to suck (of candy)' may, however, be related to T *simür-*. In any case, all these words are independent der fr different onomatopoeic bases. In the case of *siŋek*, we have to start out fr *siŋ+Ak*.

On the data for T *siŋäk*, see also Blagova (Dybo 2003: 264–265). The word was borrowed fr Chuv into Cher (cf. Räsänen 1920: 207). On the Mo forms of T origin, see Ligeti (1986: 96), who pointed out that the T word could also have had back-vocalic variants. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1295) have discussed PT **siŋ-* 'to sink, sub-

merge' and thought that some T words that belong here etymologically may have been influenced by **sïg-* 'to fit into'; they also compared the PT form with PMo **siŋge-* 'to soak, dissolve'. The Mo form, however, could have been borrowed fr T. Man *siŋge-* was taken fr Mo (cf. Doerfer (1985: 136): T *siŋ-* 'einsinken, einsickern', Mo *siŋge-*, Tu *śiŋge-*, *śiŋga-*, Man *siŋge-*; also Ščerbak (1997: 144)). Under another entry, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1295–1296) discussed PT **siŋ-* 'whining or buzzing noise, to whine, moan'. They observe that it is "an insect name, with tabuistic irregular vocalic changes". That may be the case, but says nothing of any relation to the lgs cited by them (PTu, PJap). Finally Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1296) discussed PT **siŋek* 'mosquito, fly' under PA **si̲ŭ̈ŋV(-kV)* 'a kind of flying insect'. They compared the PT form with the following "Altaic" parallels: PTu **süŋke* 'beetle', PMo **simagul* 'mosquito, insect'. Two important traits have to be noted here; the back-vocalic form of the Mo word and the Mo /m/ in place of T /ŋ/. Both point to a T origin. On the back-vocalic form, see H *szúnyog*. Os *dzynga*, *dzinga* is of WOT origin. Abaev (1958–1989/1: 406) compared it with Shugnan *čang´īn* 'muha'.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 176) considered the H word *szúnyog* 'mosquito' to be of T origin on the basis of partially erroneous data. This etymology was strengthened by Munkácsi (1901a: 194). Gombocz (1912b: 126) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sïnïk*. According to Németh (1921: 25), the T etymology of *szúnyog* is not very clear because of the initial *š-* and the different vocalism of the plausible Chuv corresponding form. According to Ligeti (1935e: 271), H *szúnyog* is an old lw fr T. The T word included an original *s-*. The semantic difference between 'mosquito' and 'fly' can easily be understood based on Kashgari's explanation. Bárczi (1941: 295–296) regarded the H word as a plausible T lw, however he noted that the T corresponding forms are front-vocalic. Later, Ligeti (1956: 338) wrote that the word is doubtless of T origin, but it cannot have been copied fr Chuv because of its initial *sz-* [s]. That the word comes fr the Pech and Cum lgs is also not very likely because of the back-vocalism of the H word. Róna-Tas (1967: 173, 176) pointed out that one can find the corresponding forms for both meanings 'mosquito' and 'fly' in the Chuv dials. In addition, it is important that both Chuv and Mo also have back-vocalic forms. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 804) considered the H word to be of CT der. Its T copied form could have been **sunuk* or **sïnïk*. Ligeti (1986: 95–96, 104–105) assumed the copying of a Pech form **sïnuk* or **sïnïk*. He thought that the internal H segment *-ny-* [ń] may be explained with the Pech phonetic change **-ŋ-* > *-n-*. (Cf. Pech *tonuz* 'pig' (< **toŋuz*), as in the first element of the Pech name *Tonuzaba*). Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1460) accepted Ligeti's explanation. According to Róna-Tas (1997b: 54, 59), H *szúnyog* may belong to the second layer of the early T borrowings in H. It cannot be of Chuv origin because of its initial *sz-* [s]. Its copied form, however, shows a final segment *-g*,

which may correspond in WOT to EOT *-k* in this word, or it may be a H development (see the dial forms, in which *-k-* may, however, be secondary).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 176; Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 2178; Munkácsi 1901a: 194; Gombocz 1912b: 10, 126; Räsänen 1920: 207; Németh 1921: 25; Ligeti 1935e: 271; Bárczi 1941: 295–296; Ligeti 1956: 338; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 406; Egorov 1964: 334; Róna-Tas 1967: 173, 176; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 804; Räsänen 1969: 422–423; Clauson 1972: 833–834, 838; Ligeti 1975: 285; Erdal 1979: 102–103; Doerfer 1985: 136; Ligeti 1986: 81, 89, 95–96, 104–105, 108, 130, 194, 198, 202, 305, 537; Erdal 1991: 158–159, 391–396, 445, 720; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1460; Fedotov 1996/2: 444; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54, 59; Ščerbak 1997: 144; Tenišev 2001: 185–186; Dybo 2003: 262–263, 264–265; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1295–1296.

szűcs [sūč] 'furrier' | 1181 ? GN *Scuched* [sūč-ed], c1165 PN ? *Suece* [sūče], PN †1135/[c1249] ? GN *Zelch* [selč], 1267/1424 GN *Zwch* [sūč], c1380 *ʒydfch* [sūč], PN 1478 *Zewlch* [sūlč], c1500 *zuch* [sūč] | *sūč* < **seü̯či* < **siwči* < *śiγči* ← WOT **čiγči* < **ǰiγči* | EOT **yigči* 'tailor' < **yig-*, *yigi* 'something sewn tightly, seam'; cf. *yip* 'yarn, tether, rope'.

1 *yig*: **OT** *yigi* 'dicht': *yigi yäklär bir[lä]* 'mit den dicht aufeinanderfolgenden Dämonen' (UTTVII 28:2), *yīgi*, *yi* 'dense (of trees), close together (of teeth), with tight-fitting seams (of garment)' (AK); **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *śĕvĕś* (*śĕvĕśĕ*) 'portnoj, portniha, šveja, portnovskij, portnjažnyj, švejnyj, portjažničestvo, portnjažnoe remeslo', *śĕvĕk* 'rubec, šram, sled (ot rany)', *śĕvĕ* 'šov, stežka, stročka, rubec, šram, sled (ot rany), švejnoe delo, portnjažnoe remeslo, švejnyj, pošivočnyj, portnjažnyj, (teh.) šov', *śĕle-* 'šiť, stročiť, šiť, zanimať sja pošivom' (Chuv), *śĕvĕ* 'šov', *śĕvĕś*, *śĕvĕśĕ* 'portnoj, portnjažnoe remeslo', *śĕle-* 'šiť' (ChuvA), *śĕvĕ* 'varrás, varrat; Naht', *śĕvĕśĕ* Szp. id. 'szabó; Schneider' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ǰek* 'ščeľ, paz, faľc, poloska (zametnaja sklepka meždu dvuh dosok)', *ǰöy* 'šov, šovnyj, stročka, stežka, (spec.) paz, faľc, rubec, šram', *ǰöyče* 'šovnik, štukovnik, (razg.) šveja, belošvejka, portniha, faľcovščik', *ǰöylä-* 'delať (sdelať) šov, delať (sdelať) stežku, (razg.) šiť, sšiť, tačať, stačať' (Tat), *yü* 'jöy, šov', *yülä-*, *ǰülä-* 'tegü, tegep kuyu, šiť, prišivať', *yek* 'yarïk; ščeľ' (TatD1), *ǰöy-*, *ǰülä-* 'tegü; šiť' (TatD2), *yöy* 'varrás, varrány; Naht', *yöylä-* 'kivarrni; Naht machen, ausnähen' (TatB), *yek* 'ščeľ, paz, poloska (zametnaja sklepka meždu dvuh dosok)', *yöy* 'šov, rubec, šram', *yöylä-* 'delať šov' (Bashk), *yek* 'jöy, yarïk; šov, ščeľ, rubec' (SibTat), *yik* 'die Naht, die Spalte, Fuge' (SibTatBR), *ǰik* 'šov, ščeľ, treščina' (Kirg), *žiek* (-iye-) 'coast, shore, collar, edge, edging, border, trimming' (Kaz), *žik* 'šov', *žüy* 'mesto sočlenenija pozvonkov, šov' (Kklp), *yik* 'šov, rubec' (Kum), *džiek*: *oqa džiek* 'kraj čego, obmetannyj zolotymi nitkami' (Krch); ***SW*** *yiv* 'rez´ba, narezka' (Az), *yiv* 'groove, chamfer, stripe, rifling (of a gun), hem' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ʒïq* 'šov' (YUyg); ***NE*** *d´ik* 'šov, treščina' (Alt), *yikči* 'der Nähende, Näher', *yik* 'die Naht, die Spalte, Fuge' (AltR), *yik* 'šov, ščeľ' (AltL), *yik* 'die Naht, die Spalte, Fuge' (AltLR), *d´ikči* 'der Nähende, Näher', *yik* 'die Naht, die Spalte, Fuge' (AltTelR), *čik* 'šov, ščeľ, rasščelina,

skvažina' (Khak), *čik* 'die Ritze, die Spalte, der Spalt' (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR); ***Y*** *sīk* 'šov' (Y).

2 *yip*: **OT** *yip* 'Faden' (UHeilk I:150), *yïp* 'cord, thread' (UXuangzangIndex), *yip* 'yarn, tether with which to tie down horses'. Also 'a rope' is called: *yip* (AK), *yinčgä yip* 'a thin thread' (AQB, Cl.); **MT** *yip* 'rope, string' (AGul), *yip* 'ip' (AHMA), *yib* 'nić, sznur' (AHŠ), *yib* 'niť, kanat, verevka (iz hlopkovogo volokna)' (AHŠF), *yip* (MS *yif*) 'iplik', *yipči* 'ipçi' (AIMI), *ip* 'rope' (AKD), *yip* 'thread, yarn': *ägirmiš yip* 'twisted thread, spun yarn' (AKor), *yip* 'niť, kanat, verevka (iz hlopkovogo volokna)' (ANehF), *yib* 'nit, kanat, verevka (iz hlopkovogo volokna)' (ANehF), *yip* 'thread, rope' (ARbg), *yip* 'verevka' (ATef), *yip* 'corde' (AChag), *yip* 'ip' (AChagAb), *yib* 'ıb' (AChagAbA), *yip* 'kötél, fonal [rope, yarn]' (AChagAbV), *yib* 'nitka' (AChagBud), *ip* 'verevka', *ipči* 'verevočnik' (AChagMA), *yip* 'der Faden, der Bindfaden', *yipči* 'der Seiler' (AChagR), *yip* 'rīsmān; cord' (AChagSC), *yip* 'ip, rîsmân' (AChagŠS), *yib* 'Strick, Schnur' (AChagŠSK), *yip*, *yib* 'Strick, Schnur, Faden', *yipči*, *ipči* 'Seiler' (AChagZ), *ip* 'Faden, Schnur' (LCCI), *yip* 'ip', Tkm. *ip* id. (AAH), *ip* 'corde' (ADur), *yip*, *yiplik* 'fonal; Faden', *ip* 'kötél; Strick' (AKav), *yip* 'rope' (AMGh), *yip* 'nitka, prjaža' (ATuh), *yip* 'ip' (ATuhA), *ip*: *ipe urmak* 'ipe takmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śip* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, (ël.) niť, volosok, šnur plotnickij (dlja otbivki prjamoj linii), (peren.) niť, usy, usiki (u rastenij), (dial.) setka, teneta' (Chuv), *śip* 'nitka, šnur, otves', *yĕp* 'igla, igoločka', *yĕpĕs* 'derevjannaja igla dlja pletenija setej, iglja dlja vjazki čulok, krjučok dlja prikalyvanija snopov (v kponah)' (ChuvA), *yĕp* Szp. id. 'tű; Nadel', *yĕpse* 'háló-kötő tű; Netznadel', *śip* 'Faden, Zwirn' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ǰep* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, nitjanyj, nitočnyj, (peren.) uzy, niti' (Tat), *ǰep*, *yep* 'bau; verevka' (TatD1), *yeb* 'fonál, cérna; Faden, Zwirn' (TatB), *ǰip* der Faden, der Bindfaden' (TatKR), *yep* 'nitka, niť, prjaža, nitjanyj, nitočnyj, bečevka, verevka' (Bashk), *yep*: *yep yögörcök*, *yep töŋgäk* 'kätük; katuška' (SibTat), *yip* 'niť, verevka' (SibTatBD), *žip* 'nitka, bečeva, šnur, špagat, verevka' (Kirg), *žĭp* 'rope, cord, twine, string, thread' (Kaz), *žĭp* 'verevka, verevočka, nitka, šnur' (KazB), *žip* 'nitka, bečeva, tonkaja verevka', *žik* 'šov' (Kklp), *yip* 'nitka, niť, verevka' (CrTat), *ip* 'niť' (KarT, KarH), *yip* 'niť, [tolstaja] verevka, kanat, struna' (KarH, KarC), *yip* 'niť, nitka', *yik* 'šov, rubec' (Kum), *yip* 'Strick' (KumN), *džib* 'remeń, arkan iz remnja, niť, nitka' (KrchBlk), *ǰip* 'Riemen' (KrchP), *zip* 'Riemen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *yüp* 'verevka, bečeva, kovrovaja prjaža' (Tkm), *ip* 'verevka, bečevka' (Az), *ip* 'rope, cord, string, thread' (Tt), *ip* 'niť, šnur, verevka' (Gag), *yip*, *ip*, *īp* 'Schnur' (Khor); ***Kh*** *yīp*, *yip*, *yip* 'Schnur, Leine, grober Wollfaden' (Kh), *yip* 'Schnur' (KhT); ***SE*** *ip* 'niť, nitka, nitki, šnur, šnurok, (peren.) uzy' (Uzb), *yib*, *yip* 'thread' (TurkiJ), *yip* 'thread' (TurkiSh), *ip* 'zavjazka, verevka' (TurkiL), *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (TurkiTR), *yip*, *žip* 'nitka' (MUyg), *yip* 'nitka' (Sal), *yip* 'fil' [Pot. *ib*] (SalK), *č́ip*, *ʃe'p*, *ʃip*, *ʃïp*, *ʃe'p* 'verevka' (YUyg), *yep* 'verevka', *yip* 'nitka, verevka' (YUygM); ***NE*** *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *čip* 'nitka' (AltL), *čĭp*

'nitki' (Khak), *čĭp* 'nit′, nitka', *čĭpčĭ* 'šveja' (KhakB), *yip* 'der Faden, Zwirn' (ChulR), *ǰip* 'thread' (FY), *čep*, *če′p* 'verevka, arkan (iz volos životnyh)' (Tuv), *če″p* 'volosjanaja verevka' (Tof); ***Y*** ***sippä*** 'tonkaja volosjanaja verevočka, nitka' (Y) [*sap* 'nitka dlja šit′ja' (Y), *hap* 'Garn, Zwirn' (Dlg) (despite Egorov's opinion, Y *sap* does not pertain here. According to Stachowski, Y *sap* may be a lw fr Mo **sab*)].

Mo *ǰegeg* 'ribbon-like trimming on garments, a rope around an object', *degesün* 'rope, rope made of hair, measure of length equal to 36 meters' (L).

E/T The H word goes back to a WOT form **čigči*, which is represented in Chuv as *śĕvĕśĕ* < **śĕvśĕ*. The WOT *-g-* changed to *-w-* in Chuv even in a non-labial environment as in PT *agït-* > Chuv *ïvăt-* 'brosat′; to throw', *agač* > *yïvaś* (see **ács**). The H change *-γ-* > *-w-* may have been independent. Late WOT **čigči* corresponds to an EOT **yigči*, where the suff *+čI* of the agent follows the noun **yik*, *yig*. The latter is not present in EOT but turns up in the form *yigi* 'tightly sewn, close, compact'. The basic noun occurs in the Kip and Sib lgs. In Tat, we find *ǰek* and *ǰöy* and even *yü* in the *y*-dials, which come fr **yig*. The der noun **yikči* 'the one who sews, sewing master, tailor' appears in AltR, AltTelR. The *-k* > *-g* change not only took place in Chuv, but also in Kip. It is an interesting question how *yip* 'cord, thread' may be grouped with *yig*, but this is surely not an OT feature, because we do not know of a suff *-p* (of course, the *-p* of the converbs is out of the question here). On the correspondence between the T words *yïp* 'cord, thread, string' see Clauson (1972: 870), Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 268–269) and *ignā* 'needle' (Clauson 1972: 110); cf. Ligeti (1933b: 159–160; 1986: 23) and **E/H**. The reconstruction of the base **yī-* 'to sew' for T *yïp* does not seem very likely, but is possible for *yik*, *yig*. Egorov's (1964: 79) etymology of Chuv *yĕp* is interesting: *yĕp vărri* 'koromyslo (nasekomoe) "vor igolki"; 'the flying adder', see Eng *Devil's darning-needle* = flying adder'. The Chuv word *yĕp* (⟶ Cher *yïp*) 'igla, igolka, igol′nyj; needle' (Chuv) needs attention. Chuv *yĕp* comes fr WOT **ip*, see *śip* 'nitka' above. Egorov attempted to connect the Chuv word with EOT *ignā* 'needle', which does not seem to work. Chuv *yĕp*, however, cannot be a VKip lw fr **yip* 'thread' for semantic reasons, thus one cannot exclude the possibility that there existed a WOT word **yip* < **ip* 'an instrument (? needle, ? thread) for sewing'. Fedotov (1996/1: 197) attempted to compare Chuv *yĕp*, *yĕpĕ* 'igla, igoločka' with the obsolete AltTelR item *yäbä* 'klinok, železnyj nakonečnik strely' (cf. also KhakQbR *yebä* 'strela'), but his attempt proves unacceptable due to serious phonetic and semantic hurdles. Cf. also Chuv *yĕpse* 'spica, igla dlja vjazanija čulok, dlja pletenija seti, iglica, sponka, šip dlja skreplenija dvuh dosok' (Egorov (1964: 79) and Fedotov (1996/1: 197–198)). Cher *yïpš* 'šponka', Vog *yebes* 'igla dlja vjazanija seti' are T lws (cf. Räsänen (1920: 242)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 890–891) reconstructed **yïp*, **yip* for the T proto-form meaning 'thread; nitka' and juxtaposed it with "Altaic" parallels. Their comparison with Mo *ǰegeg* (see above) is possible, but

nothing points to a common A root; it is a T lw. They did not cite *degesün*, which may also pertain here. Under another entry (1521–1522) (PA **ẓiupi* 'a small hole, to pull through a hole'), they discussed PT **yib* 'seam, to sew', comparing it with some "Altaic" parallels, e.g. PTu **sibe-* 'to pull out, pick out, clean a pipe' and PMo **sübe* 'hole, ear of a needle' which cannot be regarded as corresponding to the PT reconstruction for phonetic (T *y-* ~ Mo *s-*) and semantic reasons. Levitskaja (Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 197–198) discussed the T word *yīg* under three headings (*yiv*, *yik* and *yi*). The word forms under the first heading (e.g. Tt *yiv*, TatD *yü*, Bashk *yöy*, Chuv *śĕvĕ* etc.) may go back to **yi-g*. The vowel in the first syllable shows an old *-i-* ~ *-ü-* alternation (cf. **gyűszű**). The word forms under the second heading (e.g. Kum, SibTatBR, AltR, AltLR, AltTelR *yik*, TatD, SibTat, BashkD *yĕk*, KrchBlk, Kirg *ǰik*, Alt *ď ik*, Y *sīk*, etc.), however, may be in line with Levitskaja's secondary forms and represent an old der **yig+I-k*. This assumption is not necessary; I can also imagine that these latter forms are early dial variants (*yik* ~ *yig*) or, less probably, dev nominals fr an unattested verb **yī-*. Cf. Ligeti's opinion under **E/H**. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 877) distinguished T *yip* and *yig* and provided different etymologies even if Mo *logsi-* 'to stitch, sew' hardly pertains to T *yik*.

E/H Vámbéry (1882a: 232) considered the H word to be of T origin, but his etymological attempt was based on T words which surely do not relate to the H word. According to Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 128), Vámbéry's etymology is unacceptable. He thought, however, that Chuv *śĕvĕś* 'tailor, dressmaker' may be the right corresponding form for H *szűcs*. Gombocz (1907a: 359) regarded the H word as being of T der and he (1912b: 126, 180) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **śöiči* for it. Ligeti (1933b: 159) thought that the original meaning of the T etymon for H *szűcs* could have been 'sewing, seam, stitching' and maintained that it may share the same ultimate base with the T word that denotes 'needle'. Bárczi (1941: 296) reckoned with an early T lw fr a T lg of Chuv-type. The base of the word could be the T verb that means 'to sew'. According to Bárczi (1949: 74), the T copied word **śöiči* occurred in H as **sūči* and fr this form one can explain all the H word forms: *szűcs*, *szőcs* and *szécs*. The latter form is a relatively late dial development. Ligeti (1960: 296–297) pointed out that the Chuv *ś-* ~ H *sz-* correspondence can only be observed in cases where the following vowel was an *-i-*. Ligeti (1961: 29) explained H *szűcs* as a T copy form **śivči*. Palló (1961: 134) took OChuv **śüiči* < **ǰüiči* as a starting point. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 810), the OChuv copied form could have been **śigüči* or **śigiči*. Räsänen (1969: 202–203) connected the H word with Uyg *yigi* 'dicht' etc. Ligeti (1986: 23) listed three words **szőlő**, **szél** and *szűcs*, under the category H *sz-* < *szi-* ~ MChuv *śi-* < *či-* < *ǰi-* ~ CT *yV-*. In these cases, he assumed a [*ś-* ⟶ *s-*] sound substitution. He (1986: 23, 58, 299–300) considered that the H word had the MChuv source **śigči* or **śiβči* (cf. Chuv *śĕvĕśĕ* 'tailor' ~ CT *yiči*, *yiβči* id.) and that these words are cognates of T *yigi*

'sewing, seam' (cf. Tat *jöyče*). Ligeti thought that the word *szűcs* never carried the sense of 'tailor' in H because H used the lexeme *varró* with this meaning, which is of FUgr origin. The first furriers among the H people could have been the Bulgars, Khazars or Kabars. The H word *szűcs* is of MChuv der and its cognate **gyűszű** is a lw fr OChuv. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1463) accepted Ligeti's explanation. He thought that the copied Chuv form **śigči* or **śiβči* may go back to a T base **yi-*, **yü-* 'nähen', on which see **gyűszű**.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 232; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 128; Gombocz 1907a: 359; Gombocz 1912b: 126, 180; Räsänen 1920: 242; Ligeti 1933b: 157–160; Ligeti 1935a: 215; Bárczi 1941: 296; Bárczi 1949: 74; Ligeti 1960: 296, 297; Ligeti 1961: 29; Palló 1961: 134; Egorov 1964: 79, 214; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 810; Räsänen 1969: 202–203; Clauson 1972: 110, 870, 882, 911; Kiss 1976: 161; Ligeti 1986: 23, 25, 58, 85, 89, 183, 298–300, 318, 349, 527, 530; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 197–198, 268–269; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1463; Fedotov 1996/1: 197–198; Róna-Tas 1997b: 54; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 877, 890–891, 1521–1522.

SZŰNIK [sūnik] 'to cease, to stop' | p1372/c1448 *ʒenykuala* [sūnik vålå], p1416/c1450 *meg-zonic* [meg-sōnik] | *szűnik-* < **sün-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **sön-* ← WOT **sön-* | EOT *sön-* 'to die down, to disappear (e.g. a flame)', MT *söyün-*.

OT *sön-*: *armaqsïzïn sönmäksizin* 'ohne zu ermatten um nachzulassen' (USuv 211,5-6), *sön-* 'aufhören, sich legen (vom Staub gesagt)' (UTTI 6), *sön-* 'nachlassen' (UHeilk I: 45,102), *urup berge bašï büter terk söner* 'the whip's wounds heal quickly and soon are gone' (AQB); **MT** *sön-* 'to go out (of a candle)' (AGul), *sön-* 'sönmek' (AHMA), *sön-* 'gasnąć' (AHŠ), *sön-* 'gasnuť, ugasať, potuhať' (AHŠF), *sōn-* 'yanma durmak [to go out (of a fire)]' (AIMI), *sön-* 'gasnuť, ugasať, potuhať' (ANehF), *sön-* 's'éteindre' (AChag), *sön-* 'to go out', of a candle or a fire (AChagAb, Cl.), *sön-* 'sönmek' (AChagAbA), *sün-* 'gasnuť, potuhnuť' (AChagBud), *sön-* 'pogasať, pogasnuť' (AChagMA), *sön-* 'erlöschen, ausgehen' (AChagR), *sön-* 'to go out (of a fire)' (AChagSC), *sön-* 'parlaq šeyniŋ feri ve šu'lesi gidüp zaïl olmaq' (AChagŠS), *söyin-*, *sön-* 'verlöschen, augelöscht sein oder werden' (AChagZ), *söndür-* 'löschen' (LCCI), *söyün-* 'sönmek' (AAH), *sön-*, *söyünür* 'zgasnąć' (ABul), *säyün-* (r: *söyün-*) 'auslöschen' (AHou), *son-* 'gasnuť' (AmD), *söyün-* (*söğün-*, *sövün-*) 'sönmek, parlaklığı gitmek [to die down]' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *sün-* 'gasnuť, tuhnuť, pogasať, potuhať' etc. (Chuv), *sün-* 'gasnuť, isčeznuť, propasť, prekratiťsja, lopaťsja' (ChuvA), *sün-* Szp. id. 'kialudni; auslöschen, verlöschen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sün-* 'gasnuť, pogasnuť, ugasať, ugasnuť, (peren.) gasnuť, ugasať, ostivať, zamirať' (Tat), *sün-* 'yoklap kitü; zasnuť' (TatD1), *sün-* 'kialudni, elveszni; auslöschen, verlöschen, umkommen' (TatB), *hün-* 'ugasať, potuhať, zatuhať, glohnuť' (Bashk), *sön-* 'to go out (of a fire), to die out (of a fire), to be extinguished' (Kaz), *sön-* 'gasitťsja, potuhnuť, tusknet'' (KazB), *sön-* 'erlöschen, ausgehen' (KazR), *sön-* 'gasnuť, potuhať' (Kklp), *sön-* 'gasnuť, potuhať, ugasať, (peren.) vjanuť, tajať (o čeloveke), (peren.) razorjaťsja, gibnuť' (Nog), *sön-* 'tuhnuť, gasnuť' (CrTat), *s´on´-* 'gasnuť' (KarT), *sėn-* 'gas-

nut′’ (KarH), *sön-*, *son-* ‘gasnut′, potuhat′’ (KarC), *sen-* ‘gasnut′’, *sön-* ‘erlöschen, ausgehen’ (KarLR, KarTR), *sön-* ‘gasnut′, tuhnut′, ugasat′, (peren.) merknut′, ugasat′, zamirat′’ (Kum), *soṇ-* ‘verlöschen’ (KumN), *söŋ-* ‘unjat′sja, utihnut′, uspokoit′sja, ubavit′sja, umen′šit′sja’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *sön-* ‘(prjam. i peren.) gasnut′, ugasat′, merknut′’ (Tkm), *sȭn-* ‘gasnut′, potuhat′’ (TkmD, Dybo 2003: 322), *sön-* ‘gasnut′’ (RTkmAB), *sön-* ‘zatuhat′, gasnut′, pogasnut′’ (Az), *sön-* (prov.) *söyün-* ‘to be extinguished, to go out (of a fire), to be deflated, to become slack, to flap (of a sail)’ (Tt), *söyün-* ‘erlöschen, verschwinden’, *sön-* ‘erlöschen, ausgehen’ (TtR), *sȗn-* ‘gasnut′, zatuhat′, (peren.) ugasat′, zamirat′, zatihat′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *sŭn-* ‘gasnut′, tuhnut′, ugasat′, merknut′, (peren.) merknut′, ugasat′, zamirat′, (peren.) sginut′, rassejat′sja’ (Uzb), *sön-*, *söndil-* (!) ‘s’éteindre’ (SalK); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *sönö-* ‘to be extinguished, go out (of a fire), to perish, be exterminated, annihilated, to end, cease to be, disappear’ (L).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 834), T *sön-* ‘to die down, to disappear’ is a simplex. The T verb was borrowed by Mo (cf. Ščerbak 1997: 147). The Chuv word represented a Tat lw, or was revitalised under Tat influence. It should otherwise be **sĕm-*, or **sĕn-*. On the data for the verb, see also Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 322–324). The database above also includes bisyllabic forms in some sources, e.g. AChagZ, AAH, ABul, AOtT, Tt and TtR. The verb is attested in Gag with a secondary long vowel which may also point to an earlier bisyllabic form. One of the Tkm dials contains the word with a long vowel. All these forms can either show an early long vowel or signal that the word could originally have been bisyllabic. Bang attempted (Bang–Gabain 1929: 254/16, n. 6) to reconstruct a derived base **sö-d-ün-* for T **sö-n-* and claimed that the form *söyün-* is a continuation of *södün-*. On the hypothetical A parallels of the T verb, see Ramstedt (1935: 333), Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 71) and Poppe (1960: 30, 70, 109). Räsänen (1969: 430) reconstructed the base as **sȭń-*. On the ders of the verb, see Clauson (1972: 838) and Erdal (1991: 243); cf. also Erdal (1991: 259, 809). The PT reconstruction **sȭn-* ‘to fade, disappear’ was discussed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1292) under the PA entry **si̱ŭ̱ni* ‘fade, extinguish’. They were of the opinion that T *söyün-* (AOtT, Chag) may point to an old form **sȭyn-*. I dealt with a similar situation (s.v. **kín**).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 176) considered the H verb to be of T origin on the basis of partially erroneous T data. Gombocz (1912b: 126) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sön-*. Bárczi (1941: 296–297) accepted the T etymology of the word. Török (1961: 79) pointed out that the H verb could originally have consisted of a short vowel that became long under the influence of the liquid *-n-*. Cf. the same secondary lengthening in **szűr**. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 812; 1993–1997/2: 1464), the base of the H word-family may have been derived fr T. The copied verb could have been **sön-*. Palló (1982: 167–168) was of the view that the T verb featured an original

long vowel and its basic meaning was ‘to burn out (of fire)’. Ligeti (1986: 186, 199) regarded the secondary long vowel in the H word as an internal H development.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 176; Gombocz 1912b: 126; Bang–Gabain 1929: 254/16; Ramstedt 1935: 333; Bárczi 1941: 296–297; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 71; Poppe 1960: 30, 70, 109; Török 1961: 79; Egorov 1964: 198; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 812; Räsänen 1969: 430; Clauson 1972: 834, 838; Palló 1982: 167–168; Ligeti 1986: 118, 186, 199, 320; Erdal 1991: 243, 259, 809; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1464; Róna-Tas 1994: 106; Fedotov 1996/2: 70–71; Ščerbak 1997: 147; Dybo 2003: 322–324; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1292.

SZŰR [sū̆r] ‘to strain, to filter’ | p1416/1466 *ki źüritec* [ki sū̆r-itek], 1519 *zyrween*, *zyrethnek* [sū̆rvēn, sū̆retnek] | *sū̆r-* < **sür-* ← WOT **sür-* | EOT *süz-* ‘to filter, to strain’ < **sū̆-* {with suff -(*X*)*z*}.

OT *köngülüg süz-är arïḍur üčün* ‘weil er die Gesinnung läutert’ (UTT V B:98), *suw süzdäči* ‘welche das Wasser reinigt’ (UTT V B:99), *suvïn süzüp* ‘das Wasser durchseihen’ (UHeilk I 106), *süz-*: *ol sūw süzdi* (MS in error SUŽDIY) ‘he strained the water (*or other*)’ (AK), *süz-* ‘to strain’, with a metaph function: *öküš išni süzgän* ‘dispose of such numerous tasks’, *anï kim süzer* ‘who is there to put him right?’ (AQB); **MT** *süz-* ‘süzmek (ayıklamak)’ (AHMA), *süz-* ‘mrużyć (oczy), oglądać się (kokieteryjnie)’ (AHŠ), *süz-* ‘süzgeçten geçirmek’ (AIMI), *süz-* ‘purifier, tamiser, filtrer’ (AChag), *süzgüč* ‘süzecek’ (AChagAbA), *süzgüč* ‘szűrő [filter]’ (AChagAbV), *süz-* ‘cediť’ (AChagBud), *süz-* ‘procediť’ (AChagMA), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, filtrieren’ (AChagR), *süz-* ‘ṣāf kardan; to purify, clarify’, also used in two special idioms: (1) of birds when they fold their wings and glide down to the ground, in Ar *kusūr*, (2) ‘to make (the eyes) melt’ (nāzik) in a state of intoxication or overpowering sleepiness, in these senses *süz-* cannot be used by itself, ‘bird’ (as the Subject) or ‘eyes’ (as the Object) must be mentioned (AChagSC), *süz-* ‘tervîq etmek’ (AChagŠS), *söz-* ‘durchseihen, durchdrücken (durch ein Tuch und dgl.)’, *siz-*, *süz-* ‘durchseihen’ (AChagZ), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, kläreń’ (LCCG, LCCI), *süz-* ‘bir şeyi süzmek’, *süzmä* ‘süzülmüş yoğurt, mahmur bakışlı göz’ (AAH), *süzgüč* ‘süzgeç’ (AAHI), *süz-* ‘durchseihen’ (AHou), *süz-* ‘očiščatʹ, proceživatʹ, projasnjatʹ, ? bytʹ prozračnym, čistym’ (ATuhA), *süz-* ‘süzmek’ (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** *sĕr-* ‘cediťʹ, proceživatʹ, filʹtrovatʹ’, ‘loviťʹ rybu (brednem, nametkoj), vylavlivatʹ, vybiratʹ (napr. mjaso iz bulʹona)’ (Chuv), *sĕr-* ‘cediťʹ, proceživatʹ, filʹtrovatʹ, vylavlivatʹ, napr., klecki, salmu iz čaški’ (ChuvA), *sĕr-* Szp. id. ‘szűrni; filtrieren, seihen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *söz-* ‘cediťʹ, proceživatʹ, procediťʹ čto-l., propuskatʹ (propustitʹ) židkostʹ skvozʹ čto-l. dlja očiščenija, filʹtrovatʹ, vylavlivatʹ, vyloviťʹ čto-l., snimatʹ, snjatʹ čto-l. (s poverhnosti židkosti)’ (Tat), *sözgäk*, *sözgö* ‘sözgeč, cedilka, filʹtr’ (TatD1), *söz-* ‘čerpatʹ, vyčerpatʹ, vybratʹ čto-l židkoe’ (TatD1), *süz-*, *söz-* ‘szűr-ni, halászni; seihen, durchpassieren, filtriren’ (TatB), *höð-* ‘cediťʹ, proceživatʹ, loviťʹ, snimatʹ čto’ (Bashk), *sȭs-* ‘procediťʹ’ (SibTatBD), *süs-* ‘durchseihen, reinigen, läutern’ (SibTatBR), *süz-* ‘cediťʹ, filʹtrovatʹ, loviťʹ rybu brednem’ (Kirg), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, filtrieren’ (KirgR), *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’ (Kaz), *süz-* ‘procediťʹ,

scedit′, proceživat′’ (KazB), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, filtrieren’ (KazR), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′’ (Kklp), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′’ (Nog), *süz-* ‘cedit′’ (CrTat), *s′uz′-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, čerpat′’ (KarT), *siz-* ‘cedit′’ (KarH), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′’ (KarC), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′, priščurivat′’ (Kum), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′ čto, obsudit′ čto, razobrat′sja v čem’ (KrchBlk), *süz-* ‘seihen, filtrieren’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′, (razg.) cedit′, potjagivat′, medlenno pit′, ščurit′ (glaza)’ (Tkm), *süz-* ‘cedit′’ (RTkmAB), *süz-* ‘cedit′, procedit′, propuskat′ čerez duršlag, fil′trovat′’ (Az), *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter, to half-close the eyes from drowsiness, intoxication or rapture, to look attentively at something through half-closed eyes, to examine closely’ (Tt), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, filtrieren’ (TtR), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′’ (Gag); ***Kh*** *sīz-* ‘filtern, durchsieben’ (Kh); ***SE*** *suz-* ‘fil′trovat′, cedit′, proceživat′, koketlivo ščurit′ (glaza), vykladyvat′, raskladyvat′, nakladyvat′, razlivat′, razdavat′, sdavat′ (karty)’ (Uzb), *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter, to sieve’ (TurkiJ), *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’ (TurkiSh), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′’ (TurkiL), *süz-* ‘durchseihen, filtrieren’ (TurkiTR), *süz-* ‘cedit′, proceživat′, fil′trovat′’ (MUyg), *sözül′-*, *suzul-* ‘byt′ procežennym’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *süg-* ‘fil′trovat′, cedit′, proceživat′ čto-l.’ (Khak); ***Y*** *sűr* ‘sak, sačok, čerpak ili ložka v rode sita dlja vynimanija ryby iz kotla’ (Y ← Mo).

Mo *sigü-* ‘to filter, strain, to skim off, to fish out with a net, to percolate’ (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 861) listed the OT and MT data for the T etymon for H *szűr-* under the entry *süz-* ‘to filter or strain (a liquid *Acc.*)’. The most important ders fr this verb include *süz-ök* ‘pure, clarified, strained’ (Erdal 1991: 243–244; Clauson 1972: 862), *süzgü* ‘filter, strainer’ (Clauson 1972: 862), *süzgün* ‘(lit.) strained’ (Clauson 1972: 862) and *süzmä* ‘curds, cheese’ (Erdal 1991: 318; Clauson 1972: 864). On the data for the T etymon for the H verb, see also Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 342–344). Ščerbak’s (1970: 196) reconstruction is **sűs-*; according to his hypothesis, *s* > *z* after long vowels. The final segment *°s°* of his reconstruction cannot be verified. The supposed etymological long vowel is only supported by the Kh data. It is an erroneous assumption on the part of Levitskaja (Dybo 2003: 342) that the segment [°ð°] in the Tkm form may represent a strong argument in favour of the etymological long vowel. She correctly points out, however, that this verb could overlap with *sus-* ‘to scoop up’ in the T lgs (cf. Clauson 1972: 856). T *süz-* is generally used in the sense ‘to filter, to strain’. It only comes up as a fishing term in a relatively narrow region (Chuv, Tat, Bashk, Kirg, Kaz, Kklp), which is, however, very important fr the perspective of the early T lws in H. In the AQB, the word carries several metaphorical meanings. Mo *sigü-* pertains to T *sűz-*. This can also be seen in the case of the metaphorical use of both verbs (see Mo *sigü-* ‘to try or examine in court, to judge’, that is to filter and let through only the truth). We can observe the same in Chuv: ‘to strain the water, let the water through so the fish remain in the net’. But in this case we have to suppose that the T base is **sű-* (AT *sigü-*) and that we are dealing with the caus suff *-(X)z-* (Erdal 1991:

757). See Mo *sigür* ‘filter, strainer’, which is homophonous with *sigür* ‘broom, whisk broom’. The verb *sigüre-*, *šügüre-* ‘to filter through, to trickle, to percolate’ also has to be separated fr the other Mo verb *sigür-* ‘to snatch something from the ground, to snatch away’ (see **seper**, **seprő**[1]).

It is an old problem whether Mo *sigür-*, *šügüre-* and T *süz-* can be interrelated (see e.g. Ramstedt (1935: 371) and Räsänen (1969: 438–439)). The Mo forms were copied by some T lgs (see *šū-* ‘cediť’ (Alt), *šūr-* ‘filťrovať, propuskať čerez filťtr, proceživať’, *šūre-* ‘filťrovať, propuskať čerez filťtr, proceživať’, *šūr* ‘filťtr’ (Tuv) and *šūr* ‘šumovka’ (Tof).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1298–1299) reconstructed PT **süŕ-* ‘to strain, filter, to swim, float, to walk in water’. The semantic side of this reconstruction is not likely, as the T verb still means ‘to strain, to filter’. The “Altaic” parallels mentioned by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (cf. PTu **sir-* ‘spring, well, to strain, press out, to milk’ and PMo **sür-* ‘to rain in small drops, sprinkle’) do not pertain to this T base.

Egorov (1964: 188–189) erroneously discussed the Chuv verbs *sĕr-* ‘cediť, proceživať, filťrovať’ and *sĕr-* ‘loviť rybu brednem’ under two entries. The Cher dial words *šüraš-* and *šïraš-* ‘cediť, loviť rybu’ are of Chuv origin (cf. Fedotov (1996/2: 44)).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 177) considered H *szűr-* ‘to strain, to filter’ to be of T der. Gombocz (1912b: 127) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **sür-*. Munkácsi (1921–1925: 232) was of the opinion that H *szűr-* and its T corresponding forms were not originally terms in viticulture. According to him, this verb denoted the action of filtering milk and soup. (Munkácsi, however, also thought that neither **seprő**[2], nor **szőlő** had initially been viticultural terms.) Despite this position, Vásáry (1969: 465) maintained that H *szűr-* is indeed such a term. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 812–813) considered H **sür-* to come fr an OChuv lw. Palló (1982: 169–170) believed that the OChuv verb **sür-* was an old fishing term. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1465) accepted Palló’s explanation.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 177; Gombocz 1905: 251; Gombocz 1912b: 20, 127; Munkácsi 1921–1925: 232; Ramstedt 1935: 371; Bárczi 1941: 297; Egorov 1964: 188–189; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 812–813; Räsänen 1969: 438–439; Vásáry 1969: 465; Ščerbak 1970: 196; Clauson 1972: 856, 861, 862, 864; Palló 1982: 169–170; Ligeti 1986: 14, 118, 199, 293, 320, 526; Erdal 1991: 243–244, 318, 757; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1465; Fedotov 1996/2: 44–45; Szabó 1997: 80; H. Tóth 1999: 331; Dybo 2003: 342–344; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1298–1299.

szűz [sūz] ‘virgin, pure’ | early 13th c./c1350 *ſcuȝ lean* [sūz leān], *ſceuz* [sūz], 1510 *zvzey* [zūzei] | *sūz* < **süz* < **süzök* {with back-formation} ← WOT **süzök* | EOT *süzök* ‘clarified, strained, pure, transparent’ < **süz-* ‘to filter’ | See **szűr**.

Of debated T origin.

OT *arïg turuq süzük manïstanlar ičindä* ‘in den reinen, klaren, lichten Aufenthaltsorten’ (UManI 27:35), *süzük* ‘rein, klar, lauter’ (UTTVII 40:7), *arïg süz-ük*

boltï-lar ‘rein und lauter wurden’ (UTTIV A:8-9), *ang bašï süz-ük kirtgünč köngül ol* ‘das wichtigste, die lautere Gläubigkeit’ (UTTV B:10), *süzük* ‘pure’ (UXuanzang-Index), *süzök* (syu zyo ḵ – süzöḵ) ‘klar’ (BTTVIII C:6), *süzük sūw* ‘clear blue water’. Anything ‘clear (*ṣāfī*)’ such as a ruby, is: *süzük* (AK), *süzük ol bu devlet süzükni yüler* ‘the fortune is pure, it seeks out purity and supports the pure’ (AQB); **MT** *süzük* ‘süzülmüş’ (UY), *süzük* ‘temiz, arı, saf’ (AHMA), *sūzūk* ‘al-ṣāfī (of wine etc.)’ (MS *sūrūk*) (AIM), *süzük* ‘safi, halis’ (AIMI), *süzüŋ* ‘pure’ (ARbg), *süzük* ‘süzülmüş’ (AYC), *süzük* ‘clarifié’ (AChag), *süzük* ‘čistyj, prozračnyj’ (AChagB), *süzük* ‘procežennyj, očiščennyj’ (AChagBud), *süzük* ‘čistyj’ (AChagMA), *süzük* ‘die abgestandene, klar gewordene Flüssigkeit, durchsichtig, rein’ (AChagR), *süzük* ‘ṣāf’ (AChagSC), *süzük* ‘süzülmüš’ (AChagŠS), *sözük* ‘durchseiht’ (AChagŠSK), *sözük* ‘geseiht, gereinigt, rein’ (AChagZ), *süzük* ‘geklärt, durchsichtig’: *süzük su* ‘lutir wassir’ (LCCG); **NT** ***Chuv*** *sĕreke* ‘breden′’, *sĕrkĕč* ‘sitečko’ (Chuv), *sĕreke* ‘breden′ dlja lovli ryby v letnee vremja’ (ChuvA), *sĕreke* ‘kerítőháló, vonóháló (két ember a vízben haladva cipeli); Zugnetz’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *sözgeč* ‘šumovka, duršlag, cedilka, sitečko, fil′tr, (dial.) breden′’ (Tat), (*sözök* ‘navar, žir na bul′one’) (TatD2), *sözgöč*, *süzgeč* ‘szűrő, szita; Seihe, Seiher’ (TatB), *höðök* ‘navar’ (BashkD2), *höððök* ‘navar’ (BashkD3), *süzük* ‘ütä kürenmäle, čista, prozračnyj, čistyj’ (SibTat), *süzük* ‘die abgestandene, klar gewordene Flüssigkeit’ (SibTatBR), *süzmö* ‘sjuz′ma (otcežennoe kisloe moloko)’, ‘(tol′ko o ženskih glazah) priščurennyj (koketlivo ili boleznenno), uzen′kij’ (Kirg), *süzbe* ‘pot cheese, sour skim milk, strained sour milk’, *süzgï* ‘fine sieve, strainer, filter’ (Kaz), *süzbe* ‘tvorog, tvorožnyj’, *süzgi*, *süzgiš* ‘bol′šaja derevjannaja ili železnaja cedilka, bol′šoj derevjannyj polovnik’, *süzeki* ‘bol′šaja ložka iz melkih ivovyh prut′ev (upotrebljaemaja vmesto polovnika)’ (Kklp), *süzük* ‘prozračnyj, čistyj (o vode), priščurennyj (o glazah)’ (Kum), *sọzụk* ‘frisch, rein’ (KumN), *süzgüč* ‘šumovka, cedilka’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *süðük* ‘koketlivyj, tomnyj’, *süðük göðler* ‘tomnie glaza’ (Tkm), *süzg′ün* ‘plavnyj’: *süzg′ün baxïš* ‘tomnyj, nežnij vzgljad’ (Az), *süzgü* ‘fine filter’, *süzük* ‘drawn, strained (face etc.)’ (Tt), *süzük* ‘die abgestandene, klar gewordene Flüssigkeit, halbgeschlossene Augen’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *suzgič* ‘fil′tr, cedilka’, *suzuk* ‘koketlivyj, tomnyj, tomno priščurennyj’ (Uzb), *sụzụk* ‘clear, transparent, pure’ (TurkiJ), *süzük* ‘čistota, prozračnost′, čistyj, prozračnyj’ (TurkiL), *süzük* ‘die abgestandene, klar gewordene Flüssigkeit’ (TurkiTR), *süzük* ‘čistyj, prozračnyj, svetlyj’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *süzük* ‘die abgestandene, klar gewordene Flüssigkeit’ (AltR, AltTelR), *šūre-* ‘fil′trovat′, propuskat′ čerez fil′tr, proceživat′’, *šūr* ‘fil′tr’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

E/T On the base of the supposed T etymon for the H word *szűz*, see **szűr**. *süzök* ‘pure, clear’ is often documented in the OT sources and it is a der of *süz-* ‘to strain, cleanse, purify’. *süzök* denotes the concrete or metaphorical object of the action signified by the base. Erdal (1991: 243–244) listed many occurrences of the word *süzök*, which is often used together with its synonym *arïg*. On some other ders of the base,

see *süzmä* 'curds' (Erdal 1991: 318), *süz-ül-* 'to be strained or rinsed' or, metaphorically, 'to be pure and pious, to have faith (in ...)' (Erdal 1991: 674; cf. Clauson 1972: 863), *süzgǖ* 'strainer, filter', *süzgün* 'strained' (Clauson 1972: 862), etc. It is interesting to note the different meanings of the word *süzük* fr 'pure' to 'coquettish', though such semantic variety is hardly rare.

It is not entirely clear if the T etymon for the H word is the well-known word *süzök*, however this possibility cannot be excluded. In this case, the copied form would have been **süzök* or **süzük* and, because of the segment °z°, the word would not be a Chuv lw. Under this assumption, the H word *szűz* could have resulted fr a back-formation because the word **süzök* (now *szüzek*) was felt to be a pl form. If this is so, H *szűz* is an early lw fr a non-Chuv-type lg. On this type of back-formation, see **csécs**, **köpeny** and § 6.5.5. The following possible solution suggested by Berta is less probable:

The H word may go back to an undocumented WOT (z-dial) form **süzi*, which could be a der of *süz-* 'to strain, cleanse, purify'. In terms of functionality, the suff *-I* can fit this explanation perfectly. On the suff, see Erdal (1991: 340–344), and cf. the words *tög-i* 'cleaned and/or crushed cereal' (< *tög-* 'to pound, crush'), *kön-i* 'straight' (< *kön-* 'to get or be straight') etc. in the EOT corpus. The loss of *-i* represents a H change.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 177) considered H *szűz* 'virgin, pure' to be of T origin, but his etymology was based on T words which cannot possibly be interrelated with the H word. Munkácsi (1901b: 585) erroneously connected the word in question with Skr *čuddhá-* 'rein, lauter'. Bárczi (1941: 297) and Lakó (1965: 47; 1967–1978/3: 606–607) regarded it as having come fr FUgr. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 815) took it to be of uncertain der. He rejected the earlier T etymology of the word, but also saw some problems concerning Lakó's FUgr explanation. According to Rédei (1986–1991/1: 441), *szűz* may have been inherited fr FUgr. He was of the opinion that the final H *-z* in this word may correspond to FUgr **ć*. Vértes (1994: 454) ruled out Lakó's (1967–1978/3: 606–607) and Rédei's (1986–1991/1: 441) etymological proposals. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1465–1466), one cannot exclude the FUgr origin of H *szűz*, but the FUgr etymology poses several phonetic problems. The suggested FUgr etymology is the following:

H *szűz* 'virgin' < PUgr *śüćĕ* (> PVog **śə̄ś*) < PFUgr **süćɜ* 'rein' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 441). This presents the following problems: (1) PFUgr *s-* had to disappear in H. The suggested solution would be an *s* > *ś* change that occurred under the influence of the palatal *ć*. (2) The form that regularly corresponds to PUgr *ć* is *š*; the rare exceptions are onomatopoeic words (see § 5.6.3). Ligeti (1986) did not mention *szűz* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 177; Munkácsi 1901b: 585; Bárczi 1941: 297; Lakó 1965: 47; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 606–607; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 815; Räsänen 1969: 438–439; Clauson 1972: 862, 863; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 441; Erdal 1991: 243–244, 318, 340–344, 674; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1465–1466; Vértes 1994: 454.

T

TÁBOR [tābor] ‘camp, military camp’ | 1223/1338 ? PN *Thabor* [tābor], 1383 *thabor* [tābor] ‘army, troop’, 1519 ‘camp’ | *tābor* < **tabur* ← MT *tabur* ‘army, military camp’ < **tabgur* < **tabkur* ← Mo *dabkur* | MT *tapkur*, *tabur* ‘(military) camp’.

Of debated T origin.

OT –; **MT** *tapqur* (-b-) ‘troupe, détachement, imposition extraordinaire’, *dapqur* ‘botte, bouquet, troupe, rangée de troupes’ (AChag), *dapqur* ‘saf ve alay’ (AChagAb), *dapqur* ‘saf ve alay, tabur’ (AChagAbA), *dapqur* ‘hadrend, sor’ (AChagAbV), *tapqur* ‘otrjad vojska, posylaemyj dlja rekognoscirovki ili grabeža’ (AChagBud), *tapqur* ‘zur Recognoscirung oder zum Rauben ausgeschickte Truppen-Abtheilung’ (AChagR), *tapkur*, *tabur* ‘camp, encampment’ (AChagS), *tabqur* ‘arabalar birbirine zinǰirle qušadïlup qale šekline girmiš istikām’ (AChagŠS), *dapqur* ‘Truppe, Heer’, *tapqur* ‘eine aus zusammengebundenen Wagen errichtete Wagenburg, Lager’ (AChagŠSK), *tabor*, *tabur* ‘verschanztes Feldlager, Wagenburg’ (AChagZ), *tabor* ‘camp, retranché’ (AmTr), *tabor* ‘camp, encampment’ (AmCh), *tabor* ‘camp (retranché derrière les voitures); Wagenburg’ (AmE), *tapkur* ‘tabur, katar, sıra, dizi’, *tabur* ‘istihkam, ordugâh’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tapăr* ‘tabor, tabornyj’ (Chuv), *tapăr* ‘mesto dlja vodopoja stada na rečke, tabun, stado’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *tabor* ‘tabor, tabornyj’ (Tat ← Rus), *tapkïr* ‘raz’, *ber tapkïr* ‘odin raz’, *tabïr* ‘könneŋ esse vakïtïnda su buyïna kötü tuktap yal itä torgan urïn, tuplavïk; ležbišče, mesto otdyha i vodopoja dlja skota’, *tabïr* ‘taptalïp betkän urïn – idän, ǰiläklek h.b. turïnda; govoritsja o čem-l. zatoptannom: jagodnike, grjaznom pole v dome i t.d.’ (TatD1), *täber* ‘yïrak kïrlarda ešlägändä kolxozčïlar urnaškan urïn, kïr stanï; polevoj stan’ (← Rus), *tapkïr* ‘turï; naprotiv’ (TatD2), *tapqïr* ‘mal’ (TatR), *tabïr* ‘tabor, tabornyj, stojbišče, stojanka’, *tapkïr* ‘mesto ili mestnosť, raspoložennye naprotiv čego-l., raz’ (Bashk), *tabor* ‘tabor’ (RKirg), *tabor* ‘tabor’ (RKklp), *tabor* ‘tabor, tabornyj’ (Nog), *tabur* ‘die Wagenburg’ (CrTatR), *tapqïr* ‘podpruga’ (KarC), *tabor* ‘tabor, tabornyj’ (Kum); ***SW*** *tabor* ‘tabor’ (Tkm), *tabur* ‘battalion, (arch) camp surrounded with carts chained together for defence’, *tabkur*, *tapkur* ‘(arch) a row, a line, a row of horses or cattle tethered in a line, row of carts chained together wheel to wheel as a defence in time of danger’ (Tt), *tabġur* ‘der Gürtel, die Palissaden-Einzäunung’ (TtR), *tapqur* ‘Gürtel, Pallisaden-Einzäunung, Reihe, Linie, besonders Pferde oder anderes Vieh in Reihen aufgestellt, Wagenburg’ (TtR), *tabur* ‘ein Batallion aus 1000 Mann’ (TtR), *tapkur* ‘kafile dizi’ (TtD), *tapkïr* ‘podpruga’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tåpqir* ‘raz’ (Uzb); ***NE*** *dakpïr*, *dapkïr*: *iyi dakpïr*, *dapkïr* ‘dvojnoj, dvukratnyj’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *dabqur* ‘row, tier, layer, stratum, storey of a building, double, consisting of several rows or layers (with a preceding numeral, e.g. *dörben dabqur* ‘four storeys’), twofold, pregnant, twice, in pairs’, *beye dabqur* ‘pregnant’ (L).

Rus *tabur*, *tabïr* ‘stado (sev. olenej), ORus *tabar* ‘tureckij lager′’, Ukr *tábor* ‘lager′, ovoz′’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 6–7).

E/T The very wide semantic range of the T words needs clarification. First, we have to analyse it fr a morphological point of view. The Mo word *dabkur* > Khal *dabxar* pertains to *dabta-* ‘to repeat’ an act or to do something several times as in *koyar gurbanta dabtan* ‘two, three or several times’ and *dabtal* ‘repetition, beating, forging’. It is more difficult to ascertain the exact morphological relationship between *dabta-* and *dabkur*. Mo only contains a dev suff *-gUr*: *kadu-* ‘to mow’ > *kadagur* ‘sickle’ (Poppe 1964: 46). The ending *-kUr* is rare. I have only found the following cases in L: (1) Mo *oskur*, *oskur*[*uu*], *oskar*, *oskaraga* ‘peeling (of skin, bark etc.) crack’, Khal *osgor* id. < *osu-* ‘to suffer from cold weather, to freeze, to become weather-beaten or rough (such as the face and hands from cold and wind)’; (2) Mo *toskur*, *toskugur*, *toskagur* ‘tray, platter, lower millstone, funnel’, Khal *tosgūr* < *tos-* ‘to receive, to catch something moving toward the subject’; (3) Mo *udkur*, *udkugur* ‘scoop, ladle’, Khal *utgūr* < *udu-* ‘to start (a fight), to stir up’; (4) Mo *kodkur* ‘cavity’, Khal *xotgor* < *kotogur* ‘concave, hollow’ < *kotuyi-* ‘to be(come) concave’; (5) Mo *todkur*, *todkar*, Khal *totgor* ‘obstacle, hindrance’. After *-ŋ-* in a few examples, such as (6) *doŋkur* ‘having a large head’ < *doŋkuyi-* ‘to have a long neck and a large head’ and a few other examples after *-ŋ-*. It may be of importance that, with the exception of *dabkur*, all other words contain a labial vowel in the preceding syllable. It is also clear that *-k-* only appears after *-ŋ-*, *-d* and *-s*. The alternation of *-d* / *-s* in Mo is well-known. In at least three cases, *-kur* resulted fr contraction, *-kur* < *-kugur*. Finally, it is well worth noting that the vowel in the ending is *a*, *u*, *o*, or *ū* in spoken Khal.

Fr the above, I conclude that *-kur* is not a suff, or at least not a suff with clear morphological and functional features. It may perhaps be related to *kur* ‘that which has been in the same state for a year or more, last year’s’, *kur targu* ‘fat which an animal has retained since last year’ (L, see KhakB *xur* ‘godovoj otgul’), *korum*, *kurum* ‘instant, moment, a very short time, in a second, in a moment’ (MMo), *korumut* ‘a short time’ (SH) and which is the Mo counterpart of T *kur* ‘row, line, time’ (see **kor**). The first syllable **dab* may be grouped together with *daga-* ‘to follow’, just as *koyar* ‘two’ may be with **koyi* in *koyimar* ‘behind’, *koyina* ‘behind’, *koyirgu* ‘tardy’ and *koyiči* ‘future’, that is what is second or what is behind or before. Mo *dabkur* may then be a compound fr **dab* and **kur*, with the meaning ‘the following line, the second line etc.’

Certainly, the role of the change *-gur* > *-kur* after certain *-ŋ-*, *-d-* and *-s-* stems must not be ruled out. However, this must be left to future researches.

The basic meaning of Mo *dabkur* is 'the same thing is done twice, is done for the second time, repeated, doubled'.

Doerfer rightly stressed (1963–1975/2: 429–431) that Mo *dabkur* 'Verdoppelung, Schicht, Reihe' was borrowed into the T lgs (cf. Chag *tapkur* id.) and via T mediation into Pe. In the Early Golden Horde it was used to denote an additional tax. The Mo word was also copied into Tu as *dapkur*, *dabkur* and into Man as *dabkûri* (cf. Doerfer 1985: 101). Some of the Chag data (see e.g. AChag cited by Pavet de Courteille fr Navā'ī, AChagAb etc.) still preserved the voiced initial *d-* of the original Mo copied form, whereas other Chag forms adopted Mo *d-* as *t-*. The meaning changed fr 'double' to 'new tax over the old', 'special tax', as well as 'girth, a double strap' and then 'a (second) storey of a building, consisting of several rows and layers (with a preceding numeral)'. In the VT lgs, it carried the sense 'the other side, what is on the other side', and 'times' as in 'three times' and they were noted as homophonous words. The main question is the relationship of Mo *dabkur* ⟶ T *tapkur* with T *tabor*, *tabur*. The picture is obscured by the Rus word *tabur*, itself a T lw. In many present-day T lgs, the word *tabur*, *tabïr* etc. is a Rus lw. It became a military term and as such spread earlier through Mo mediation and later through Rus. According to Ligeti, *tabur* is a regular Og form fr *tabkur* (1986: 103). In this case, we have to suppose a change in Mo *dabkur* > **dabgur* ⟶ Og **tabgur* > *tabur*. This entered Rus and H. Németh (1953c: 443) supposed that *-k-* disappeared in Mo. Egorov (1964: 230) compared Chuv *tapăr* 'mesto otdyha i vodopoja skota v poludennoe vremja' with certain T words which cannot be related and thought that the Chuv word is of onomatopoeic origin. Fedotov (1996/2: 173) refuted his position, on the assumption that the Chuv word was copied either fr Rus or fr another T lg.

The source of the T word *tabur* etc. was also tied to the name of a place *Tabor*, south of Prague, where a branch of Jan Hus's followers convened. They named the central hill, formerly called *Hradište* (fr *hrad* 'a place where a fortification exists', Sl *grad*, Rus *gorod*), *Tabor*, after the place name in the Bible (Judges 4: 6–14) where the sons of Israel gathered for the fight against the enemy. The Czech GN appears in the sources after 1419 (see Kiss 1988/2: 606–607). This cannot be the origin of the East European word *tabur*, *tabor*, but may have added some confusion. The name *Thabor* (*Georgius filius Thabor*) is fixed in H in a document dated 1223 and copied in 1338 (Fehértói 2004: 749). According to Németh (1953c: 443), Ott *tabur* originated in H. In Ott sources, it figures as 'Christian camp' (Németh 1953c: 434). To sum up, Mo *dabkur*, **dabgur* was changed to *tabur*, *tabor* in an Og lg and this then represented the source for Rus and H. The history of the word was influenced by the Biblical

Czech name *Tabor*. Later, fr Rus and H, this word penetrated into the T lgs, where it was mingled with *tabkur* or seen as a separate word.

E/H According to Miklosich (1882: 512), H *tábor* may be derived fr T, but it was borrowed via Sl mediation. Vámbéry (1914: 210) compared the H word with T *tabur* 'corral' and claimed that the Sl word that corresponds to the H one is of T der. He maintained that the word goes back to the base *tap-* 'to find' in the T lgs. According to Simonyi (1914: 380) and Melich (1935a: 168–177; 1935b: 529–540), H *tábor* is an international word. Melich thought, however, that its prevalence among the European lgs is due to T. Its form could originally have been *tabKur* and its primary meaning was: 'belt' > 'corral' > 'encampment'. This T word could be the final source of *tábor*. The H word was, however, borrowed into some lgs. Németh (1935a: 541–547) offered some additional notes to Melich's position. The initial form of the T word could have been *tapkur* and fr this form came T *tabgur* and then *tabur*. Németh assumed the word to be an old compound fr the elements *tap* 'adequate, fitting' and *kur* 'belt, girdle'. He accepted Melich's statement that the H word is of T origin. Pais (1935b: 295–313) preferred a T etymology, but one different fr Németh's. According to him, the final element *°kur* in T *tapkur* is a suff and *tabur* is not a phonetic variant of *tapkur* ~ *tabgur* but another der fr the same verbal base *tap-* 'to fit'. Pais thought that one has to reconstruct the following semantic change for the T word: 'line' > 'military groups ordered in lines' > 'corral'. According to Bárczi (1941: 297), H *tábor* may have come fr T, but the etymology of its T source is debated. Németh (1953c: 431–446) changed his earlier T etymology and rejected Pais's as well. He considered T *tabur*, *tabor* to be H and Sl borrowings. Chag *dabkur* 'Heeresreihe, Linie' may, however, be connected with Mo *dapkur*. Pais (1954: 167–169) accepted Németh's opinion concerning the H source of the Ott word *tabur* (< *tabor*). He thought, however, that H *tábor* may be an early T lw fr *tabur* or *tabgur*. The ultimate T base of this word could have been the T verb *tap-* 'to fit'. Németh's response (1955a: 224) was that, Pais's view notwithstanding, H *tábor* cannot have derived fr T. Chag *tapkur* 'Truppe' is a Mo lw, and the forms *tapkur*, *tapkïr* 'times' are not related to the word *tábor*. Eren (1956: 145–152) accepted Németh's explanation. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 291–292) was of the opinion that H *tábor* was borrowed into the Western and Eastern Sl lgs, into some lgs of the Balkans and fr there also into Ott and Pe (*ṭābōr*). The word carries various meanings, 'Heerlager', 'Heeresabteilung' and 'Zigeunerlager'. For a good overview of the literature, see Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 291–292). According to Ligeti (1986: 103, 204, 253), if T is the starting point of this international word in H it could only have been copied after the end of the 9th c., as it was already pointed out by Benkő (1967–1984/3: 818–819). One can in this case reconstruct an Og copied form *tabur*, which may be documented as *tabkur*, *dabkur* in other T lgs. The internal T *-b-* in this word may be a secondary displacing of an old *-p-*. One can, however, also assume a T *-bk-*

> Og *-b-* change. Ligeti thought that the Mo origin of the T word cannot be refuted, but the Mo world could only have been copied into the T lgs in the Mo period.

◆ Miklosich 1882: 512; Simonyi 1914: 380; Vámbéry 1914: 210; Melich 1935a: 168–177; Melich 1935b: 529–540; Németh 1935a: 541–547; Pais 1935b: 295–313; Bárczi 1941: 297; Németh 1953c: 431–446; Pais 1954: 167–169; Király 1955: 225–226; Németh 1955a: 224; Eren 1956: 145–152; Minorskij 1961: 27–31; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 429–431; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 291–292; Egorov 1964: 230; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 6–7; Poppe 1964: 46; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 818–819; Räsänen 1969: 132, 453; Doerfer 1985: 101; Ligeti 1986: 103, 204, 253; Kiss 1988/2: 606–607; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1468; Fedotov 1996/2: 173; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1375; Fehértói 2004: 749.

TÁLTOS [tāltoš] ‘sorcerer, medicine man’ | 1211 PN *Tholtus* [toltuš], p1416/c1450 *taltofoc* [tāltoš-ok] | *tāltoš* < *taltuš* < **taltuči* ← WOT **taltučï* < **talutčï* | EOT **talutčï* ‘the one who exercises a loss of consciousness’ < **talut* ‘fainting, loss of consciousness’ < *tal-* ‘to lose strength, to lose consciousness, to faint’.

Of debated T origin.

OT *bu iki tïgïtlar ulïyu sïqdayu talïp* ‘Die beiden Prinzen jammerten und fielen in Ohnmacht’ (USuv 620:9), *tört yïngaqïġ yangïlïp ögsüz bolup talïp* ‘verlor er die vier Himmelsrichtungen (d.h. ihn schwindelte), [er wurde bewusstlos und fiel in Ohnmacht]’ (UU IV 40,171, Cl.), *talġān ig* ‘epilepsy (lit. ‘a disease involving frequent fainting’)’ (AK); **MT** *tal-* ‘osłabnać, zmęczyć się’ (AHŠ), *tal-* ‘oslabevaťˊ, ustavaťˊ, stanoviťˊsja slabym’ (AHŠF), ? *tal-* ‘opredeljaťˊ, soizmerjaťˊ’: *zamanä talmïš bälgürtmiš* ‘vremja opredeleno, vremja oboznačeno’ (ATef), *tal-* ‘être malade, fatigué’ (AChag), *tal-* ‘yorulmaq’ (AChagAb), *tal-* ‘yorulmak’ (AChagAbA), *tal-* ‘otstavaťˊ, otstavaťˊ ot iduščih’ (AChagB), *tal-* ‘to be infirm, ill, to plunge, be plunged (esp. into water or in thought)’ (AChagSC), *tal-* ‘ifkāra varmaq, hasta ve marīz ve yorġun olmaq’ (AChagŠS), *tal-* ‘krank, schwach sein oder werden, ermatten’ (AChagZ), *tal-* ‘yorulmak’, Tkm. ‘dalmak (suya)’ (AAH), *tal-* ‘elfárad; ermüden’ (AKav), *ṭal-* ‘ustavaťˊ, utomljaťˊsja’ (ATuh), *tal-* ‘yorulmak’ (ATuhA), *tal-* ‘se lasser, se fatiguer’ (AmTr), *dal-* in Rumi the same as *tal-* with the meaning ‘to plunge into water, to dive’ (AOtT = Sanglah, Cl.); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tal-*: *ar- tal-* ‘utomljaťˊsja, utomiťˊsja, ustavaťˊ, ustaťˊ’, *armas-talmas* ‘neustannyj’, *armïy-talmïy* ‘neustanno, bez ustali’ and more important derivatives *talučan* ‘bystro utomljajuščijsja, sklonnyj k ustavaniju’, *talčïk-* ‘utomljaťˊsja, ustavaťˊ, iznemogaťˊ, čuvstvovaťˊ ustalostˊ’ (Tat), *tal-* ‘jïlïmsa xälgä kilü – salkïn sïyïkčanïŋ bernikadär jïlïnuwï, kaynar sïyïkčanïŋ bernikadär suwïnuwï turïnda; neskolʹko ostytʹ, ostuditʹsja – o gorjačej židkosti, podogretʹ, podogretʹsja – o holodnoj židkosti’ (TatD1), *tal-* ‘elfáradni; müde werden, ermüden’ (TatB), *tal-* ‘ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren’ (TatKR), *tal-* [without any explanation Bashk has the meanings separated under two lemmata] ‘ustavaťˊ, utomljaťˊsja, pogružaťˊsja vo čto, otdavaťˊsja čemu, vpadaťˊ vo čto’, cf. dial *talbauhï-* ‘obessileťˊ,

iznemogatʹ, vybivatʹsja iz sil, utomljatʹsja', *taldïr-* [the Bashk lists the meanings under two entries – for no apparent reason] 'natruditʹ, utomitʹ, pogružatʹ kogo vo čto', *talsïq-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja, iznemogatʹ, oslabevatʹ, (*peren.*) tomitʹsja', *talïq-* 'utomljatʹsja, ustavatʹ, (*peren.*) tomitʹsja' (Bashk), *tal-* 'elfáradni, kimerülni' (BashkP), *tal-* 'talu, aru; ustavatʹ', *talġïn-* 'talu, aru; ustavatʹ', *talu* 'iŋ avïrta torgan ǰir; bolʹnoe mesto' (SibTat), *tal-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja' (SibTatBD), *tal-*, *talï-* 'zameretʹ, onemetʹ (o členah), padatʹ v obmorok, stradatʹ ėpilepsiej' (Kirg), *tal-* 'ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren', *talï-* 'in Ohnmacht fallen' (KirgR), *tal-* 'to be exhausted, to tire, to faint, to lose consciousness, to be caught unaware and be struck speechless' (Kaz), *tal-* 'padatʹ v obmorok, poterjatʹ soznanie, iznemogatʹ, vybivatʹsja iz sil, (*fig.*) bytʹ zastignutym vrasploh i onemetʹ' (KazB), *tal-* 'ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren' (KazR), *tal-* 'nemetʹ, oslabevatʹ (o konečnostjah), utomljatʹsja, ustavatʹ, padatʹ v obmorok', *talma* 'pripadok ėpilepsii' (Kklp), *tal-*, *talï-* 'utomljatʹsja, čuvstvovatʹ utomlenie, ustavatʹ, ispytyvatʹ ustalostʹ, propadatʹ, umiratʹ' (KklpB), *tal-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja, iznemogatʹ, vybivatʹsja iz sil, nemetʹ, oslabevatʹ (*o konečnostjah*), padatʹ v obmorok, terjatʹ soznanie', *talma* '(med.) pripadok ėpilepsii' (Nog), *tal-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja', *dal-* 'okunatʹsja, pogružatʹsja, nyrjatʹ' [The initial *d-* is clearly an Og feature. The coexistence of the two forms (*tal-*, *dal-*) in CrTat is supported by a significant semantic distribution. As we can see, the same phenomenon can be observed in KarC] (CrTat), *tal-* 'ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren', *dal-* 'eingetaucht, versunken sein' (CrTatR), *tal-* 'ustatʹ, utomitʹsja, oslabetʹ' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *dal-* 'pogružatʹsja, okunatʹsja, (*peren.*) uglubljatʹsja, pogružatʹsja' (KarSh), *talqïn* '(*rel.*) molitva (*kotoruju čitajut pri pogrebenii*), (*ust.*) vnušenie', *talmav* 'tajnye, skrytye motivy (*povedenija*), pomeha, prepjatstvie, sceplenie', *talčïq-* 'pereživatʹ, bespokoitʹsja, volnovatʹsja, boletʹ dušoj'. It is important to note that the twin phrase *alman–talman* mentioned above exists in the Kum structure *alman–talman söyle-* 'lepetatʹ, govoritʹ bessvjazno' (Kum), *tal-* 'ermüden' (KumN), *tal-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja' (KrchBlk), *tal-* 'müde werden' (KrchP); ***SW*** *dāl-* 'ustavatʹ, utomljatʹsja' (Tkm, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 133), *dāljïk-* 'zadyhatʹsja, tjaželo dyšatʹ' (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 133), *dal-* 'pogružatʹsja, pogruzitʹsja, okunutʹsja', *daldïr-* 'pogružatʹsja (*v dumy i razmyšlenija*)', *dalġïn* 'zadumčivyj, mečtatelʹnyj, sosredotočennyj, zadumčivo, sosredotočenno' (Az), *dal-* 'to dive, to plunge (into), to be plunged (in thought or occupation), to enter suddenly, to plunge in, to become absorbed, distracted, to fall asleep, to drop off, to doze, to become unconscious (of a sick person)', *dalgın* 'absent-minded, plunged in thought, unconscious (of a sick person), comatose' (Tt), *dal-* 'pogružatʹsja, okunatʹsja, nyrjatʹ, vhoditʹ, pronikatʹ, vletatʹ, vry-

vat′sja, vtorgat′sja, pogružat′sja, okunat′sja, uhodit′ s golovoj, vklinivat′sja, zabyvat′sja, načinat′ dremat′, vpadat′ v zabyt′e', (*dial.*) *dalgi* 'rassejanost′, zabyvčivost′, nevnimatel′nost′, oprometčivost′, neobdumannost′, oplošnost′', *dalgin* 'rassejannyj, zadumčivyj, pogružennyj v razdum′e (*v svoi mysli*), poterjavšij soznanie, vpavšij v zabyt′e (*o bol′nom*)' (TtB), *dal-* 'nyrjat′, okunat′sja, pogružat′sja v vodu' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tol-* 'ustavat′, utomljat′sja, pogružat′sja (*v dumy, mysli i t.p.*)' (Uzb), *tal-* 'to tire, to get tired, to be asleep (of one's leg or arm)' (TurkiJ), *tal-* 'ustavat′' (TurkiL), *tal-* 'utomljat′sja, ustavat′, vybivat′sja iz sil, nemet′, terjat′ soznanie' (MUyg); ***NE*** *tal-* 'padat′ v obmorok, onemet′ (o členah), ustat′, stradat′ padučej, stat′ nemym' (Alt), *tal-* 'ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren' (AltR, AltTelR), *tal-* 'ustavat′' (AltQK), *tal-* 'padat′ v obmorok' (AltTK), *tal-* 'ustavat′, nemet′ (*o rukah, nogah*), padat′ v obmorok' (Khak), *talġax* 'ėpilepsija, pripadok' (KhakB), *tal-* 'ermüden, ermatten, schlaff werden, so matt, schwach werden, dass man wie tot daliegt, in Ohnmacht fallen, die Besinnung verlieren' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *dal-* 'padat′ v obmorok, terjat′ soznanie (napr. ot sil′nogo udara), cepenet′ (napr. ot neožidannosti, ispuga)' (Tuv), *tal-* 'bit′sja v agonii, terjat′ soznanie, merknut′ (o svete v glazah)' (Tof), *dal-* 'bit′sja v agonii' (Tof, Rassadin 1971: 168); ***Y*** *tāl-* 'stolbenet′, priostanavlivat′sja, molča stojat′ (sidet′) odumyvat′sja, stojat′ (sidet′) kak vkopannyj' (Y).

Mo ? *dalda* 'hidden', *daldal-*, *daldala-* 'to hide, conceal' (L).

E/T The basic word for the reconstructed H form may be the verb *tal-* (< **talï-*). The verb is documented as of the OT period. The more significant data are listed in Clauson's dict (1972: 490) under the lemma *tal-* (*d-*) 'to lose strength, to lose consciousness, to faint'. On the caus der, cf. *taltur-* (*d-*) 'to tire out, to exhaust' (see Clauson (1972: 494)). On the other T data, see also Räsänen (1969: 457). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 133–134: *dāl-*) distinguished two semantic groups: (1) 'to sink (e.g. in water), to become lost in thought', (2) 'to lose one's senses, to lose consciousness, to fall into depression, to become paralysed, to grow quiet, to become tired, exhausted', etc. Sevortjan remarked that the first meaning is characteristic of the Og lgs, and the second of the other T branches. He also observed another significant difference between the two groups: the meanings related to field (2) are quite older than those in group (1), which appeared for the first time in the 14th c. Sevortjan even poses the question whether they should be distinguished in terms of origin as two different verbs which were later contaminated in form. I think the two groups belong together, as Clauson also suggested (1972: 490), the difference having stemmed fr changes in meaning. On the semantic connections, cf. the senses of the H verbs *kimerül-* 'to become exhausted' and *elmerül-* 'to sink'.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak's suggestion (2003: 459) that there were two homophonous PT verbal forms **dāl-* 'to sink' (459) and **dāl-* 'to lose strength, to faint, lose consciousness' (1361) is unacceptable. (The first of them would have been related to OT *taluy*, PMo **dalay* 'sea, ocean' going back to the PA base **dǻla* 'wave, deep place', while the other PT **dāl-* would have been a cognate of PA **tḗla* 'to become loose, faint, tire').

The most significant historical item for the ders of the OT verb *tal-* (< PT **tāl(ï)-*) – in addition to the der formed by the caus ending *-tUr-* mentioned above – is *tal-gān īg* 'epilepsy' (AK). Erdal (1991: 384) pointed out that words formed with the ending *-gAn* are usually not abstract nouns; the form noted here represents an exception. Further, see Chag *talïk-* 'to plunge, to be plunged' (Clauson 1972: 490; cf. Erdal 1991: 649). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 134) has already drawn our attention to the highly questionable etymological nominal base *dal* 'rasterjašisja, rasslablennyj', which, as most of the examples listed by Judahin indicate, appear exclusively in the structure *dal bol-* in Kirg. There is only one exception in the sentence *aylasïn tappay, boldu dal* 'ne najdja vyhoda, on rasterjalsja' marked as *fol'k*. At the same time, he also pointed out that data for this nominal base can only be found in this lg, and that the verbal base appears with the initial *t-* in Kirg. Parallel data starting with the consonants *t-* and *d-* are common in CrTat and KarC idioms, resp. Other examples can be found of the *d- ~ t-* variation in the initial position in Kirg. Cf. the following forms appearing in the column where *dal* is listed: *dak* I = *tak*; *dakat* = *takat*; *dal, dalā* = *talā*. In terms of semantics, it would be very difficult to consider the Kirg *dal* in another context. It is another question whether – if it really belongs here – this may have resulted fr a secondary development.

Some T forms which may be ders of the base **talp(ï)-* are in fact Mo lws; see Mo *dalbiyi-* 'to hang down or loose, to be awry (of a wide flat object)'. Both must be separated, e.g. *talpïn-* 'mahat' kryl'jami (o ptice), silit'sja, pytat'sja (preodolet' čto-l.), (*peren.*) tjanut'sja, rvat'sja, stremit'sja k čemu-l.' (Tat), *dalbïra-* 'iznemogat', (*peren.*) obvetšat', obtrepat'sja' (Kirg), *tålpin-* 'bit' kryl'jami, stremjas' vzletet' (*o pticah*), (*peren.*) poryvat'sja, stremit'sja, ustremljat'sja' (Uzb), *talbï-* 'trepyhat'sja, stremit'sja vyrvat'sja, letet', vsporhnut', vzletet', stremit'sja vpered' (Alt), *talbï-* 'letet', stremit'sja' (AltQK), *talbā* 'razmahivanie rukoju' (Y). The following group of words does not pertain to *tal-*: *taltay-* (dial) 'rastopyrivat'sja' (Bashk), *taltaŋda-* 'hodit', rastopyriv nogi, (*fig.*) byt' samodovol'nym, samonadejannym', *dal* 'rasterjavšijsja, opešivšij, rasslablennyj, obessilevšij, paralizovannyj', *dalay-* 'oslabet', stat' vjalym, (*peren.*) lišit'sja avtoriteta, obščestvennogo položenija', *taltay-* 'raskorjačivat'sja', *taltagay, taltak, taltaŋ* 'raskorjaka' (Kirg), *taltaq* 'straightened, smoothed out, spread out', *taltaŋda-* 'to walk with one's legs wide apart, (fig.) to be complacent, to be self-sufficient, smug, or presumptuous' (Kaz), *taltay-* 'rasstavljat' nogi', *taltaq* 'raskor-

jaka, krivonogij, tot, kto hodit perevalivajas'' (Kklp), *talay-* 'razmahivatʹsja, zamahivatʹsja', *taltay-* 'raskorjačitʹsja', *taltak* 'raskorjaka', *taltaŋda-* 'kačatʹsja iz storony v storonu, kovyljatʹ, mahatʹ ručonkami (*o rebenke*)' (Alt), *talay-* 'zamahivatʹsja, vzmahnutʹ, razmahnutʹsja' (AltTK), *taltay-* 'kazatʹsja neukljužim, nepovorotlivym, raskorjačivatʹsja, rasstavljatʹ nogi', *taltaŋ* 'neukljužij, nepovorotlivyj, (*razg.*) rastjapa, nedotepa' (Khak), *dalbay-* 'raspravljatʹsja (napr. o kryl'jah)' (Tuv), *Y dalay-* 'razmahivatʹ rukami ili orudiem', *dallay-* 'rasprostiratʹ ruki (o čeloveke) ili kryl'ja (*o ptice*)' (Y).

E/H Vámbéry (1882a: 327–328) considered H *táltos* to be of T origin, however he compared it with T words which cannot be interrelated with it. Halász (1888: 499), Melich (1895a: 302), Moór (1949a: 224) and later Diószegi (1954: 48) wrote about the H origin of the Slvk word *tátoš*. Szeremley Császár (1908: 157) claimed that the H word is of T der. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 832; 1993–1997/2: 1475), one of the key terms in the OH belief system, *táltos*, meaning 'person with magical powers, one able to make contact with the supernatural, shaman, magician, fortune teller', is a der, the basic word for which is "*tált-*, an ancient legacy from the Ugr period." The reconstructed Ugr form is **tultɜ*. Rédei (1986–1991/2: 895) listed Osty *tolt* 'Riese (eigtl. Zauber)', *toltn*, *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft', *tolt* 'Fieber', 'Hilfe, Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', 'ohne (große) Mühe, ohne (viel) Lärm (z.B. Beute bekommen)', Vog *tūlt*: *tūltėn*, *tūltnė* 'leicht, einfach'. Both Benkő (1967–1984/3: 832) and Rédei rejected the notion that the word *táltos* is originally T, although Rédei was slightly more careful in his wording: "Die Erklärung von ung. *táltos* aus der Nominalableitung aus dem türk. hypothetischen **tal-* 'schlagen, prügeln' oder *tal-* 'in Ohnmacht fallen' […]) ist – wegen der einwandfreien Ug. Zusammenstellung – unwahrscheinlich." According to Bárczi (1941: 299), the etymology by which the etymon for the H word *táltos* may have been T *talt-* 'to put someone in a trance' followed by the ending *-išš* calls for a thorough examination. Ligeti's summary (1986: 271) makes no mention of the word *táltos*, which, of course, indicates that he did not consider it to be a T lw in H.

The PUgr origin of the H word *táltos* is possible, but not beyond any doubt. The basic word is **talt*; *-š* is a H suff. **talt* goes back to PUgr **toltă* (> POUgr **tV̄lt* 'leicht, Fieber' > PVog **tūlt* 'leicht', POsty **tolt/tɔlt*) 'Fieber, Hilfe', which can be found in folklore texts collected by Reguly as *toltn*, *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft'. The analysis of the semantic side, though accompanied by a considerable literature, was greatly influenced by speculations. The problem on the T side is the hypothetical morphological reconstruction. A caus verb **talur-* with the tr meaning 'to cause somebody to lose consciousness' was formed fr *tal-* 'fainting, to lose consciousness etc.' (Erdal 1991: 709–726). It was to this verb that the dev suff *-(U)t* was added (Erdal 1991: 308–316): **talut* 'loss of conciousness'. With the nomen actoris *+čI*, this would denote the per-

son who went into a hypnotic trance. This is morphologically the same structure as *ölütči* 'habitual or professional murderer, executioner' fr *ölüt* 'slaughter' < *ölür-* 'to kill' < *öl-* 'to die', or *kïzgut* 'punishment' < *kïzgur-* 'to inflict exemplary punishment' < *kïz-* 'to be in trouble, to suffer fr need' (Erdal 1991: 749–750) etc. See also *taltur-* 'to tire out, to exhaust', *talgan ig* 'epilepsy' (AK) and *talïk-* 'to go under (in the whirlpool of the *samsāra*)'. Another possible etymology is fr the existing *taltur-* 'to exhaust until fainting' (*ol anï urup talturdï* 'he beat him until he almost fainted') > **taltut* > **taltutčï* > **taltučï*. Though the T origin is possible semantically and morphologically, it would require further research to arrive at a definite conclusion.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 327–328; Halász 1888: 499; Melich 1895a: 302; Vámbéry 1895: 171; Szeremley Császár 1908: 157; Simonyi 1913: 436; Vámbéry 1914: 212; Pais 1934b: 192; Bárczi 1941: 299; Moór 1949a: 224; Diószegi 1954: 48; Erdélyi 1960: 328–331; Fehér 1966: 125–126; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 832; Räsänen 1969: 457; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Rassadin 1971: 168; Clauson 1972: 490, 494; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 133–134; Pais 1975b: 73–97; Ligeti 1980a: 133–134; Ligeti 1986: 271; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 895; Erdal 1991: 308–316, 384, 649, 709–726, 749–750; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1475; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 69–70; Berta 2001a: 106–114; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 459, 1361–1362.

TANÁCS [tånāč] 'advice; council' | 1213/1550 PN *Tanals* [tånālč], 1229/1550 *Thanalchu* [tånālču], 1303/1436 PN *Thanalch* [tånālč], p1372/c1448 *tanalcʒat* [tånālč-āt], p1416/c1450 *tanaʟot* [tånāč-ot] | *tånāč* < **tanilč* ← WOT **tanïlč* | EOT **tanuš* < OT *tanu-* 'to suggest, to recommend, to discuss' {with suff *-Xš*}.

OT *tanu-* 'to enjoin, to command': *ol maŋā sōz tanūdī* 'he enjoined me with words', *olār ikkī sōz tanuštī* 'two of them enjoined words upon each other' (but *olār ekki alïmnï tanïšdï* 'each of them disclaimed the other's debt') (AK); **MT** *tanu-* 'faire savoir, exhorter, commander' (UHyS), *danïš-* 'danışmak', *danïšuq* 'müşâvere, danışma' (AHMA), *tanïš-* 'to consult' (AKor), *tanïš-* 'sovetovatʹsja, prinjatʹ čej sovet' (AChagBud), *tan-* 'to ask for permission' (in one MS glossed *šāwara* 'to consult', Cl.), Tkm *tanïšmaq* 'danışmak, meşveret etmek', *tanïš-* 'danışmak, müşavere etmek' (AAH), *ṭan-* 'sich beräten' (AHou), *ṭanïš-* 'prositʹ soveta, sovetovatʹsja' (ATuh), *tanïš-* 'danışmak' (ATuhA), *danïš-* (occasionally *ṭanıš-*) 'müşavere etmek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *danïš-* 'um Rath fragen' (CrTatR); ***SW*** *danïš-* 'razgovarivatʹ, rasskazyvatʹ, rasskazatʹ' (TkmD), *danïšïg* 'govor, rečʹ, peregovory, razgovory, ugovor, uslovie, soglašenie, sluh, molva' (Az), *danïš-* 'um Rath fragen, sich unterhalten' (AzR), *danış-* 'to consult (about), to ask advice (of, about), to confer (about), to discuss', *danışık* '(arch) consultation, conversation, a pretence to agree with one another for some ulterior motive' (Tt), *danışık* 'karşılıklı yapılan yardım, anlaşma, sözleşme', *danış-* 'sormak, fikir almak' (TtD1), *danış-* 'sormak, sual etmek' (TtDA), *danïš-* 'um Rath fragen' (TtR), *danïš* 'sovet, nastavlenie', *danïš-* 'konsulʹtirovatʹsja, sovetovatʹsja s kemlʹ' (Gag), *dạnïš-*, *dạniš-* 'sagen' (Khor), *danïš-* 'sprechen, sich unterhalten' (SOg); ***Kh*** *dā̆nuš-*, *dānïš-* 'sprechen, reden' (Kh ← Og *dānïš-*, not Az *danïš-*, but OOg), *dā̆nïšaq*

'Rede, Wort', *dāniš*, *biliš - dāniš* 'Landeskundiger, Wegführer' (Kh); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The following words have to be distinguished: T *tan*(*u*)- 'to give advice, let somebody know, suggest', T *tan-* 'to disclaim', Mo *tani-* 'to know, to recognise (a person or thing previously known), to identify', *surag tanug* 'information, news', Pe *dān-* 'to know', *dāniš* 'knowledge, learning' but *dānušuq* 'advice' (← T). Kh *dāniš* shows Pe influence. As Meyer (1968: 79–81) pointed out, Mo *tani-* 'to know' was copied by T lgs and T *tanu-* 'to give advice' changed independently to *tanï-* in some T lgs and was preserved in the SW lgs as *danï-*. T *tanu-* has a reciprocal der *tanuš-* (> *taniš-*) > *danuš-* (> *daniš-*) 'to consult, to give each other advice'. *tanuk* > *tanïk* 'witness' was formed fr the base *tanu-* (see **tanú**). The T etymon for the H word *tanács* 'advice; council' could have been a WOT form **tanïlč*. This WOT word is the equivalent of EOT **taniš* derived fr *tanu-* with the suff *-Xš*, *arkïš* 'envoy' fr *arka-* 'to send through, to search' and *ekiš* 'filings' fr *ekä-* 'to file (a solid object)' (Erdal 1991: 267–268). The vowel /ï/ pertains to the suff and deleted final /u/. Thus **taniš* 'advice' is not a der of *tanï-* but of *tanu-*. T *taniš* 'acquaintence, friend' (see *taniš* 'znakomyj' Tkm, Az, 'an acquaintance' Tt, 'znakomstvo' Gag) is a der of *tanï-*. This means that PT *taniš* 'advice' was only preserved in the form *tanács* by H.

According to Ščerbak (1997: 153), Mo *tani-* 'znat′' may be of T origin and the OT verb *tanï-* has an Ir etymology. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1399–1400) reconstructed PT **tạnu-* 'to know, come to know' and compared this root with PTu **taŋ-* 'to read, count' and PMo **taŋna-* 'to search, spy'. This is neither phonologically nor semantically acceptable.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 177), H *tanács* is of T der and can be compared with Tt *danış* 'consultation', *danış-* 'to consult'. Budenz (1873: 111) accepted Vámbéry's opinion, however he pointed out that, despite the word *tanács*, the H verb *tanakodik-* 'to reflect, ponder' originally come fr T. According to Szarvas (1891: 292), the H words *tanul-*, **tanú** and *tanakodik-* must be handled together because they have the same semantic basis. This basic meaning appears in the linguistic sources with the H word **tanú**, which seems to have unified all these senses: 'cognoscare, cognitum habere, scire (studium, doctrina), testari, consultare'. Gombocz (1912b: 222) thought that a T source for the H word fr a copied form **taniš* seems dubious. According to Bárczi (1941: 300), the T etymology of *tanács* is doubtful because it is only supported by one T item (*taniš-*), which also poses phonetic problems. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 836–837) considered *tanács* to be a plausible internal H development. Its base may be the basic word of the H word-family *tanít-* 'to teach', *tanul-* 'to learn, study' etc., which is of Ugr der. He thought that a T starting point for the word is neither morphologically nor semantically verified. Later, he (1993–1997/2: 1477) noted that the final segment *-cs* in the word may be a nominal suff. Ligeti (1986) did not men-

tion *tanács* among the T lws in H. H *-č* goes back to /lč/, which is attested in MH. The loss of /l/ is a H development (see § 5.6.5). H *tanul-* 'to learn' and *tanít-* 'to teach' are originally PFUgr (see PFUgr **tuna-* in the § 8.6).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 177; Budenz 1873: 111; Szarvas 1891: 292; Gombocz 1912b: 222; Bárczi 1941: 300; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 836–837; Meyer 1968: 79–81; Erdal 1991: 262–275; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1477; Róna-Tas 1994: 106; Ščerbak 1997: 153; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1399–1400.

TANÚ [tånū] 'witness' | early 13th c./c1350 *tonoſagaban* [tonō-šāgābån], p1372/c1448 *tanoc* [tånō-k], 1490 *thanw* [tånū] | *tånū* < **tanu* ⟵ WOT **tanuɣ* | EOT *tanuk* 'a witness'.

OT *tanuq* 'Zeugnis' (MManIII Nr.7,III Rückseite 13), *tanuqla-* 'bezeugen' (UTTV B:36), *tanuqla-* 'to give evidence' (UXuanzangIndex), *tanuq* 'witness' (AK), *törütgän barïŋa törümiš tanuq* 'the created are witnesses to the existence of the creator' (AQB), *tanuq* 'witness' (AYar); **MT** *tanuqluq* 'tanıklık, şehadet' (UY), *tanuq* 'Zeuge' (UCivSa 01:16), *tanuqluq* 'witnessing' (AGul), *tanuk* 'tanık, şahit' (AHMA), *tanuq* 'świadek', *tanuqluq* 'świadectwo' (AHŠ), *tanuq* 'svideľ, svideteľstvo' (AHŠF), *tanūq* 'svidetel'' (AIM), *tanūq* 'svidetelstvo' (AIM), *tanık* 'şahitlik' (AIMI), *tanuq* 'witness' (AKor), *tanuk* 'tanık, şahit' (ANeh), *tanuq* 'svideľ, svideteľstvo' (ANehF), *tanuq* 'svideteľ, svideteľstvo' (ATef), *tanuġluq* 'tanıklık, şehadet' (AYC), *tanuq* 'témoin' (AChag), *tanuk* 'tanık' (AChagAbA), *tanuq* 'svidetel'' (AChagB), *tanuq* 'svidetel'' (AChagBud), *tanuq* 'witness' (AChagG), *tanuq* 'svidetel'' (AChagMA), *tanuq* 'der Zeuge' (AChagR), *tanuq*, *tanuġ* 'witness' (AChagSC), *tanuq* 'şahid' (AChagŠS), *tatuq* (r: *tanuq*) 'Zeuge, Beweis' (AChagŠSK), *tanuk* 'Zeuge' (AChagZ), *tanuq* 'Zeuge', *tanuqluq* 'Zeugnis' (LCCG), *tanïq* 'Zeuge', *tanïxlïq* 'Zeugnis' (LCCI), *tanuq* 'şahit' (AAH), *danuq oł-* 'świadczyć, być świadkiem' (ABul), *ṭanuq*, *ṭanïq* 'témoin' (ADur), *ṭanïq* 'svidetel'' (ATuh), *tanïq* 'tanık' (ATuhA), *tanïx* 'témoin' (AmTr), *tanïx* 'svidetel'' (AmD), *tanïḫ* 'témoin', *tanïḫlïḫ* 'témoignage' (AmE), *ṭanïq*, *ṭanuq* 'şahit' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tïnă* '(ust.) svidetel'' (Chuv), *tïn*, *tïnă* 'svidetel'' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *tanïk* '(ust.) svideteľ, ponjatoj' (Tat), *tanïkčï* 'tanú; Zeuge' (TatB), *tanïq* 'der Zeuge' (TatKR), *tanïq* '(ust.) svideteľ, ponjatoj' (Bashk), *tanïqla-* 'tanïklau; svideteľstvovat'' (SibTat), *tanïk*: *kübö tanïk* 'svidetel'' (Kirg), *tanïx* 'svidetel'' (KarT), *tanïk* 'svidetel'' (KarH), *tanïq* 'svidetel'' (KarSh), *tanïx* 'der Zeuge' (KarTR); ***SW*** *tanïg* 'svideteľ, očevidec' (Az), *tanık* 'witness' (Tt), *danık* 'şahit, tanık' (TtD1), *tanık* 'şahit' (TtDA), *tanïq*, *danïq* 'der Zeuge' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tonuq* '(ust.) svidetel'' (MUyg); ***NE*** *tanïġ* 'znak, priznak' (Khak), *tanïġ* 'opoznavateľnaja metka, tamga' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T etymon for H *tanú* 'witness' is the T word *tanuk* 'a witness (to a statement or document)', which is documented as of the OT period, a der fr *tanu-* 'to recommend, suggest' with the suff *-(O)k*. According to Clauson (1972: 518–519), it is a dev nominal fr *tanū-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 516), which "represents some difficulties, since it is hard to reconcile its various meanings: there may in fact have been two

almost homophonous verbs, *tanū-* (*d-*) ‘to suggest, recommend, discuss’, and the like, and *tanī̄-* (*t-*) ‘to be acquainted with (someone)’, the latter not noted before XV”. We find the solution in Meyer (1968: 79–81) (see **tanács**). Analysing T *tanuk* ‘witness, evidence’, Erdal (1991: 244) called attention to the fact that this word occurs early on in the T sources, however its base (*tanu-*) and the other ders of the base (*tanul-*, *tanuš-*, *tanut-*) come up first in Kashgari’s dict. Egorov (1964: 268) erroneously thought that Chuv *tĭnă* (*tĭn*) and its corresponding T words go back to *tanï-* ‘to know’; in fact, they go back to *tanu-*.

The T etymon for the H word has many ders (cf. *tanuklūg*: *tanuklūg sav* ‘words supported by a witness’, or ‘words supported by evidence’), where Erdal’s (1991: 244) interpretation may be preferred despite Clauson’s suggestion (1972: 519: ‘a statement in front of witnesses’). See also *tanukluk* ‘a statement by the witness, evidence’, which occurs in many sources in the construction with *ber-* (*ver-*) ‘to give’, in the sense of ‘to bear witness (to)’ (Clauson 1972: 519) and *tanukla-* ‘to give evidence, to attest’ (Clauson 1972: 519; Erdal 1991: 446). Erdal (1991: 502) mentioned the verb *tankar-* ‘to propose oneself as witness’ in the section on the suff +(*A*)*r-* as a der fr *tanuk*.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1399–1400) did not separate the T verbs *tanu-* and *tanï-* (← Mo) and reconstructed PT **tạnu-* ‘to know, come to know’ for them. They also mentioned PMo and PTu reconstructed forms and, according to them, the PA base could have been **t‘ănŋV* ‘to count, recite’.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 178) considered H *tanú* ‘witness’ to be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 127) reconstructed either **tanug* or **tanïg* as plausible OChuv copied forms. According to Ligeti (1935a: 213, 216), the H word may be a BulgT lw. He pointed out that the Tt form of the word irregularly contains a final segment *-k*, which may have resulted fr borrowing or confusion with another word. Bárczi (1941: 300) considered the H word as an early T lw. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 841) accepted Gombocz’s etymology. He reconstructed the T copied form as **tanug* and claimed that it is a der fr T *tanu-*, *tanï-* ‘to come to know, to know’. According to Ligeti (1986: 259–260), although the Chuv corresponding forms show *-ĭ-* in the first syllable, the H form is not obviously copied fr another OChuv dial. In H, one can assume the influence of the words *tanul-* ‘to learn, study’ and *tanít-* ‘to teach’, which are FUgr in origin. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1479) reconstructed the T copied form as **tanuk* (< T **tan*(*u*)- ‘erkennen, wissen’). He pointed out that the word forms part of the early legislation terminology (cf. **kölcsön**, **törvény** etc. and § 7.3).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 178; Gombocz 1912b: 127; Ligeti 1935a: 213, 216; Bárczi 1941: 300; Pais 1956a: 126; Egorov 1964: 268; Róna-Tas 1967: 176; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 841; Meyer 1968: 79–81; Clauson 1972: 516, 518–519; Ligeti 1986: 43, 82, 195, 200, 253, 259–260; Erdal 1991: 244, 446, 502; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1479; Róna-Tas 1994: 106; Fedotov 1996/2: 267; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1399–1400; Eren 2005: 279–280.

TÁPLÁL [tāplāl] ‘to feed, to nourish’ | c1456 *taplalta* [tāplāl-tå] | *tāplāl-* < **tāplā* {with suff +(*V*)*l*-} < **taplaγ* ← WOT **taplaγ* | EOT *taplag* ‘satisfaction’ < *tap* ‘satisfaction (esp. with food)’.

OT *tapla-*: *üzä täŋri ïduq yer suv ečim qagan qutï taplamadï ärinǰ* ‘the *qut* of my Uncle-kagan was not sufficient for the Täŋri above and the Earth-Water below’ (RMBilg E 35), *tap*: *qaltï tapïnča* ‘nach Herzenslust’ (UU II 28,2), *tonguz küne tïngraq bičsar tavar tapï bolur* ‘Wenn am Tage des Schweins die Nägel schneidet so wird der Wunsch nach Habe erfüllen’ (UTT VII 32,18), *tap* ‘satisfaction’, *tapla-* ‘to permit, agree, to be satisfied’, *taplaġ* ‘satisfaction’ (UXuanzangIndex), *tap* – a particle meaning ‘enough, sufficient, satisfactory’, hence one says *bū aš maŋā tap* ‘this food is enough for’, and one says *tap boldī* ‘it is sufficient’ (AK), *tapïngča* ‘nach deinem Wunsch’ (UTTI 6), *tngri mož-ag äši-dgäi näng taplamaġai ymä säwmägäi* ‘wird der göttliche Možag hören und keineswegs billigen (Hend.)’ (MTT II A:26), *taplaġ* ‘Zustimmung, Annahme’: *bu nom ärtini-niŋ uġrayu tüz taplaġïn söz-läkdükdä* ‘bei der Besprechung der ganz aufrichtigen Annahme dieses Gesetzes-Kleinods’ (UTTV B:86), *taplāġ* ‘satisfaction’ with a thing, *bu īšda sänig taplāġiŋ bār mu* ‘Do you have satisfaction in this matter?’, *ol tōnuġ taplādī* ‘he accepted the garment (or other) and was satisfied with it’ (AK), *taplamaz* ‘not pleased’ (AQB); **MT** *atam čïmad ätüp ersä mänüŋ tapum erürmü* ‘if my father gives disagreeable orders, is it any satisfaction to me?’ (UOg), *tap* ‘yeter, kâfi’ (UY), *tap*, *dap* ‘yeter, kâfi’, *tapla-* ‘uygun bulmak’ (AHMA), *tabla-* ‘poljubit′, odobrjat′’ (AHŠF), *tap* ‘enough, sufficient’, *tapla-* ‘to approve, be content/well-pleased’ (AKor), *tap* ‘yeter, kâfi’ (ANeh), *tap* ‘sufficient, equal’ (ARbg), *tap* ‘dostatočnyj’, *tapla-* ‘odobrjat′, soglašat′sja’ (ATef), *tap* ‘yetişir, kâfi’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tav* ‘blaženstvo, naslaždenie’ (CrTat), ? *tav* ‘izobilie, izbytok’ (KarC), *tab* ‘udobnyj, udobno, horošij, blagoprijatnyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** ? *tāp* ‘sostojanie, položenie, sila, mošč′, moč′’ (Tkm), *tap* ‘(arch) enough, sufficient’ (Tt), *tap* ‘kâfi, yetişir’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo **taga-*, LMo *tagara-* ‘to meet, fit a standard, pattern or requirement, be appropriate, match, to coincide, to be correct, to get along with’, *tagala-* ‘to desire, love, find pleasure in something, to be pleased with or have sympathy for, to have or express a thought or opinion (hon.), to fondle, caress, kiss’, *tagača* ‘amity, harmony’, *tayi-* ‘to make an offering or oblation, to sacrifice’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb *táplál-* ‘to feed, to nourish’ may be the der *tap+la-(X)g*, which goes back to the den verb *tap+la-* ‘to consent to, or be pleased with something’ (cf. Clauson (1972: 440) and, for further data, see Erdal (1991: 447)). This verb is perhaps already documented in the Eastern side of RMBilg; see l. 35.: ẄzA tŋrI : IDwK : yrSWB[(…)]KGN : wKWTI : TpLAmDIrnč. This passage is unfortunately damaged (cf. Radloff: TpïKLmDIrnč, Orhun: Tp LmDIrnč). Malov gave the alternative readings *taplamadï* or *tapïklamadï*. Berta (2004: 169) suggested the read-

ing *üzä täŋri ïdwk yer suv ečim kagan kutï taplamadï* and interpreted it as 'there was a difference between *Tengri* above, the sacred land and water and the divine favour of my uncle, the kagan'. See Clauson (1972: 440, 783: 'heaven above, the sacred land and water and the divine favour [? enjoyed by my uncle the *xağan*]'). The base of the verb was the EOT noun *tap* 'satisfaction, sufficiency' (cf. Clauson 1972: 434). The Karakhanid sources include *tapï* 'satisfaction', which may be according to Clauson (1972: 436), represent a form with Px3.Sg., regarded as a common noun by Kashgari (cf. *bū ïštā anïŋ tapïsï kärāk* 'he ought to be satisfied with this affair'). Cf. also AQB *tapug bäg tapïsï üzä bolmasa* 'if the service is not to the beg's satisfaction'. On *taplag* 'consent, acceptance, approval, adoption', see Clauson (1972: 439) and the additional data listed by Erdal (1991: 206). On the basis of the new edition of TT V B by Kudara, Erdal mentioned the following meanings of *taplag*: 'satisfaction, pleasure', 'permission, acceptance, endurance, patience', 'determination, application', 'proposition', 'opinion, tenet, doctrine' and 'sect, school'. Erdal also noted the additional interpretation of the item *taplag* in AK. Ar *riḍa'*, despite Dankoff–Kelly's position, may not only mean 'satisfaction' and 'gratification', but also 'approval, consent, obedience' and thus it is harmonious with the meanings in the Kudara edition. On certain other ders of *tapla-*, see Erdal (1991: 568, 696–697, 787, 829). The T verb has some ders, e.g. *tapïg* 'service' (see Clauson 1972: 437; Erdal 1991: 205–206), *tapïgčï* 'servant' (Clauson 1972: 438; Erdal 1991: 373–374), *tapïglïg* (Clauson 1972: 438), *tapïgsāk* (Clauson 1972: 438; Erdal 1991: 244–245) etc.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1404) reconstructed PT **tap-* 'to serve, worship' and compared it under the PA entry **t'áp'à* 'to worship' with PTu **tap-* 'to encourage, advise', PMo **tayi-* 'to sacrifice'.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1914: 211), the basic meaning of H *táplál-* 'nähren, pflegen, ernähren' could have been very close to that of T *tapla-* 'to respect, honour'. Bárczi (1941: 300–301) rightly pointed out that H *táp* 'food' first occurred during the early 19th c. H lg renewal and that it represents a back-formation fr the verb *táplál-* 'to feed, nourish'. The verb *táplál-* is documented in H as of the 15th c. and is, according to Bárczi, of unknown origin. Balázs (1967: 149–152) thought that the H verb goes back to a verbal base **táp-*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 845), the source of the basic word (*tám* ~ *táp*) of the H word-family is uncertain. Benkő refuted the earlier proposed T etymology of the word. Ligeti (1986) simply did not discuss *táplál-* among the T lws of the H lg. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1480–1481), the word is a der fr a fictitious base of unknown origin. The H suff *-l-* serves a freq function. The semantic change 'to satisfy' > 'to feed' occurred in H. The word *táp* is a neologism, first mentioned in 1778.

◆ Simonyi 1881: 255; Király 1897a: 447; Simai 1909: 122; Vámbéry 1914: 211; Simai 1915: 128; Bárczi 1941: 300–301; Prohászka 1951: 295; Terestyéni 1955: 150; Balázs 1967: 149–152; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 845;

Räsänen 1969: 462; Zaicz 1970: 249; Clauson 1972: 434, 436–440, 783; Erdal 1991: 205–206, 244–245, 373–374, 447, 568, 696–697, 787, 829; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1480–1481; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1404; Berta 2004: 169.

TAPLÓ [tåplō] 'tinder, tinder fungus, *Fomes fomentarius*' | †1086/12th c. ? GN *taplou-uiza* [tåplou-vizå], c1395 *taplow* [tåplou] | *tåplō* < *tåploų* < **toplaų* < **topluγ* ← WOT **topluγ* | EOT **toplug* < *top* 'ball' {with suff +*lXg*}, MT *toplak* 'name of several kinds of plants', T *topluk* 'fungus'.

OT *tōp* 'a ball', this is shortened from *topïq*, *topïq*: *är topïq yuwdï* 'the man rolled the ball' (AK), ? *topulġāq* 'sedge, colic' (AK), ? *tupulġaq* 'Cyperus' (USuv 476,3), *tupulġaq*: *tupulġaq ėnägükä äm* 'Cradamomum, [a remedy for colic]' (Hend.) (UHeilk I,15-16), *qïzïl čïndan*, *yürüng čindan-lar kušdi topulgag* 'rotes und weisses Sandalholz, Costuswurzel, Zypresse' (UHeilk I,91); **MT** ? *topuq* 'heel, ankle' (AGul), *tōp* 'a ball' (AIM), *ṭop* 'ball' (AKD), ? *topuz* 'mace' (ARbg), *top* (-b) 'balle, boulet' (AChag), *top* 'a spherical ball', ? *topalak* 'a root (*bīx*) the size of an olive or bigger, black with white inside and sweet-smelling, called *su'd* in medical terminology and *mušk-i zamīn*, 'muskroot', in Pe, it is a diuretic, dissolves stones in the bladder, clears the veins, heals wounds, and is beneficial as a potion or poultice for scorpion stings' (AChagSC), ? *tabulġa* 'Tamariske, Tamarisken-Baum' (AChagŠSK), ? *topalak* 'Name eines wohlriechenden Krautes, welches bei Wunden als Heilmittel gebraucht wird' (AChagZ), *top* 'Kugel' [according to Grønbech ← Pe], *tobalaq* 'etwas rundes [? 'Buckel']' (LCCG), ? *topalaq* (-b-) 'hoş kokulu bir ottur ki nohut tanesi kadar tanesi olup Su'ud ismini taşımaktadır, bilhasa ilaç için istimal edilir', *topalan* (? Sec. f. of *topolġān*) 'sancı illeti, mahsus sancılamış adam', *top* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), ? *ṭoplaq* (-b-) 'souchet (plante); Lat *cyperus galanga*' (ABul), *ṭop* 'catapulte, machine de guerre' (ADur), *top*, *ṭop* 'ball, polo' (AMGh), *top* 'top, toparlak', ? *topalaq* 'topalak otu, tomalan' (ATuh), *top* 'cannon, ordnance' (AmCh), *top* 'cannon' (AmE), ? *topalak*, *tobalak* 'yer miski, havlican dedikleri kök' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tupă* 'puška, orudie, pušečnyj, orudijnyj, mjač', ? *tupălxa* '(bot.) tavolga' (Chuv), *tupă* 'mjač, puška', *tupălka*, *tupălxa* – nazvanie dereva, 'tavolga, kustarnik, iz kornej ego v'jut čeren'ja dlja pletej, otličaetsja svoego gibkost'ju' (ChuvA), *tupă* Szp. id. 'labda, ágyú; Spielball, Kanone', ? *tupălxa*, Szp. *tupălga* '(bot.) *Lonicera xylosteum*' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tup* 'mjač, mjačik, orudie, puška, orudijnyj, pušečnyj', *tupla-* 'kopit', skopit', skaplivat', skopljat', nakaplivat', nakopljat', nakopit', sosredotočivat', sosredotočit', gruppirovat', sgruppirovat', splačivat', splotit', koncentrirovat', skoncentrirovat'', *tuplau* 'skoplenie, nakaplivanie, nakoplenie' (Tat), *tupalaq*: *tupalaq suq-* 'top sugu, igrat' v mjač', *tubalaq* 'kanäfer; gvozdika' (TatD2), *tub* 'labda, ágyú; Spielball, Kanone' (TatB), *tup* 'mjač, mjačik, orudie, puška, orudijnyj, pušečnyj, snarjad, staja, kuča (životnyh), (ist.) nazvanie rodovogo podrazdelenija u baškir', *tupalaq* (dial) = *tupanay* (razg.) 'pol-

nen′kij, puhlen′kij', *tupla-* 'sobirat′, soedinjat′, sosredotočivat′ (v odnom meste), kopit′, nakaplivat′, skaplivat′, ob″edinjat′, splačivat′, naprjagat′, sosredotočivat′', *tuplau* 'nakoplenie, ob″edinenie, spločenie, letnee stojbišče dlja skota (na produvaemom tenistom meste)' (Bashk), ? *tup* 'kipterelgän tal kabïgï (tire iläü öčen kullanïla), sušenaja kora tal′nika (upotrebljaetsja pri dublenii koži)' (SibTat), *top* 'puška' (SibTatBD), *top* 'die Kanone' (SibTatBR), *top* 'mjač, puška, vyzimki, ostajuščiesja v cedilke pri proceživanii buzy, gruppa, kusok, štuka (materii), (ist.) sovokupnost′ vseh podčinennyh glavnomu manapu, (južn., ist.) samaja melkaja rodovaja edinica (mužskoe pokolenie odnogo predka v sed′mom kolene), svoja sreda, rodnye i druz′ja, blizkie, (ist.) s″ezd volostnyh upravitelej, manapov, biev i aul′nyh staršin (dlja rešenija spornyh mežrodovyh i mežvolostnyh voprosov), (v ėpose) sovščanie staršin plemen', *topto-* 'sobirat′ v kuču, sgruživat′, gruppirovat′, komplektovat′', *toptō* 'sobiranie v kuču' (Kirg), ? *tob*, *top* 'heap, pile, a big heap, a mass, a group, crowd, herd, flock, detachment', ? *tobïlgï* '(bot.) spirea (*Spirea filipendula*)' (Kaz), *top* 'gruppa, sborišče, tolpa, vataga, gruppirovka, staja, krug', *topta-* 'skoncentrirovat′, sosredotočit′, stjanut′, klassificirovat′, sobrat′ v gruppu, ukomplektovat′, sgruppirovat′' (KazB), *top* 'die Haufe, die Menge, die Versammlung, die Gesamtheit', *tomalaq* 'rund, kugelrund, die Kugel, der Ball, der Klumpen, das Knäuel', *domalaq* 'eine Kugel' (KazR), *top* 'šar, mjač, kom, jadro, puška, gruppa, sborišče', *topla-* 'sobirat′ v kuču, gruppirovat′, koncentrirovat′', *toplaw* 'sobiranie v kuču, gruppirovanie, koncentracija, ob″edinenie, komplektovanie, nakoplenie (sredstv)', *dumalaq*, *domalaq* 'kruglyj, šaroobraznyj' (Kklp), *top* 'mjač, šar' (KklpB), *top* 'mjač, rulon, sčetnoe slovo dlja nekotoryh predmetov, orudie, puška, orudijnyj, pušečnyj', ? *topalak* 'dušistyj gorošek' (Nog), ? *top* 'pučok, buket, stopa, gruppa', *top* 'mjač, jadro, puška', *topla-* 'sobirat′, kopit′, sosredotočivat′' (CrTat), *top* 'die Haufe, die Menge, die Versammlung, die Gesamtheit, die Kanone' (CrTatR), *top* 'šar, mjač, celyj, kuča, gruppa, tolpa' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *topla-*, *č'epla-*, *č'opla-* 'sobirat′' (KarT), *topla-*, *copla-* 'sobirat′' (KarH), *čopl′a-* 'sobirat′', *čöple-* 'sobirat′, ubirat′' etc. (KarC), *topla-* 'sobirat′' (KarSh), *top* 'mjač, puška, orudie, pušečnyj, orudijnyj', *topla-* 'sosredotočivat′, koncentrirovat′, nakaplivat′', *toplav* 'sosredotočivanie, koncentrirovanie, nakoplenie (sredstv)' (Kum), *tob* 'mjač, pačka, stopa, rulon, motok, korobka', *tobluq* '(bot.) čaga, narost, naplyv (na dereve)' (KrchBlk), *topluk* 'fungus' (BlkN); ***SW*** *topalak* '(bot.) syt′ kruglaja' (Tkm), *top* 'mjač, orudie, puška, celyj kusok (materii), stopa (bumagi), lad′ja, tura (v šahmatah)', *topla-* 'sobirat′, nabrat′, kopit′, koncentrirovat′, sosredotočit′, zaverbovat′, skladyvat′ (v odno mesto), (mat.) složit′' (Az), *top* 'mjač' (RAz), *top* 'ball, globe, knob, ream (of paper), whole piece (of cloth from the loom), (artil.) gun, cannon, artillery (equipment), (fig.) a mass or whole, (a.) round, globular, (fig.) collected (compactly massed together), in a mass', ? *topalak*, *topalan* 'buckthorn, *Rhamnus chlorophorus globosus*', ? *topla* 'three-pronged winnowing fork', *topla-* 'to collect, to assemble, to bring together, to gather or pick

up, (arith.) to add (up), (fig.) to convene (a meeting etc.), to call (troops etc.), to clear away (a room etc.)' (Tt), ? *topalak* 'ceviz büyüklüğünde bir tek yenir yumru kökü bulunan bir ot, ucunda püskülü bulunan ve bataklıkta biten bir çeşit saz, beyaz çiçekli kökü kokulu olan ve kırlarda yetişen bir bitgi, çayır otuna benzer bir çeşit bitgi' (TtD), ? *dobalak* 'eni boyu birbirine eşit olan, şişman (insan ve hayvan için)' (TtD1), ? *topalak* 'dağlarda bulunur bir nebattır. Kökünden ıtriyat istihsal olunur' (TtDA), ? *toplaq* 'wohlriechendes Rohr' (TtR), *top* 'mjač, šar, orudijnyj snarjad, jadro, rulon (materii)', *topla-* 'sobirat′, podbirat′, sosredotočivat′, koncentrirovat′, nakaplivat′, ubirat′ (urožaj), skladyvat′', *topalak* 'komok, valik (gliny), snežnyj kom' (Gag); ***Kh*** *toƥ*: *toƥ täzmäk* '"Ball-Laufen", ein Kinderspiel (eine Art Völkerball)', *t^{u}o·p* 'Ball, Kanone, Ballen', ? *tū^{o}pa̋l* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen' (Kh); ***SE*** *tŭp* 'mjač, puška, orudie, pušečnyj, orudijnyj, gruppa, kuča, tolpa, staja, kuča, gruda, kusok, štuka (materii)', *tŭpla-* 'sobirat′, nabirat′, nakaplivat′, sgrebat′, skladyvat′ (v odno mesto), sobirat′ (v kuču), skučivat′, koncentrirovat′, sosredotočivat′ (vojska)' (Uzb), *top* 'ball, cannon' (TurkiJ), *top* 'stopka, kuča, kusok materii', *tup*: *uluq tup* 'bol′šaja kuča' (TurkiL), *top* 'mjač, lapta (igra)' (MUyg), *top* 'vyška, vozvyšenie' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *tobči* 'button, nipple, bullet' (L).

E/T The word denoted something globular. The plausible T etymon for the H word *tapló* 'tinder, tinder fungus, *Fomes fomentarius*' is **toplug*, which could have consisted of the base *top* 'ball' and was created with the formant +*lXg* (on the suff, see Erdal (1991: 139–155)). The base has been widespread since the OT period. If the T etymon for H *tapló* goes back to a form *toplug*, one has to separate it fr some other plant names which are mentioned in the database above. The item *tobalak* in LCC and Gag pertains to *top* 'a ball'. Rus *tavolga* 'meadow sweet, *Spirea*' is of T origin (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 8).

The ultimate base of the T etymon for the H word could have consisted of a bisyllabic structure **topo* (? *topa*) in PT. T *top* has been discussed in great detail by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 596–601). Cf. also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1460–1461), who mentioned that PT **top* 'round thing' shows some confusion with forms like **toprak* 'earth, dust' and **topïk* 'knee cap', although their etymologies all differ.

It is less possible to proceed fr a dev word *toplak*, which may have its den base as *topla-* 'to collect, gather together (tr)'. Erdal (1991: 121–131) covered the various functions of the suff +*lXk* within the OT morphological framework, but one cannot find a single function among them which would be perfectly acceptable here. One can, however, suppose the suff -(*O*)*k*, and cite *tobluk* '(bot.) čaga, narost, naplyv (na dereve)' (KrchBlk) and *topluk* 'fungus' (BlkN), formed with the suff +(*O*)*k*. Clauson (1972: 440) attempted to identify an early occurrence of this verb *topla-* in lines 13 and 14 of the RMTon inscription. Despite opinions of most of the editors of RMTon and despite Clauson's view, it is not the verb *topla-* 'to crumple (something soft)

into a ball' that one cannot find in these passages, but another verb *topol-* 'to pierce (something *Acc.*)' (cf. Clauson 1972: 440; Erdal 1991: 621; cf. also *tupul-* 'to pierce' misvocalized by Barat in UXuangzangIndex) (on the details, see Berta (2004: 52): *yuyqa ärikli topolgalï učwz ärmiš yinǰgä äriklig üzgäli učwz yuyqa qalïn bolsar topolgwlwq alp ärmiš yinǰgä yogwn bolsar üzgẅlẅk alp ärmiš* '[One says] when something is thin it is easy to pierce, when something is thin it is easy to tear, if thin becomes thick it is difficult to tear'. According to Erdal (1991: 621), one can read *topolgïnča* 'till one pierces a hole in it' in the passage 50 of *Irk Bitig*. Clauson (1972: 31) suggested the reading *toplagūluk anča* here but Erdal's solution is better.

Although the verb *topla-* only occurs in relatively modern sources, I cannot exclude it but consider the dev nominal *toplak* less likely to have been the WOT etymon for H *tapló*. This dev nominal could be a der of *topla-* 'to collect, gather together (tr)' with the suff *-(O)k*.

E/H Munkácsi (1894: 153; 1895a: 271) compared the H word with Vog dial forms *täpl′ix*, *tāplėx* 'tinder', but later he (1898: 255; 1901b: 590) thought that the H word may also have parallels in the Cauc lgs. Melich (1904: 145) supported Munkácsi's attempt to match the H word with the Vog data. Munkácsi (1914–1915a: 346) explained H *tapló* on the basis of BlkP *topluk* 'Pilz' differently than he had earlier. He connected the BlkP item with T *top* 'rundes Ding, Ball, Kugel' and mentioned that H *tapló* is among the T lws which are only documented in a limited area (cf. **kőris**, **som**, **tok**[1] (a fish)). According to Vámbéry (1914: 211), the H word may be interrelated with T *tapla-* 'to crush, scrunch'. Bárczi (1941: 301) considered H *tapló* to be of uncertain origin. According to him, the Vog word cited by Munkácsi (1894: 153; 1895a: 271) may also be a relatively late lw, thus the H and the Vog words may go back to the same foreign source. Moór (1953: 431) accepted Bárczi's explanation. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 845), the H word may be of T der. It is, however, a problematic case because the only corresponding form for the H word is in a Blk dial. A similar word is also present in Vog (*tāpléx* 'tinder fungus') but it was originally a front-vocalic word, thus its relation to the H word and its T starting point are unclear. Gregor (1973: 26) suggested that the H word was copied into the lg of the Grm minority in Transylvania, however the etymology of the word is uncertain. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1481) assumed a T copied form **toplak* (< T *tob* '(kugel)rund'). The original meaning of the H word could be 'Schwamm, Baumpilz'. The basic meaning of the T corresponding forms may, however, not be precisely defined. Ligeti (1986) did not note *tapló* among the T lws in H.

◆ Balassa 1894: 282; Munkácsi 1894: 153; Munkácsi 1895a: 271; Munkácsi 1898: 255; Munkácsi 1901b: 590; Melich 1904: 145; Munkácsi 1914–1915a: 346; Vámbéry 1914: 211; Bárczi 1941: 301; Moór 1953: 431; Bárczi 1963: 47; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 596–603; Egorov 1964: 258–259; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 8; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 845; Clauson 1972: 31, 434, 440; Gregor 1973: 26; Erdal 1991: 121–131, 139–155, 394, 621; Benkő

1993–1997/2: 1481; Fedotov 1996/2: 249; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1437–1438, 1460–1461; Berta 2004: 52.

TAR [tår] 'bald' | †1092//1399 GN *Tard* [tård], 1163–1173/1520 ? GN *thorsa* [tår-čå], 1211 ? PN *tarsa* [tår-čå], 1220/1550 ? GN *tord* [tår-d], 1248 GN *tharkveley* [tår-kȕelei], 1528 *tar-kopaz* [tår-kopås] | *tår* < **tar* ← WOT **tar* || **tarol** [tårol] 'to devastate, to strip, to lay flat' | *tårol-* < *tår* {with suff +(*V*)*l*-} || **tarka** [tårkå] 'piebald, pied' | *tårkå* < *tår* {with suff +*kÅ*} || **tarcsa**, **tarvarjú** [tårčå, tår-våryū] 'rook, *Corvus frugilegus*' | *tårčå* < *tår* {with suff +*čÅ*}, cf. *varjú* id. || **tarposztó** [tår-postō] 'a striped material' | Cf. *posztó* 'baize' | EOT *tāz* 'bald, partly covered with hair'.

1 PT **taz*: **OT** PN *Taz ïnal* 'kahl' (UPfahl 23:15), *tāz* 'bald or scabby-headed', *tāz at* 'speckled (horse)', *taz qoy* 'hornless sheep', *tāz yēr* 'saline (land)', *tāz at tawārči bolmās* 'the speckled horse is not good for carrying merchandise', since it has bad nails (cf. *ajmuq* 'white alum'). The baldness of a bald man is described metaph. with the phr. *ajmuq tāz*, meaning that his head seems to be smeared with alum, *targïl* 'with white and black stripes, speckled (of animals)' (AK); **MT** *Taz* PN (UCivSa 18:3), *taz* 'bald' (ABF), *ṭaz* 'bald' (Mo *taraġay*) (AKD), *taz* 'kel' (ANeh), ? *tāz* 'femme sans pudeur' (AChag), *taz* 'parša na golove' (AChagMA), *taz* 'abgerieben, kahl, haarlos, kahl (in der Folge des Grindes)' (AChagR), *taz* 'a person who, by reason of baldness, has no hair on his head' (AChagSC), *taz* 'kahlköpfig' (AChagZ), *taz* 'kahlköpfig' (LCCI), *taz* 'kel gibi' (AAH), *daz* 'tüysüz' (AAHI), *taz* 'kopasz; kahl' (AKav), *ṭaz* 'lysyj, plešivyj, obnažennyj, golyj' (ATuh), *taz* 'daz' (ATuhA), *taz*, *daz* 'kel, saçsız' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tură* 'gnedoj', *xura tură* 'karij (o masti lošadej)' (Chuv); ***NW*** *taz* 'parša, paršivyj, šeludivyj, plešivyj, bol′noj paršoj, (peren.) hitrec, pronyra' (Tat), *taz* 'kopasz; kahlköpfig' (TatB), *taz* 'abgerieben, kahl, haarlos, kahl (in der Folge des Grindes)' (TatKR), *taδ* 'parša, (fol′k.) pronyra, hitrec (skazočnyj obraz duračka), paršivyj, šeludivyj', *taδkara* 'černyj grif', orel-mogil′nik', *taδbaš* 'lysuha' (= *kašqalaq* 'svijaz′ (vid dikoj utki))', *kaškabaš* 'lysuha (vid kamyšovoj pticy)' (Bashk), *taδkara* 'óriás sasféle, amelyről azt mondják, hogy a lovat is elbírja, s hogy mióta az erdőket irtják, az Urálból elköltözött, és csak az Altajban található [a huge type of eagle which is said to be able to carry even a horse and which is said to have left the Urals since they have been deforested, only to be found in the Altai Mountains]' (BashkP), *tas* 'paršivyj, šeludivyj' (SibTatBD), *tas*: *tas pašlu* 'grindköpfig' (SibTatBR), *tas*, *taz* 'parša na golove, čelovek s paršivoj golovoj, paršivyj', *targïl* 'krasnyj s černymi polosami, polosatyj (mast′ korovy, byka, zverej košačdej porody), nazvanie travjanistogo rastenija' (Kirg), *taz* 'bald patch, bald, bald from scabies, mange, mangy', *tarġïl* 'tiger colour (of cattle)' (Kaz), *taz* 'plešivyj, lysyj' (KazB), *taz* 'abgerieben, kahl, haarlos, kahl (in der Folge des Grindes)' (KazR), *taz* 'parša, čelovek bol′noj paršoj, plešivyj' (Kklp), *taz* 'parša, paršivyj, šeludivyj, plešivyj, čelovek, bol′šoj paršoj' (Nog),

taz ‘pleš́, lysina’ (CrTat), *taz* ‘abgerieben, kahl, haarlos, kahl (in der Folge des Grindes)’ (CrTatR), *taz* ‘lysyj, plešivyj’ (KarH, KarC); ***SW*** *daz* ‘lysina, lysyj’ (Az), *daz* ‘bald-headed, bald, bare (country)’ (Tt), *daz* ‘ot bitmedik çıplak toprak’ (TtD), *daz* (*dız*) ‘kellerin başında kellikten geriye kalmış izlere denir, saçsız baş, kel, otsuz, çıplak arazi, tepe’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *toz* ‘parša, paršivyj, pleš́, plešina, plešivyj, plešivyj čelovek’ (Uzb), *taz* ‘one afflicted with Favus, scald-head’ (TurkiJ), *taz* ‘scald-head’ (TurkiSh), *taz* ‘paršivyj, plešivyj’ (TurkiL), *taz* ‘abgerieben, kahl, haarlos, kahl (in der Folge des Grindes)’ (TurkiTR), *taz* ‘parša, bol′noj paršoj’ (MUyg), *taz* ‘plešivec’, *tasqur*, *tazkur*, *tazqur*, *tazquř*, *tozkïr* ‘plešivyj’ (Sal); ***NE*** *tas* ‘lysina, lysyj, golyj’, *tarbald′in* ‘orel, berkut’ (Alt), *tas* ‘glatt, kahl, unbehaart, kahlköpfig’, *tarbalyïn* ‘eine kleine Adelart’ (AltR), *tas* ‘lysyj, gladkij, golyj, bezvolosyj’ (AltL), *tas* ‘glatt, kahl, unbehaart, kahlköpfig’ (AltLR), *tas* ‘lysyj’ (AltQK), *tas* ‘lysyj, plešivyj’ (AltTK), *tas* ‘lysina, pleš́, lysyj, plešivyj’ (Khak), *tas* ‘plešivyj, zavisimyj rabotnik, bajskij pastuh’ (KhakB), *tas* ‘glatt, kahl, unbehaart, kahlköpfig’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR, ChulR), *tas* ‘lysyj, plešivyj, golyj, so skudnoj rastitel′nost′ju’ (Tuv), *tas* ‘plešivyj, lysyj’ (Tof); ***Y*** *taraġay* ‘plešivyj, lysyj, bezvlasyj, pleš́, plešina, lysina, bezvlasie’ (Y ← Mo).

Mo *tar* ‘tip of hair’, *taraqay*, *tarqay* ‘scattered, dispersed, spread, disseminated’, *targalǰi* ‘a kind of bird’, *tarbalǰi*, *tarbaǰi* ‘sparrow hawk, tawny eagle’, *tarasu* ‘a species of small eagle’, *tarlan*, *tarilan* ‘spotted, speckled, flecked, varicoloured, streaked, a stripe’ (L), *tar* ‘Haar, Haarsorte (die verschieden lange und verschieden gefärbte Haare im Pelzwerk sind verschiedene *tar*)’, *tar* ‘glatzig, kahl, schlecht behaart’, *tarxā̆*, *tarxā* ‘halb abgenutztes Fell od. Pelzwerk, kurzhaarig, kahl’ (Ramstedt 1935: 380).

2 PT **tazgïl*: **OT** *tarġïl öküz* ‘der gescheckter Ochs’ (Zieme 1975: 134; Molnár–Zieme 1989: 147), *tarġïl yilki* ‘any animal that has white and black stripes on its back, such as ‘a speckled one’ is *tarġïl*. This adjective may modify all animals except horses.’ (AK); **MT** *tarġïl* ‘striped’ (ARbg), *ṭarġïl* ‘yüzdeki lekeler, çığıt, sis, kirli kür rengi’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tarġïl* ‘krasno-buryj s černymi prožilkami’ (Bashk), *tårgïl* ‘sujtásos, tarka [striped, spotted]’ (BashkP), *tarġïl* ‘koŋgïrt häm kïzïllï čuar tös (sïerda); karij i krasnovato–pjatnistyj cvet (o masti korovy)’ (SibTat), *targïl* ‘krasnyj s černymi polosami, polosatyj (mast′ korovy, byka, zverej košač′ej porody), nazvanie travjanistogo rastenija’ (Kirg), *tarġïl* ‘tiger colour (of cattle)’ (Kaz), *tarġïl* ‘tigrovaja mast′’ (KazB), *tarġïl* ‘eine Farbe der Kühe (rot mit schwarzen Flecken)’ (KazR), *tarġïl* ‘pestryj, krasnyj s černymi pjatnami (o masti korovy, byka)’ (Kklp), *targïl* ‘tigrovaja mast′ (rogatogo skota)’ (Nog), *talġïr* ‘polosatyj (o životnyh)’ (Kum), *talġïr* ‘polosatyj, raznocvetnyj’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *darlak* ‘kel, dazlak’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tarġil* ‘tigrovyj, černo-zolotistyj v polosku’ (Uzb), *tarġil* ‘polosatyj, tigrovyj, pestryj, raznocvetnyj’ (Sal), *tarġïl* ‘polosatij, tigrovyj’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T I deal with the T background of H *tar* ‘bald’ and *tarka* ‘piebald’ in one item.

The T etymon for H *tar* 'bald' is the well-known and widespread CT word *taz* 'bald'. On the T word, see Joki (1952: 317), Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 292), Clauson (1972: 572) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 124–125). Sevortjan's opinion that the word had an old long vowel (see **tās* Ščerbak (1970: 197) and **tāz* Räsänen (1969: 467)) needs further argumentation. Sevortjan did not comment on the "Altaic" parallels of the T word which are mentioned in the literature, he only listed them. Ligeti (1986: 49) firmly rejected Ramstedt's (1949: 250) PA comparison with Kor *tämɛ̣ri* 'a bald head'. Gombocz (1905: 255–256) compared T *taz* with H *tar* and Tu *taraka*. He rightly pointed out that Y *taraġay* 'plešivyj, pleš' may be a Mo lw and that the Tu item was also copied fr Mo. Some earlier matches were renewed in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1423). They attempted to attribute the following reconstructed forms to PA **t'eŕo* 'bald': PMo **tar-* 'bald, scab (on head)' and PT **daŕ* (**dār*) 'bald'. They thought, however, that PA **t'ĕŕa* (**t'ĕŕo*) 'eagle, vulture' (1422–1423), which is discussed under another entry, may also belong here. The first element of PMo **tarbalǰi* 'a kind of eagle' may denote a kind of bird with a bald head or neck. On the T data for *taz* used as PNs, see Tenišev (2001: 671).

According to Clauson (1972: 539), T *targïl* 'striped' may, perhaps, have derived fr *tār* 'narrow' and the semantics can be explained fr the meaning 'with narrow (stripes)'. Erdal (1991: 99) added some data to Clauson's collection. The word is documented in ARabg and see *targïl öküz* in Zieme (1975: 134) and Molnár–Zieme (1989: 147). Erdal thought that the word *targïl* 'an animal with narrow (*tar*) white and black stripes on its back' may go back to *tar* 'narrow', but he noted that its suff +*gXl* "is aberrant as its base does not denote a body part". Erdal (1991: 98–99) otherwise listed the lexemes with the suffs +*KIl* and +*gXl* in three sections. The first group may include lexemes not denoting colours, but geometric forms (cf. **szeplő**), one can find colour names in the second group, and the third lists "animal designations…formed from names of parts of their body, where that particular body part is *white* or has, at least, a white spot." Despite Erdal's opinion, *targïl* does not show any "aberrant" morphological features. It is not a cognate of *tār* 'narrow, constricted, confined' (see below). According to Joki (1952: 312–313), Sam **tar*(*e*) 'Haar' may be of Mo origin (for the Sam words, see Janhunen (1977: 149)). In the entry for *tār* 'Ring, Kreis der Roßhaarschlinge', Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 243–244) discussed the word *tār* 'Faden', which is of Ir der and may, according to him, be the nominal base for T *tara-* 'kämmen' (cf. Mo *tar* 'tip of hair' (L); see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 148–149)).

First, it has to be decided whether 'bald, break in continuity, lack of hair, etc.' and 'striped, multi-coloured, etc.' represented different semantic entities in PT. I think that PT **taz* originally denoted 'partial absence of hair' hence also 'striped, spotted, freckled'. In many T lgs, it also means 'parša; mange, scab'. It is historically improbable for there to have been two words *taz* 'bald' and *taz* 'with striped hair', both re-

ferring to a different condition of the same thing, hair: the absence of it, in one case, and a striped form of it, in the other. See Eng *bald* and *piebald* (fr *magpie* and *bald*). In any case, both became *tar* in WOT and Mo. EOT words like *targïl* 'striped (of animals)' stem fr the change **tazkïl* > *targïl*, where *kïl* is 'hair, esp. the hair of animals' (see: *tazbaš* > *tarbaš*). The Mo counterparts *tarakay*, *tarlan* also show this semantics 'scattered, spotted, speckled, a stripe'. The frequently cited Mo *tarbalǰi* now has its counterpart in Bashk *taδbaš*. Mo *tarbalǰi* occurs in the *Pentaglott* of Peking (5D III: 4129), where it carries the meaning 'a kind of eagle', Tib *rlag rgya-bo*, Turki *qoy quš*, Chin *tuan diao*. In the *Zoographia* of Pallas (1811/1: B19), it is identified as *Aquila novilis*.

Another possibility is that *tar* in *targïl* is another word: EOT **tar* with the meaning 'striped, spotted'. This word would have been preserved in H and would have taken on the suffs *+ka*, *+ča* and *+d*. This is less likely. For the semantics, see also **szár**.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 178) compared the H word with its T corresponding forms and also mentioned Y *taraġay* 'bald' among them. Budenz (1873: 89) accepted Vámbéry's T etymology and Munkácsi (1884b: 88) pointed out that the word is also documented in Voty. Munkácsi (1883a: 248) cited the Voty item *viśtem-taz* 'plešivyj durak' fr the material he himself had collected. Vámbéry (1885a: 61) strengthened his earlier etymological explanation. Gombocz (1898: 181) showed the spread of the word in the VFinn lgs and later (1905: 255–256; 1907a: 360) pointed out that the T word may also contain corresponding forms in the Mo and Tu lgs. Vámbéry's opinion notwithstanding (1885a: 61), Gombocz (1907a: 360) considered the H verb *tarol-* (originally 'to mow') to be an internal H development fr the H adj *tar*, which is of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 127) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tar* for the H word and Németh (1912: 400) accepted his position. Vámbéry (1914: 212) erroneously thought that **tarló** may also belong to this H word-family. Bárczi (1941: 301) and then Ligeti (1943: 43) considered H *tar* to be an OChuv borrowing in H. Németh (1965a: 82) claimed that *targïl*, *tarman*, *tarlan* etc. all go back to *taz*, but *taz* 'bald' and *taz* 'piebald, variegated, striped' are homophones. Bartha (1952: 293–294) was of the view that the first element in the H word *tarvarjú* 'rook, *Corvus frugilegus*' may be identical with H *tar* 'bald', which is of T der. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 847) regarded H *tar* 'bald' as an OChuv lw. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 854–855), *tarka* 'striped, pied, multi-coloured' must be separated fr *tar*[1] 'bald'. Its base *tar*[2] is a homophonous word. H *tarka* and *tarcsa* 'multi-coloured (cow or ox)' represent internal H ders fr *tar*[2] with the H dim suffs *+kA* and *+csA*. An old word in H, *tar*[2] may be a T lw. Ligeti (1986: 15) considered H *tar* 'bald' as a rhotacistic form that corresponds to CT *taz* id. and he did not investigate its link to H *tarka* 'striped'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1482, 1485) separated H *tar* 'kahl' and *tar* 'bunt', but his opinion differs fr that of Németh. According to him, H *tar* 'bald' was borrowed fr OChuv and H *tar* 'striped, spotted'

may be a CT lw (cf. AK *targïl* 'am Rücken schwarzweiß gestreiftes Tier', Kirg *tarlan* 'grau' (more precisely *boz tarlan*, *tarlan boz*) and Chuv *tur* 'braun (Pferd)'). The Chuv word (*tur*, *tură* 'gnedoj') does not pertain here; it is a late lw fr Tat (cf. Tat *turï* 'gnedoj', Bashk *turï* id., Kirg *tor*, *toru* 'gnedoj' etc.).

◆ Pallas 1811/1: B19; Vámbéry 1870: 178; Budenz 1873: 89; Munkácsi 1883a: 248; Munkácsi 1884b: 88; Vámbéry 1885a: 61; Gombocz 1898: 181; Gombocz 1905: 255–256; Gombocz 1907a: 360; Gombocz 1912b: 127; Németh 1912: 400; Vámbéry 1914: 212; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Mikos 1935: 296; Ramstedt 1935: 380; Bárczi 1941: 301; Ligeti 1943: 43; Ramstedt 1949: 250; Bartha 1952: 293–294; Joki 1952: 312–313, 317; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 243–244; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 292; Németh 1964: 279–281; Németh 1965a: 82; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 847, 854–855; Räsänen 1969: 467; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 528, 532, 539, 572; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 124–125, 148–149; Zieme 1975: 134; Janhunen 1977: 149; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 49, 313, 526; Molnár–Zieme 1989: 147; Erdal 1991: 98–99; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1482, 1485; Ščerbak 1997: 154; Tenišev 2001: 671; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1422–1423.

TÁR [tār] 'depot': **tárház** [tārhāz] 'warehouse, magazine' (cf. *ház* [hāz] 'house'), **társzekér** [tārsekēr] 'wagon, cart, van' (cf. *szekér* [sekēr] 'cart') | c1395 *thar ʒeker* [tār sekēr], c1490 *taar haʒ* [tār hāz], 1658 *táruknak* [tār-uknåk] | *tār* < *tavar* ⟵ WOT **tavar* || **tárnok** [tārnok] 'treasurer (to the king)' | *tārnok* < *tār* {with suff *+nOk*} | 1113 GN *Tawarnyk* [tåvår-nik], 1220/1550 *tauornicorũ* [tavarnik-orum], 1235 *taarnuk* [tārnuk], 1251/1328/1374 GN *tarnuk* [tārnuk], 1517 *tarnok mester* [tārnok mešter] | EOT *tavar* 'livestock, property'.

OT *türgeš qarlwqwg tawarïn alïp* 'I seized the livestock of the Türgeş and Karluk' (RMShin S 5), *tvar* 'Habe' (MManIII Nr. 12 Rückseite 10), *tawarï tälim* 'ihre Habe wurde zahlreich' (UTTI 137), *twarïn oġurladïmïz* '(wenn) wir Andrer Besitz gestohlen haben' (UTTIV A:69), *äd tavar* 'Habe' (UTTVII 28: 43), *tavar* 'Habe' (UUII 86: 41), *tavar* 'goods' (UXuangzangIndex), *tawar* 'property noisy and silent' (i.e. animate and inanimate), *tawār* 'things, merchandise', and the Oġuz and the others say *tavar*, *tavār* (AK), *tavar* 'davar, mal, eşya', *satïg tavïg* 'alış-veriş': *satïgda tavïgda neŋ alsïqmasa* '… be able to evaluate merchandise at its true worth' (AQB), *tawar* (twār) 'Habe' (BD 33), *tavar* 'Besitz', *tavarlïg* 'Eintität' (Maue 1996: 28, 108); **MT** *tawar* 'mal' (UY), *tavar* 'satin' (UHy), *tavar* 'satin, soie' (UHyS), *tavar*, *tvar* 'Eigentum, Güter, Ware, Seide, Damast' (UCivLo 16:4; UCivSa 02:2), *tavar* 'quadruped' (AGul), *tïvar* 'mal, servet' (AHMA), *tawar* 'bydło, dobytek, majątek' (AHŠ), *tawar* 'skot domašnij, dostojanie, imuščestvo' (AHŠF), *dawār* 'skot, imuščestvo' (AIM), *davar* 'malü meta', *tavarlïg* 'mallı' (AIMI), *ṭavar* 'property, wealth' (AKD), *tawar* 'possessions, wealth' (AKor), *tawar* 'mal, mülk, eşya' (ANeh), *tawar* 'skot domašnij, dostojanie, imuščestvo' (ANehF), *tawar*, *tïwar*, *towar* 'cattle, wealth, possessions', *tawar* 'silk fabric' (ARbg), *tawar*, *tïwar* (-f-) 'skot, imuščestvo' (ATef), *tawar* 'mal' (AYC), *tavar* 'skot' (AChagBud), *davar*, *tavar* 'die Ware, die Habe' (AChagR), *tawar* 'livestock and quadrupeds' (AChagSC), *tavar* 'semürür hayvan, davar' (AChagŠS), *dawar* 'Haustier, Vieh, Reittier' (AChagZ), *davar* 'tavar, hayvan' (AAHI), *dawar*

'bydło, trzoda [cattle]' (ABul), *ṭuvar* 'skot, imuščestvo', *ḍuvar* 'životnoe (domašnee)' (ATuh), *tavar* [vocalized *tuvar* with *-d-* added below in a second hand] 'davar' (ATuhA), *tuvar* 'bétail, taureau, avoir, bien' (AmTr), *tuvar* 'cattle, livestock' (AmCh), *tuvar* 'bien, avoir, bétail' (AmE), *davar*, *tavar* 'binek hayvanı, dört ayaklı çiftlik hayvanı, mal' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tavar* 'tovar, tovarnyj, vydelannaja koža (dlja pošiva obuvi), (ust.) tkan′ fabričnoj vydelki', manufaktura, sitec' (Chuv ← Rus), *tavar* 'tovar, vse čto prodaetsja i pokupaetsja, koža na obuv′, materija (bazarnaja)' (ChuvA ← Rus); ***NW*** *tuar*: *mal tuar* 'skotina, skot', *tovar* 'tovar, tovarnyj' (Tat), *tuwar*, *tuwar-mal* 'mal-tuar; skot' (TatD1), *tuġar* 'mal-tuar; skot', *t(ï)var* 'mal-tuar; skot' (TatD1), *t(ï)var*, *tuwar* 'terlek, mal-tuwar; skot, skotina', *tïwar*, *tuwar* 'mal-tuar; domašnij skot, skot i ptica' (TatD2), *tïuar* 'marha, jószág; Rind, Vieh' (TatB), *tïwar* 'das Vieh überhaupt' (TatKR), *tauar* 'tovar, tovarnyj, tkan′, material, materija, tkanevyj' (Bashk), *tïuar* 'mal-tuar, terlek; skot, skotina' (SibTat), *tabar* (razg.) 'tovar, šerstjanka (sort materii)', *tovar* 'tovar', *tovar* (južn.), *tuvar*, *tubar* 'sort kitajskogo šelka' (Kirg), *tubar* 'ein rotes Zeug' (KirgR), *tauar* 'goods' (Kaz), *tawar* (razg.) 'tovar, manufaktura', ? *tuwar* 'samka životnogo, sozrevšaja dlja detoroždenija, skot, (ust.) vykup v vide skota, vyplačivaemyj ženihom roditeljam nevesty' (Kklp), *tuvar* '(sobir.) skot, skotina, skotina, (peren.) glupyj, glupec, durak', *tovar* 'tovar, tovarnyj' (Nog), *tuvar* 'skot, skotina (bran.)' (CrTat), *tuar* 'das Vieh' (CrTatR), *tuvar* 'skot, skotina, životnoe' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tuvar* 'skot, skotnyj' (Kum), *tūar* 'barom; Vieh' (KumN), *tuŭar* 'krupnyj rogatyj skot, skotina (korova, byk), stado, (bran.) skot, skotina', *tovar* 'tovar, tovarnyj, (redko) tovar, vydelennaja koža' (KrchBlk), *tu'ar* 'Rind, Kuh' (KrchP), *tu'ar* 'Rind, Vieh' (BlkP); ***SW*** *dovar* 'melkij, rogatyj skot' (Tkm), *davar* 'melkij, rogatyj skot, baranta' (Az), *tavar* 'molodaja bujvolica' (AzD), *davar* 'sheep or goat, sheep or goats, (arch) goods, possessions' (Tt), *tuvar* 'sığır, sığır sürüsü' (TtD), *davar* 'inek, öküz, katır, eşeğe verilen ad', ? *doğar* (*dovar*) 'koyun ve keçi, davar, üç yaşına gelip yavrulayacak duruma gelen danalara denir' (TtD1), *davar* 'das Vieh', *tavar* 'die Ware, die Habe, die Haustiere, das Vieh, hauptsächlich die Schafe' (TtR), *tovar* 'tovar, tovarnyj, hrom (koža)' (Gag ← Rus), *duvar*, *doṷar*, *doṷar*, *dowar*, *doṿar*, *davar*, *dävar*, *doẉwar*, *duṷar*, *du′ʷar* 'Hammel', *davar* 'Schaf' (Khor), *davar*, *duvar* 'Hammel, Schaf' (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tåvar* 'tovar, tovarnyj', *tåvår* '(razg.) podkladočnaja (fabričnaja) šelkovaja tkan′' (Uzb), *tavar*, *tavār*, *tava* 'silk stuff, cloths, goods' (TurkiJ), *tabar* 'die Ware, der Besitz' (TurkiTR), *tavar* 'tovar, raznocvetnyj šelk', *tovar* (← Rus) 'tovar' (MUyg), *tovïr* 'šelk' (Sal), *tavar*, *tavař*, *davar* 'šelk (materija)' (YUyg), *tavar* 'materija' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tabar* 'tovar', *tār* 'mešok, kul′, tara' (Alt), *tabar* 'die Ware, der Besitz' (AltR), *tabar* 'tovar, imuščestvo', *tavar* 'materija' (AltL), *tabar* 'die Ware, der Besitz' (AltLR), *tovar* 'tovar' (AltQK), *tār* 'mešok' (AltTK), *tavar* 'materija, tkan′' (KhakB), *tovar* 'tovar, tovarnyj' (FY), *tavār*, *tovār* 'tovar' (Tof); ***Y*** *tabār* 'tovar' (Y ← Rus), *tabār* 'Ware' (Dlg ← Rus).

Mo *tabar*, *tavar* ‘merchandise, goods, property, chattels’ (L).

E/T The plausible T etymon for the H word may be *tavar* ‘livestock’. On the most important historical and modern data, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 114–117) and Tenišev (2001: 327–328). Sevortjan considered the alternation of *-a- ~ -ï-* in the first syllable as an old variation. According to him, the vowel *-u-*, which sometimes appears in the first syllable, represents a secondary development under the influence of the labial consonant **-b- >> -v-*. One has no reason to assume an old etymological long vowel in the word. The word-internal consonant was originally a **-b-*, which could already have been spirantized in the OT period. The oldest known form of the word is documented in RMShin (see the database). Clauson (1972: 442–443) offered another possible interpretation for this passage, *türgäš karlukïg* (sic!, ? irregular gen) *tavarı̄n alïp* ‘I seized the livestock of the Türgeş and Karluk’). According to Clauson (1972: 442–443), the basic meaning can be defined fr the construction *äd̲ tavar* ‘inanimate and animate property’ and *tavar* could have carried the original meaning ‘livestock’. The word is attested even fr early times in the senses of ‘property’ and ‘merchandise, trade goods’. Sevortjan claimed that both elements of the construction *äd̲ tavar* generally meant ‘property’ and he interpreted this construction as ‘dobro i imuščestvo [goods and properties]’ (similarly cf. Joki (1952: 319–320)).

The T word occurred in Mo as an early T lw (*tabar*, *tavar*) (cf. Ramstedt 1935: 385) and Rus (*tovar*) (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 67–68). The Mo word was re-borrowed by some SibTat lgs (see in the database Alt, AltR, AltL, AltLR and cf. also TurkiTR). In some other T lgs, it is difficult to distinguish the original T word and the re-borrowed forms. Clauson erroneously thought that the Rus form *tovar* was borrowed fr Uzb. The phonetic change **a > o* represents an old internal Rus development; the word is also documented with a rounded vowel in other Sl lgs (cf. Ukr, Pol, SerbCroat, Blg, etc.). It is worth noting that Rus *tovar* was documented with a first-syllabic *-o-* in the ORus sources of Novgorod written on birchbark in the 11th and 12th c.s (see Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 117).

Sevortjan provided an overview of the earlier etymological suggestions, but none of them is acceptable. According to Tenišev (2001: 328), the word is a dev der fr T *tap-* ‘nahodit′’. This does hold water either due to phonetic problems. In the oldest T documents, the word is attested with an internal *-v-* (*-w-*). The phonetic difficulty could, of course be resolved if one accepts the reconstruction of a verbal base **tav-* ‘torgovat′’ (see Tenišev (2001: 336)), but in this case we would have a morphological problem. The verb **tav-* is cited fr l. 2803 of the AQB, cited above, where we have *satïg tavïg*, under the assumption that *tavïg* is a dev noun fr **tav-*.

Joki (1952: 319–320) discussed T *tavar* and its spread in great detail, but he attempted to ascribe an erroneous Ch etymology to the word. Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 67–68) considered Rus *tovar* to be a T lw, but he thought that the T word may be

of Arm origin. Sinor (1962a: 229–235) treated *tabar* and *tagar* as "etymological doublets", whereas Dmitriev (1962: 546) claimed that the T word *tavar* pertains to Chuv *tăvar* 'salt' (CT *tūz*) and reflects an ancient form of merchandise. In his detailed treatment of *tagar*, Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 512–519) questioned whether *tabar* and *tagar* have anything to do with each other. He suggested a possible Ir origin, but was unable to provide an Ir etymology for *tagar*. Ščerbak (1997: 151) considered Mo *tagar* as a lw fr T. Egorov (1964: 227) and Fedotov (1996/2: 161–162) claimed that the Chuv word *tavar* may be a copied form fr Rus but that the Rus word is of T origin. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1345–1346) compared PMo *dag-* 'to present, make a gift, distribute' with PT **dab-* 'wares, goods, livestock, cattle, to sell, trade'. They noted that this is "an interesting common Altaic economic term". PMo **dag-* is based on SH *da'ul-* and LMo *dayila-*. On *da'ul-*, see SH *Činggis kahan oŋ-kan koyar tende tatar-i da'uliǰu kubiyalduǰu abulčaǰu geyi[t]-tür-iyen kariǰu bawuba* (de Rachewiltz 1972: 3701–3702) 'Cinggis Qa'an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared the booty, each taking his part, then they returned to their own encampments' (de Rachewiltz 2004: 58). As we can see, SH *da'uli-* (not *da'ul-*), which is *taguli-* 'to chase, pursue, to attack, to sieze' in LMo (Khal *tūl-*), going back to *tagu-* 'to drive', has nothing to do with *tavar*. There do exist three homophonous verbs in Mo: *dayila-*[1] 'to wage war', *dayila-*[2] 'to treat, regale, entertain', and *dayila-*[3] 'to strengthen or reinforce planks or boards with transverse timbers'. The first is clearly a den verb fr *dayin* 'war'. According to Kara (1998: 132), the second is of Ch origin. Most probably, he was thinking of 待 *dai*, EMCh *däj'*, LMCh *tʰaj* 'to wait for, wait on, to entertain', and this is possible. However, *dayin* (EOT *yagï*) had a very broad semantic range. It denoted the enemy and the special guest. In Mo, *dayiči* carries the neutral meaning 'warrior'. Likewise, in Eng, *host* is 'the one who entertains guests', but also 'an army', and someone who is *hostile* pertains to the enemy (all fr Fr < Lat). The Grm equivalent in Eng is *guest*. This is similar to Lat *hostis* 'guest, alien, enemy' and *hospes* 'host, alien'. Therefore I can imagine that *dayila-*[2] also goes back to the idea of hospitality. In any case, there is no verb **dag-* 'to present, etc.' in Mo. *tavar* is an old Eurasian word, it has nothing in common with *tagar*, and its origin is unclear.

E/H Budenz (1867b: 315) and Hunfalvy (1870: 312) listed some forms fr the Sl, T and FUgr lgs corresponding to H *tár*. Szarvas (1877: 512; 1881: 162–163) thought that H *tár* may have been borrowed fr T via Sl mediation. Munkácsi (1883: 115) assumed a Southern Sl borrowing. Simonyi (1900: 483) was of the opinion that H *tár* may be a back-formation fr H *tárház* 'warehouse, magazine' and it could have been lexicalized under the influence of the H word *tárnok* 'treasurer (to the king)', which is a Sl lw in H. According to Treml (1929: 297), H *tár* goes back to Sl *tovar*, but it could only have been used in compounds in early times. Pais (1935b: 299) was of the view that the word in question may be a cognate of the ancient U–A word family *tap-* 'to seize'

(cf. T *tabar*, *tavar*). Bárczi (1941: 301) considered the word to be a back-formation fr *tárház* and supposed that the first element of this compound may be related to Sl *tovar*. Kniezsa (1955: 762–763) expressed doubts about the ultimate base of H *tár*, a back-formation fr *tárház* and *társzekér* 'wagon, cart, van', is dubious. It may be either an ORus or a T lw. In the Sl lgs it comes fr T *tavar* 'Habe, Last'. Pais (1958: 479) considered H *tárnok* to be a Sl lw (*tavar* + Sl suff +*nok*) but he mentioned that the Sl word *tavar* is of T origin. Sinor (1961a: 170; 1962a: 229–235 [in Eng] = 1982: 76–80 [in H]) tied T *tavar* to Mo *tagar*, *tabar* and thought that this word pair may be the source of both H *tár* and the Sl forms. Hadrovics (1965: 56) regarded Sl *tovar* as an immediate lw fr Arm *tvar* 'Schaf, Schafherde', but he believed the Arm word to be originally T. Benkő (1967–1984/3) discussed H *tár* in the entries *tár* (848) and *tár*: *társzekér* (848–849). He considered it to be an international word which has its ultimate origin in the T lgs. It is, however, uncertain whether it was copied into H fr Sl or T. According to Ligeti (1986: 62), regardless of the possible Sl or plausible T starting point of the H word, the unusual phonetic change *-aβa-* > *-á-* could have occurred in H. (The H word **teve** did not change to **té* because it was copied later than *tár*.) Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1482) has two entries in his dict: *tár* and *társzekér*. The word *tár* 'verkäufliche Sachen, Lagerraum, Magazin, Schatz, Vermögen, Sammlung' only came about in the middle of the 17th c. According to Benkő, it may be of plausible Sl origin. He presumed that the Sl word is a T lw and the T word very likely an Arm lw. This latter assumption can of course be ruled out. If the T word, which was documented as of the OT period as *taβar* with the meaning 'livestock, property', has an etymological connection with Arm *tvar* 'Schaf, Schafherde', the direction of the borrowing – despite the item *tawar* (*twār*) 'Habe' written with Brahmi script – can only be the reverse. According to Benkő, H *tár* may be identical with the first element of the compound *társzekér*. However, he thought that it is an independent borrowing which is documented in H as of the 14th c. in the forms *thar* or *taar* as the first component of H *társzekér* 'Lastwagen' or *tárház* 'Lagerhaus, Vorratshaus'. Later, its meaning could also have influenced *tár*, which was copied fr Sl. The word *tár* in the compositions may, according to Benkő, belong among the early lws in H.

◆ Budenz 1867b: 315; Hunfalvy 1870: 312; Szarvas 1877: 512; Szarvas 1881: 162–163; Munkácsi 1883: 115; Simonyi 1900: 483; Tolnai 1900: 167–168; Szily 1902–1908/1: 326; Simai 1913: 218–220; Treml 1929: 297; Pais 1935b: 299; Ramstedt 1935: 385; Bárczi 1941: 301; Joki 1952: 319–320; Kniezsa 1955: 762–763; Pais 1958: 479; Sinor 1961a: 170; Dmitriev 1962: 546; Sinor 1962a: 229–235; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 512–519; Egorov 1964: 227; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 67–68; Hadrovics 1965: 56; Tamás 1966: 764; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 848–849; Gregor 1970: 203; Clauson 1972: 442–443; de Rachewiltz 1972: 3701–3702; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 114–117; Sinor 1982: 76–80; Ligeti 1986: 62, 184, 202, 301, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1482; Fedotov 1996/2: 161–162; Maue 1996: 258; Ščerbak 1997: 151; Kara 1998: 132; Tenišev 2001: 327–328, 336; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1345–1346; de Rachewiltz 2004: 58.

TARCSA 'rook, *Corvus frugilegus*', **tarka** 'piebald, pied' see **tar**.

TARLÓ [tårlō] ‘plough field, arable field, stubble field’ | 1212/1397/1405 GN *Tarlofew* [tårlōfō], c1395 *tharlou* [tårlō] ‘agellus’, *tarlow* [tårlō] ‘ager’ | *tårlō* < **tarlaɣ* ← WOT **tarïlaɣ* | EOT *tarïglag*, MT *tarlag*, *tarlov* ‘a cultivated field’ < *tarï-* ‘to cultivate (a field)’.

OT *tarïglag*: *ekin ara ïlgam tarïglagïm* ‘between the two my valley, my cultivated field’ (RMTerh W 4), *tarïġlaġ* ‘a cultivated field’ (UXuangzangIndex), *tariġlāġ* ‘a sown field’ (AK), *tarïġlaġ* ‘field’, *tarlaġ* ‘field of seed-crops’ (AQB); **MT** *tarïġlïġ*, *tarïqlïq* ‘tarla’ (UY), *tarlaġ* ‘cultivation’ (ABF), *tarlaġ* ‘pole, rola’ (AHŠ), *tarlaġ* ‘pole, pašnja, obrabatyvaemaja zemlja’ (AHŠF), *tarïġlaġ* ‘sown field, tillage’ (AKor), *tarïġčïlïq* ‘zemledelie, hlebopašestvo’ (ATef), *tarïglïq*, *tarïqlïq* ‘tarla’ (AYC), *tarla* ‘champ ensemencé’ (AChag), *tarla* ‘der Acker, das bearbeitete Feld’ (AChagR), *tarla* ‘Acker, Saatfeld’ (AChagZ), *tarlov* ‘Ackerfeld’ (LCCG), *tarla* ‘tohum ekilen sürülmüş düz arazi’ (AAHI), *ṭarla* ‘Acker’ (AHou), *tarlov* ‘champ, terre labourable’ (AmTr), *tarlov* ‘champ ensemencé, champ, terroir’ (AmE); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tarlau* ‘vspahannoe pole, pole pod posev’ (Tat), *tarlau* ‘kötülek; pastbišče’ (TatD1), *tarlau* ‘der Acker, ein frisch gepflügtes Feld’ (TatKR), *tarlau* ‘(ust.) niva, pole, (dial) poljana, poljanka, lužajka’ (Bashk), *tarlau* ‘der Acker, ein frisch gepflügtes Feld’ (SibTatTR), *tarï-* (sev., redko) ‘pahatʹ, sejatʹ, vozdelyvatʹ zemlju’ (Kirg), *tarlau* ‘virgin soil, a meadow with grass of varied colours’ (Kaz), *tarlau* ‘Plätze auf denen verschiedenfarbige Kräuter wachsen’ (KazR), *tarlav* ‘pole, pastbišče, polevoj, pastbiščnyj’, *tarlav*, *tarïlav* ‘dikoe proso (rastuščee obyčno na pahotnyh zemljah)’ (Nog), *tarla* ‘pole, plantacija’ (CrTat), *tarla* ‘der Acker, das bearbeitete Feld’ (CrTatR), *tarlav* ‘pašnja, pole, niva’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tarluv* ‘pole’ (KarSh), *tarlav* ‘žnivʹe, pole, niva’ (Kum), *tarlau* ‘mező; Feld’ (KumN), *tarlaŭ* ‘pole, ugodʹe, polosa’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *tarla* ‘pole, pašnja, niva, plantacija’ (Az), *tarla* ‘der Acker, das bearbeitete Feld’ (AzR), *tarla* ‘arable field, garden bed’ (Tt), *tarla* ‘der Acker, das bearbeitete Feld’ (TtR), *tarla* ‘pole, pašnja, učastok zemli’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tar-*, *dar-* ‘sejatʹ, sažatʹ’ (YUyg), *tarda-* ‘brosatʹ, zabrasyvatʹ’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tarlaġ* ‘pašnja’ (Khak), *tarlaġ* ‘pašnja’ (KhakB), *tarlaġ* ‘der Acker’ (KhakSR), *tarïlga* ‘sev, posev, posadka, pahota, posevnoj, pahotnoj’, *tarï-* ‘sejatʹ, sažatʹ, pahatʹ, pahotnyj’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *tari-* ‘to sow, plant, to plough, to inoculate against infection, vaccinate’, *tariyalang* ‘arable land, plough land, field, plantation, agriculture’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for H *tarló* ‘stubble field’ is the WOT form of EOT *tarïglag* ‘a cultivated field’ (see Clauson (1972: 541–542) and Erdal (1991: 108–109) with some additional data on the early occurrences of the word). On its base, see **dara**. The earliest known item can be found in the 4th Western line of RMTerh. The runiform sign for L seems to be damaged in the word. The den suff *+lAg* forms words with a local meaning. The immediate source of the H word could be WOT **tarlag* < **tarïlag* < **tarïglag*. Although there was also an old suff *+lA* in T carrying a local meaning

(see Erdal (1991: 404)), the suff *+lA* in the words listed in the database (cf. AChag, AChagR, AChagZ, AAHI, AHou, CrTat, CrTatR, Az, AzR, Tt, TtR, Gag) seem to go back to *+lAg*. One cannot, however, rule out that the form *tarla* may occur in some sources due to the confusion of these two suffs.

On the dubious Kam word *tarlïr* (perhaps a false notation instead of [**tarlïg*] or a contracted compound fr **tarlag* + *yer* 'land'), see Joki (1952: 314–316).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 178) argued in favour of the T etymology of H *tarló*. Budenz (1873: 89) accepted this, but later he (1873–1881: 183) claimed that H *tarló* may be a der of the H verb *tarol-* 'to devastate, to strip, to lay flat', which goes back to a Ugr basic verb. According to Munkácsi (1884b: 107), H contained two homophonous words *tarló* which were confused by folk etymology. The original meaning of the first one could have been 'second harvest hay' and this word may go back to the H verb *tarol-*. The basic sense of the other word *tarló* was 'cultivated field' and eventually this meaning changed to 'stubble field'. This second word could be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 127–128) refuted Budenz's etymological idea that H *tarló* could be a der fr H *tarol-* and reconstructed for it an OChuv form **tarlag*. Vámbéry (1914: 212) attempted to connect H *tarló* with *tar* 'spotted' (see **tar**). Ligeti (1933a: 277) considered H *tarló* as a BulgT lw. He claimed that the T word may be a der fr the T verbal base *tar-* 'to sow, plough' formed with the suff *-lAk*. He pointed out that the T verb has a cognate in Mo, *tari-* id. Moór (1939: 36) accepted Budenz's explanation about the interrelation between H *tarol-* and *tarló*, but then (1956: 39) changed his position and argued in favour of the T der of the word. According to Bárczi (1941: 303), H *tarló* is of debated origin, however he preferred a T source (cf. also Bárczi 1950: 223). Váczy (1958: 305) accepted Gombocz's (1912b: 127–128) etymology. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 855–856; 1993–1997/2: 1485) considered H *tarló* 'Ackerfeld, ? Stoppel, Stoppelfeld, Ähre, Saat, Getreidefeld' (which is known as of the 13th c.) as an early T lw and supposed a copied form **tarlag*, which is a cognate of the T etymon for H **dara**. He did not, however, exclude the possibility that *tarló* could have come to denote 'Stoppel, Stoppelfeld' under the influence of the H verb *tarol-* (cf. **tar**). Ligeti (1986: 77) thought that the T copied word *tarlag*, which was abbreviated fr *tarïglag*, may be either a Chuv or Kip form.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 178; Budenz 1873: 89; Budenz 1873–1881: 183; Kúnos 1884: 369–370; Munkácsi 1884b: 107; Gombocz 1907a: 361; Lehr 1908: 311–315; Gombocz 1912b: 127–128; Vámbéry 1914: 212; Ligeti 1933a: 277; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Moór 1939: 36; Bárczi 1941: 303; Pais 1943c: 344; Bárczi 1950: 223; Joki 1952: 314–316; Moór 1956: 39; Váczy 1958: 305; Gombocz 1960: 17; Grétsy 1962: 159–163; Németh 1963b: 131; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 855–856; Räsänen 1969: 464; Clauson 1972: 541–542; Ligeti 1986: 77, 287, 530; Erdal 1991: 108–109, 404; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1485.

TÁRNOK 'treasurer (to the king)' see **tár**.

TAROL 'to devastate, to strip, to lay flat', **tarposztó** 'a striped material' see **tar**.

TÁRSZEKÉR ‘wagon, cart, van’ see **tár**.

TART [tårt] ‘to hold, carry; to last’, **visszatart** [vissåtårt] ‘to hold back’ | 1138/1329 ? PN *Tortou* [tårt-ō], *Tartaudí* [tårt-ōdi], 1269/1275 PN *Nergues-tortov* [ńergeš-tårtō], early 13th c./c1350 *tart* [tårt] | *tårt-* < *tart-* ← WOT **tart-* | EOT *tart-* ‘to pull, to drag, to weigh, to stretch’.

OT *tartïtur-*: *k(ä)ntü ät’özlärintäki kadišin kaŋlilarka košup agir yüklär yüdürüp tartiturlar* ‘They (the demons?) harness them to wagons with straps which they have on their bodies, place heavy loads on them and let them pull them’ (UMaitr 182v8-9, Erdal 1991: 787), *qorqïnčlardïn tartdačï* ‘Schrecken Herausziehende’ (UUII 59(10)1), *tart-* ‘ziehen, befallen von’ (UTTVII 27:8), *tart-* ‘to pull’ (UXuangzangIndex), *tart-* ‘ziehen’, *tartïp* ‘ziehend’ (UTTV B:85), *tart-* ‘ziehen, subtrahieren’ (tārt – ta rt) (BL 25), *tart-* ‘to weigh, stretch, outfit with provisions, pull, take off (boots)’ (AK), *älig tarttï aštïn* ‘he drew back his hand from the food’ (AQB); **MT** *tart-*, *tarït-* ‘ziehen’ (UOg), *tart-* ‘offrir le tribut’ (UHy), *tart-* ‘apporter, offrir le tribut’ (UHyS), *tart-* ‘ziehen, tilgen, wiegen, abwägen’ (UCivPl 01:8), *tart-* ‘to draw, to endure’ (AGul), *tart-* ‘çekmek, asılmak’ (AHMA), *tart-* ‘ciągnać, wleć, poniechać’ (AHŠ), *tart-* ‘tjanuť, pritjagivať, uvlekať, etc.’ (AHŠF), *dārṭ-* ‘taščiť’ (AIM), *tart-* ‘uzatmak, çekmek’, *dart-* ‘tartmak (bir nesneyi ağırlığını bilmek için teraziye çekmek)’ (AIMI), *ṭart-*: *ṭartġïl!* ‘weigh (imperative)’ (AKD), *tart-* ‘to pull, draw forth’ (AKor), *tart-* ‘tjanuť’ (AM), *tart-* ‘çekmek, dayanmak’ (ANeh), *tart-* ‘tjanuť, pritjagivať, uvlekať, etc.’ (ANehF), *tart-* ‘to draw, draw back’ (ARbg), *tart-* ‘tjanuť, taščiť, vzvešivať’ (ATef), *tart-* ‘tirer, supporter, boire, se prolonger, tracer’ (AChag), *tart-* ‘čekmek’ (AChagAb), *tart-* ‘çekmek’ (AChagAbA), *tart-* ‘húz, von [to pull, draw]’ (AChagAbV), *tart-* ‘tjanuť, taščiť, vezti’ (AChagB), *tart-* ‘tjanuť, taščiť’ (AChagBud), *tart-* ‘to pull’ (AChagG), *tart-* ‘vesti, privodiť porjadok, ispytyvať’ (AChagLN), *tart-* ‘taščiť’ (AChagMA), *tart-* ‘ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen’ (AChagR), *tart-* ‘to pull, draw, to drain (a cup), to take (revenge), to suffer (grief or pain), to weigh, to draw (a picture), to withdraw, to draw (breath), to throb (of the eye)’ (AChagSC), *tart-* ‘čekmek, uzun etmek’ (AChagŠS), *tart-* ‘ziehen, schleppen, herausreissen’ (AChagZ), *tart-*: *emgek tart-* ‘Qual erdulden’ (LCCG), *tart-* ‘ziehen, zerren’ (LCCI), *tart-* ‘çekmek, tartmak’ (AAH), *ṭart-*, *dart-* ‘ważyć’ (ABul), *ṭart-*, *ṭarṭ-* ‘ziehen, wägen’ (AHou), *tart-* ‘to pull, to pull on, to pull back, to draw (a bow)’ (AMGh), *ṭart-*, *ṭarṭa-* ‘izvlekať, vytaskivať, vyryvať’ (ATuh), *tart-*, *tarta-* ‘çekip çıkarmak’ (ATuhA), *tart-* ‘tirer, tendre’ (AmTr), *tart-* ‘to draw, pull, drag’ (AmCh), *tart-* ‘tirer’ (AmE), *ṭart-*, *dart-* ‘çekmek’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tït-* ‘deržať, brať, hvatať čto-l., brať sja, hvatať sja, ostanavlivať, zaderživať, uderživať, loviť, zadrať, zarezať (o hiščnikah), zastavať, zastigať, loviť (s poličnym), praviť, upravljať, napravljať, rukovoditʹ, upravljať, vladeť čem-l., deržať, soderžať čto-l., hraniť, deržať, soderžať, deržať sja, priderživať sja

(kakogo-l. napravlenija, sledovatʹ, napravljatʹsja kuda-l., bljusti, sobljudatʹ, deržatʹ, vesti sebja, deržatʹsja, rashodovatʹ, polʹzovatʹsja čem-l., nanimatʹ, ogoraživatʹ, obnositʹ ogradoj, obšivatʹ, otoračivatʹ, okantovyvatʹ, obivatʹ') (Chuv), *tït-* 'deržatʹ, bratʹ v ruki, pojmatʹ, lovitʹ, hvatatʹ, perenosno – deržatʹ (v rukah), uderživatʹ etc.' (ChuvA), *tït-* 'fogni, megfogni, tartani; greifen, eingreifen, halten' (ChuvP), *turt-* 'tjanutʹ, (razg.) taščitʹ, vezti, dergatʹ, rvatʹ, rezko tjanutʹ, gresti, sgrebatʹ, vygrebatʹ, tjanutʹ, vesitʹ, imetʹ kakoj-l. ves, vtjagivatʹ, vpityvatʹ, vsavyvatʹ, kuritʹ, obšivatʹ, obivatʹ, pokryvatʹ čem-l., provoditʹ liniju, čertitʹ, dergatʹ, svoditʹ, možžitʹ, nytʹ, (peren.) pritjagivatʹ, tjanutʹ, vlečʹ, klonitʹ, (peren.) tjanutʹ, sklonjatʹ k čemu-l., (razg.) vytjanutʹ, stegnutʹ, hlestnutʹ') (Chuv), *turt-*, *tort-* 'tjanutʹ, pritjagivatʹ, tjanutʹ (o trube), tjanutʹ k čemu-libo, dergatʹ, vydergivatʹ, vytaskivatʹ, odernutʹ, dratʹ (za volosy), udaritʹ, vytjanutʹ, dergatʹ (o boli), vtjagivatʹ, peretjanutʹ, obtjagivatʹ, zatjagivatʹ, podvinutʹ, vezti, taščitʹ etc.' (ChuvA), *turt-* Szp. id. 'húzni, vonni; ziehen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tart-* 'tjanutʹ, dergatʹ, dernutʹ kogo-čto-l., privlekatʹ, privlečʹ, prelʹščatʹ, prelʹstitʹ, manitʹ, pritjagivatʹ (k sebe), privlekatʹ, privlečʹ, prizyvatʹ, prizvatʹ (k otvetu), vovlekatʹ, vovlečʹ kogo-l. vo čto-l., privlekatʹ, privlečʹ kogo-l. (k učastiju v rabote), vesitʹ, tjanutʹ, tjanutʹ, obladatʹ tjagoj, bytʹ pohožim' (Tat), *tart-* 'yaratu, yakïn kürü, yakïn itü; ljubitʹ, sčitatʹ blizkim', *tart-* 'üzeŋä alu; bratʹ na sebja', *tart-* 'yolku; terebitʹ') (TatD1), *tart-*: *su tart-* 'su čigaru, bratʹ vodu – iz kolodca' (TatD1), *tïrt-* 'totu; deržatʹ') (TatD1), *tart-* 'öyü, bäräŋge töben öyü; okučivatʹ kartošku', *tart-* 'ečü; pitʹ') (TatD2), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (TatMR), *tart-* 'húzni, vonni, elbírni, nyomni; ziehen, tragen, können' (TatB), *tart-* 'tjanutʹ, taščitʹ, voločitʹ čto, dergatʹ, natjagivatʹ, potjagivatʹ kogo-čto, imetʹ tjagu, tjanutʹ (o dymohode, trube), napravljatʹsja, dvigatʹsja kuda-l., v kakuju-l. storonu, tjanutʹ, privlekatʹ čʹe-l. vnimanie, pritjagivatʹ, manitʹ kogo, bytʹ pohožim na kogo, uroditʹsja v kogo, vesitʹ, tjanutʹ, kuritʹ, krasitʹ, podvoditʹ (brovi, resnicy), pritjagivatʹ čto, podergivatʹsja (o glazah, brovjah i t.p.), (peren.) priznavatʹ, podderživatʹ kogo (obyčno rodstvennikov), (peren.) vytjagivatʹ, vbiratʹ, vpityvatʹ, (peren., razg.) hlestnutʹ, vytjanutʹ knutom' (Bashk), *tart-* 'húzni, szívni' (BashkP), *tart-* 'tartu; tjanutʹ; ülčäü; vzvešivatʹ', *tartu* 'gerneŋ avïrlïgï, ves giri, büläk; podarok' (SibTat), *tart-* 'natjagivatʹ (luk, povodʹja), vejatʹ (zerno)' (SibTatBD), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (SibTatBR, SibTatTR), *tart-* 'tjanutʹ, taščitʹ, vozitʹ, podavatʹ ugoščenie, (ust.) podnositʹ, daritʹ (vyšestojaščemu ili v vozmeščenie pričinennogo uščerba), kastrirovatʹ (putem perekručivanija semjaprovodov), (točnee *tarazaga tart-*) vzvešivatʹ, otvešivatʹ, igratʹ (na duhovom instrumente), molotʹ (zerno), dvigatʹsja, napravljatʹsja, kuritʹ ili zakladyvatʹ v rot tabak, namazyvatʹ, prikladyvatʹ, prinimatʹ kakoj-l. cvet, vid, kakuju-l. formu, stanovitʹsja kakogo-l. cveta, vida, kakoj-l. formy, priobretatʹ kakoj-l. ottenok, priobretatʹ kakie-l. kačestva, ispityvatʹ, pereživatʹ, podvergatʹsja čemu-l., udatʹsja, uroditʹsja v kakogo-l., (s predšestv. dat. p.) privlekatʹ, podražatʹ komu-l., sledovatʹ čʹemu-l. primeru, raspologatʹsja vdolʹ čego-l., raspologatʹ, rastjagivatʹ, izo-

bražat′, sdavat′ (karty), (v forme deepr. proš. ili nastr. vr. i s predšestv. ish. p.) ot, s, načinaja ot' (Kirg), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (KirgR), *tart-* 'to drag, to pull, to haul, to drag out, to be a carrier, etc.' (Kaz), *tart-* 'tjanut′, taščit′, verbovat′, zaverbovat′, razmolotit′, podarit′, kurit′' (KazB), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (KazR), *tart-* 'tjanut′, natjagivat′, taščit′, dergat′, natjagivat′, protjagivat′, pritjagivat′, vleč′, privlekat′ (k sebe), prel′ščat′, manit′, privlekat′ (k otvetstvennosti), obladat′ tjagoj, tjanut′, vzvešivat′, vovlekat′, privlekat′ (k učastiju v kakoj-l. rabote, dejatel′nosti), molot′ (muku), igrat′ (na muzikal′nom instrumente), kurit′, imet′, prinimat′ vid, formu, ottenok, ispytyvat′, pereživat′, zastupat′sja za kogo-l., deržat′ č′ju-l. storonu, podhodit′, byt′ pohožim, dvinut′sja, otpravit′sja, (peren.) tjanut′, (voen.) stroit′sja, vyrovnjat′ (rjady), ohvatit′, kastrirovat′ (tol′ko barana i kozla), klonit′ tjanut′ (ko snu), zarezat′, rasterzat′' (Kklp), *tart-* 'tjanut′, dergat′, natjagivat′, protjagivat′, rastjagivat′, privlekat′, pritjagivat′, prel′ščat′, manit′, vleč′, privlekat′, prizyvat′ (k otvetstvennosti), vesit′, tjanut′, vovlekat′, privlekat′ (k učastiju, dejatel′nosti), tjanut′, obladat′ tjagoj (o trube, dymohode), (razg.) stegat′, hlestat′, igrat′, pohodit′, byt′ pohožim, prinimat′ formu, priobretat′ ottenok, vejat′, tjanut′, klonit′, tjanut′ (ko snu), (razg.) nemnogo vypit′ (spirtnogo)' (Nog), *tart-* 'tjanut′, vtjagivat′, privlekat′, (dial.) vzvešivat′, (dial.) molot′ (zerno)' (CrTat), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (CrTatR), *tart-* 'tjanut′, taščit′, pritjagivat′, rasstavljat′ (seti), molot′, delat′ pyšnym, protjagivat′ ruku, prosit′, trubit′' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tart-* 'tjanut′, taščit′, natjagivat′, vytjagivat′, privlekat′ (k otvetu, k otvetstvennosti), vzvešivat′, molot′, kurit′, privlekat′ (na svoju storonu), vovlekat′ vo čto-l., privlekat′ k učastiju v čem-l.' (Kum), *tart-* 'húzni, vonni, vezetni, indítani, rábírni, összehúzni; ziehen, führen, bewegen, überreden, zusammenziehen' (KumN), *tart-* 'tjanut′ (tž. peren.), taščit′, natjagivat′ čto, dergat′ čto, gresti, idti na veslah, pit′ čto, vypivat′, privlekat′ kogo k čemu, vovlekat′ kogo vo čto, vesit′, čertit′ čto, molot′, razmel′čat′ čto, bit′ kogo čem, (kart.) razdavat′ čto, kosit′ čto, pritjagivat′ kogo-čto, uvlekat′sja čem, (peren.) nesti, vezti čto' (KrchBlk), *tart-* 'ziehen' (KrchP), *tart-* 'ziehen, leiten, führen, wiegen, ein Gewicht haben' (BlkP); ***SW*** *tart-* 'tjanut′, natjagivat′, (razg.) zatjanut′sja (napr.) papirosoj', *dart-* 'tjanut′, taščit′, natjagivat′, dergat′' (Tkm), *tart-* 'tjanut′' (TkmD), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (TkmR), *dart-* 'dergat′, tjanut′, sdergivat′, sdernut′, kačat′, vykačivat′, vytjagivat′, rastjagivat′' (Az), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (AzR), *tart-* 'to weigh, to ponder in the mind, to estimate deliberately and maturely, to weigh up (person)' (Tt), *dart-* 'çekmek, asılmak' (TtD1), *dart-* 'el değirmeninde bir şey çekmek, öğütmek' (TtDA), *tart-* 'wägen, erwägen, bedenken', *dart-* 'abwägen' (TtR), *dart-* 'dergat′, vyryvat′, vyhvatyvat′, nadevat′, povjazyvat′ platok' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tort-* 'tjanut′, taščit′, natjagivat′, protjagivat′, vozit′, tjanut′, taščit′, pritjagivat′, vtjagivat′, tjanut′, vzvešivat′, natjagivat′, nadevat′, privlekat′, vovlekat′, ispytyvat′, čuvstvovat′, podavat′, podnosit′, darit′, molot′ (zerno), ubavljat′, (him., teh.) peregonjat′, kurit′, (v sočetanii s ime-

nami obrazuet složnye (sostavnye) glagoly)' (Uzb), *tart-* 'to draw, to pull, to subtract, to bend (a bow), to weigh, to grain, to fasten, to stretch' (TurkiJ), *tart-* 'to draw, to pull, to draw out, to weigh' (TurkiSh), *tait-*, *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, sobirať, carapať, ispytyvať neprijatnosti' (TurkiL), *tart-*, *tāt-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (TurkiTR), *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, voločiť, voziť, podtjagivať, pritjagivať, natjagivať, rastjagivať, dergať, etc.' (MUyg), *tāt-*, *tā-*, *ta'-*, *tā'-*, *ta't-*, *tat-* 'tjanuť, taščiť'' (Sal), *ɒat'ə-*, *ɒ'atə-* 'tirer, retirer' (SalK ← Mo), *t'arta-*, *tarta-* 'taščiť, otnimať, vyryvať', *ta'rt-*, *tař't-*, *t'ař't-* 'taščiť, izvlekať, tjanuť'' (YUyg), *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť'', *tarta-* 'otnjať, vzjať (iz pesni)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tart-* 'tjanuť, natjagivať, vystakivať, taščiť'' (Alt), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (AltR, AltLR, AltQKR), *tart-* 'taščiť, tjanuť, natjanuť'' (AltL), *tart-* 'tjanuť, dernuť, otkryvať, igrať, duť, igrať na duhovom instrumente', *dart-* 'protjanuť'' (AltQK), *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, stjagivať, staskivať, zasučiť (rukava, brjuki), podtjagivať, tjanuť za povod, igrať na muzykal'nom instrumente, kuriť'' (AltTK), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (AltTKR, AltTelR, AltTölR), *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť kogo-čto-l., natjagivať čto-l., dergať čto-l., voziť kogo-čto-l., vesiť, dvigať, otodvigať čto-l. etc.' (Khak), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (KhakAR), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (KhakQR, KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR, ChulR), *dart-* 'to pull' (FY), *tïrt-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, voločiť, (peren.) vzimať (nalog), stjagivať, svodiť sudorogoj, snimať, zasnjať, kuriť, propuskať čerez mjasorubku (mjaso)' (Tuv), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (TuvSR), *tï˝rt-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, natjagivať, vzimať (nalog), kuriť, propuskať čerez mjasorubku, idti na ubyl' (o polovod'e)' (Tof), *tart-* 'ziehen, fortziehen, schleppen' (TofKR); ***Y*** *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, vleč', privlekať, vtjagivať, ottjagivať, rastjagivať, stjanuť, skrutiť čem, stjagivať, etc.' (Y), *tart-* 'tjanuť, taščiť, svodiť sudorogoj, nevodiť, molotiť (hleb), razryvať' (YS), *tart-* 'ziehen, spannen, Saiten anschlagen, liefern, herbeiholen' (Dlg), *tart-* 'ziehen etc.' (DlgS).

Mo *tata-* 'to draw, pull, drag, twitch, stretch, attract, draw (a line), to install something long, to play (a musical instrument), to inhale, to chop or grind (e.g. meat)' (L).

E/T In Chuv, we find two reflexes of the PT verb *tart-*. The first one is *tït-* with the regular change *a* > *ï* and the disappearance of *r* before *t*. Palló (1982: 178) correctly concluded that this is tied to the H form. The second is an early copy fr a VKip lg. The T verb, which can be considered as the etymon for the H verb, displays a very broad semantic field. Clauson (1972: 534) thought that it is a simplex. Bang (1925: 238, cited by Sevortjan) attempted to trace T *tart-* back to a form **tar-ït-*, which could, in his view, be a cognate of *tar* 'narrow'. Erdal's opinion is not very clear. He did not provide any segmentation for *tart-* to show that it may be a der formed by the caus suff -(*X*)*t-*; however, having discussed the verbal form *tart-ït-* (1991: 787), he remarked, "I take *tart-ït-* not to be a passive but a double causative".

According to Clauson, one of the oldest meanings of T *tart-* could have been 'to weigh'. The semantic diversity of the T verb is well characterised by the fact that Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 154–156) listed 25 headings to cover its many meanings. It is worth noting that the H verb *tart-* shows almost the same diversity (see Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1487 and **E/H**).

The basic form of the T verb was reconstructed by Ščerbak (1970: 197) as **tart-* 'taščit'. Ramstedt (1935: 383–384) attempted to tie T *tart-* to Tu *tana-* (< ? *tarna*) and to Mo *tata-* (< ? *tarta-*). His effort was based on partially erroneous data and rightly refuted by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 437). Doerfer's opinion was dismissed by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1367) without any arguments. According to them, one has to reconstruct PA **tert'a-* 'to pull' for the following "Altaic" reconstructions: PTu **derde-* 'tag (of boots), rowlock, thole', PMo **tata-* 'to pull' and PT **dart-* 'to pull, to hang'. They did not include Chuv *tĭt-*, which they compared with T *tut-* 'to grasp'. Regardless of the semantic problems, the reconstruction of the Tu form cannot be deemed acceptable, because it is based on one single Man word *derdexun* 'uho, uško (u sapog i bašmakov) [with the help of which one can pull up and off one's boots]'. It is interesting that the /r/ is absent in Mo as it is in Chuv: ? PT **tartă-* > WOT **tată-* (→ Mo *tata-*) > Chuv *tĭt-*. Räsänen (1969: 466) mentioned Finn *tarttu-* and Mord *targa-* among the exterior etymological parallels of T *tart-*. The T verb was borrowed into Cher and Voty (see Fedotov (1996/2: 254)). On some ders of T *tart-* 'natjagivat', see Tenišev (2001: 551).

E/H Some H authors endeavour to distinguish three different H verbs, *tart-*[1] 'to hold', *tart-*[2] 'to hold back', *tart-*[3] 'to last', which converged. The new H explanatory dict (Pusztai 2003: 1312) differentiated 19 different meaning groups, some of them with three or four subgroups. Benkő (1993-1997/2: 1487) covered the H word in 24 different semantic groups. As we can see, the T counterpart of the word in question likewise demonstrates a very broad semantic field.

Vámbéry (1870: 178) compared H *tart-* with Chag *tart-*. Budenz (1873: 72, 111) did not accept Vámbéry's etymology and later (1873–1881: 184–186; 1884a: 224) considered the H verb to be of Ugr origin fr the base **tar-*. Vámbéry (1885a: 27, 38, 62; 1914: 212) refuted Budenz's position and argued in favour of his earlier T etymology. According to Bárczi (1941: 303) and then B. Lőrinczy (1953: 184), this verb is of unknown der. Palló (1959: 243–245) thought that the H verb *tart-* 'halten' may be an old caus form which should be separated fr T *tart-* 'ziehen' and *tut-* 'fassen'. The basic verb of the T etymon could be *tĭd-* 'verhindern'. According to Rédei (1963: 160–165), the FUgr etymology of H *tart-* is acceptable. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 616) regarded the FUgr starting point as uncertain. Schütz (1976a: 605–619) provided a detailed analysis of the semantic field of T *tart-*. One of the meanings is 'to pull back, to keep the bridle firm, to draw in the reins' etc. and the Hungarians copied this fr the T lg

when they learnt a more sophisticated form of horsemanship. Palló (1982: 177–179, 180–182) separated two verbs, *tart-*[1] 'halten' and *tart-*[2] 'hindern', the second going back to T **tïd-* 'to obstruct, to restrain'. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 858–860), H *tart-* is of debated origin, however it may perhaps be an early inheritance fr the FUgr period. Later, he (1993–1997/2: 1487) claimed that H *tart-* '(Dienst) verrichten, amten, fassen, (fest)halten, stützen, befestigen, bei sich behalten, aufbewahren, in Erinnerung behalten, anhalten, hindern' etc. is of unknown origin. Even though he thought the FUgr etymology of the verb presents some serious problems, however this does not imply that the OT source of the verb is acceptable. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *tart-* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 178; Budenz 1873: 72, 111; Budenz 1873–1881: 184–186; Budenz 1884a: 224; Vámbéry 1885a: 27, 38, 62; Vámbéry 1914: 212; Bang 1925: 238; Ramstedt 1935: 383–384; Bárczi 1941: 303; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 123; B. Lőrinczy 1953: 184; Gáldi 1955: 201; Palló 1959: 243–245; Rédei 1963: 160–165; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 437; Egorov 1964: 260; Lewy 1966: 265; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 616; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 858–860; Räsänen 1969: 466; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 534–535; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 154–156; Rédei–Róna-Tas 1975: 35; Schütz 1976a: 605–619; Palló 1982: 177–182; Erdal 1991: 787; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1487; Róna-Tas 1994: 106; Fedotov 1996/2: 254; Ščerbak 1997: 154; Tenišev 2001: 551; Pusztai 2003: 1312; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1367.

TARVARJÚ 'rook, *Corvus frugilegus*' see **tar**.

TATÁR [tåtār] 'Tatar' | 1181/1288 ? PN *Tatar* [tåtār], 1322 GN *Tatar* [tåtār], 1505 *thatharros* [tåtār-roš] | *tåtār* < *tatar* ⟵ WOT **tatar* | EOT, MT *tatar* 'name of an ethnic group'.

OT *otwz tatar* 'thirty Tatars' (RMKT E 4, RMBilg E 5, ? RMTes E 3), *toqwz tatar* 'Nine Tatars' (RMTerh S 4, RMTerh N 2, 4, RMShin E 1, 3), *tatār* 'a tribe of the Turks' (AK); **MT** *tatar* 'Tartar' (AGul), *tatar* 'tatar' (ANehF), *tatar* 'Tatarin, sob. i. strany Tatarii na sever ot Kitaja' (AChagBud), *Tātār* 'Tatar, Tartary' (AChagG), *tātār* 'tatar(y)' (AChagLN), *tatar* 'die Bewohner der Gegend im Norden von China' (AChagR), *tatar* 'Tartar' (AChagS), *tatar* 'bir qabile ismidir' (AChagŠS), *tatar* 'Name dessen Stammes und Landes' (AChagZ), *tatar* 'Tatare, tatarisch' (LCCG), *tatar* 'tatar kavmi' (AAH), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (AmD), *tatar* 'a Tatar' (AmCh), *tatar* 'Tatar' (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tutar* 'tatarin, tatarskij, tatarskij kraj, Tatarija' (Chuv), *tutar*, *totar* 'tatarin, musul′manin' (ChuvA), *tutar* Szp. id. 'tatár; ein Tatare' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Tat), *tatar* 'öylängän ir keše, yeget tügel; ženatyj čelovek, mužčina', **tatar*: *tatarïm* 'iptäšem, irem; moj muž' (TatD1), *tatar* 'nikaxlï, öylängän keše; ženatyj; ir; mužčina' (TatD2), *tatar* 'tatár; Tatar' (TatB), *tatar* 'die umgesiedelten Tataren des östlichen Russlands (die getauften Tataren nennen so stets ihre mohammedanischen Volksgenossen, die Mohammedaner nennen sich nur selten Tataren, sondern stets Muselmanen, nur ihre Sprache nennen die Mohammedaner und getauften Tataren *tatar tïlï*)' (TatKR), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Bashk), *tatar*

'tatár [Tatar]' (BashkP), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatary' (SibTatBD), *tatar* 'tatarin' (RKirg), *tatar* 'Tatar' (Kaz), *tatarlar* 'tatary' (KazB), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarka, tatarskij' (Nog), *tatar* 'tatarin' (CrTat), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatary' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Kum), *tatar* 'tatarskij' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Tkm), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Az), *Tatar* 'Tatar, the Tatars', *Tatari* 'Tatar, pertaining to the Tatars' (Tt ← Pe), *tatar* 'die Bewohner der Gegend im Norden von China, der Courrier, die Estafette, der Vorreiter' (TtR), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Gag); ***Kh*** cf. *tāt* 'Bezeichnung für die persische Sprache' (T *ta·t* 'Perser') (Kh); ***SE*** *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Uzb), *tatar* 'tatarin' (MUyg), cf. *t'at*, *tař't* 'tangut; tibetec' (YUyg), ? cf. *tat* – tangut 'tibetec' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tatar* 'tatarin' (RAlt), *tadar* 'tatarin, tatarskij' (Khak), *tadar* 'tatarin' (KhakB), *tatar* 'tatarin, tatarka, tatarskij' (Tuv), *tataar* 'tatarin' (RTof); ***Y*** *tatār* 'tatarin' (Y).

Mo *tatar* 'Tartars, Tartary', *tatari* 'tax, duty' (L).

E/T In most of the T lgs, the word is of Rus origin, its meaning having changed since the time of the Golden Horde. The ethnonym *tatar* first occurred in the EOT inscriptions. The database above presents only a small collection. Generally, the word comes up with the numerals *tokuz* 'nine' or *otuz* 'thirty', denoting the tribal confederations 'Nine Tatars' and 'Thirty Tatars', resp. Kashgari wrote that *Tatar* denotes a T tribe with its own language in addition to T. The ethnic name *tatar* is also known in the early Mo sources. The ethnonym formed with the Sl suff appeared as *tatarin* (cf. Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 27). The name was connected with the ethnonym *Tat*, but this and other etymologies prove dubious. On the distribution of this name, see de Rachewiltz (1996: 199–210).

E/H Who it is exactly that the Hungarians called *Tatar* is a historical question. The name appears in H documents before the Mo invasion of Hungary in 1241/1242. It first occurs in a document written in 1181 which has remained to us in a transcription fr the 14th c. Here a certain person named *Tatar* is noted among the bondsmen of the monastery at the River Szamos (Fehértói 2004: 740). The next case is fr 1201 in a transcription fr 1227. Perhaps those mentioned here were fugitives fr the East. Later, during and after the Mo invasion, *Tatar* was the word for the Mongols. A certain Johannis *Thartari*/*Tatar* is then named in 1261 and 1274, as is his son in 1295. During the Ott occupation (16th–17th c.), the word referred to the CrTat allies of the Ottomans. According to Bárczi (1941: 303–304), the ethnic name *tatár* is beyond doubt of T origin. Gombocz (1960: 13) claimed that *Tatar* originally denoted one part of the Mo people or some of their tribes. As shown by Benkő (1967–1984/3: 865; 1993–1997/2: 1489), the name *tatár* is a widespread international word. In the Western European lgs, it occurs with a secondary epenthetic *-r-* under the influence of Lat *Tartarus* 'hell'. It could have been borrowed fr the T lgs, however it may ultimately go back

to Mo *tatari* ‘stutterer’. Benkő claimed that the H word may be a lw fr the Cum lg. Ligeti (1986) did not discuss *tatár* among the T lws in H.

◆ Alexics 1890: 407, 410; Melegdi 1916: 10–11; Kertész 1924: 51; Beke 1927: 61–63; Bartucz 1928: 93–94; Bárczi 1941: 303–304; Csefkó 1944: 21–24; Gombocz 1960: 13; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 433–434; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 27; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 865; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1489; de Rachewiltz 1996: 199–210; Fehértói 2004: 740.

TÁTORJÁN [tātoryān] ‘name of several kinds of plants, e.g. *Anemosphoros*, *Bunias orientalis*, *Napus*, *Crambe tatarica*; storm wind’, **tatrang** [tåtrång] id. | 1553 PN *Tatorian* [tātoryān], c1577 *tatoryan* [tātoryān] | *tātoryān* < **tāturyan* < **taturγan* ⟵ WOT **taturgan* or *tåtrång* < **tatrang* ⟵ WOT **tatraŋ* | T *tatïran*, *tatran*, *tatraŋ* < *tatïr* ‘(salt) steppe’ {with suff *+gAn* or *+An* or *+Aŋ*, resp}.

OT *tatïġlïġ* ‘having a pleasant taste’ (UXuangzangIndex), *tatïġ* ‘Speise, Geschmack’ (UTTI 187), *tat-* ‘schmecken (tr)’ (UTTVI 174, 176), *tat-* ‘schmecken’: *tatïr* ‘schmeckt’ (tāttir̲ – tā tti r̲) (BI 6), *tatïg* ‘Geschmack’, *tatïgïg* (acc) (tātigig – tā ti gi g) (BG 68), *tatï-* ‘be tasty’: *aš aġïzda tatīdï* ‘the food in the mouth was tasty’, *tātïġ* ‘pleasant (taste)’, *tatur-*, *tātur-*: *män aŋar aš taturdum* ‘I had him taste the food’, *taturġān*: *bu är ol aš taturġān* ‘this is a man who habitually feeds (guests or others)’, *tatïr* ‘steppe’: *tatïr yēr* ‘steppe’, *tatïrlaġ yēr* ‘smooth, hard ground’, *tatïrqu yēr* ‘with scanty vegetation (land)’ (AK); **MT** *tatïġ* ‘tat’, *tatur-* ‘tattırmak’ (UY), *tatlï* ‘sweet, tasty, savoury’, *tat-* ‘to taste, experience’ (AGul), *tatur-* ‘tattırmak’, *tatlïġ* ‘tatlı’ (AHMA), *tatlï*, *tatlïġ* ‘słodki’, *tatut-* ‘dać spróbować, dać skosztować’ (AHŠ), *tat-* ‘otvedaťˊ, probovaťˊ na vkus, vkušaťˊ, ispytyvaťˊ’, *tatï-* ‘probovaťˊ na vkus’, *tatïġ* ‘vkus’ (AHŠF), *tat* ‘lezzet, dilin duyduğu his’, *tatlïġ* ‘lezzetli’, *tat-* ‘ağızla bir şeyin tadını duymak’ (AIMI), *tatlu* ‘sweetmeats’, *ṭaṭlïġ* ‘tasty’ (AKD), *tat-* ‘to taste’, *tatlïġ* ‘grateful to taste, tasting well, pleasant’ (AKor), *tatlï* ‘sladkij’ (AM), *tat-* ‘otvedaťˊ, probovaťˊ na vkus, vkušaťˊ, ispytyvaťˊ’ (ANehF), *tat-* ‘probovaťˊ na vkus, vkušaťˊ, ispytyvaťˊ’, *tatïġ* ‘vkus’ (ATef), *tatïġ* ‘tat’, *tatur-* ‘tattırmak’ (AYC), *tat* ‘saveur’ (AChag), *tatlïġ* ‘tatlu’, *tatur-* ‘tatdurmak’ (AChagAbA), *tatlïġ* ‘édes [sweet]’ (AChagAbV), *tat-* ‘otvedyvaťˊ, probovaťˊ’ (AChagB), *tattar-*, *tattur-* ‘megízleltetni, kóstoltatni [have somebody taste or try something]’ (AChagBL), *tatlu* ‘sweet’ (AChagG), *tatir* ‘geschmackvoll, saftig’ (AChagR), *tat* ‘Geschmack’ (AChagŠSK), *tatïr* ‘wohlschmeckend, süss’ (AChagZ), *tatlï* ‘süss’, *tatov* ‘Geschmack, Wohlgeschmack’, *tatïr-* ‘schmecken lassen’ (LCCG), *tatlï* ‘süss’, *tatïġ* ‘Geschmack, Wohlgeschmack’, *tatïġlï* ‘schmackhaft’ (LCCI), *tat* ‘tatlıda olan tat, birşeyin tadı’, *tatlu* ‘tatlı’, *tat-* bugünkü manasında (AAH), *ṭaṭlï* ‘doux’ (ADur), *ṭaṭ* ‘Geschmack’, *ṭaṭ-* ‘kosten’ (AHou), *tat-* ‘ízlel; kosten (eine Speise)’, *tatlï su* ‘édes víz; Süsswasser’ (AKav), *ṭaṭ* ‘vkus’, *ṭaṭ-* ‘probovaťˊ (na vkus), otvedyvaťˊ’, *ṭaṭlï* ‘vkusnyj, prijatnyj, presnyj’ (ATuh), *tatlï* ‘tatlı’, *tat-* ‘tatmak’ (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** *tută* ‘vkus, vkusovoj, (razg.) zapah’ (Chuv), *tută*, *totă* ‘vkus’ (ChuvA), *tutan-* ‘ízlelni, kóstolni; schmecken,

kosten', *tutlă* Szp. id. 'édes, ízletes, jóízű; süss, schmackhaft' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tat* 'vkus', *tatlï* 'sladkij prjam., peren., očen′ vkusnyj, sladko, očen′ vkusno', *tat-* 'probovat′, poprobovat′, otvedyvat′, otvedat′, otdavat′ čem-l., imet′ privkus, imet′ postoronnij zapah, (peren.) izvedat′, pereživat′, perežit′, perenosit′, perenesti' (Tat), *tatlï* 'tämle, läzzätle, yaxšï; prijatnyj', ? **tatïr*: *tatïrlï* 'katï – su turïnda; žestkaja – o vode' (TatD1), ? *tatïr* 'täm; vkus; katï, tozlï – su turïnda; žestkaja, solenaja – o vode' (TatD2), *tat* 'édesség, íz; Süssigkeit, Geschmack', *tat-*, *tatï-* 'ízlelni, kóstolni; schmecken, kosten' (TatB), *tatïr* 'soloncy, soloncovyj, (dial.) mutnyj, (dial.) nakip′, osadok, (dial.) nezamerzajuščij rodnik, rečka', *tatïrlan* ' (bot.) soleros', *tat* 'sladost′, vkus' (Bashk), *tat* 'täm, tatlï täm; vkus, sladost′' (SibTat), *tatlï* 'sladkij' (SibTatBD), *tatïraŋ* '(južn.) nazvanie gornogo travjanistogo rastenija' (Kirg), *tatïrauïn* 'steppe grass, prairie grass', *tat-* 'to try, to taste (food or drink), to sweeten, to have an aftertaste, to go bad' (Kaz), *tatïrauïn* 'rod rastenija, rastuščego na solončake, stepnaja trava' (KazB), *tatïr* 'die Salzsteppe (ohne Vegetation)' (KazR), *tat-*, *tatï-* 'probovat′ na vkus' (Kklp), *tatïran* '(bot.) hren' (Nog), *tatran* 'hren' (CrTat), *tatran* 'hren', *tatï-* 'byt′ vkusnym, byt′ sladkim, probovat′' (KarT, KarH), *tat* 'vkus' (KarSh), *tatïr* (dial) 'solončak' (Kum), *tatïran* 'gorčica', *tat-* (ust.) 'probovat′ čto na vkus, (peren.) poznavat′, ispytyvat′, vkušat′' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *dadran* '(bot.) katran, kapusta morskaja', *dāt* 'vkus, smak', *dāt-* 'probovat′ na vkus, otvedyvat′, poest′ nemnogo, (peren.) ispytyvat′, otvedyvat′' (Tkm), *tatran*, *dadran* 'katran, *Crambe Kotschyana*' (Tkm, Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 22, 14), *tatïran* 'nazvanie travy' (TkmD), *dad* 'vkus, privkus, vkusovoe ošuščenie', *dad-* 'vkušat′, isprobovat′, otvedat′ na vkus' (Az), *tatïran* 'ot adï, nazvanie travy': *tatïran otdan bäxšä mäniŋ bilän za:dïm yox* (AzD), *tat-* 'to taste, to try the taste of, to experience, to undergo', *tat* 'taste, flavour, relish, charm, sweetness' (Tt), *dat* 'tat' (TtD1), *dat* 'vkus, smak, vkusovoj', *tatlï* 'sladkij, (peren.) sladkij, prijatnyj, milyj, simpatičnyj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tatir* '(bot.) soljanka počkonosnaja', *tati-* 'pridavat′ vkus, (peren.) dostavljat′ udovol′stvie, ravnjat′sja, sootvetstvovat′, probovat′ na vkus, otvedyvat′, vkušat′, isprobovat′, (peren.) ispityvat′', *tåt* 'vkus, smak' (Uzb), *tat* 'taste', *tatï-*, *tætï-* 'to taste' (TurkiJ), *tati-* 'nravit′sja na vkus' (TurkiL), *tatliq* 'sladkij, vkusnyj, lakomyj, prijatnyj, sladko, vkusno, prijatno, sladost′, sladkoe' (MUyg), *tä'li*, *tä'lli*, *te'lli*, *t'ali*, *t'e'lli* 'sladkij, vkusnyj' (Sal), *tahli*, *ɒahˡie*, *tali* 'doux, savoureux, odorant' [Pot. *talď*] (SalK), *tatïg* 'sladkij, sladko' (YUyg), *tatïg*, *tattïg* 'sladkij' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tatu* 'sladost′, sladkij, sladko' (Alt), *tattu*, *tattïg* 'vkusnyj' (AltQK), *tat*(*t*)*ū*, *tatu* 'vkusnyj, sladkij', *tātu* 'vkusnyj' (AltTK), *tadï-* 'imet′ kakoj-l. vkus', *tadïg* 'vkus' (Khak), *dadïglïg* 'vkusnyj' (TuvD, Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 46–47); ***Y*** *tatïy-*, *tatay-* 'byt′ v zamětnom na vkus količestvě' (Y).

Mo *čačirgana*, *čičargana*, *čačargana* '*Hippophae rhamnoides* (a bush)' < ? **titargana* < **tatirgana*, cf. *čičigina* (SH).

E/T The H word is a copy of a T form *taturgan*. This word is present in some T lgs. The SW form is *tatïran*, *dadran* (< *tatïrgan*) 'name of plants with a special taste, such as mustard (KrchBlk) and horseradish (CrTat)'. In KazD, we find *tatïrauïn* 'rod rastenija, rastuščego na solončake, stepnaja trava' (KazB). T *tatïrgan* is a den der fr *tatïr* 'salt marsh'. The origin is more problematic. According to Clauson (1972: 458), the first element of the adj construction *tatïr yēr* 'a flat sown field' (or 'land free from salt') in the Kashgari compendium may be a simplex. Clauson thought that this word survived as *tatïr* in ModKaz and denoted 'salt marsh' "but may originally have meant, more generally, 'flat ground'". On the basis of Ramstedt's (1935: 385) remark, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1407) considered Kirg *tatïr* 'steppe' to be of Mo origin. This is, however, inscrutable because they reconstructed a PMo form **tačir* 'having scanty hair' which they linked to PT **tāt* (**tōt*) 'rust, rash'. T *tatïr* is a kind of salty or sodic steppe, and perhaps the word may be tied to *tat*(*ï*)- 'to taste'. The der, for the time being, remains unclear. Fr the base *tatïr* with the T suff +*Aŋ* (see Erdal 1991: 160–162), one can presume a form **tatïraŋ* which could have produced *tatraŋ* and *tatïran* (*tatran*). One can also assume a parallel der with +(*A*)*n* (cf. Erdal 1991: 91–92), however the function of the suff would be uncertain in this latter case. The der with the suff +*gAn* is most likely (cf. Erdal 1991: 85–89).

Under the entry *daday* 'užas, strah', Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 45) attempted to reconstruct a T verbal base **tat*- meaning 'perekisnuť, isportiťsja' and mentioned that this verb could be the base of the T word *tatïran* (cf. Nog *tatïran* 'hren'). This is less probable. On the PT reconstruction **dāt*- 'to taste, taste sweet, be tasty, to become accustomed to', see Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 397), who connect the Mo word *dadu*- (in fact *dad*-) 'to become accustomed to' with the T word, which is semantically impossible.

E/H The H plant-name *tátorján* '*Crambae tatarica*', which blooms in late May, has a snow white flower. There are also other names for it. One of them is *tatárgyökér*, i.e. 'Tatar root'. The root of the plant was eaten instead of bread in lean times. Certain other names of the plant are documented in the region of the H city Eger as *tatárka*, *tantária*, *radária* and *tatárkenyér*, i.e. 'Tatar bread'. The plant name *tatrang* is an independent copy of **tatïraŋ*.

The word *tátorján*, however, also denotes 'storm wind' in H. The Czuczor–Fogarasi dict (1862–1874/6: 145) considered H *tátorján* to be a modified form of *tataria*. Csapodi (1909: 427) took the same position. According to Simonyi (1900a: 137), however, the H word may be a lw fr Rom and the semantic connection of the plant name and the sense 'storm wind' may be based on an old popularly held belief. Beke (1932: 3) refuted Simonyi's assumption that the H word was borrowed fr Rom. According to Pais (1934b: 192), H *tátorján* 'storm wind' may go back to a T form which was formed fr the caus der T *tal*- 'ermüden, ermatten, in Ohnmacht

fallen, die Besinnung verlieren' with the suff *-gAn*. Later, Pais (1935c: 208) separated H *tátorján* 'storm wind' fr the H plant name *tátorján*. According to him, this latter word may come fr the T caus verb form *tatur-* 'to let somebody taste something' and it may be der fr it and formed with *-gAn*. According to Pais (1975b: 88–90), the T forms **taltïrgan*, **talturgan* 'storm wind' were borrowed into H. He thought that the word *talgag* 'storm wind' in Kashgari may also belong here. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 866) regarded the H word as being of uncertain origin, but he thought that it may be interrelated with the ethnonym *tatár*. Ligeti (1980a: 129–143) contended that the Lat name *tataria* represents a form of the H plant name *tátorján* that had been damaged somehow and does not denote the land of the Tatars. Ligeti did not agree with Pais, who attempted etymologically to separate the words *tátorján* as a plant name and *tátorján* 'storm wind'. He also rejected the etymology Pais proposed for the word denoting 'storm wind'. He suggested that the reconstructed word **taltïrgan* does not come up in the T lgs, that its proposed meaning is not known in T and that we do not know of any H word **taltorján*. According to him, *tátorján* is primarily a plant name and can only be linked to the *tátorján* wind to the extent that the wind may blow the dry plant away. Mo *tatraŋ* 'a plant with wide leaves and thick roots' may also be linked to the plant name (cf. also Taj *tātrān*, *tāterān*, etc.). Ligeti thought that the word may go back to T *tatïran* (< **tatïr-An*). In the T lgs, one cannot find the form **tatïrgan* and, despite the fact that T *tatïran* could have had a regular H corresponding form *tátorán*, Ligeti believed that *tátorján* appeared in the H lg under the influence of **bojtorján**. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1490), the plant name and the sense 'storm wind' may be interrelated. He was of the opinion that the word could have been borrowed into H fr a T lg and accepted Ligeti's view that the influence of the H word *bojtorján* may serve as an explanation for the *-r-* > *-rj-* change.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 145; Simonyi 1900a: 137; Csapodi 1909: 427; Beke 1932: 3; Pais 1934b: 192; Pais 1935c: 208; Ramstedt 1935: 385; Nikitin–Kerbabaev 1962: 14, 22; Egorov 1964: 263; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 866; Clauson 1972: 449–450; 458; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 162–164; Pais 1975b: 88–90; Ligeti 1980a: 129–143; Ligeti 1986: 202, 308; Erdal 1991: 85–89, 91–92, 160–162, 207, 525, 722; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1490; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 46–47; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 397, 1407.

TEKER [teker] 'to wind something round, to twist' | c1200 GN *Tekereu* [teker-ō̄], c1395 *thekerew* [teker-ō̄] | *teker-* < **teker-* ← WOT **täkir-* | EOT **tägir-* < *tägirmä* 'round, circular'.

OT *tägrä*: *tägrä tolï tägzinür* 'rollet er gefüllt (als Vollmond) (?) vom (Erd)boden (?) daher' (UChuas 10-11, LeCoq: unsicher), 'revolve round and round' (Clauson 1972: 485), *tŋri burxan tägräsintä… yügürür…* 'rings um den göttlichen Buddha herum' (UTT X 349-350), *tägirmi* 'round', *tägrä* 'surroundings', *tägzin-* 'to circulate' (UXuangzangIndex), *tägirmi* 'umgebend, ringsum': *tägirmi tam* 'Einfassungsmauer'

(UTTI 57), *tägrä* ‘um … herum’ (UTTI 60), *tägirmän* ‘Mühle’ (UTTVI 86), *tägirmi* ‘kreisförmig, ringsum’ (UTTVII 40:13), *täkräki* ‘umgebend’ (UUII 22:2), *tägrä* ‘circuit, rim’ of a thing, *quḏuġ tägräsi* ‘rim of a well’, *tägirmä nāŋ* ‘anything round’, such as a flatbread, a hand mill, or a dirham, tägräk ‘rim’ of anything. Thus: *quḏuġ tägräki* ‘rim of a well’, *tägirmān*: *tägirmān qoġuši* ‘millrace’ (AK); **MT** *tägirmi* ‘rond, en rond’ (UHyS), *tägirmän* ‘Mühle’ (UCivMi 29:3), *tägirmän* ‘mill’ (AGul), *tegirmi* ‘değirmi’, *tegre* ‘çevre, yöre’ (AHMA), *tegrä* ‘dookoła, w krąg, w koło’, *tikrä* ‘krąg, w krąg, dookoła’, *tägirmän* ‘młyn’ (AHŠ), *tägirmän* ‘mel′nica’ (AHŠF), *tegirmen* ‘mill’ (AKD), *tägrä* ‘round about, around’ (AKor), *tägirmän* ‘mel′nica’, *tägrä* ‘vokrug, krugom’ (ANehF), *tegirmän*, *tegrämän* ‘mill’, *tägirmi* ‘round’ (ARbg), *dägrä*, *tägrä* ‘krug, okrestnost′, vokrug, krugom’, *tägräki* ‘okružajuščij, okrestnyj’ (ATef), *teker* ‘rond, cercle’ (AChag), *tegrä* ‘surroundings, around’ (AChagAb), *tigre* ‘dâyire, etraf’, *tigirmen* ‘degirmen’ (AChagAbA), *tigre* ‘kör, körülötte valóság [circle, reality surrounding it]’, *tigirmen* ‘malom [mill]’ (AChagAbV), *degirmen* ‘malom [mill]’ (AChagBL), *tekirme* ‘kruglyj’ (AChagBud), *tegri* ‘kruglyj’ (AChagMA), *tegirme* ‘mudevver, degirme’, *tegrü-* ‘devirmek, döndürmek, çevirmek’ (AChagŠS), *tekrü-* ‘drehen’, *tekrük*, *tekürme* ‘rund’, *tikerček* ‘Rad, Kreis’, *tikirmen* (r: -g-) ‘Mühle’ (AChagŠSK), *tikerme* ‘rund’ (AChagZ), *tegirmä* (*tegirma*) ‘rund’, *tegirmän* (*tegirman*) ‘Mühle’, *teyrä* ‘Umgegend’ (LCCI), *täyirmä*: *täyirmä yüzlü* ‘değirmi, top yüzlü’, *täyirmän* ‘değirmen’ (AAH), *tegirmi taš* ‘değirmi taş’ (AAHI), *tägirmän* ‘młyn, moulin’ (ADur), *täyirmän* ‘Mühle’ (AHou), *tegirmi* ‘round’ (AMGh), (Tkm.) *dägirmän* ‘mel′nica’, *tiyirmän* id., *dägirmi* ‘kruglyj’, *tigräk* ‘kol′co, krug’ (ATuh), *degirmi* ‘değirmi’, *tigrek* ‘değre, toka’, *tögerik* ‘değre olan şey, değirmi, teker’ (ATuhA), *teker* ‘tekerlek, daire’ (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tavra* ‘vse vokrug, vse krugom, okrestnost′ i okrestnosti, okružajuščaja mestnost′, okruga, okružajuščie, blizležaščie selenija, kružnyj, obhodnyj, okol′nyj put′, krjuk (razg.)’ etc., ? *tavrăn-* ‘glagol dviženija, oboznačaet dejstvie v obratnom napravlenii – perevod zavisit ot sposoba peredviženija: vozvraščat′sja, pribyvat′, priezžat′, prihodit′ i t. p.’ (Chuv), *tavăr-* ‘vozvraščat′, vernut′, svernut′, perevoračivat′, zasučit′ (rukava), vyvoračivat′, vyvoračivat′ naiznanku’, *tavra* ‘krjuk (kružnoj put′, obhod), kruglyj, okrestnaja mestnost′, okružajuščee mesto, okrestnyj’ (ChuvA), *tavra* ‘körben, körül; rundherum, im Kreise’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tegermän* ‘mel′nica, mel′ničnyj’, *tägärmäč* ‘koleso, kolesnyj’, *tägärä-* ‘katit′sja (o kruglom predmete)’, *tägärä-* ‘katit′sja (o kruglom predmete)’ (Tat), *tirmän* ‘tegermän; mel′nica’, *tägärmi*, *tägärmäy* ‘tägärmäč; koleso’, *tägärcäk*, *täkermäč* ‘tägärmäč; koleso’ (TatD1), *tägärlä-* ‘tägäräü; katit′sja’, *tägärsäk*, *täkermäč* ‘tägärmäč; koleso’ (TatD2), *tägärä-* ‘hengeregni, gurulni; sich wälzen, rollen’, *tägärmäč* ‘kerék, kör; Rad, Kreis’, *tegermän* ‘malom; Mühle’, *tügärä-* ‘gurulni, gördülni, tekeregni; sich rollen, ringeln’, *tügäräk* ‘kerek, kör; Rund, Kreis’ (TatB), *tägärmäs* ‘koleso, kolesnyj’, *tirmän* ‘mel′nica, mel′ničnyj, ručnaja mel′nica’, *tüŋäräk* ‘krugly (o čem-l. ploskom),

polnyj i kruglyj (o lice čeloveka), kružok, krug, okružnosť, disk, kružok (organizacija)', *tügäräk* (dial.) id. (Bashk), *tägärek* 'tügäräk; krug, kruglyj', *tägärcek*, *tüŋgärcäk*, *tigärček* 'tägärmäč; koleso', *tigäräk* 'tirä-yak, äylänä; okružnosť, okrestnosť', *tägirmän*, *tirmän* 'tegermän; melʹnica' (SibTat), *tögäräk* 'koleso', *täŭirmäk* 'melʹnica', *tügäräk* 'kruglyj' (SibTatBD), *tögörök* 'krug', *tegerek* 'okružnosť, krug', *tegirmen* 'melʹnica', (talas.) *degirmen* id., *tegirčik* (južn.) 'koleso malenʹkoj telegi, nebolʹšoe koleso' (Kirg), *tegeršik* '(local) wheel' (Kaz), *töŋerek* 'okrestnosť, vokrug' (KazB), *dögörök* 'krug, kružok' (Kklp), *teger(šik)*, *tögerek* 'krug, kruglyj, vokrug, vid tanca' (Nog), *degirmen* 'melʹnica', *tögerek* 'krug, okružnosť, kruglyj, kružok, kružkovyj' (CrTat), *teger* 'koleso' (CrTatD, Tenišev 2001: 400), *tėgėr* 'koleso' (KarSh), *tėgerė* 'krug' (KarH), *dėgirmėn*, *tiyirmėn* 'melʹnica' (KarSh), *kiyėrmėn* 'melʹnica' (KarH), *tigirmenˊ* 'melʹnica' (KarT), *tiyirmˊanˊ* 'melʹnica, žernov' (KarT), *tiyėrmėn* 'melʹnica' (KarH), *tˊegˊarˊak* 'krug, okružnosť' (KarT), *togaraq* 'krug' (KarC), *tögėrėk* 'krug, podvižnyj, živoj' (KarSh), ? *dögerek* 'kruglyj, krug, (peren.) polnyj, tolstyj, tučnyj', *dögerčik* 'koleso' (Kum), *tögerek* 'krug (v razn. znač.) okružnosť, kruglyj, (sreda) okrestnosť, okruga, okružajuščee', *tirmen* 'melʹnica, melʹničnyj, (peren.) želudok, appetit' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *teker* '(razg.) koleso', *tigir* 'koleso, kolesnyj, špulʹka, špulečnyj, (prost.) velosiped, velosipednyj', *degirmen* 'melʹnica, tolčeja, melʹničnyj', *töverek* 'okrestnosť, okruga, sreda, okruženie, vokrug, krugom, okolo, približitelʹno, (mat.) okružnosť' (Tkm), *däyirman* 'melʹnica, melʹničnyj', *däyirmi* 'kruglyj', *täkär* 'koleso' (Az), *değirmi* 'round, circular' *teker* 'wheel, circular, round', *tekerlek* 'wheel (of a vehicle), round disk' (Tt), *değirmi* 'müdevver' (TtDA), *däyirmi* 'rund, der Kreis' (TtR), *teker*: *teker-teker* 'vrazvalku', *tekerlek* 'koleso, kolesnyj, krug (kolbasy, syra, provoloki)' (Gag), *dayirmạn*, *dägịrman*, *deyˈrmạn*, *därman*, *deirman*, *dẹyirmạn*, *dẹgirmạn*, *dẹgirman*, *dägirmän*, *dägˊirman*, *dērmạn* 'Mühle' (Khor); ***Kh*** *tẹịirmän*, *tẹirmän* 'Mühle' (T *tägɜrmän*) (Kh), *töyürmän* 'Mühle' (KhT); ***SE*** *tegra* '(knižn.) krugom, vokrug', *tevaraq* 'okružnosť, okruga, okrestnosť', *tegirmon* 'melʹnica, melʹničnyj', *tegarčak*, *tegarčik* 'obod (kolesa)' (Uzb), *tögüîmen* 'melʹnica' (TurkiL), *tügüräk* 'krug, kružok' (MUyg), *tärmän*, *termen* 'melʹnica' (Sal), *tėrmen*, *tėrmėn*, *Dėrmen*, *Dėrmėn* 'moulin' [Pot. *termen*] (SalK), *tegermenn̈ïġ* 'imejuščij melʹnicu' (YUyg), ? *tegurmo* 'pjatno na lbu u žertvennogo životnogo', *tegïrmo* 'krugloe pjatno osoboj šersti u lošadi', *tegermen* 'melʹnica' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tēr-* 'kružitʹ, obʺezžatʹ krugom, letatʹ krugom, paritʹ v vozduhe', *tērmen* 'melʹnica', *tegerik* 'krug, okružnosť, kruglyj, obodšamanskogo bubna' (Alt), *tērbe*, *tērben*, *tērmen*, *terben*, *terbin* 'melʹnica', *tegilek*, *teglek* 'kružok' (AltQK), *tegerek* 'der Kreis, der Ring' (AltTelR), *teglek* 'krug, okružnosť, kruglyj', *terpek* 'koleso, kruglyj, ovalʹnyj', *terben* 'melʹnica, melʹničnyj' (Khak), *tigĭlek* 'koleso, kruglyj' (KhakS), *teger-* 'kružitʹsja, opisyvatʹ krug', *tögerik* 'kruglyj, krug, (ust.) rublʹ, denʹgi, tugrik' (← Mo), *dērbek* 'kolʹco (železnoe), obruč, krug', *dērbe* 'melʹnica' (Tuv), *tō̆rey* 'kruglyj (o čem-libo ploskom)', *tērme* 'melʹnica',

dērbek ‘podveska (pojasnaja)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *tägil*, *tögül* ‘očereď, porjadok, raz’, *tägiliy-*, *tägäliy-* ‘delať krug, obhodiť krugom’, *tägiriy-* ‘vysoko, kružaś, voshodjaščim (krugoobrazno podymajuščimsja) solncem’, *tiäriy-* ‘valjať sja leža, valjať sja s boku na bok’, *tögür* ‘okružnosť, okruglennosť’, *tögürük*, *tügürük* ‘kruglyj, krug, krjuk puti, šar, čaša, miska’ (Y), *tier-* ‘perevoračivať, vyvoračivať’, *tüörem* (*poet.*) ‘kruglyj (o kopyte lošadi)’ (YS), *tiär-* ‘das Innere nach außen kehren, die innere Seite herauskehren’, *tögürük* ‘rund, kreisförmig, krumm, nach oben gebogen’ (Dlg), *tögürük*, *tögörük* ‘rund, kreisförmig, halbkreis-förmiges Glasperlenornament’, *tögürüy-* ‘im Kreis gehen, um-/herumgehen’ (DlgS).

Mo *tögürig* ‘circle, disk, circular, round, a “tughrik”, monetary unit of the M.P.R.’, *tegerm-e* ‘mill’, *tekere-*, *tekeri-* ‘to return, go back’ (L).

E/T The origin of the H word *teker-* is a WOT form **täkir-*. Forms with *-k-* can be found in some Chag sources and in AOtT. The ModT lgs contain forms in which the *-k-* is a variant or a dial feature (Tat, Tkm, Tt). This *-k-* is only present in Chuv in the word *tĕkĕr* ‘zerkalo’ (see H **tükör**). In some cases, the first vowel is labialized (**tögir-*), in others the *-g-* disappeared (*tēr-*). Some lgs changed the word to **tevi-*.

Clauson (1972: 485) reconstructed a T verb **tägir-*, which could have been the base of the adv der *tägrā̆* (*d-*) ‘(all) around’, which is known as of the oldest T documents (cf. RMTon 8: *bodwn bogzï tok ärdi yagïmïz tägrä wčwk täg ärdi* ‘the throat of the *bodun* was satisfied. Our enemies around were [dispersed] as chaff’ (on details see **ocsú**). As it Erdal (1991: 537) observed *tägrä* is the converb of **tägir-*. Clauson (1972: 485), however, thought that the noun *tägräk* may be the dim form *tägrā̆*: cf. *tägräk* ‘the rim of anything’. Hence, one says *kuḏug tägräkī* ‘the rim of a well’ (AK) and *tegräk* ‘ring, circle’ (ATuh); in the latter source also contains *tögärik* ‘mudawwar; circular’ (ATuh). This explanation, however, is not very likely. Another der of *tägrā̆* may be a relatively rarely documented word in the OT sources, formed with the suff *+kI*: *tägräkī* ‘in the neighbourhood of’ (Clauson 1972: 486). A widespread der is *tägirmā̆*, *tägirmī* ‘round, circular’ (Clauson 1972: 486), which may also have a variant with the ending *-mi*. According to Erdal (1991: 388, n. 443), this suff can also be found in some other lexemes. The most documented der of **tägir-* is *tägirmā̆n* ‘a rotary mill’ (Clauson 1972: 486–487; Erdal 1991: 388). Another der is *tägriglä-* ‘to assemble a group of things or living beings around something’ (Erdal 1991: 447). Erdal assumed **tägir-* to be a der formed with *-(I)r-* but remarked that its presumable base *täg-* ‘to reach’ does not make for a solid semantic background. According to Ščerbak (1997: 154), the T word-family may go back to the verbal form **tägir-* ‘okružať’. The Mo words *tegirmen*, *tegerme* ‘melʹnica’, *tekeri-* ‘to return’, *tökörig* ‘krug’ etc. are T lws.

The T verbal form **tägir-* may be interrelated with the verb *tägzin-* (*täzgin-*) ‘to revolve, rotate, travel about’, which Clauson assumed (1972: 488–489) to be the refl

form of **tägiz-*. The base of *tägzin-*, however, is unknown (cf. Erdal 1991: 279). Erdal (1991: 617–618) thought that the unknown base, whose ders include *tägzinč*, *tägzig* and *tägzim* as well as the metathetic form *täzgin-* in AQB, could have represented rhotacistic and zetacistic variants. As shown by Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 146), the metathetic forms also appear in Tuv (*deskin-* 'vraščatʹsja, kružitʹsja, obʺezžatʹ, delatʹ obhod, obhoditʹ vokrug') and Tof (*dėskin-* 'vraščatʹsja, kružitʹsja, vertetʹsja').

The question of the origin of the verb **tägir-*, *täkir-* can remain open here. Most probably, this is a matter of an ancient base like **täg-*, **täk-*, which could have produced ders with the dev suff *-(X)z* and the den suff *+I-* (**täg-Xz*, **tägVz+I* > **tägri-*).

On the data for the widespread word-family, see Joki (1952: 356–357, Kam *tʹermen* 'Mühle') and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 176–178 *dägirmän*, 178 *dägirmi*, 178–179 *dägrä*, cf. also 172–173 *dävir-*). Sevortjan attempted to separate an ancient base **täg-*, which may be correct. The phonetic change **täg-* > *täv-* can also be explained. Sevortjan also listed Tkm *teker* 'koleso' and TtD *teker* 'katuška' here (cf. also the small collection in Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 526)). The *-g-* ~ *-k-* correspondence is unusual and cannot be explained phonetically. It may be a PT feature. The fact of it remains in any case.

As mentioned by Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 331), some SibT forms (see Alt, Tuv, Tof) that denote 'mill' seem closer to the Mo form without the final *-n* than to the T forms. Tuv and Tof *dērbek* comes fr **tegir-mek* (cf. Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 332). Cf. also Tuv *dērigle-* 'obhoditʹ, kružitʹ, kružitʹsja' in Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 333). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1360) reconstructed PT **deg-* / **dög-* / **dog-* 'round' and compared it with PMo **tögörig* (**tökörig*) 'round'. The other "Altaic" parallels mentioned in the same entry (PA **tegá* / **tʻegá* 'round') are less convincing comparisons. The Mo forms they cited may, however, be borrowings fr T. Separated fr this entry, they discuss the PT reconstruction **Tegre* 'surroundings' under PA **tʻégè(-rV)* 'edge, border'. According to them, the T forms that pertain here were heavily influenced both by PT **deg-ir-* 'round' and **dęg-* 'to touch, reach'.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 179) pointed to the T origin of the word. Budenz (1873–1881: 201–202) proposed a FUgr etymology, which Munkácsi refuted (1904a: 357–358), remarking that H **tükör** may also pertain to the same T word group. Gombocz (1907a: 361; 1912b: 218) considered H *teker-* to be of OChuv der and reconstructed a copied form **täkär-*. Despite Munkácsi's opinion, he thought that H *tekercs* 'roll' does not come fr T *täkärčik*, but may represent an internal H development. Munkácsi (1925: 11–13) viewed the H verbs *teker-* and *tér-* as being identical in origin. According to him, both of them may go back to a copied form **tägär-*. Ligeti (1935a: 196) supposed a correspondence T *tägir-* (> *dävir-*) ~ WMo *tegere-* ~ H *teker-*. Bárczi (1941: 305) regarded H *teker-* as being of early T der. Pais (1960: 312; 1964a: 207–208) and then Nyirkos (1964: 162–167) argued in favour of the interrelation of H *teker-* and

takar- ‘to cover’. Palló (1982: 183) pointed out that the correspondence of H *-k-* ~ T *-g-* is problematic, but she thought that H *teker-* may plausibly have had a T starting point. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 877–878; 1993–1997/2: 1496), the source of H *teker-* ‘(um)winden, wickeln, drehen, rollen, koitieren, reizen’ is uncertain. This word may, perhaps, be an OT lw. In this case, he felt it could be related to Alt *tēr-* ‘umhergehen’, Y *tüör-* ‘drehen, wenden’, etc. Benkő, however, thought that the T etymology poses phonetic problems and that it is thus unconvincing. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *teker-* among the T lws in H.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 176; Vámbéry 1870: 179; Budenz 1873–1881: 201–202; Munkácsi 1904a: 357–358; Gombocz 1907a: 361; Gombocz 1912b: 218; Vámbéry 1914: 213; Munkácsi 1925: 11–13; Ligeti 1935a: 196; Bárczi 1941: 305; Joki 1952: 356–357; Bartha 1958: 77; Tamás 1958: 96; Pais 1960: 312; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 526; Egorov 1964: 227–228; Nyirkos 1964: 162–167; Pais 1964a: 207–208; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 877–878; Clauson 1972: 485–489; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 172–173, 176–179; Palló 1982: 183; Erdal 1991: 279, 388, 447, 537, 617–618; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1496; Fedotov 1996/2: 162, 163; Ščerbak 1997: 154; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 146, 331–333; Tenišev 2001: 400; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1360.

TEKNŐ [teknə̄] ‘trough, wash tub, hutch’ | 1230/1517 GN *Tekeneu* [tekenə̄], c1405 *tekenes* [tekene-š], 1510 *teknevben* [teknə̄-ben] | *teknə̄* < **tekenə̄* < **tekeneɣ* ⟵ WOT **täkänäɣ* | EOT *täknä* ‘trough’, MT *täkänä*.

OT *täknä* ‘trough’ (AK); **MT** *täknä* ‘kadka dlja zamešivanija testa’ (AIM), *täknä* ‘leğen’ (AIMI), *tekne* ‘trough’ (AKD), *balčïq tegenesi* ‘čan dlja gliny’ (AChagMA), *täknä* ‘ein grosses Gefäss’ (AChagR), in Rumi *täknā̆* ‘a large round vessel carved out of wood in which they wash things and knead dough’, and metaph ‘a small round boat used to cross a piece of water’ (AChagSC), *tekne* ‘uzunǰa yapïlan qab’ (AChagŠS), *tekne* ‘längliches Gefäss’ (AChagŠSK), *tekne* ‘Kübel, Zuber, Trog, Waschtrog, Backtrog’ (AChagZ), *tegänä* (tegana) ‘Wassertrog’ (LCCI), *täknä* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *tekene* ‘tekne’ (ATuhA), *tėgana* ‘auge, baquet, seau à traire’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *takana* ‘nočva, (*obl.*) načovka, koryto, koloda’ (Chuv), *takana* ‘koryto (vsjakoe), nočevki, nočevy, koloda, prisposoblenie dlja katanija s gory’ (ChuvA), *takana* Szp. id. ‘teknő; (rundlicher) Trog (zum Aufbewahren von Mehl u. dgl.)’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tigänä* ‘ker yuwa torgan tagarak; koryto’, *tigänäk* ‘ǰilpüč; nočva’, *tigänä* ‘it, yäšelčä čabu öčen yasalgan kečkenä agač tagarak; malen′koe koryto dlja rubki mjasa, ovoščej’, *tigänä* ‘terleklärgä ečertü, bolgatïp ašatu öčen büränädän čokïp yasalgan ulak; koloda dlja skotiny’ (TatD1), *tigänä* ‘ǰilpuč; lotok dlja muki, nočva’, *tigänä* ‘it, yäšelčä čabu öčen yasalgan kečkenä agač tagarak; malen′koe koryto dlja rubki mjasa, ovoščej’, *tigänä* ‘wanna; vanna’, *tigänä* ‘ǰënaza agačï; nosilki, na kotoryh vynosjat pokojnika’ (TatD2) *tigänä* ‘ein Trog, in dem man das Futter für die Pferde zurecht macht’ (TatKR), *degene* (čujsk.) ‘bol′šaja čaška’ (Kirg), *tegene* ‘a big wooden bowl (or cup)’ (Kaz), *tegene* ‘bol′šaja derevjannaja čaša’ (KazB), *tegänä* ‘ein grosser Holznapf’ (KazR), *tekene* ‘(ust.) derevjannoe koryto (dlja stirki bel′ja)’

(Nog), *tekne* ‘posuda dlja zamešivanija testa’ (CrTat), *täknä* ‘ein grosses Gefäss’ (CrTatR), *tekne* ‘kvašnja, koryto’ (KarT), *tėginė* ‘koloda (vydolblennaja iz dereva), želob (derevjannyj)’ (KarH), *tėknė* ‘kvašnja, koryto’ (KarC), *tegene* ‘koryto, koloda’ (KrchBlk), *tegene* ‘Trog’ (KrchP); ***SW*** *täknä* ‘koryto, kadka, deža’ (Az), *tekne* ‘trough, tub or tray, hull (of a ship), craft’ (Tt), *täknä* ‘ein grosser, aus einem Holzstück ausgehöhlter Trog’ (TtR), *teknä* ‘koryto, lohan′, kvašnja’ (Gag); ***Kh*** ? *täkə̑na* ‘dünnes, flaches Brot’ (Kh), ? *tägän* ‘Kessel’ (KhT); ***SE*** *tegana* ‘derevjannaja podstavka pod žernovom mel′nicy, derevjannaja koloda, bolezn′ lošadej (*vzdutie pod kožej*)’ (Uzb), *teŋlä*, *teŋle* ‘derevjannoe nebol′šoe korytce, prodolgovatoe bljudo’, ? *teŋšek* ‘krupnoe sito dlja proseivanija poroha, melkij poroh prohodit skvoz′ sito, a krupnyj zaderživaetsja, polučaetsja dva sorta poroha’ (TurkiL), *täŋnä*, *täŋlä* ‘koryto, lotok, kvašnja’ (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 484), OT *täknə̄* ‘a trough’ may perhaps be an early lw fr an unknown lg. One can find the CrTat and Nog data among the ModT forms with an unusual word-internal *-k-*, which is perhaps fr a SW T lg. The T data are represented by bi- and trisyllabic forms. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1430) reconstructed a bisyllabic PT form **tekne* ‘trough, pan’, which they compared with Mo *tagsi* ‘small cup’. Having also observed some problems, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak thought that one can assume a confusion between PT **tekne* and PT **t*(*i*)*agara* ‘an earthenware dish, trough’ (2003: 1429). This second assumption is not helpful. Certain T words which they mentioned under the PT heading (see e.g. Bashk *tägäs* ‘čaša’, Kaz *tegeš* ‘čaša’) do not pertain here.

The Cher dial forms *tagïna* and *tägana* ‘koloda, koryto’ are Chuv lws (cf. Fedotov (1996/2: 165)).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 179; 1914: 210, 213) compared the H word to the Chuv corresponding form. Budenz (1873: 89) and then Munkácsi (1904: 359) accepted the T etymology of the word. Gombocz (1907a: 361) supported the T etymology and (1912b: 227) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **täkänäg* (cf. Räsänen 1920: 218). According to Bárczi (1941: 305), Moór (1956: 39) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 879), H *teknő* may be an OT lw. Ligeti (1986: 88) pointed out that the final segment *-ő* in the H word may have resulted fr an analogous *-e* > *-ő* lengthening. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1497) supposed with an OT copied form **täkänä* which could have been borrowed in the T lgs. The final *-ə̄* in H may have stemmed fr a secondary H analogy, but also fr a final PT dim suff *-k*, which became *-g* in WOT and disappeared in H. In this case, Chuv *takana* also goes back to **täkänäγ* ⟶ H **tekeneγ* > *tekenə̄* > *teknə̄*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 179; Budenz 1873: 89; Munkácsi 1904: 359; Gombocz 1907a: 361; Gombocz 1912b: 227; Vámbéry 1914: 210, 213; Räsänen 1920: 218; Bárczi 1941: 305; Moór 1956: 39; Egorov 1964: 228; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 879; Räsänen 1969: 470–471; Clauson 1972: 484; Ligeti 1986: 88, 120, 185, 198–200, 315; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1497; Fedotov 1996/2: 165; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1429–1430.

TELEK[1] [telek] *arch* 'strap (on a whip, or on a kind of sandal)' | 1685 *telekes bocskor* [telek-eš bočkor], 1838 *telke* [telk-e], dial *telleg* [telleg], *teleng* [teleng] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 692) | *telek* < **telük* ← WOT **tilök* < **til-* {with suff -(*O*)*k*} | EOT *til-* 'to cut into slices', T *dilök*, *tilik*.

OT *til-* 'to cut into slices' (UU III:30,7), *til-* 'cut lengthwise': *är yarindāq tildi* 'the man cut a strap (from the hide)'. The same for anything that one cleaves lengthwise, cf. *bīr tilgā ät* 'a slice of meat.' The same for anything cut lengthwise. Hence 'a strip of land' is called: *bīr tilgä yēr*, *tilim* – for anything cut or split lengthwise, *bir tilim ät* 'a slice of meat' (AK); **MT** *dil-* 'dilmek' (AHMA), *til-* 'przedziurawić, przekłuć, rozbić' (AHŠ), *til-* 'razrezať, raspolosovať' (AHŠF), *til-* 'diviser en petits morceaux' (AChag), *tile-* (r: *til-*) 'metszeni, szelni [to slice]' (AChagAbV), *til-* 'ščepať, razrezať' (AChagBud), *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (AChagR), *til-* 'to cut something into strips or slices' (AChagSC), *til-* 'dilmek, yarmaq' (AChagŠS), *til-* 'zerstückeln, in Schnitte zerlegen' (AChagŠSK), *tilim* '(abgeschnittene Scheibe), ein Stück Brot' (LCCG), *dil-* 'bir şeyi uzun ve dar parçalara kesmek' (AAH), *tilke* 'dilim, her şeyin uzunluğuna kesilmişi ve emsalı söylenir. Bir tilke yer – uzun bir parça (bir say yer) derler' (AAHI), *dilim* 'morceau, portion (d'un melon)' (ADur), *dil-* 'zerschneiden' (AHou), *til-*, ? *däl-*, ? *tül-* 'rezať, razrezať, otrezať poloskami, razrezať na lomti' (ATuh), *til-*, *dil-* (in the margin) *däl-* (sic!) 'dilmek' (ATuhA), *dil-* 'yarmak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čĕl-* 'ščepať, otščepljať, rasščepljať, koloť, otkladyvať, razdirať, rezať na polosy', *čĕl*(*ĕ*) 'lomoť, kusok, kus (prost.), polosa, poloska, lenta' (Chuv), *čĕl-* 'ščepať, kroiť (remni)', *čĕl*, *čĕlĕ* 'lomoť, otrezok' (ChuvA), *čĕl-* Szp. id. 'hasítani (faszálkát); schleissen (Holzschleisse), Spähne abspalten' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tel-* 'ščepať (lučinu), razrezať v dlinu (prodoľno)' (Tat), *tel-* 'yïrïp kerü, mäsälän, ašlïk arasïna; vrezať sja, v″ehať, vojti, naprimer, v hlebnoe pole', 'yaru, kisü; razrezať, vskryť; suyu; rezať, zarezať – o skote' (TatD1), *tel-* 'hasítani (faszálkát, szíjat); schleissen (Holzschleisse), schneiden (Riemen)', *telem* 'kenyérszelet; Brotschnitte' (TatB), *ṭil-* 'Spähne abspalten, der Länge nach Streifen schneiden' (TatKR), *tel-* 'rezať, razrezať, ščepať, rasseč́, raspolosovať, (peren.) stegať, seč́, hlestať', *telek* 'razrez' (Bashk), *til-* 'telü; razrezyvať, razrezať na uzkie poloski' (SibTat), *til-* 'rezať na polosy' (SibTatBD), *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (SibTatTR), *tilik* 'razrez, prorez, rezanaja metka na uhe skota', *til-* 'razrezať na uzkie poloski, na lomtiki' (Kirg), *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (KirgR), *tĭlĭk* 'cut, slash, a mark on the ear (of cattle)', *tĭl-* 'to cut, to slice, to cut in strips, to cut in bands' (Kaz), *tĭlĭk* 'razrez, vyrez, prorez, nadrez', *tĭl-* 'izrezať (materiju), razrezať' (KazB), *tilĭk* 'ein kleiner Einschnitt (in den Ohren des Tieres)', *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (KazR), *tilik* 'vyrez, razrez, prorez, nadrez, metka na uhe (u životnyh v vide razreza)', *til-* 'rezať plastami, lomtjami, polosami, rasščepljať' (Kklp), *tilüv* 'rezanie, razrezanie lomtjami, polosami', *til-* 'rezať, razrezat lomtjami,

polosami' (Nog), *til-* 'rezat′ lomtjami' (CrTat), *til-* 'razrezat′ na kuski, rezat′ polosami, lomtikami' (Kum), *til-* 'rezat′ čto na polosy, razrezat′ (napr. kožu na remeški)' (Krch-Blk); ***SW*** *dil-* 'razrezat′ na dol′ki, lomtiki, kusočki, poloski, rezat′ dol′kami, lomtikami, rezat′ polosami, podsačivat′, rvat′, razryvat′' (Tkm), *dilik* 'poloska', *dilim* 'lomot′, lomtik, vyrezannyj kusok (arbuza, dyni, ogurca)' (Az), *dil-* 'to slice, to cut up into slices, to divide into strips or segments', *dilim* 'slice, strip, (arch) foil' (Tt), ? *dilik* 'üst dudağı yukarıdan aşağıya doğru yarık, dilinmiş, yırtık, elbise yırtığı' (TtD), *dil-* 'in lange, schmale Streifen schneiden' (TtR), *dilim* 'lomot′, lomtik, kusok (otrezannyj), dol′ka (citrusovyh)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *tilim* 'Scheibe' (Kh); ***SE*** *tilik* 'lomtik (arbuza ilki dyni, razrezannyh vdol′), polosa', *til-* 'rezat′ polosami, razrezat′ na lomti (na kuski), pilit′ prodol′no, polosovat′, izrezat′ (prodol′no), iscarapat′ (polosami)' (Uzb), *tïl-* 'to split' (TurkiJ), *tilik* 'a slit or cut lengthwise', *til-* 'to split, to cut anything into strips lengthwise' (TurkiSh), *til-* 'rezat′ poloskami (gl. obrazom o remnjah i o derev′jah pri vydelke dosok)' (TurkiL), *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (TurkiTR), *tilik* 'porez', *tilim* 'kusok, lomot′, lomtik', *til-* 'narezat′, razrezat′, pilit′' (MUyg), *t'el-* 'rezat′, rassekat′' (YUyg); ***NE*** *til-* 'razrezat′ na uzkie polosy, remni' (AltL), *til-* 'in schmale Streifen, Riemen schneiden, zerreissen' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR, KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR, ChulR), *tĭl-* 'otdirat′ čto-l, razdirat′ čto-l. na melkie časti, rezat′ plastami, remnjami, uzkimi polosami (mjaso, kožu)', *tĭlĭm* 'kusoček, lomtik, narezanie uzkie poloski (mjasa, koži)' (Khak), *dil-* 'pilit′, raspilivat′ (brevno na doski), rezat′, razrezat′ (napr, kožu na remni)' (Tuv), *dĭl-* 'razrezat′ na dlinnye uzkie polosy ili lomtiki' (Tof); ***Y*** *täl-* 'rezat′, razrezat′ vdol′, vyrezyvat′ čto (napr. remen′) iz koži, vykraivat′' (Y).

Mo ? *tele-*, *teli-* 'to stretch (such as hide or a bow), smooth by stretching (such as textiles), to pull', *telei* 'belt for trousers', *telig* 'a type of arrow, with a very sharp point and a small shaft, a type of pleated cloak' (L).

E/T The base of the T etymon for the H word is *til-* 'to cut into slices' (cf. Clauson (1972: 490–491) and Ščerbak (1970: 197)). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 230–231) presented a good collection of T data and rightly pointed out the apparent confusion in the dicts between the verbs *til-* 'to cut into slices' and *tel-* 'to pierce', although they are not etymologically related. Sevortjan, however, thought – as in many other similar cases – that this is a case of a nomen-verbum *til*(-). According to him, the earliest verbal form (*til-*) is documented in Kashgari's compendium and the nominal form is attested in Kirg (*til* 'lomot′, lomtik') (cf. also the Tt dial form *dile-* < *dil+e-* and AHou *dillä-* < *dil+lä-*). However, the data listed here are not sufficient to reconstruct an ancient T nomen-verbum convincingly. On the ders of the T verb, see also *tilī*, in the sense of a narrow strip of hide or the like (Clauson 1972: 491), *tilgā* (Clauson 1972: 498; Erdal 1991: 381) and *tilim* (Clauson 1972: 500; Erdal 1991: 296). Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 553–554) also discussed this latter lexeme with the suff -(*-X*)*m*. He was not

convinced by Ramstedt's (1935: 444) and Poppe's (1960: 16) comparisons that had Mo *čilüge* 'Riß, Spalte, Ritze' < **til(ü)*- possibly interrelated with Tu *tile̲*- 'ein Tier enthäuten, die Haut abziehen' and T *til*- 'abreißen, zerreißen etc.' Doerfer did not think it obvious that Mo *čilüge* 'Riß, Spalte, Ritze' should go back to **til(ü)*-. Its base may also be **čil(ü)*-. Here the real problem is the semantics. Mo *čilüge* means 'space (both local, e.g. crack in the door, clearing in a forest and temporal, e.g. leisure, freedom, vacation)'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 394–395) refuted Doerfer's opinion and agreed with Poppe's and Ramstedt's matching PT **dil*- 'to split, cut in slices' < PA **čə̀lV* 'to split, hole, crack' with PMo **čilüge* 'space between, leisure' and PTu **jēlge* 'crack, narrow passage'.

E/H See **telek**². According to Palló (1963: 197–199), H *telek*¹ may go back to T **täläk* ~ **tilik* 'sliced leather'. She believed that one has to assume an alternation **täl*- ~ **til*- on the T side. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 881; 1993–1997/2: 1498) considered H *telek*¹ to be of unknown origin. According to him, the original sense of the H word could be 'Bundriemen' and the secondary meanings 'Peitschenriemen, Peitschenschnur' may have stemmed fr an internal semantic change. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *telek*¹ among the lws in H.

The final segment *-k* in the H word does not clearly contradict the T etymology (cf. **árok**, etc.). We find the form **tilik* in several T lgs (Uzb, TtD, MUyg etc.) with semantics similar to that in the H lg. The relatively late occurrence of the H word may show that it constitutes a part of the middle layer of the T lws in H.

◆ Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 692; Ramstedt 1935: 444; Poppe 1960: 16; Palló 1963: 197–199; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 553–554; Egorov 1964: 322; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 881; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 490–491, 498, 500; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 230–231; Erdal 1991: 296, 381; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1498; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 156; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 394–395.

TELEK² [telek] 'a piece of land, field, parcel, patch, a higher place where animals rest and accumulate dung' | 1086 *Theluch* [telük], 1228/1357 GN *teleke* [telek-e] | *telek* {influenced by *tele* 'full'} < **telük* ← WOT **tilök* | EOT *til*- 'to cut into slices', *tilgä*: *bir tilgä yer* 'a strip of land'.

For the T data, see **telek**¹.

E/T See **telek**¹.

E/H The Czuczor–Fogarasi dict (1862–1874/6: 188) compared the H word with Mo *delekey* 'die Erde, Erdoberfläche', which is unacceptable. Budenz (1873–1881: 243–244) attempted to verify a FUgr etymology for both **telek**¹ and *telek*². Kúnos (1882: 542) accepted Budenz's etymology, but Setälä (1896: 392) considered it as dubious. Vámbéry (1914: 213) connected both H **telek**¹ and *telek*² with T *tel* 'string, cord'. Pais (1934c: 40; 1940: 301) believed H *telek*² to have developed internally in H out of the word-family *telik*- 'to become full', *tölt*- 'to fill' and *televény* 'humus'. Bárczi (1941: 306) regarded both H **telek**¹ and *telek*² to be of unknown der. According to Rásonyi

(1941–1943: 300–301), H *telek* is an early T lw with its ultimate base in T *täl-*, *til-* 'to tear, pierce'. Benkő (1947a: 207) supposed that the H word *telek*² may go back to H **tel* 'territory', which, however, is only documented in a single GN (see *Csoktele* (*-e* is the poss suff)). Palló (1963: 191–199) separated the etymological explanations for **telek**¹ and *telek*². According to her, H *telek*² may be an OChuv lw fr **tälük* < **tülük*, CT cognates for which are *tüš* 'place' ~ *tüš-* 'to place'. She thought that H **dől** 'to lean, topple over' may derive fr another OChuv dial. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1498), H *telek*² may come fr a H nominal base H **tel* 'voll' (see *tele* 'voll sein', which is a FUgr legacy in the H lg). Benkő claimed that the word could originally have been a nomen-verbum and that the nominal form of it can be detected in some GNs. Benkő's explanation does not seem particularly convincing. H *telek*² is documented in H earlier than *tel* is. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *telek*² among the T lws in H.

H *telek*² may be the same word as **telek**¹ 'strip of land' but came under the influence of the H word *tele* 'full', because it also denoted 'a strip of land that has been fully dunged' (see *telekel-* 'to dung', *telekös föld* 'dunged land' (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 692–693)). *telek*² is the result of a word split.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 188; Budenz 1873–1881: 243–244; Kúnos 1882: 542; Budenz 1886–1887: 416; Alexics 1888: 66; Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 692–693; Setälä 1896: 392; Vámbéry 1914: 213; Pais 1934c: 40; Pais 1940: 301; Bárczi 1941: 306; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 300–301; Benkő 1947a: 207; Jakab 1957: 81–86; Palló 1963: 191–199; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 880–881; Földes 1971: 418–431; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1489, 1497–1498.

TENG [teng] 'to vegetate, to linger in misery', **tengődik** [tengődik] id. | 1531 (*e*)*tengűnk* [ē-teng-ünk] | *tengődik-* < *teng-* {with suffs *-Ōd-ik*} < **teng-* ← WOT **täŋ-* | EOT *täŋ-* 'to soar (of a bird), to move in the sky (of an arrow)'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *täŋ-* 'soar (of a bird or an arrow)': *quš täŋdi* 'the bird soared'. Similarly, they say of an arrow that is shot up toward the sky and is lost from view in the air: *oq täŋdi* 'the arrow soared' (AK), *teŋ-*, *teŋi-* 'to soar upward' (AQB); **MT** ? *deng* 'mámoros, ittas, a részegeskedés következtében ideges izgatottságba esett ember [tipsy, drunken, somebody who falls into a nervous excitement out of drunkenness]' (AChagBL), *tengit-* 'er başın tengitti – dingildetmek, önüne düşürmek, sallamak' (AAHI); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tĕn-* 'otekaťˊ, zatekaťˊ, nemeťˊ (o členah tela), stanoviťˊsja valym, malo-podvižnym, terjaťˊ živostˊ, podvižnostˊ', *tĕnkke-*, *tankka-* 'tjaželo stupaťˊ, idti, pere-valivaťˊsja pri hodˊbe, kovyljaťˊ, taščiťˊsja, plestisˊ, idti neuverennymi šagami, spotykaťˊsja na hodu' (Chuv), *tank* – podr. tverdoj pohodke, podr. ocepeneniju, *tankka-* 'plestisˊ peškom, hoditˊ v odinočku' (ChuvA); ***NW*** ? *tändü* 'kaŋgïrïp yörü; skitaťˊsja, šataťˊsja', *tänü* 'selkenep yörü, ėšsez yörü, adašïp kitü; slonjaťˊsja, broditˊ, zabluditˊsja' (SibTat), *teŋkey-* 'imeťˊ vid tolstopuzogo, pri hodˊbe vihljajuščego zadom' (Kirg); ***SW*** ? *teŋ* 'tjaželyj, trudnyj, zatrudnitelˊnyj' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** ? *teni-* 'brodjažničaťˊ, skitaťˊsja', *teniger* 'brodjaga' (Alt), ? *tenek* 'glupyj, neveža, be-

stolkovyj' (AltQK), ? *teni-* 'brodjažničat'', *tenek* 'glupyj, durak', *tendir-* 'kačat'sja (o p'janom)' (AltTK), ? *tin-* 'byt' v sostojanii sil'nogo op'janenija' (Khak); ***Y*** –.

E/T The possible T etymon for the H verb may be identical with the Karakhanid verb *täŋ-* 'to soar'. Clauson (1972: 514) noted that the reading *täŋ-* in Kashgari is uncertain because the basic verb and its various caus ders (*täŋit-*, *täŋür-*, *täŋtür-*) "are all Hap. leg. and have inconsistent, or no, vowel points and dots, but *-ä-* is the likeliest vowel". In Kashgari contains a verbal form *täŋiz-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 527) with the infinitive suff *-mak*, thus this form could perhaps be back-vocalic. Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/2: 352) read this verb as *taŋiz-* 'to swell up' and thought it to be a cognate for *taŋ-* 'to tie a handband, tie tightly'. The semantic connection between *täŋiz-*, or much likelier *taŋïz-*, and the verbs *taŋ-* 'tie a handband' or *täŋ-* 'to soar' is not very clear. The reading *taŋïz-* in Kashgari may, perhaps, be supported by the item *ṭaŋaz-* in AAH. The secondary horizontal vowel shift fr front > back may also be a possibility which could have occurred under the influence of *-ŋ-*. According to Clauson (1972: 520) and Erdal (1991: 358), T *täŋ-* could also serve as the base for *täŋgüč* 'anything which stands to the height of half a cubit like a tripod for a cooking pot'. The comparison between Chuv *tĕn-* and T *toŋ-* 'to freeze' (Fedotov 1996/2: 216) is not acceptable; the Chuv word is illabial. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1417) considered PT **TEŋ-* 'to soar, fly', PTu **teŋ-* 'to flutter, shake, wave, throw, jump', PMo **taŋga-* 'to kick, to be overthrown' to be genetically interrelated words which represent an expressive Western isogloss. The PT reconstruction is only based on two items and the Mo forms do not pertain here for semantic reasons.

Ch includes a verb 騰 *teng* 'to soar', which is *dəŋ* in EMCh. One cannot rule out that the Ch word and the T word belong together. However, one would expect a T suff if the T word comes fr Ch.

The original meaning of the T word was 'to totter, be unsteady on one's legs, to lose equilibrum; (figuratively) to soar'. One cannot exclude the possibility that this OT verb *täŋ-* is the same as the base of the T etymon for **tengely**.

E/H Vámbéry (1914: 216) thought that H *teng-* is a cognate of H *tönk* 'stub, block' and that these words are of T origin. Bárczi (1941: 306) considered the H word to be of unknown der. According to Palló (1982: 189), H *teng-* 'kümmerlich leben' and the ders *tengődik-* and *tenget-*, which are mentioned in Benkő (1967–1984/3: 887) as having an unknown source, developed in H with the freq suff *-g-* fr the element *tén* in *ténfereg-*. As Palló (1976: 339–341) observed earlier, the element *tén* in *ténfereg-* may have had its source in T. She thought that it is identical to T *tän-*, *ten-* 'to meander'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1501–1502), H *teng-* 'to vegetate, to linger in misery' may have derived fr a fictitious stem at an uncertain onomatopoeic starting point. Horváth (1994: 465–468) accepted Benkő's explanation and rejected the etymology provided by Palló, because the historical data for the H word *ténfereg-*

show that it may be a metathetic form *fentereg-* > *ténfereg-*. Horváth was of the opinion that the H words *teng-*, *tendül-* and *tenyészik-* could have shared an old common base which was perhaps originally onomatopoeic. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *teng-* among the T lws in H. In H, *teng-* became obsolete but is present in the biverb *teng-leng-* 'to linger in misery, to vegetate, to live from hand to mouth'. The basic verb *teng-* took on different H suffs: *-őd-ik-* > *tengődik-* 'vegetate' (refl) and *-et-* in *teng-et-* with the noun *élet* 'life' *tengeti életét* 'to live in misery'.

◆ Vámbéry 1914: 216; Bárczi 1941: 306; Beke 1946a: 154; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 887; Räsänen 1969: 481; Clauson 1972: 514, 520, 527; Palló 1976: 339–341; Palló 1982: 189; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 352; Erdal 1991: 358; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1501–1502; Horváth 1994: 465–468; Fedotov 1996/2: 216; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1417.

TENGELY [tengey] 'axle' | 1138/1329 ? GN *Tunguldi* [töngöldi], c1395 *tengel* [tengel], 1590 *tengely* [tengel´] | *tengel´* < *tengel* ← WOT **teŋäl* | T *teŋel* 'axle' < EOT *teŋ* 'equal, level' {with suffs *+A-* and *-(X)l*}.

OT *täŋ*: *yaġ[ïqā] tägmīš sü täŋi yätī biŋ oġlan ärtī* 'Količestvo vojska, vystupivšego protiv vraga, bylo sem tysjač molodyh ljudej' (RY Mal 26,8), *täng* 'übereinstimmend' (UUII 48:13), *küntin sïŋar tayтïn yïŋak ikidin teŋ yailïq itgülüg, öŋtün yïŋaq kidin yïŋaq ikidin sïŋar bulaŋ* 'Im Süden und im Norden sind auf beiden Seiten gleiche (?) Sommerhäuser anzulegen, im Osten und im Westen auf beiden Seiten Flügel' (UTTVI: 84–85), *täŋ* 'equal' (according to Barat ← Ch *deng*), *tänglä-* 'to equate', *tängkäš-* 'to compare' (UXuangzangIndex), *täŋ* 'gleich, gleiches Gewicht', *täŋinčä* 'nach seinem Gewicht' (tā̄ṅiŋcä – tyā ṅi ŋcya) (BF 12), *täŋ* 'equal, like (*'idl, qirn*)', *täŋlä-*: *bīr nā̄ŋ bīrkä täŋlā̄di* 'he balanced the two things'; *täŋ* 'equal, like', hence they say *täŋ tuš* 'an equal, a match', *täŋ* 'the right time or place of a thing', *küčī täŋī toqïštī̄* 'he fought with all his might' (AK), *sü-li aš-lï kertgünč-li üčägü täŋ krgäk* '[der Fürst, der ein Reich regiert] braucht in gleichem Maße drei Dinge: Heer, Verpflegung und Glauben' (UTTV B: 105-106), *bu sözkä täŋ-ä* 'to be equal to these words' (AQB); **MT** *teŋ* 'denk', *teŋe-* 'mukayese etmek' (UY), *tängšä-* 'être égal, impartial' (UHyS), *tänglig* 'gleich' (UCivSa 08:19), *täŋ* 'gleich, wie' (UCivSa 28:21), *teŋ* 'equal' (AGul), *teng* 'denk, eşit' (AHMA), *täŋ*, *teŋ* 'równy (sobie), podobny' (AHŠ), *täŋ*, *teŋ* 'ravnyj, sorazmernyj, pohožij, podobnyj', *täŋäštür-* 'sravnit´, priravnivat´' (AHŠF), *teŋ* 'ravnyj' (AIM), *täng* 'equal, alike', *tängäšik* 'compeer', *tängäštür-* 'to balance, equalize', *tänglä-* 'to apportion, to level (here erroneously used for the passive form)', *tänglänmiš* 'appointed, fixed' (AKor), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, sorazmernyj' (AM), *täŋ* 'ravnyj, sorazmernyj' (ANehF), *täŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj' (ATef), *teŋ* 'denk', *teŋe-* 'mukayese etmek' (AYC), *teng* 'égal, pareil', *tengäl-* 'être égal' (AChag), *teng* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, podobnyj' (AChagB), *teŋ* 'horošo složennyj, ravnyj' (AChagBud), *täŋ* 'equal' (AChagG), *teng* 'ravnyj' (AChagMA), *täŋäl-* 'gleich sein, sich ausgleichen', *täŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig' (AChagR), *teŋ* 'equal' (AChagSC), *teŋ* 'deŋ,

eš, čift' (AChagŠS), *ting* 'Gleichheit, zusammen, Paar, ähnlich' (AChagŠSK), *ting* 'gleich, ähnlich' (AChagZ), *täŋ* 'gleich, ebensogross, ebensoviel' (LCCG), *teng* 'equal, equally', *tepteng* 'equal' (AMGh), *täŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, podobnyj, takoj, kak' (ATuh), *teng* 'symétrique' (AmE), *denk*, *tenk*, *dek* 'birbirine uygun iki şeyden her biri, eş, nazîr, benzer' (AOtT);

1 *teŋ*: **NT** ***Chuv*** *tan* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, (prost.) rovnja, porovnu, ravnymi častjami, v odinakovom količestve, odinakovo, naravne, odinakovo, vroven′, na odinakovoj vysote, anom urovne, (peren.) v takt, v nogu, soglasovanno, (častica usil.) celyj' (Chuv), *tan* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, ravno, odinakovo, rovno' (ChuvA), *tan* Szp. id. 'egyenlő; gleich' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tiŋ* 'ravnyj, podobnyj, ravno, odinakovo, porovnu, para, rovnja, četa' (Tat), *tiŋ* 'tigĕz; rovnyj; tiŋdäš, dus kïz, iptäš kïz; sverstnica, podruga', *täŋgäl* 'näk; točno, toč′ v toč′', *täŋgäl* 'turï; prjamo' (TatD1), *täŋkäl* 'vakït; vremja; turï; naprotiv; urïn, tirä; mesto', *täŋäl*, *täŋgäl* 'turï; naprotiv', *täŋgäl* 'urïn, tirä; mesto' (TatD2), *tiŋ* 'egyenlő; gleich' (TatB), *tiŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, ravno-, para, rovnja', *tiŋlä-* 'vyravnivat′, ravnjat′, sravnivat′ s kem-čem, priravnivat′ k komu-čemu' (Bashk), *tiŋ* 'egyenlő, egyforma [equal, same]' (BashkP), *tegäs* 'ravnyj' (SibTatBD), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, rovnja, polovina, (odin iz čety) muž, žena, ženih, nevesta, každyj iz dvuh v′jukov, navjučennyh na životnoe, s predšestv. čisliteľnym vse, sovokupnost′', *teŋe-* 'uravnivat′, delat′ ravnym', *teŋel-* 'priravnivat′sja, ravnjat′sja' (Kirg), *teŋ* 'gleich, grade, genau' (KirgR), *teŋ* 'an equal, equal, alike', *teŋde-* 'to equalize, to make identical' (Kaz), *teŋ* 'ravno, ravnopravnyj, ravnocennyj, ravnyj, identičnyj, rovnyj, odinakovyj, tjuk, rovno' (KazB), *teŋ* 'gleich, grade, genau' (KazR), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, ravnomernyj, rovno, ravnomerno, porovnu, rovno, rovnja, sverstnik', *teŋe-* 'uravnivat′, delat′ ravnym, sravnivat′', *teŋel-* pass of *teŋe-*, *teŋle-* 'uravnovesit′, uravnjat′, priravnjat′' (Kklp), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, ravnomernyj, ravno, ravnomerno, drug, podruga, rovnja, sverstnik', *tegis* 'rovnyj, gladkij, ravnyj, ravno-, splošnoj, rovno, gladko, ravno, sploš' (Nog), *tegiz* 'rovnyj, gladkij, podrjad' (CrTat), *ten* 'odinakovyj, ravnyj, ruslo reki' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *t′en′* 'ravnyj, ravno, odinakovo' (KarT), *tän* 'gleich' (KarTR), *teng* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, ravno, odinakovo, porovnu, naravne, odinakovo, rovnja, sverstnik', *tengle-* 'uravnivat′' (Kum), *teŋ* 'ähnlich, gleich' (KumN), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, raznopravnyj, ravno, odinakovo, ravnopravo, porovnu, rovno, vmeste odnovremenno, vporu, kak raz, po razmeru' (KrchBlk), *teŋ* 'gerade Zahl, zusammen, gleich' (KrchP); ***SW*** *deŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj (po razmeru, veličine, količestvu, vesu i t. p.), porovnu, naravne, vroven′, rovnja, rovesnik, sverstnik, (sport.) ničʹja', *deŋe-* 'sravnivat′, ravnjat′, priravnivat′, meritv, primerjat′', *deŋle-* 'uravnivat′, ravnjat′, delat′ ravnym, sorazmerjat′, priravnivat′, sravnivat′, podravnivat′' (Tkm), *tän* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, rovno, porovnu', *tänläš-* 'ravnjat′sja, poravnjat′sja, uravnjat′sja' (Az), *denk* 'bale, half a horse load, in equilibrium, in proper balance, equal' (Tt), *denk* 'aynı yaş ve ayarda olanlar' (TtD1), *denk* 'eş, hem derece,

hem ayar', *tenk* 'sıra, uygunluk, denk' (TtDA), *denk* 'ravnyj, ravnocennyj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *teng* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj (po količestvu, razmeru, veličine, vesu i t. p.), (nareč.) porovnu, naravne, vroven′, rovnja' (Uzb), *tɛŋ*, *tɛng* 'equal, half, middle' (TurkiJ), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, rovnyj', *teŋlen-* 'sravnivat′, delat′ ravnym' (TurkiL), *tîng* 'of equal height' (TurkiSh), *teŋ* 'ravnyj' (TurkiL), *täŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig, grade, genau' (TurkiTR), *täŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, sootvetstvennyj, rovno, odinakovo, porovnu' (MUyg), *teŋel-* 'uravnivat′sja' (YUyg), *teŋ* 'ravnyj, rovnyj', *teŋši* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj' (YUygM); ***NE*** *teŋ* 'ravnyj, rovnyj, odinakovyj', *teŋde-* 'vyravnivat′, uravnovešivat′', *teŋdel-* Pass. 'byt′ ravnym, sravnjat′sja, uravnivat′sja, priravnivat′sja, vyravnivat′sja' (Alt), *täŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig, grade, genau' (AltR, AltLR), *teŋ* 'rovnyj, odinakovyj' (AltL), *teŋ* 'podobnyj', *teŋde-* 'ravnjat′, vyravnivat′' (AltQK), *teŋdeš-* 'byt′ ravnymi meždu soboj' (AltTK), *täŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig, grade, genau, das Lebensalter' (AltTelR), *tiŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj, rovnyj, ravno, odinakovo, rovno', *tiŋne-* 'rovnjat′, vyravnivat′ čto-l., sravnivat′ kogo-čto-l.' (Khak), *teŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig; grade, genau' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *täŋ* 'gleich, gleichartig, grade, genau' (KhakShR, ChulR), *deŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj', *deŋge* 'porovnu, odnovremenno', *deŋnė-* 'ravnjat′, uravnivat′, uravnovešivat′, sravnivat′' (Tuv), *dėŋnė-* 'sravnivat′, sopostavljat′, ispravljat′ (ošibki)', *dėŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj' (Tof); ***Y*** *täŋ* 'ravnyj, odinakovyj s čem, parnyj, rovnyj' (Y), *täŋ* 'gleich, identisch, eben, flach', *täŋnā-* 'vergleichen' (Dlg), *täŋnā-* 'aufrichten, eben machen, glätten' (DlgS).

Mo *teŋ* 'rope stretched over a yurt for strengthening or fastening', *teŋǰe-* 'to be(come) balanced, be equal, to match, correspond, agree, be suitable or fitting' (L).

2 *tengel*: **OT** –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *těněl* 'os′, (spec.) os′' (Chuv), *těněl* 'os′' (ChuvA), *těněl* 'tengely; Achse; os′' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *täŋgäl* 'tožděstvennyj, tožestvennyj, sootvetstvujuščij' (Tat), *täŋkäl* 'näk″; točno, toč′ v toč′; turï; prjamo' (TatD1), *teŋel* 'kayčï kendege; špenek nožnic', *tiŋäl*, *tiŋläk* 'tiŋ; ravnyj' (SibTat), *deŋgel*, *deŋgēl* '(v razn. znač.) uroven′', *döŋölök*, *töŋgölök* 'koleso telegi', *töŋölük* 'kol′co (na primer dlja ključej, dlja soedinenija častej uzdy, na podpruge' (Kirg), *teŋgil′* 'os′, povozki' (KarT), *tėngil* 'os′' (KarT, KarH); ***SW*** *dingil* 'axle, axletree' (Tt), *däŋgil* 'die Achse, die Radachse' (TtR), *dingel* 'demir dingil', *dingil* 'ağaç veya demirden yapılan arabanın tekerleklerini birbirine bağlıyan uzunca demir' (TtD), *dingil* 'os′' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *deŋnel* 'uroven′, ravnovesie' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *teŋgelig* 'axletree', *teŋ* 'equilibrum, evenly, equally, exactly', *teŋče-* 'to be(come) balanced, be equal' (L).

E/T It is an oft debated question whether T **tengel* 'axel' goes back to a T verb **teŋ-e-* 'to exist in equilibrum, to soar', which is a verb of a kind of existence, or to *teŋ* 'equal', perhaps a Ch lw. Both words have different reflexes in Chuv.

According to Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 574–576), T *teŋ* (*däŋ*) 'gleichartig' – as already proposed by Menges (1955: 34) – may, perhaps, be of Ch origin (*deŋ*). Ramstedt

(1935: 391–392) compared Mo *teŋ* ~ T *täŋ* ~ Tu *təŋkī* with the first segment of Kor *te̲ŋdara* 'imitating, doing the same' (cf. also Ramstedt 1949: 263). Poppe (1960: 71) regarded Mo *teŋ* and T *täŋ* as being of common A der. Clauson (1972: 511) considered T *täŋ* (*d-*) originally to have carried the meaning 'equal' (to something else) and hence 'equivalent' (to something else) and, of the two pans on a pair of scales, 'level' (equal to one another). The word, as shown by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 574–576), was copied by certain other lgs. In Pe (*tang*, *dang*), it has a few special meanings (cf. 'half a load' on an animal's back (i.e. one equal to the other half)), hence, more generally, 'a load or package'. In some cases, one can suppose re-borrowings fr Pe (cf. e.g. Tt *denk* in the database). Despite the opinion espoused by Doerfer, Clauson (1972: 511–512) rightly pointed out that T *täŋ* 'kind, sort', which appears in some older sources, represents another, homophonous word. In Ch, we find 等 *deng* 'equal' (EMCh *təŋˊ*). Here one cannot exclude a Ch starting point for the T and Mo words. T *täŋ* has many ders (cf. *täŋäši* 'fitting, equal' (< *täŋ+ä-šI*) (Erdal 1991: 343), *täŋäš-* 'to be or become equal to one another' (< *täŋ+ä-(X)š-*) (Erdal 1991: 569), *täŋlägüč*, *täŋlägün* 'a kite (a bird)' (Clauson 1972: 522)). Erdal (1991: 415) showed that one can find different verbal forms in OT fr the nominal base *täŋ* 'equivalence, value' formed with various den verbal suffs: *täŋ+lä-* (tr) 'to equate, compare' (cf. Clauson 1972: 521–522; Erdal 1991: 447), *täŋ+ä-* (intr) 'to equal, to be like' (cf. Clauson 1972: 516; Erdal 1991: 424), *täŋ+ik-* (intr) 'to become equal' (Erdal 1991: 496), *täŋ+kär-* (tr) 'to compare' (Clauson 1972: 520; Erdal 1991: 747). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 191–194) discussed T *teŋ*, *deŋ* 'ravnyj, rovnja, etc.' in great detail (cf. also Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 133–135)). Under the 10th heading of the list of different meanings, he mentions 'raznyj, vsjakogo roda', which is, however, the meaning of the homophone (mentioned above, see Clauson (1972: 511–512)).

The T etymon for H *tengely* 'axle' can only be found in the ModT lgs. Clauson (1972: 520) noted a word *däŋgäl* 'a knuckle, a knot in a (corn)stalk' in Kashgari (see Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 346: ? *däŋgäl* <DNK'L> 'node or knob') with uncertain vocalism; he thought that it may be an Ir lw because of its initial segment *d-*. It seems not to pertain here because of this phonetic feature and the semantics. Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 235–236) attempted to connect T *dingil*, *tingil*, etc. 'axle' with a nominal base *diŋk* or **deŋk*. According to him, the segment *Vl* may constitute part of both verbal and nominal bases. This latter remark cannot, however, be accepted. If the final segment *Vl* of the supposed T etymon for H *tengely* is a suff, one can most likely assume a verbal base. This verbal base is **teŋe-*, i.e. *teŋ+A-*, which is preserved in Tkm and in some Kip lgs. In other lgs, we find **teŋle-*. The dev suff *-(X)l* was added to the verbal base *teŋe-* (Erdal 1991: 330–332). Chuv *tĕnĕl* 'axle' – *tan* 'equal, even' is interesting, but these words appear not to belong together. The vowels in Chuv *tĕnĕl* go back to /i/ or closed /e/, (**tiŋil*, **teŋel*), while the vowel in *tan* reflects an earlier /ä/.

It has ders such as *tanlă* ‘ravnyj’, *tanmarlax* ‘neodinakovost, neravenstvo’, etc. This may point to the fact that Chuv *tĕnĕl* is a lw. Though the word does exist in other T lgs, the meaning ‘axle’ is not present in Tat and Bashk or their dials. It can be found in Kar and the SW lgs. Could it be one of the Chuv–SW isoglosses? On this problem, see Levitskaja (1982: 97–103). It is also possible that the Chuv word is a genuine one and the WOT form has to be reconstructed as **täŋil* > *teŋil* > *tĕnĕl*, that is we have an *ä* > *e* change under the influence of the /i/ in the second syllable. On the verb *teŋe-*, see also the T verb *teŋ-* ‘to soar ’ (cf. **teng**). Räsänen (1969: 474) observed that the T word can be documented as a lw fr Chuv not only in H, but also in Voty *tüngïli* (cf. also Fedotov (1996/2: 216–217)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1365) attempted to trace PT **deŋgil* ‘axle’ back to PA **téŋgu* ‘axle, spindle’. Mo *teŋkeleg* ‘axle’ was correctly marked by them as a T lw. Mo *teŋgelig* goes back to T *teŋel+lig*. This was re-borrowed by Kirg.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 108–109) compared the H word with T words, and both Budenz (1873: 89) and Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 209) considered it as a word of T der on the basis of this comparison. Gombocz (1912b: 128) reconstructed the OChuv copied form as **tiŋgil*. Vámbéry (1914: 213) strengthened the T etymology of the H word. Bárczi (1941: 306) and Benkő (1953b: 11, 49; 1967–1984/3: 887) alike also accepted the T etymology. According to Ligeti (1986: 120, 183), the H word is of T origin. It preserved the T open *-ä-* in the first syllable and the internal segment *-ŋ-*. The final consonant *-l* shows palatalization (*-ly*). Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1502) presumed an OT lw and reconstructed the T copied form as **teŋil*. The palatalization of *-l* to *-ly* is an internal H development (cf. **keselyű**, **toklyó**). He thought that the second meaning of the H word ‘Stengel samt Wurzel der Pflanze’ as a botanic term could have resulted fr a H semantic change.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 209; Vámbéry 1870: 108–109; Budenz 1873: 89; Gombocz 1912b: 128; Vámbéry 1914: 213; Ramstedt 1935: 391–392; Bárczi 1941: 306; Ramstedt 1949: 263; Benkő 1953b: 11, 49; Menges 1955: 34; Poppe 1960: 71; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 574–576; Egorov 1964: 246; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 887; Räsänen 1969: 474; Clauson 1972: 511–512, 516, 520–522; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 191–194, 235–236; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 346; Levitskaja 1982: 97–103; Ligeti 1986: 120, 183, 194, 202, 300, 537; Erdal 1991: 330–332, 343, 415, 424, 447, 496, 569, 747; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1502; Fedotov 1996/2: 216–217; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 133–135; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1365.

TENGER [teŋer] ‘sea’ | 1152 PN *Tengurdi* [tengür-di], early 13th c./c1350 *[te]nguruk-nec* [tengür-üknek], p1416/c1450 *tèngėz*t [tenger-t] | *teŋer* < *teŋir* ⟵ WOT **täŋir* | EOT *täŋiz* ‘a large body of water, river or lake’.

OT *täŋiz* ‘sea’ (AK), *täŋiz* ‘sea’ (AQB); **MT** *Tängiz* PN (UOg), *teŋiz* ‘deniz’ (UY), *täŋiz* ‘sea’ (ABF), *täŋiz*, *teniz*, *teŋiz* ‘sea’ (AGul), *teŋiz* ‘deniz’ (AHMA), *täŋiz* ‘morze’ (AHŠ), *täŋiz* ‘more’ (AIM), *teŋiz* ‘deniz’ (AIMI), *denġiz* (sic!) ‘sea’ (AKD), *tängiz* ‘sea’ (AKor), *täŋiz* ‘river’ (ARbg), *täŋiz*, *deŋiz* ‘more’ (ATef), *dingiz* ‘deniz’ (AYC), *tengiz*

'la mer' (AChag), *täŋiz* 'more' (AChagBud), *tengiz* 'more' (AChagMA), *täŋiz* 'das Meer' (AChagR), *teŋiz* 'a large body of water, river or sea' (AChagS), *teŋiz* 'nehir, derya' (AChagŠS), *tengiz* 'Meer' (AChagŠSK), *teŋiz* 'Meer, Fluss' (AChagZ), *teŋiz* 'Meer' (LCCG), *teŋiz* 'Meer' (LCCI), *täniz* 'deniz' (AAH), *teniz* 'deniz' (AAHI), *dängiz*, *däŋiz* 'mer' (ABul), *tängiz*, *tengiz*, (*tingiz*) 'mer', *aḉï tängiz* (*tingiz*) 'la mer salée (amère)' (ADur), *tängiz* 'Meer' (AHou), *täŋiz* 'tenger; Meer' (AKav), *ājī̄ täŋiz* 'the salt sea', *ṭaṭlī̄ täŋiz* 'a freshwater lake' (AKav, Cl.), *täŋiz* 'more' (ATuh), *teŋiz* 'deniz' (ATuhA), *tengiz* 'mer' (AmTr), *tengiz* 'sea' (AmCh), *tengiz* 'mer' (AmE), *deniz*, *deŋiz* 'deniz' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tině̌s* 'more, morskoj' (Chuv ← Tat), *tině̌s*, *tinis* 'more' (ChuvA), *tině̌s* Szp. id. 'tenger; Meer' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *diŋgez* 'more, morskoj' (Tat), *diŋǐz* 'das Meer' (TatKR), *diŋez*, *dingez* 'tenger; Meer' (TatB), *diŋgĕð* '(prjam., peren.) more, morskoj, vhodit v sostav nekotoryh bot. i zool. terminov' (Bashk), *diŋgeð* 'tenger' (BashkP), *täŋgis* 'more' (SibTatBD), *deŋiz* 'more', *teŋiz* 'more', s ličnymi pritjaž. affiksami 'velikodušnyj, širokij, kak more, ljubeznyj, dorogoj (položiteĺnyj ėpitet čeloveka, obyčno-ėpičeskogo geroja, ego ženy, materi, naroda)' (Kirg), *teŋiz* 'sea' (Kaz), *teŋǐz* 'more' (KazB), *teŋiz* 'das Meer, der See Balkasch' (KazR), *teŋiz* 'more' (Kklp), *teŋiz* 'more, morskoj' (Nog), *deŋiz* 'more' (CrTat), *däŋiz* 'das Meer' (CrTatR), *tėŋgiz* 'more' (KarSh), *dėniz* 'more' (KarC), *dėŋiz* 'more' (KarSh), *teŋgiz´* 'more' (KarT), *tėngiz* 'more' (KarT, KarH), *tėniz* 'more' (KarC), *tängiz* 'das Meer' (KarLR, KarTR), *dengiz* 'more, morskoj' (Kum), *deŋŋiz* 'Meer' (KumN), *teŋiz* 'more' (KrchBlk), *teŋŋiz* 'Meer' (KrchP), *teŋŋiz* 'Meer' (BlkP); ***SW*** *deŋiz* 'more, morskoj' (Tkm), *däniz* 'more, morskoj' (Az), *deniz* 'sea, ocean, large lake', in compounds 'marine, maritime, nautical, naval', 'waves, high sea, a swell' (Tt), *deniz* 'more, morskoj' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *dengiz* 'more, morskoj' (Uzb), *tɛŋgiz* 'sea, lake' (TurkiJ), *tingiz* 'a large lake, a sea' (TurkiSh), *deŋiz* 'more' (MUyg); ***NE*** *teŋis* 'okean' (Alt), *täŋis* 'Meer' (AltR, AltTelR, AltQKR), *teŋis* 'more' (AltL), *teŋis* 'more' (AltQK), *teŋis* 'more' (AltTK), *tiŋǐs* 'okean' (Khak), *čiŋǐs* 'okean'(KhakD), *tiŋǐs* 'okean' (KhakB); ***Y*** –.

Mo *Teŋgis dalay* 'Lake Baikal' (SH), *teŋgis* 'lake, sea' (L).

E/T As shown by Clauson (1972: 527), the T etymon for the H *tenger* only occurs as of the 11th c. when it displaced the synonymous word *talōy*, however it is old and this can even be verified with the H word. Another old item for this word may be the name of the son of Attila, if it really represents a cognate for this T word. According to the Gr and Lat sources of the 5th–6th c., Attila's son was called *Δεγγιζίχ* (Priscus), *Dentzicia* (Marc. comes) and *Dintzic* (Jordanes). This name *Dengizix*, *Dentzik*, *Dintzik* was identified by many researchers with the T noun *täŋiz* (however, on problems with this identification, see Ligeti (1962c: 146–150) and Doerfer (1973a: 39–40)).

The basic sense of the T word could have been ‘a large body of water’, whether static, like a lake, or moving, like a large river, and later specifically, and, in the end, exclusively, ‘the sea’. It is no simple task to determine with any precision what the T word originally meant because it is generally translated as Ar *al-baḥr* and because it only carries the meaning ‘a kind of large area of water’. Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 205–207) cited Vámbéry and pointed out that the T word also denotes ‘größerer Binnensee’. Doerfer rightly rejected Ramstedt’s comparison (1935: 392), an attempt to find an old connection between T **täŋir* and Tu *tuŋ̲er*. Doerfer assumed that T *täŋiz* could be a der with the pl suff *+z* and its base would then be the word *täng* ‘göl, bataklık’ in Kashgari. However, *täŋ*, which was translated by Brockelmann as ‘marsh (?)’ and by Atalay as ‘lake’, was identified by Clauson (1972: 512) and Dankoff–Kelly (see 1982–1985/2: 330) correctly with T *taŋ* ‘dawn’. Thus, Doerfer’s etymological explanation does not hold water. On other unacceptable etymologies, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 194–195).

The T word was borrowed into the Cher dials (see Fedotov 1996/2: 232) – Cher *teŋïz*, *tïŋïz* – and into many other lgs (on which see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 205–207).

H is the only lg which preserved the rhotacistic form. We find the CT form both in Chuv and Mo.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 179) argued in favour of the T etymology of H *tenger*. Budenz (1873: 89) accepted Vámbéry’s T etymology. Munkácsi (1893: 285) assumed a Chuv lw. Gombocz (1907a: 361) considered the H word to be of T origin and (1912b: 128–129) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **täŋgir* for it. Németh (1935–1939: 528) agreed with Gombocz’s explanation. Fokos (1937: 69) listed some parallels to the semantic change ‘ocean’ > ‘innumerable’ in various lgs. According to Bárczi (1941: 306; 1962: 45) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 888), H *tenger* is an OChuv lw. Ligeti (1986: 305) was of the opinion that H *tenger* might have been borrowed fr Khaz and that it shows a clear Chuv copied form **täŋir*, which could have meant the ‘Black Sea’ for the Hungarians, which they also called the ‘Khazarian Sea’. The H lg has preserved both the open *-ä-* and the *-ŋ-*, besides the final segment *-r*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1502) accepted Ligeti’s arguments.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 179; Budenz 1873: 89; Munkácsi 1893: 285; Gombocz 1907a: 361; Gombocz 1912b: 128–129; Räsänen 1920: 219; Ramstedt 1935: 392; Németh 1935–1939: 528; Fokos 1937: 69; Bárczi 1941: 306; Ramstedt 1949: 263; Joki 1952: 341–342; Ramstedt 1952-1966/1: 145; B. Lőrinczy 1953: 40; Bárczi 1962: 45; Ligeti 1962c: 146–152; Moór 1962: 37; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 205–207; Egorov 1964: 252; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 888; Räsänen 1969: 474; Clauson 1972: 512, 527; Doerfer 1973a: 39–40; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 194–195; Ligeti 1975: 284; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 330; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 120, 183, 186, 202, 305, 526, 537; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1502; Fedotov 1996/2: 232; Tenišev 2001: 89; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1417.

TENGŐDIK ‘to vegetate, to linger in misery’ see **teng**.

TÉR [tēr] 'to turn, to change the original direction', **térül-fordul** [tērül-fordul] 'to go and turn', **térít** [tērīt] 'to turn (something), to convert' | p1372/c1448 *teretuala* [tēr-et vålå], *megteruen* [meg-tēr-vēn] | *tērül-*, *tērīt-* < *tēr-* {with suffs *-Ul-* or *-īt-*, resp} < **tevir-* ← WOT **tävir-* | EOT *tävir-* 'to turn (something Acc.)'.

OT *tävir-*: *nom tilgänin tävirär* 'das Rad der Lehre drehen' (UTT VI 455), *är tawārigʉ ävürdi tävürdi* 'the man turned the merchandise upside down and inside out' (AK); **MT** ? *täbrä-* 'se mouvoir, s'agiter', *täbrät-* 'mouvoir, pousser' (UHy), *täbräš-* 's'agiter, źtre excité' (UHyS), ? *täbrä-* 'dvigatʹsja', *täbrät-* 'dvigatʹ, kolebatʹ, kačatʹ, podstrekatʹ' (ATef), *tewrük* 'rond: tige de bois ou de fer qu'on assujettit fortement au milieu de la pierre inférieure d'un moulin à bras, tordu, courbé, fiché' (AChag), *tiwer-*, *dewir-* 'drehen, umdrehen, umstürzen' (AChagZ), *tüvür-* 'drehen' (LCCG); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tavăr-* 'vyvoračivatʹ, vyvertyvatʹ (naiznanku), licevatʹ, perelicovyvatʹ, zasučivatʹ, zavoračivatʹ, podvoračivatʹ, vorošitʹ, perevoračivatʹ, vozvraščatʹ obratno, povoračivatʹ vspjatʹ, vozvraščatʹ (napr. dolg), otsylatʹ (čto-l. po prinadležnosti), vozvraščatʹ (v prežnee sostojanie), vosstanavlivatʹ, vozmeščatʹ, okupatʹ, opravdyvatʹ (rashody), otvečatʹ, vozražatʹ, parirovatʹ (knižn.)', etc. (Chuv), *tavăr-* 'vozvraščatʹ, vernutʹ, svernutʹ, perevoračivatʹ, zasučitʹ (rukava), vyvoryčivatʹ, vyvoračvatʹ naiznanku, etc.' (ChuvA), *tavăr-* 'feltűrni, felszegni (pl. az ujjat, a nadrág szárát), megfordítani, viszont adni, bosszút állni; aufschlagen, aufrollen, umkehren, die Kehrseite nach aussen wenden' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *dävir-* 'drehen, wenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' (KazR), *devir-* 'vertetʹ, krutitʹ, svergatʹ' (CrTat); ***SW*** *devir-* 'oprokidyvatʹ, nizvergatʹ, nizvergnutʹ, svergnutʹ', *devril-* 'bytʹ nizvergnutym, svergnutym' (Az), *devir-* 'to overturn, knock down, turn over, turn upside down, to throw down, overthrow, to upset, capsize, to tilt to one side, to drink down, toss off (in drinking), to turn on a lathe' (Tt), *tivir-* 'itmek, devirmek' (TtD), *devir-* 'tornacılıkta yontmak' (TtDA), *dävir-* 'drehen, wenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' (TtR), *devir-* 'oprokidyvatʹ, perevertyvatʹ, stavitʹ vverh dnom, (peren.) provalivatʹ, zavalivatʹ (ėkzamen, rabotu)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tevarak* 'okružnostʹ, okruga, okrestnostʹ' (Uzb), *tävri-* 'kačatʹsja, raskačivatʹsja, kolebatʹsja, kolyhatʹsja' (MUyg); ***NE*** *tēr-* 'kružitʹ, obʺezžatʹ krugom, letatʹ krugom, paritʹ v vozduhe, dvigatʹsja, vertetʹsja' (Alt), ? *tabïrat-* 'vertetʹ na vertele' (AltQK), ? *tabrat-* 'vertetʹ (vereteno)' (AltTK), *tā̈r-* 'sich im Kreise herumdrehen, sich an einer Stelle bewegen, in der Luft schweben' (AltR, AltTelR), *tā̈r-* 'einen Umweg machen, vorbereiten' (KhakShR); ***Y*** *tiär-* 'voročatʹ (platʹe), povoračivatʹ, zavoračivatʹ (platʹe), vyvoračivatʹ, oboračivatʹ na lico iznanku ili ispodnjuju storonu (napr. platʹja), perevertyvatʹ etc.' (Y), *tiär-* 'das Innere nach außen kehren, die innere Seite herauskehren' (Dlg).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb may be T *tävir-* 'to turn (something Acc.)', which Clauson (1972: 443) considered to be a simplex. He noted that the T verb *tävir-* is practically synonymous with *ävir-* and *čävir-* and perhaps an older form

of the latter. The verb pair *ävür- tävür-* in Kashgari (see the database) has secondary labial vowels in each of the second syllables, which could have developed under the influence of the consonant *-v-*. Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/3: 187) attempted to define a verbal base **täw-*, *taw-* 'turn, twist, move' which was "used as a jingle with other verbs". They are of the opinion that this base may be identical with the T verb *taw-* (*täw-* ?) 'dispose of (merchandise)' (AK). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 172–173) regarded T *tävir-* as going back to the earlier form **tägir-* 'kružit′, vraščat′, vertet′', however this assumption cannot be supported. T **tägir-* seems to be another word (see **teker**). Having discussed the pass form of *tävir-*, i.e. *tävr-il-* 'to roll over, revolve', Erdal (1991: 676) noted that *tävir-* may be found nine times, in addition to Clauson's dict, in UMaitr with six occurrences observed in the construction *nomlug tilgän tävir-* 'to turn the wheel of dharma'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1409–1410) reconstructed PT **debir-* 'to capsize, subvert' < PA **t'ebV* 'to put' > PTu **teb-* 'to put' and PMo **tege-* 'to transport, load', which is unacceptable because of phonetic and semantic problems.

E/H H has two homophonous words. The other word is of PFUgr origin: PFUgr **terɜ-* > PUgr **terə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **terə-* > H *tér-* 'to have space, to find space, to go in' > *terel-* 'to drive, to turn (animals or people)', *terít-* 'to spread (e.g. a carpet)', *tereget-* 'to spread out (clothing)'. This word group denotes a direct movement. The other is *tér-* 'to move with a change of the original direction, to come back after having gone, to come back from somewhere, etc.' > *térít-* 'to convert', *eltér-* 'to deviate', *elterel-* 'divert (e.g. traffic)', etc. The two verbs and their ders became mixed up later.

It was Vámbéry (1870: 179) who first considered H *tér-* to have derived fr T on the basis of partially unrelated words. According to Munkácsi (1925: 11–13), the H verb has the corresponding form *tēr-* in some SibT lgs, which has a widespread word-family in the T lgs. Bárczi (1941: 307) believed the H verb to be of debated der. It may either be a T lw or have a FUgr starting point. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 893–894) thought that the H verb can only have an OT etymology if the basic word carried the original meaning 'to turn from an earlier direction and move away in another direction, to change sides'. In this case, the H word-family may correspond to one in T which includes the OT member *tegirä* 'around' (< 'going around'). The T forms that correspond to H **teker** and their links to this word-family call for further investigation. According to Benkő, the H word-family may, however, also be interrelated with H *tér-* 'to slot into something, to have enough space'. This second possibility poses semantic problems. An action involving a change in direction cannot be verified. Palló (1982: 190–191) erroneously thought that H *tér* 'space' may be interrelated with OT *tėr-*, which was synonymous with T *yïg-* 'to assemble, to collect'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1505) rejected Palló's etymological proposal. He thought that

the H verb is of debated origin, but that it may go back to an early T copied form **täwär-*. The possibility that it appeared as the result of a semantic split fr the H verb *tér-* 'Raum haben, Raum finden', which is originally FUgr, seems, according to Benkő, to be less likely. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *tér-* and *terel-* among the T lws in H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 179; Munkácsi 1925: 11–13; Bárczi 1941: 307; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 893–894; Clauson 1972: 443; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 172–173; Palló 1982: 190–191; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/3: 187; Erdal 1991: 676; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1505; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 1409–1410.

TÉRD [tērd] 'knee' | p1372/c1448 *terdyuel* [tērd-ivel] | *tērd* < **tīr* {with suff +*d*} ← WOT **tīr* | EOT *tīz* 'knee'.

1 *tīz* 'knee': **OT** *tizlig* 'having knees' (RMKT E 2, RMBilg E 3), *tiz* 'knees' (RTIrk 60), *tiz*: *oŋ tizin čökitip* 'mit dem rechten Knie niederknieen' (UU II 47:78), *iki tizin čökütü olurup* '[knieen] mit beiden Knien nieder' (UU III 28,12), *tiz* 'knee' (UXuanzangIndex), *tiz* 'Knie' (UTTV A:4), *tīz* 'knee' (AK), *tiz* 'knee' (AQB); **MT** *tiz* 'diz' (AHMA), *tiz* 'kolano' (AHŠ), *dīz* 'koleno' (AIM), *diz*, *tiz* 'bacakla baldır kemiklerinin birleştiği yer' (AIMI), *ṭīz*, *diz* 'knee' (AKD), *tiz* 'knee' (AKor), *tiz* 'diz' (ANeh), *tiz* 'koleno' (ANehF), *tiz* 'knee', *tiz tonï* 'drawers' (ARbg), *tiz* 'koleno' (ATef), *diz* 'diz' (AYC) *tiz* 'genou' (AChag), *tiz* 'diz, zânu' (AChagAb), *tiz* 'diz, zânu' (AChagAbA), *tiz* 'koleno' (AChagB), *tiz* 'koleno' (AChagBud), *tiz* 'koleno' (AChagMA), *tiz* 'das Knie' (AChagR), *tiz* 'knee' (AChagSC), *tiz* 'diz' (AChagŠS), *diz* 'das Knie' (AChagZ), *tiz* 'Knie', *tizgi* (tixgi) 'Knie', *tizgä* (tixga) 'Strumpfband' (LCCG), *tiz* 'diz' (AAH), *diz* 'genou' (ADur), *tiz* 'Knie' (AHou), *tiz* 'térd; Knie' (AKav), *tiz* 'knee, knee (of a horse)' (AMGh), *tiz* 'koleno' (ATuh), *tiz* 'dız' (ATuhA), *tiz* 'genou' (AmTr), *diz* 'diz' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *čĕr* '(*ust.*) koleno *i* koleni', *čĕrkuśśi* 'koleno *i* koleni, kolenka, kolennyj, nakolennyj' (Chuv), *čĕr* 'koleno, verhnjaja storona beder ot taza do kolena', *čĕrkuś* 'koleno', *čĕrkĕ* 'koleni' (ChuvA), *čĕr*, *čăr*, *čĕrkuśśi*, *čărkuśśi* 'térd; Knie' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tez* 'koleno, kolenka, koleni, kolennyj' (Tat), *tĕz* 'koleno' (TatD1), *tĕz* 'koleno' (TatD2), *tez* 'térd; Knie' (TatB), *ṭīz* 'das Knie' (TatKR), dial. *teð* 'koleno, kolennyj' (Bashk), *teð* 'térd [knee]' (BashkP), *tezä* 'tez; koleno' (SibTat), *tiz* 'koleno' (SibTatBD), *tiz* 'koleno', dial (južn.) *tize* id. (Kirg), *tĭze* 'knee' (Kaz), *tĭze* 'koleno' (KazB), *tis*, *tizä* 'das Knie' (KazR), *dize* 'koleno' (Kklp), *tiz* 'koleno, kolenka, kolennyj' (Nog), *tiz* 'koleno' (CrTat), *diz* 'das Knie' (CrTatR), *tiz* 'koleno' (KarT, KarH), *tiz´* 'koleno' (KarT), *kiz* 'koleno' (KarH), *tüz* 'koleno' (KarSh), *tiz* 'koleno, kolennyj' (Kum), *tiz* 'Knie'(KumN); ***SW*** *dīz̄* 'koleno, kolennyj, nakolennyj' (Tkm), *diz* 'koleno, kolennyj' (Az), *tiz*, *diz* 'das Knie' (AzR), *diz* 'knee' (Tt), *diz* 'koleno' (TtB), *diz* 'koleno, kolennyj' (Gag), *diz*, *dïz*, *dīz*, *düz*, *dūz* 'Knie' (Khor), *diz* 'Knie' (SOg); ***Kh*** *tị̄ʲz*, *tīz* 'Knie' (Kh), *tīz* 'Knie' (KhT); ***SE*** *tiz*, *tizza* 'koleno, koleni' (Uzb), *tiz* 'knee' (TurkiJ), *tüz* 'knee' (TurkiSh), *tiz*, *tez*, *tis* 'koleno' (TurkiL), *tiz* 'das Knie' (TurkiTR), *tiz*, (dial) *tizzä* 'koleno' (MUyg), *tüz*, *tizex* 'koleno, koleni' (Sal), *tiz*, *tiz*, *tuzə* 'genou' (SalK), *tïz* 'koleno, koleni' (YUyg), *tiz*, *tez*

'koleno (časť tela)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tize* 'koleno' (Alt), *tizä* 'das Knie' (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *tize* 'koleno' (AltL), *tize* 'štany' (AltQK), *tĭs* '(dial) koleno', *tĭzek*, *tĭstenek* (Khak), *tĭs* 'koleno' (KhakB), *tis* 'das Knie' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *tĭzenek* 'koleno' (KhakS), *tizä* 'das Knie' (KhakShR), *dïzï* 'knee' (FY), *dis* 'koleno' (Tuv); ***Y*** *tüsäx* 'perednjaja storona ljažki, kolʹno, kolʹni' (Y).

Mo *türey*, *türüy* 'bootleg, boot top' (L).

2 *tirsek* 'elbow, forearm': **OT** *tirsgāk* 'forearm (AK); **MT** *tirsäk* 'elbow' (ABF), *tirsek* 'elbow' (AKD), *tirsäk* 'elbow' (AKor), *tirsäk* 'lokoť' (ANehF), *tirsäk* 'lien, jointure du bras, coude' (AChag), *tirsäk* 'lokoť' (AChagB), *tirsäk* 'lokoť' (AChagMA), *tirsäk* 'the elbow joint' (AChagSC), *tirsäk* 'coude' (ADur), Tkm. *tirsäk* 'Ellbogen' (AHou), *tirsäk* 'könyök; Ellbogen' (AKav), *tirsäk* 'elbow' (AMGh), *dirsäk*, *tirsäk* (both Tkm.) 'lokoť' (ATuh), (Tkm.) *tirsek* 'dirsek' (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tersäk* 'lokoť, loktevoj, (*teh.*) koleno, kolence' (Tat), *tersäk* 'lokoť' (TatD2), *tersäk* 'könyök; Ellbogen' (TatB), *terhäk* 'lokoť, loktevoj, (*teh.*) koleno' (Bashk), *tirsäk* 'die Kniekehle' (SibTatTR), *tirsek* 'ahillesovo suhožilie, jačmenʹ' (Kirg), *tĭrsek* '(anat.) shin' (Kaz), *tĭrsek* 'golenʹ' (KazB), *tirsek* 'lokoť' (Kklp), *tirsek* 'lokoť, loktevoj' (Nog), *tirsek* 'lokoť (sustav), koleno (truby)' (CrTat), *tirsek* 'lokoť' (Kum); ***SW*** *tirsäk* 'lokoť, koleno (truby)' (Tkm), *dirsäk* 'lokoť, sgib, izgib (reki), (*teh.*) koleno, kronštejn' (Az), *dirsek* 'elbow, knee (of timber), bend (in a river), elbow (in a pipe), crank' (Tt), *dirsek* 'lokoť, izgib, povorot (dorogi), izlučina (reki)' (TtB), *dirsek* 'lokoť, loktevoj, izgib, povorot, koleno, (*ust.*) lokoť (starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja 0,637 m)' (Gag), *dirsȧy*, *dirsäy*, *dirsäk* 'Ellbogen, Knie' (Khor); ***Kh*** *tīrsäk* 'Ellenbogen' (Kh), *tīrsäk* 'Ellbogen' (KhT); ***SE*** *tirsak* 'lokoť, loktevoj, (*teh.*) koleno (truby)' (Uzb), *tüssäx*, *tüssix* 'lokoť' (Sal); ***NE*** *tĭrsek* 'koleno zadnej nogi životnogo' (Khak), *diskek* 'koleno, kolennyj' (Tuv), *tĭskek* '(anat.) koleno' (Tof); ***Y*** *tüsex*, *tüsürges*, *süsürges* 'perednaja časť bedra (ljažki), koleno' (Y).

E/T Clauson (1972: 553) claimed that the meaning of T *tirsek* 'a stye (on the eye)', pertains here. This was strengthened by Kara (Zieme–Kara 1978: 110, note to line 430), who cited Mo *ebüdüg* 'knee, stye on an eyelid'. See e.g. *tirsek* 'pryšč, ugorʹ, jačmenʹ (na glazu)' (Alt), *diskek* '(med.) jačmenʹ' (Tuv), etc.

The T etymon for the H word is dealt with by a number of authorities in the T linguistic literature (see e.g. Räsänen 1969: 482; Clauson 1972: 570; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 336–337) who agree it is a simplex. Its connection with *tirä-* 'to prop up' is unlikely. On the other hand, the link between *tīz* and *tirsek* (< *tirsgek* < **tizgek* < **tiz+gAk*) 'elbow' is clear. Sevortjan (1974-1980/3: 336–337) divided the word forms into two parts: *dīz* and *tize*. In a discussion of the word form *tize* in the second part of the entry, he mentioned a number of ders, even including forms with no direct interrelation. He considered some of these forms to be derived fr *tize* with the suffs *+A*, *+Ak*, *+kA* and *+gAk*, proposing others to be secondary forms of a supposed

compound of *dīz* 'knee' + *baš* 'head'. According to him, the long consonant *-zz-* within the word forms *tizzä* and *tĭzzä* in Uzb and MUyg most probably point to an earlier segment *-zl-* (*tiz+le*). However, the den nominal suff *+lA* is not known to serve this function, thus his explanation is unacceptable. The word forms in the CC are not very clear. In the case of *tizgi*, we can hardly suppose with the suff *+GI*. *tizgi* much more likely goes back to a form with the dim suff *+Ak*, *tiz+äk*, to which a Px3.Sg. could have been added (*tizgi* < **tiz+äk+i*). Such constructions are often used in words denoting body parts. *tizge* 'Strumpfband' (LCCG), however, seems to be a der fr *tiz* with the suff *+gA*. The back vowel in Tkm may be secondary, although the length is a preserved old phonetic feature. The initial consonant (*k-*), instead of the etymological **t-* in the form in KarH, is of course secondary. (In some cases, we can observe a reverse phonetic change in Kar). Tuv *diskek* 'koleno' is an old word with the suff *+gAk*. Ramstedt (1935: 415) connected the T etymon for the H word with Mo *türey* 'Stiefelschaft' as a 'boot reaching the knees' (see Grm *Kniestrumpf*) and this view was advanced in the literature by others as well (cf. Fedotov 1996/2: 413; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1447). On probable Tu parallels for the Mo word, see Doerfer (1985: 69–70).

The etymological interrelation between the T words with the meanings 'knee' and 'elbow', i.e. *tīz* and *tirsgäk* > *tirsäk* seems to be very plausible. Räsänen (1969: 481), Clauson (1972: 553) and Sevortjan (1974-1980/3: 336–337) made no mention of this possibility, one which Róna-Tas (1970: 727) had maintained. Erdal (1991: 74) did not discuss this question. He observed, however, that Zieme–Kara (1978: 110, n. 430) thought *tirsgäk* 'elbow' was a der of *tiz* 'knee', which is the etymon for H *térd*. According to Erdal, Doerfer rejected this possibility in a personal communication with him. Tenišev (2001: 247–249) did not mention the possible link between *tirsäk* and *tīz* (see the reconstruction as **tuyz-ke*: 284–285). The Chuv words cited *čavsa*, *čavsavay* and *časa* (ChuvA), cannot belong here, thus Mudrak's explanation (1993: 83, cited by Tenišev, but not repeated in Strarostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1447)) that **tirsäk* > **tiusa* > Chuv *čavsa* is unacceptable. The parallel mentioned (PTu **tiǰa-ki*) and the reconstructed PA form **tʻirsaki* contradict the T forms. The internal *-g-* in the T forms seem to be primary. If we compare the phonetic shapes of the T words that mean 'elbow' to those of the words that signify 'knee', one can only find two lgs (Tkm, Sal) which do not strengthen the presumed etymological ties between them.

The vocalic alternation /ï/ ~ /i̱/ ~ /u/ ~ /ü/ in the Sal words denoting 'knee' (cf. *tiz*, *ti̱z*, *tuzə* (SalK), *tüz*, *tizex* (Sal)) and the consistent appearance of *-ü-* in the Sal words *tüssäx*, *tüssix* 'elbow' and the Y words *tüsex*, *tüsürges*, *süsürges* 'perednaja častʹ bedra (ljažki), koleno' are secondary, inner developments and have no relevance for the etymology. Similar alternations exist in words which are surely linked (cf. Tenišev's (1976a: 512) data *tiz* ~ *tüz* 'rovnyj, gladkij, ravnina, nizmennostʹ'). The

alternation between *-z-*, *-z* and *-ss-* can also be regarded as natural, because these segments go back to **z* and **-rs*(*g*)*-*. The Sal segment *-ss-* developed by assimilation.

In Tkm *dīz* 'knee' comes fr **tīz*, and, despite the front > back change, this correspondence can be seen as regular. The initial *t-* in Tkm *tirsäk* 'elbow' may point to the early shortening of the vowel, so the *t-* > *d-* change could not have appeared after that.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 179–180) considered H *térd* to be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 129) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tir* for the H word to which the dim suff *+d* was added in H (*+gy*, *térgy*, in dials). According to Bárczi (1941: 307), the base of H *térd* is of T der. Tekin (1969: 65) was of the view that the H word has the same etymon as Chuv *čĕr*. H *térd* is, according to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 895; 1993–1997/2: 1506), an internal H der fr the basic word **tér*, which is a lw fr an OT lg of the Chuv type. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1506) maintained that the copied form can be reconstructed as **tēr*. Ligeti (1971b: 25, 30; 1986: 212) listed *térd* among the names of other H body parts that originated in T (cf. **boka**, **gyomor**, **kar**, **köldök** and § 7.3).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 179–180; Gombocz 1912b: 129; Ramstedt 1935: 415; Bárczi 1941: 307; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 655; Egorov 1964: 247, 317, 323; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 895; Räsänen 1969: 481–482; Tekin 1969: 65; Róna-Tas 1970: 727; Ligeti 1971b: 25, 30; Clauson 1972: 533, 553, 570; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 237–240, 336–337; Tenišev 1976a: 512; Zieme–Kara 1978: 110; Doerfer 1985: 69–70; Ligeti 1986: 212; Erdal 1991: 74, 323, 360, 569, 620; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1506; Mudrak 1993: 83; Fedotov 1996/2: 220, 413; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 162–168; Berta 2001c: 175–185; Tenišev 2001: 247–249, 284–285; Berta 2002: 47–56; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1447.

TEREM [terem] 'hall, chamber, great room' | p871 (!) GN *Term-pehrc* [term-perg], c950 *Τερματζουσ* [Termäcü], 1225 ? GN *Terem* [terem], 1256 GN *Therimthetwk* [terim-tetōk], c1395 *terem* [terem], *therm* [term] 'aula, hall', p1416/c1490 'the sacred womb of the Virgin Mary' | *terem* < **terem* ← WOT **terem* | MT *termä* 'tabernacula, tent, womb of the Virgin Mary' (CC), T *terme*, *terem* 'yurt, the wooden grate of the wall of the yurt, felt or textile covering the wall of the yurt'.

OT –; **MT** *dirim* (r: *-e-*) 'Splitter um das Zelt herum' (AChagŠSK), *termä* (terma) 'Heiligtum' (LCCG); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tirmä* 'jurta' (RTat), *tirmä*, *tirmä öy* 'jurta' (Bashk), *kirmä* 'vojločnaja jurta' (BashkD3), *tirmä* 'tirmä; vojločnaja jurta' (SibTat), *tirmä* 'das Filzzelt' (SibTatTR), ? *termečik* 'verhnij brus v ljulʹke, svjazyvajuščij dugi' (Kirg), *terme*: *terme üy* 'vojločnaja jurta, kibitka, šater, palatka' (KazD, Tenišev 2001: 503), *terme*: *terme üy* 'kibitka' (vojločnyj šater) (Nog), *terme* 'kibitka (žiliščе kočevnika)' (RKum); ***SW*** *tārim* 'tjarim (nižnjaja častʹ derevjannogo ostova turkmenskoj kibitki)' (Tkm), *derim* 'çadırın etrafını koruyan çul siper', *derim evi* 'kafes şeklinde tahtadan yapılan portatif ev, çadır iskeleti, keçeden yapılmış çadır' (TtD1), *därim* 'ein türkisches Zelt', *dirim* 'die Holzgitter der Jurte (kerege)', *dirim äv* 'das Nomadenzelt' (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tärmä* 'svodnyj, izobrannyj, otobrannyj, kamyšovaja

pletenka dlja v″jukov' (MUyg); ***NE*** *tirme* '(ust.) rešetka na verhu jurty' (Khak), *tā̈rbä* 'die Jurte' (KhakSR), *terbe*: *terbe ög* 'jurta (vojločnaja)' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *terme* 'thin woollen textile, flannel-like fabric, the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent, tent' (L) → Tib *ther-ma*.

Sl *terem* 'terem, dvorec' (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 47).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 337–339) claimed that OTt *tarïm* was copied fr Pe and that Tt *därim* may have developed during the Tt lg reform under the influence of Tt *där-* 'sammeln, zusammenstellen'. The T word *tärmä* may, according to Doerfer, be of Mo origin. The oldest T occurrence of this word is known fr the CC. Doerfer thought that OChSl *trěmъ* and other Sl data (cf. Rus *terem*, Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 47) cannot be of T der because the Sl historical data are attested much earlier than the T items. The Sl words therefore appear to be originally Gr. Ramstedt (1935: 393) compared the Rus word and others with T forms. Ligeti (1967b: 437–439) refuted Doerfer's explanation and pointed out that the T etymon for the Pe forms could be T *tā̈rim* (*tā̈räm*). He mentioned that, despite Tt *tarim*, *tarem*, which are borrowings fr Pe, Tt *därim* is attested as an item fr the colloquial lg as of the 15th c. It is also attested in Tkm as *tā̈rim*. According to Ligeti (1986: 275–276), the meaning 'womb, the womb of the Virgin Mary' of Cum *termä* could have appeared in Cum due to H missionary activity among the Cumans. The Sl forms may have come fr T. T *terme* may be an early lw in Mo (on the data, see Ligeti (1968: 275–276), also Ščerbak (1997: 166) and Tenišev (2001: 503), and the Mo word was re-borrowed by certain T lgs (cf. Turki *terme* 'lattices of a nomad tent' and MUyg *tärmä*, Khak *tirmä*). According to Róna-Tas (1995a: 417–430; 1996a: 181–188), T *termä* is of Gr der (see *τεραμνον* 'room, house'). The OKip form is *termä*, the OOg is *terim*. The Rus form may have been either copied fr the same Gr word or taken fr T. The T word denoted the cover of the yurt, the lattice of the yurt and the yurt itself. The Lat word *tabernaculum*, with which it is glossed in the CC, carried the meaning 'tent' and later tabernacle, the place where the Body of Christ is kept, and thus also the womb of the Virgin Mary. As Ligeti pointed out, this very special sense of the word was present in H codices fr the end of the 15th c. on. The Rus word took on the meaning 'tower, chamber', an expression for the great inner rooms of the Tsars.

E/H Miklosich (1882: 514) considered H *terem* to be of Sl origin and observed that corresponding forms can be found in several Sl lgs. Having investigated the source of Tt *tarïm*, Kúnos (1898a: 48) cited Miklosich's position that the Tt word may be compared with Gr, H and Sl forms. Melich (1909–1910: 36) and Bárczi (1941: 307–308) accepted the Sl etymology of the word. Kniezsa (1955: 771–772), however, pointed out that the Sl source of H *terem* cannot be verified. It has a lexical parallel *palota*, which is of Sl der, more precisely ORus. Kniezsa rejected Vasmer's (1944: 144) opinion about the Gr starting point of the Sl word (*terem*) and compared it with T

tarïm ‘Kuppel; a nomad’s tent of felt or goat’s hair, any structure with a dome or high roof, a high trellis for climbing plants, a railing or paling’. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 897–898), H *terem* may have its ultimate source in the Sl lgs, however its immediate source is uncertain. It may originate in the same Sl lg (Blg or ORus) as H *palota*. H *terem* may be an old lw because its ders with *+i* appear in Hungary as GNs. The etymology of the Sl words is unclear. According to Ligeti (1986: 275–276, 543), the semantic change *terem* ‘the womb of the Virgin Mary’ < *terem* ‘hall, assembly hall’ is not easy to follow. The origin of ORus *terem* ‘hohes Gemach, Halle’ fr Kip *termä* ‘a kind of nomad tent’ also seems problematic. Thus, according to him, one can suppose with two borrowings in H: (1) *terem* ‘hall’ fr a Sl lg and (2) H *terme* > *terem* ‘womb’ fr Cum. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1506) maintained his earlier opinion. According to Róna-Tas (1995a: 417–430; 1996a: 181–188), the T words *terim*, *derim* come fr Gr. Later, this word was confused with a der of *tēr-* ‘to gather, collect’ which was formed with the dev nominal suff *-(X)m*. The Mo word *terme* goes back to T *terem* or *terme*. The name of a H person fixed by Constantine VII as *Τερματζουσ* was identified earlier as *Tormás*. Róna-Tas claimed that *Τερματζουσ* is H *termes* fr *terem* and the H suff *+(V)š*. Szatmári (2000: 211–216) suggested that the OChSl and ORus words may go back to T or Mo (probably Avar). The copied form in the T or Mo could be either **terme* or **termě* ‘yurt, palace tent’. The AT or AMo form **terme* occurred in WOT and OOg as **terim*, **derim* and in H **term*^{e} > *terëm*, *teröm*. In the Sl lgs, one can assume the change *termъ* > *tremъ*. Róna-Tas’s position was debated by Benkő (2003: 9–19), who felt the connection of the name written in Gr letters and H *terem* can be excluded, because the second vowel in H *terem* is a closed one (*terëm*) and the alpha in the Gr transcription denotes an open *ä*. This is of course a valid observation for modern H, and we have to reconstruct the H name as *Termäču*, more properly *Termäčü*. Still, we do find an open /ä/ in the second syllable in a portion of the T lgs. This is etymological; the Gr word had an /a/ in the second syllable, which shows that the T form adapted it to *termä*. The present closed *ë* in H *terëm* is a secondary development in H due to dissimilation.

◆ Miklosich 1882: 514; Kúnos 1898a: 48; Melich 1909–1910: 36; Ramstedt 1935: 393; Bárczi 1941: 307–308; Vasmer 1944: 144; Kniezsa 1955: 771–772; Rudenko 1955: 203; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 337–339; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 47; Ligeti 1967b: 437–439; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 897–898; Ligeti 1986: 275–276, 543; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1506; Róna-Tas 1995a: 417–430; Róna-Tas 1996a: 181–188; Ščerbak 1997: 166; Szatmári 2000: 211–216; Tenišev 2001: 503; Benkő 2003: 9–19.

TÉRÍT ‘to turn (something), to convert’, **térül-fordul** ‘to go and turn’ see **tér**.

TEVE [teve] ‘camel’ | c1395 *theue* [teve] | *teve* < **teve* ← WOT **teve* | EOT *teve*, *tevey* ‘camel’.

OT *ägri täbä* ‘Bactrian camel (Acc.)’ (RMTon 48), *täbä* ‘camel’ (RTIrk 5, 46), *tävä* ‘Kamel’ (UHeilk I:54,71,98), *tewe*, *tewey* ‘camel (ibil)’, Og *dävä*, *däväy* id. (AK), *tewä* ‘camel’ (AQB); **MT** *tävä* ‘chameau’ (UHy), *tävä*, *täve*, *däve* ‘camel’ (ABF), *tävä* ‘camel’, *täväči* ‘camelman’ (AGul), *tewe* ‘deve’ (AHMA), *tewä* ‘wielbłąd’ (AHŠ), *tewä* ‘verbljud’ (AHŠF), *tävä*, *dävä* ‘verbljud’ (AIM), *dive*, *tive* ‘deve’ (AIMI), *deve*, *teve* ‘camel’ (AKD), *täwä* ‘camel’ (AKor), *tewe* ‘deve’ (ANeh), *täwä* ‘verbljud’ (ANehF), *tewä* ‘verbljud’ (ATef), *tevä*, *devä* ‘chameau’ (AChag), *tive* ‘deve’ (AChagAb), *tive* ‘deve’ (AChagAbA), *teveči* ‘tevével száguldozó, futó [one who runs with a camel]’, *tive* ‘teve’ (AChagAbV), *tewäči* ‘glašataj’ (AChagB), *tewe* ‘verbljud’ (AChagMA), *tävä*, *tüyä* ‘das Kameel’ (AChagR), *tewä* ‘camel’ (AChagSC), *teve* ‘deve’ (AChagŠS), *tive* ‘Kameel’ (AChagŠSK), *diwe*, *tiwe* ‘Kameel’ (AChagZ), *tövä* (toua) ‘Kamel’ (LCCI), *däwä* (Tkm.) ‘camel’ (AAH), *deve*: *deve kušu* ‘deve kuşu’ (AAHI), *dävä* ‘chameau’ (ABul), *dävä* ‘chameau’ (ADur), *töwä* (r: *täwä*) ‘Kamel’ (AHou), *dävä* (Tkm.) ‘teve; Kamel’ (AKav), *tävä quš* ‘straus’, *tüvä* ‘verbljud’ (ATuh), *tüve* ‘deve’, *deve quš* ‘deve kuşu’ (ATuhA), *deva* ‘chameau’ (AmTr), *deva* ‘camel’ (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *těve* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Chuv), *těve* ‘verbljud’ (ChuvA), *těvä* Szp. id. ‘teve; Kamel’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tävä*, *döyä* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Tat), *däwä*, *täwä* ‘döyä; verbljud’ (TatD2), *döyä* ‘teve; Kamel’ (TatB), *döyä* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Bashk), *tüä* ‘verbljud’ (SibTat), *tüö* ‘verbljud’ (SibTatBD), *tüye* [*tüyä*] (južn.), *tō̄* ‘verbljud (obščee nazvanie), (peren.) ogromnyj, bol′šoj’ (Kirg), *tüye* ‘camel’ (Kaz), *tüye* ‘verbljužij, verbljudovodčeskij, verbljud’ (KazB), *tüö* ‘das Kameel’ (KazR), *tüye* ‘verbljud’ (Kklp), *tüye* ‘verbljud’ (Nog), *deve* ‘verbljud’, (dial) *tüye* ‘verbljud’ (CrTat), *dävä* ‘das Kameel’ (CrTatR), *tevya* ‘verbljud’ (KarT), *táw′ä* ‘das Kameel’ (KarTR), *tėvė* ‘verbljud’ (KarH), *dėvė*, *tüyė* ‘verbljud’ (KarSh), *tüye* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Kum), *deve*, *d′eve*, *tüye* ‘teve; Kameel’ (KumN), *tüye* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (KrchBlk), *t‘üje* ‘Kameel’ (KrchP), *tewe* ‘Kamel’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *düe* [*düye*] ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Tkm), *düyä*, *düyö* ‘dvugorbyj verbljud’, *diye* ‘verbljud’ (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 313), *dävä* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’, *düyä*, *düyäjä* ‘telka, netel′ (v bujvolinom stane)’ (Az), *düyä* ‘verbljud’ (AzD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 313), *deve* ‘camel’ (Tt), *düye* ‘yük çeken dişi deve’ (TtDI), *devä* ‘verbljud, verbljužij, (peren.) nenasytnyj, obžora’ (Gag), *dạvạ*, *dẹvä*, *dẹwä*, *däwä*, *dewä*, *dȩ̈wä*, *döụ̈ä*, *dȩ̈ụ̈ä*, *dị′vä*, *düyä*, *dụ̈yä*, *dėụ̈ä*, *dẹụ̈ä*, *dọwa*, *dȭvä*, *dȭwä*, *dȭ̈ä* ‘Kamel’ (Khor), *devä* ‘Kamel’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *tävä* ‘Kamel’ (T *täbä*) (Kh), *tävä*, *täväy* ‘Kamel’ (KhT); ***SE*** *teva* ‘(ust., knižn.) verbljud’, *tuya* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Uzb), *tivč*, *tügč*, *tögč*, *tövč* ‘camel’ (TurkiJ), *tuwa* ‘a two-humped camel’, *tiwa* ‘a camel’ (TurkiSh), *tögä*, *tögö* ‘verbljud’ (TurkiL), *tögä* ‘verbljud’ (MUyg), *töyä*, *tȭyä*, *t′ovä*, *töüva*, *tö*^{u}*vä*, *tövä*, *tüvi* ‘verbljud’ (Sal), *tüyə*, *ᴅüyə*, *düyə*, *t‘öyi̲* ‘chameau’ (SalK), *ti*, *ʒ‘i* ‘verbljud’ (YUyg), *te*, *če*, *ti* ‘verbljud’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tō̄* ‘verbljud’ (Alt), *tō̄* ‘das Kameel’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), ? *tön* ‘verbljud’ (AltQK), *tō̄* ‘verbljud’ (AltTK), *tibe* ‘verbljud’ (Khak), *tibe* ‘verbljud’ (KhakB), *tebä* ‘das Kameel’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR),

dömö, *dümï* ‘camel’ (FY), *teve* ‘verbljud, verbljužij’ (Tuv), *täbä* ‘das Kameel’ (TuvSR), *tėbe* ‘(zool.) verbljud’ (Tof); ***Y*** *täbiän*, *timiän* ‘verbljud’ (← Mo), *taba* ‘olen′, elen′’ (Y), *taba* ‘Rentier, Maral, sibirischer Hirsch mit ausladendem Geweih, Holzfigur eines Rentiers, die vom Schamanen dem feindlichen Geist geschenkt wird, damit er den Kranken in Ruhe läßt’ (Dlg).

Mo *temege*(*n*) ‘camel, bishop (in chess)’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word is **tävä* ‘camel’, which is a well-known and widespread T word (on the data, see Ščerbak 1961: 103–104, among others). According to Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 669–671), the T word could originally have had the form **tebäń*. Ligeti (1986: 305–306) pointed out that the segment *-v-* in Chuv *tĕve* may go back to a secondary **-y-* and that the Y forms point to an earlier **täbgän*, **tibgän*. He also noted (1986: 108) that MUyg *tögä*, *tügä* seem to show a shift fr *-b-* to *-g-*. The Mo forms derive fr *teme-gen*. The word was borrowed fr Mo into Man (cf. *temen* ‘zweihöckriges Kamel’ < **temēn*). According to Ligeti, the T and Mo words that mean ‘camel’ are interrelated, but they are not identical. (On a similar case of the relationship between the T and Mo forms, see **ünő**.) Tenišev (2001: 445–446) reconstructed the form **teg*^{w}*e* for PT, which is unlikely. However, he thought that Mo added the suff *+gAn*. The Tu forms are Mo lws and were copied after the internal Mo development **-b-* > **-w-* > **-m-*. The Y word *taba* shows the starting point of the Mo phonetic change, and Ju *t‘eh-óh* the intermediary stage (**-w-*).

Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 669–671) rejected Ramstedt’s (1935: 391) explanation that Mo *temegen*, T *tävä* and Nan *tymé* may be genetically interrelated. The Nan word may have been borrowed fr Mo while the Mo word is of T origin (cf. Doerfer 1985: 77–78; Ščerbak 1997: 154). Doerfer called attention to the fact that, according to the SH, the camel breeding was not highly developed among the Mongols and that it was widespread among the Uygurs and the Tanguts. The spread of the *Camelus bactrianus* could not be detected in such Eastern regions then as it could today. According to Doerfer, the unusual correspondence T **-b-* ~ Mo **-m-* can be explained as follows: the internal **-b-* in Mo changed to *-m-* under the influence of the final segment **-ń* in T. This *-ń* changed to and was preserved as *-y* in OOg. Räsänen (1949: 129; 1953: 25) and Collinder (1977a: 72) connected the T word with Finn *teva* ‘Elchochse’ and Sam *ty*, *tē* ‘Renntier’. On the latter, see Janhunen (1977: 155). Clauson (1972: 447–448) considered that the original phonetic shape of the T word that denotes ‘camel’ could have been *däväy*. Mo *temeyen*, *teme’n* (sic!) are early lws fr T. The oldest documented T form occurred in line 48 of the RMTon inscription. The shape of its last grapheme is uncertain but it is more than likely an A. It is possible that Kashgari’s compendium preserved a form which is older fr a phonetic point of view. It is *täväy*, which has the Og variant *dävä*. If we take into consideration all T (and Mo) data, the PT form can be reconstructed as **tebäń* with great certainty, thus I accept Doerfer’s

reconstruction. On the T data, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 313–315). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1425) refuted Doerfer and Ščerbak's opinions (1997: 154) that Mo *teme'en* could be a T copied form and attempted to reconstruct PA **t'ĭbŋe* 'camel, elk' fr PTu **tibŋa* 'male deer, elk' ~ PMo **teme-gen* 'camel' ~ PT **debe* 'camel'. This is semantically improbable. Either camel > elk or elk > camel. One of the two meanings, camel or elk, must have come first. The PT initial **d-* can, according to their hypothesis, be an assimilated sound. Their PT reconstruction does not deal with the question: what is the origin of the final segment *-y* in OT? Their assumption presents other phonetic problems as well (e.g. first-syllable vocalism). The proposed etymology suggested by Starostin and his co-authors is unacceptable. The word was copied in two different forms in Rus as *tjuja* 'dvugrobyj verbljud' (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 139) and *tymen, tymen´* 'dvugrobyj verbljud' (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 131). The first is a Kip lw, the second is fr Mo and both are relatively late.

Though Finn *teva* 'männliches Elentier' is isolated and thus we are not in a position to go into possible connections (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 522–523), the Sam forms (**tę̂*, cf. Taigi *tägä*) that mean '(domesticated) reindeer', which are present in Nganasan, Enetz, Yurak, Nenetz, Kam and Taigi (see Janhunen 1977: 155), are interesting. Y *taba* carries the same meaning. It is well-known that much of Sam reindeer keeping is of southern, most probably, T origin.

E/H Budenz (1873: 132) and then Vámbéry (1882a: 214; 1914: 214) regarded the word as T. Gombocz (1907a: 362) discussed *teve* as an early T lw and reconstructed an OChuv copied form **täwä* (1912b: 129). Bárczi (1941: 309) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 914) accepted the T etymology of *teve*. Benkő thought that *teve* may go back to an OT form **teve*. Ligeti (1986: 104, 305–306), however, presumed a Cum lw. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1515) reconstructed **täβä* as the T copied word and pointed out that the chronology of the borrowing cannot be ascertained.

◆ Budenz 1873: 132; Vámbéry 1882a: 214; Gombocz 1907a: 362; Gombocz 1912b: 129; Vámbéry 1914: 214; Ramstedt 1935: 391; Menges 1936: 517–528; Bárczi 1941: 309; Gyóni 1943: 131; Räsänen 1949: 129; Räsänen 1953: 25; Ščerbak 1961: 103–104; Sulán 1961: 151; Moór 1962: 37; Sulán 1963: 292; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 669–671; Egorov 1964: 244; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 131, 139; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 914; Räsänen 1969: 468; Clauson 1972: 447–448; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 313–315; Collinder 1977a: 72; Janhunen 1977: 155; Doerfer 1985: 77–78; Ligeti 1986: 52, 62–63, 104, 108, 120, 185, 188, 201, 305–306; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 522–523; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1515; Fedotov 1996/2: 211; Ščerbak 1997: 154; Tenišev 2001: 445–446; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1425.

TIK 'hen' see **tyúk**.

TILÓ [tilō] 'hemp breaker, swingle, scutch' | 1597 *kender tilo* [kender tilō], 1779 *tilló* [tillō] | *tilō* < **talō* < **talkiγ* ← WOT **talkïγ* || **tilol** 'to scutch' | 1555 *thilolt* [tilo-l-t] | *tilol-* < *tilō* {with suff +(*V*)*l*-} | EOT *talku* 'an instrument for working leather while it is being tanned' < *talk-* 'to scutch hemp'.

OT *talq-* 'to fasten, twist, collide, harm, disgrace', *talqu* 'twisted, turned', *talġūč* 'a wooden load-fastener', *talġūq* 'a peg to fasten blade of pickaxe to handle' (AK); **MT** –; **NT *Chuv*** *tĭlă* 'mjalka, trepalka', *tĭlla-* 'mjatʹ, trepatʹ, (*razg.*) zadavatʹ trepku, (*peren.*) gromitʹ, (*prost.*) kološmatitʹ' (Chuv), *tĭl*, *tĭla*, *tĭlă* 'mjalka', *tĭlla-* 'mjatʹ (len, konopelʹ)' (ChuvA), *tilă* Szp. id. 'tiló; Hanfbrecher', *tĭllă-* 'tilolni; Hanf brechen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *talkï* 'lʹnomjalka, mjalka, mjalo, trepalka', *talkï-* 'mjatʹ (mjalkoj), trepatʹ (len), razbivatʹ, razbitʹ (na kuski), lomatʹ, razlomatʹ, razlomitʹ, drobitʹ, razdrobljatʹ, razdrobitʹ' (Tat), *talk-* 'borču, yeš-yeš imep borčïp toru; bespokoitʹ, naprimer, besprestannym sosaniem' (TatD1), *talq-* 'tinterätü, kat-kat sorap yödätü; dokučatʹ, bespokoitʹ, sprašivatʹ odno i to že mnogo raz', *talqï-* 'tinterätü, kat-kat sorap yödätü; dokučatʹ, bespokoitʹ, sprašivatʹ odno i to že mnogo raz' (TatD2), *talkï-* 'tilolni; Hanf brechen', *talkï* 'tiló; Hanfbrecher' (TatB), *talqï* 'Instrument zum Gerben des Leders', *talqï-* 'das Leder weich reiben, gerben, Hanf brechen' (TatKR), *talqï* '(ėtn.) lʹnomjalka, mjalka, trepalka', *talqï-* 'mjatʹ čto (na lʹnomjalke)' (Bashk), *talġū* 'Instrument zum Weichmachen des Leders' (SibTatBR), *talkū* 'mjalka (dlja obminki koži), (peren.) obsuždenie, diskussija' (Kirg), *talqï* 'tanning, pressing (hide which is dressed)' (Kaz), *talqï* 'Instrument zum Gerben des Leders, das Gerben' (KazR), *talkï* 'mjalka, mjalo (dlja vydelyvanija koži), (kn.) rubanok' (Nog), *talkï* 'derevjannoe prisposoblenie dlja raskatyvanija testa' (KarT), *talqï* id. (KarSh), *talqï* 'mjalka, trepalka' (Kum), *talqï* '(spec.) kožemjalka (stanok dlja obrabotki koži)' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *talku* 'mjalka dlja obrabotki koži' (Alt), *talqï-* 'das Leder weich reiben, gerben; Hanf brechen' (AltR), *talgï* 'kožemjalka' (AltL), *talqï-* 'das Leder weich reiben, gerben, Hanf brechen', *talqū* 'Instrument zum Gerben des Leders, das Gerben' (AltTelR), *talġï* '(dial, ust.) kožemjalka, prisposoblenie dlja vydelki koži' (Khak), *talġï* 'kožemjalka' (KhakB), *talġï* 'Instrument zum Weichmachen des Leders' (KhakSR), *talïq* 'Instrument zum Gerben des Leders, der Keil', *talqï-* 'das Leder weich reiben, gerben, Hanf brechen' (KhakShR), *dalgïg* 'mjalka (prisposoblenie dlja vydelki koži)', *dalgï-* 'mjatʹ kožu' (Tuv); ***Y*** *talkï* 'mjalka, instrument dlja mjagčenija koži (perenosimyj s města na město, ne ukrĕplennyj), orudie, kotorym mnut koži' (Y), *talkï* (ust) 'mjalka (dlja kož), *talkïy-* 'mjatʹ, razminatʹ čto-lʹ' (YS).

Mo *talkin* 'scarper or beating stick in tanning leather, yoke, burden, an instrument used for torture', *talki-* 'to use a scarper or beating stick in tanning leather, to beat someone', *talkibči* 'instrument for shoeing horses' (L).

E/T The copied form of the T etymon for the H word *tiló* 'hemp breaker, swingle' may be, according to previous researchers (cf. **E/H**), **tïlïg* (< **talïg*), which can be traced to WOT **talkïg* < **talkï-*(*X*)*g*. Although the simplification of the sequence *˚lk˚* was not accompanied by a plausible explanation, the change *-lk-* > *-ll-* > *-l-* is of H origin.

According to Clauson (1972: 495), the basic meaning of *talk-*, which first comes up in AK, is obscure. Clauson thought that *talk-* is a simplex. It survives as *talkï-* 'to work (leather) while tanning it, to scutch (hemp)' in the NW and SW subgroups of the T lgs. AK contains *talkār* 'injures, harms' and *talk-* in the phrase *ödläg karïtmïškā bo̲du̲g talkmās* 'hair-dye does not shame a man whom time has made white-haired'. The EOT corpus contains some nominals derived fr this verbal base. Clauson mentioned (1972: 496) *talkū* 'spun or twisted' and hence *talkū yïšïg* 'twisted cord' (AK) as a crasis of **talkgū*. The semantic connection between *talkū* and its supposed verbal base is not obvious at first sight, but one can build a bridge between the meaning 'spun or twisted' and the semantic field of other derived forms within this word-family (cf. *talguč* 'a toggle', *talkïg* 'tension (?) of cords', *talgok* 'the peg which is inserted in the handle of a spade or axe, so that the (spade or) axe-head can be secured to it' (Clauson 1972: 496) and *talkān* 'crushed, parched grain' (Clauson 1972: 496)). Like Clauson, Erdal (1991: 360) took *talk-* to be a simplex. He thought that the verb which is first attested in AK carries a metaphorical sense in this source. On the basis of the semantics of its ders (*talku*, *talguč*, *talkïg*, etc.), Erdal thought that the primary sense of the verb could be 'to twist cords so as to augment their tension' or 'to twist leather for stretching'.

In their Kashgari edition, Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/3: 174) supposed *talk-* '*fasten, twist, collide', which, according to them, may be a der fr *tal-* 'strike (a ball, etc.)'. They mentioned *talgūč* and *talgūk* as ders fr *talk-* but noted that one can perhaps see the influence of the verb *tolga-* 'to put on earrings, make hanks (of wool), have colic (from dysentery' < ? '*twist') in the development of *talk-*. Dankoff–Kelly's explanation presents some problems. The verb *tal-* occurs in the phrase: *är topïknï a̲drï bilä taldï* 'the man struck the ball with a forked stick'. Kashgari observed (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 399) that this is a game of tipcat (striking one stick with another to make it fly). It is questionable whether this verb *tal-* can be related to *talk-*. Another problem is the presumed influence of the verb *tolga-*, which calls for further investigation. Doerfer (1985: 96, who reconstructed **talq-γu* 'Walkholz') and Ligeti (1986: 34–35) pointed out that the T word was copied into Mo (*talki*) and fr Mo (and Y) into Tu (*talki*). Cf. also Man *talgiqô* 'hölzerne Schabe zum Abschaben von Hauten' and *talgi-* 'gegerbte Häute abschaben' (Hauer 1952–1955/3: 884). On the Tu forms which were borrowed fr Mo, see Cincius (1975–1977/2: 158).

Egorov (1964: 267) argued in favour of the onomatopoeic origin of the T word. On the Cher word *tule*, which was copied fr Chuv, see Fedotov (1996/2: 266). Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 76–77) believed that the T verb *talkï-* goes back to a base **tal-* with the meaning 'to beat' and that it may originally have been onomatopoeic. According to him, the formant *-kï-* may be an intensifying suff. He thought that Tuv *dalgï-* may also be a form that had been re-borrowed fr Mo.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 180) who first determined H *tiló* to be of T der – on the basis of unrelated words. Munkácsi (1893: 179) compared *tiló* with Chuv and Tat words. Gombocz (1907a: 362–363) accepted the T etymology of *tiló* and later (1912b: 129–130) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tïlïg* for it. Bárczi (1941: 310) accepted the T source of the H word. Kniezsa (1955: 961–962) strengthened the T starting point of the word and rejected earlier Sl etymological explanations. According to Pais (1975b: 74–77), the T etymon for *tiló* (**tal-* 'to crush, grind, pound, to strike') may be etymologically identical with the T basic word *tal-* 'to faint'. Palló (1971c: 214–215) believed H *tiló* to be of OChuv der. The copied form could be **tïlïg* and it was one of the most important terms in hemp processing. According to Palló, it is not very likely that the H verb *tilol-* 'hanfbrechen' derives fr H *tiló*. She supposed that the Hungarians copied not only the instrument noun **tïlïg* 'Hanfbreche', but also the verb denoting the action (*tïla-* 'hanfbrechen') and that the verb was adopted into the AH morphological system with the H freq suff -(*V*)*l-*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 918–919; 1993–1997/2: 1518), H *tiló* is an OT lw of the Chuv type and its copied form could have been **tïlïg* (< **tal-*). Palló (1982: 192–193) reiterated her earlier explanation. Ligeti (1986: 34–35, 528) accepted the OChuv origin of the word in question and pointed out that its copied form could only be **tïlïg* < **talkïg*. The H word consists of two T criteria which show the old age of the borrowing. One of them is the first-syllable *-i-* and the other is the long vowel of the final segment. It also shows, however, a Chuv neologism and that is the loss of the segment *-k-*.

After re-checking the data, I claim that the copied form was **talkiɣ* or *talkuɣ* (see Tuv) and that the changes *lk* > (*lg*) > *l* and *a* > *i* occurred in H (see § 5.8.6 and H *csillog*, *tele*, *mell*, *nyál*, *szálfa* and *válik-* in § 8.5).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 180; Munkácsi 1893: 179; Munkácsi 1900b: 336; Munkácsi 1903a: 254; Gombocz 1907a: 362–363; Gombocz 1912b: 129–130; Bárczi 1941: 310; Hauer 1952–1955/3: 884; Kniezsa 1955: 961–962; Egorov 1964: 267; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 918–919; Palló 1971c: 214–215; Clauson 1972: 495–496; Pais 1975b: 74–77; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 158; Palló 1982: 192–193; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 399; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/3: 174; Doerfer 1985: 96; Ligeti 1986: 34–35, 43, 77, 194, 287, 315, 528, 530; Erdal 1991: 360; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1518; Fedotov 1996/2: 266; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 76–77; Tenišev 2001: 382–383.

TINÓ [tinō] 'steer, young bullock, ox' | 1219/1550 GN *Tinod* [tinō-d], 1528 *thyno* [tinō], dial *tina* [tinå] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 733) | *tinō* < *tana* ← WOT **tana* | MT *tana* 'calf', T *tāna* ← IIr *dhaēnu*.

OT –; **MT** *tana* 'calf' (ARbg), *ṭana* 'veau de deux ans' (AChag), *tana* 'telka, netel'' (AChagBud), *tana* 'eine junge Kuh, die Ferse, ein einjähriges Kalb' (AChagR), *dana*, *tana* 'einjähriges Rind, Kalb' (AChagZ), *tana* 'dana' (AAH), *ṭana* 'petit veau' (ABul), *ṭana* 'veau' (ADur), *ṭana* 'einjähriges Rind' (AHou), *tana* 'tinó; junges Rind' (AKav), *ṭana*, *dana* 'godovalyj byčok, telenok' (ATuh), *tana*, *dana* 'dana' (ATuhA), *dana* 'veau' (AmTr), *dana*, *tana* 'dana' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tïna* 'telka', *tïnaška* 'teluška,

teločka' (Chuv), *tïna* 'telka' (ChuvA), *tïna* Szp. id. 'kétéves tehén, tinó; (zweijährige) Färse' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tana* 'dvuhgodovalaja telka' (Tat), *tana* 'kétéves tehén; Färse (zweijährige)' (TatB), *tana* 'eine junge Kuh, die Ferse, ein einjähriges Kalb' (TatKR), *tana* 'telka dvuhgodovalaja' (Bashk), *tana* 'telka po vtoromu godu', *tanača* 'teločka' (Kirg), *tana* 'young cow' (Kaz), *tana* 'polutoragodovalyj telenok' (KazB), *tana* 'telka po vtoromu godu' (Kklp), *tana* 'telka po vtoromu godu' (Nog), *tana* 'telenok dvuh let' (CrTat), *tana* 'eine junge Kuh, die Ferse, ein einjähriges Kalb' (CrTatR), *tana* 'telka, telenok, byčok' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *tana* 'eine junge Kuh, die Ferse, ein einjähriges Kalb' (KarTR, KarLR), *tana* 'molodoj byčok, dvuhgodovalyj telok' (Kum), *tana* 'telenok (ot šesti mesjacev do goda)' (KrchBlk), *tana* 'einjähriges Kalb' (BlkP); ***SW*** *tāna* '(dial) telenok' (Tkm), *tāna* 'telenok' (TkmD), *dana* 'telka, byčok (v vozraste 2-h let)' (Az), *dana* 'weaned calf' (Tt), *dana* 'das Kalb' (TtR), *dana* 'telka, podtelok (godovalyj), byčok' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tana* 'telka po vtoromu godu' (Uzb), *tana* 'a heifer or young bull, (a calf in the second year)' (TurkiSh), *tana*, *tanï* 'telenok' (TurkiL), *tana* 'dvuhgodovalaja telka' (MUyg), *tana*, *tanū* 'telka' (Sal), *tanə̂* 'taureau' (SalK); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word is a copy of an Ir word. The IIr form was reconstructed by Mayrhofer (1992–2001/1: 797) as **daēnu* (see H *tehén* in § 8.9). Ščerbak (1961: 101) accepted Németh's etymological proposal (1942–1947: 91) (see **E/H**). On the Cher word *tuna* 'telka', see Fedotov (1996/2: 267). Chuv *-ï-* and H *-i-* in the first syllable may be independent changes.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 180) argued in favour of the T origin of H *tinó*; his etymology was strengthened by Munkácsi (1903a: 254). Gombocz (1912b: 130) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tïnag* for H *tinó*. According to Németh (1942–1947: 91), the T forms that correspond to H *tinó* can be compared with OInd *dhenā-* 'milchende Kuh' and the H word goes back to OChuv **tïnag* 'ein junger Ochs von 2 bis 3 Jahren'. Bárczi (1941: 310) accepted the T etymology of the H word. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 920–921) regarded H *tinó* as a lw fr an OT lg of the Chuv type. He also thought that its copied form could have been **tïna*. The T words that belong here may be interrelated with IIr words. Ligeti (1986: 43, 88, 235) pointed out that Gombocz's (1912b: 130) OChuv reconstruction (**tïnag*) is unacceptable. The word is relatively late in T and attested since the Mo period. Its ultimate source may be identical with that of the H word *tehén* 'cow' (cf. OInd *dhenā* 'weibliches Tier, Weibchen, Milchkuh', *dhenuḥ* 'Milchkuh', Avestan *daēnav* 'femina, von (vierfüssigen) Tieren'). The initial Ir *d-* was preserved in the Og lgs, otherwise it was substituted by *t-*. Ligeti (1986: 199) considered the H long final vowel *-ó* in H *tinó* to have stemmed fr an internal H analogous lengthening: **tïna* > *tinó*. Rédei (1986–1991/2: 848) believed that the H *-ó* in this word may be a H den nominal suff as in the case of *ünő*. According to Benkő

(1993–1997/2: 1519), the development of the final vowel in the H word seems to be uncertain while the T word is of Ir origin.

The final long *-ó* evolved analogously to other words with a final *-ó*. The original final *-a* is preserved in some dials (*tina*) and in the base with the poss suff *tinaja* 'his/her calf'.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 180; Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 733; Munkácsi 1903a: 254; Gombocz 1912b: 130; Bárczi 1941: 310; Németh 1942–1947: 91; Ščerbak 1961: 101; Egorov 1964: 268; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 920–921; Räsänen 1969: 460; Ligeti 1986: 13, 43, 82, 88, 147, 185, 188, 199, 235, 278, 442, 526; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 848; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 797; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1519; Fedotov 1996/2: 267.

TOJIK [toyik] 'to lay eggs' | 1536 *toÿk*, *toÿnek* [toy-ik, toy-nēk] | *toyik-* < **tuik-* < **tuɣik-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **tuɣ-* ← WOT **tuɣ-*, *toɣ-* | EOT *tug-*, *tog-* 'to be born', MT 'to give birth', T also 'to lay eggs'.

OT *tug-* 'to rise (of sun)' (RTIrk 26), *toġum*, *tuġum* 'Geburt' (UPfahl 24:26), *käntü tuġmïš qïlïnmïš* 'selbst der Geborene und Erschaffene' (UChuast I 14 r: der Selbstgeborene und Selbsterschaffene), *tuġ-* 'geboren' (MManIII Nr. 6, III:12), *baxšïlïġ burxan täŋri toġtunguz* 'als Lehrer-Burchan-Gott wurdest Du geboren' (UTTIII 129-130), *tuġ-* 'to be born', *tuġum* 'birth' (UXuangzangIndex), *tuġ-* (*tōġ-*) 'to rise (sun), to be born', *kūn tuġdï* 'the sun rose', *oġul tuġdï* 'the child was born' (AK), *tog-* 'to be born' (AQB), *tug-* 'geboren werden, gebären': *tugmïšï* <tuhmiśiḫ täg> 'entstanden' (BD 36), *togot* 'Sonnenaufgang': *togotta* 'bei Sonnenaufgang' (togottā – to go ttā) (BI 22); **MT** *toġur-* 'gebären' (UOg), *tog-* 'naître' (UHyS), *tuġ-* 'geboren werden' (UCivMi 09:5), *tuġ-* 'to be born' (ABF), *toġ-* 'to appear', *toġur-* 'to bear, give birth to' (AGul), *toġ-* 'doğmak', *doġur-*, *toġur-* 'doğurmak, doğdurmak' (AHMA), *toġ-* 'rodzić się, wschodzić' (AHŠ), *toġ-* 'roditʹsja, voshoditʹ (o svetilah)' (AHŠF), *toġ-* 'voshoditʹ (o solnce)', *doġ-* 'roditʹsja' (AIM), *toġ-*, *doġ-* 'doğmak' (AIMI), *ṭoġ-* 'to birth', *toġ-*: *yïldïz toġdï* 'the star arose' (AKD), *toġ-* 'to be born, rise (sun)' (AKor), *toġ-* 'roždatʹsja' (AM), *tug-* 'doğmak, meydana gelmek' (ANeh), *toġ-* 'roditʹsja, voshoditʹ (o svetilah)' (ANehF), *tuġ-* 'to be born, to give birth' (ARbg), *toġ-* 'roždatʹsja, roditʹsja, voshoditʹ (o svetilah)' (ATef), *tuġ-* 'naître, apparaître' (AChag), *toġ-* 'anadan toğmaq' (AChagAb), *tog-* 'togmak' (AChagAbA), *toġġan* 'együtt született testvér [brother born simultaneously]' (AChagAbV), *toġ-* 'roditʹsja' (AChagBud), *toġ-* 'to rise (the sun)' (AChagG), *toġ-* '(solnce) voshoditʹ' (AChagMA), *toġ-* 'geboren werden, aufgehen (von Sonne)' (AChagR), *tuġ-* 'to be born, (metaph) to rise' (AChagSC), *toġ-* 'zuhūr etmek, tulū etmek' (AChagŠS), *tog-* 'zur Welt kommen, aufgehen (die Sonne)' (AChagZ), *toġ-*, *tuv-* 'geboren werden' (LCCG), *toġ-*, *tov-* 'geboren werden' (LCCI), *toġ-*, *doġ-*, *dow-* 'doğmak' (AAH), *doġur-* 'urodzić' (ABul), *ṭoġur-* 'gebären', the personal names *Aydwġdï*, *Aydwġmuš*, etc. (AHou), *toġ-* 'felkel (nap, hold); aufgehen (Sonne, Mond)' (AKav), *tuġur-* 'to give birth' (AMGh), *doġ-* 'roditʹsja, voshoditʹ (o svetilah)', *ṭoġur-*, *ṭovur-* 'rožatʹ' (ATuh), *doġ-* 'doğmak', *toġur-*, *tovur-* 'doğurmak'

(ATuhA), *toġ-* 'naître' (AmTr), *toġ-* 'naître' (AmE), *doġ-* noted in various phrases (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śămarta tu-* 'klasť jajca', *tu-* 'delať, delať, stroiť, vozvodiť, delať, gotoviť, izgotovljať, proizvodiť, vypuskať kakuju-l. produkciju, stroiť, sozidať, sozdaviť, razrabatyvať, sostavljať, delať, naznačať, staviť (na dolžnosť), obrazovyvať, sozdavať, organizovyvať, provodiť, rožať, roždať, proizvodiť potomstvo, plodonosit'' etc. (Chuv), *tu-* 'delať, sdelať, rabotať, delať, proizvodiť, stroiť, vydelivať, trogať, zadevať, etc.' (ChuvA), *tu-* Szp. id. 'csinálni, készíteni, tenni; machen, verfertigen' (ChuvP), *tăvan* 'rodstvennik, rodnja, rodnoj, nahodjaščijsja v krovnom rodstve' (Chuv); ***NW*** *tu-* 'roždať sja, rodiť sja, (peren.) voznikať, vozniknuť, zaroždať sja, zarodiť sja, polučať (polučiť) načalo, probuždať sja, probudiť sja (napr. o želanii)' (Tat), *tu-* 'tabu, tudïru; rodiť'' (TatD1), *tu-* 'tabu, tudïru; rodiť' (TatD2), *tïu-*, *tu-* 'születni; geboren werden' (TatB), *tū-* 'geboren werden, aufgehen' (TatKR), *tïu-* '(prjam. i peren.) roždať sja, voznikať, zaroždať sja, probuždať sja (napr. o želanii), voshodiť, roždať sja (o nebesnyh svetilah)' (Bashk), *tug-*, *tū-*, *tïu-* 'születni [to be born]' (BashkP), *tu-* 'bala tabu; rodiť rebenka' (SibTat), *tu-* 'rodiť, rodiť sja' (SibTatBD), *tū-* 'rodiť, rodiť sja, narožďať sja, (peren.) (o solnce, lune) vshodit'' (Kirg), *tū-* 'geboren werden, aufgehen' (KirgR), *tu-*, *tŭ-* 'to be born, to rise (of the sun)' (Kaz), *tū-* 'rodiť, rodiť sja, narodiť sja, rožať, zarodiť sja' (KazB), *tū-* 'geboren werden, aufgehen' (KazR), *tuŭ-* 'rožať, vshodiť (o solnce, lune)' (Kklp), *tuv-* 'roždať sja, voznikať, zaroždať sja, polučať načalo, voshodiť (o solnce, lune)' (Nog), *doġ-* 'roždať sja, voznikať, pojavljať sja' (CrTat), *tuv-* 'rodiť sja, roždať sja' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *doġ-* 'roždať sja, rodiť sja (o živom)' (KarSh), *tuw-* 'geboren werden' (KarTR), *tuv-* 'roždať sja, sozdavať sja, voznikať, pojavljať sja, voshodiť, pojavljať sja (o svetilah)' (Kum), *tū-* 'gebären' (KumN), *tuŭ-* 'roždať sja, zaroždať sja, voznikať, pojavljať sja, vshodiť (o svetilah)' (KrchBlk), *tū-* 'geboren werden' (KrchP), *tū-* 'geboren werden' (BlkP); ***SW*** *dog-* 'vshodiť (o svetilah), roždať sja' (Tkm), *doġ-* 'rodiť, rožať'' (TkmD), *doġ-* 'rodiť, rožať, žerebiť sja, oteliť sja, jagniť sja, voshodiť (o solnce i lune), zaroždať sja, vozniknuť'' (Az), *doğ-* 'to be born, to come into the world, to rise (as sun, etc.), (fig.) to arise, to happen' (Tt), *doġ-* 'geboren werden, aufgehen (von Sonne und Sternen), erscheinen, sich erreignen', *dō-* 'geboren werden' (TtR), *dū-* 'roždať sja, pojavljať sja na svet, voshodiť, vstavať (o solnce, lune), (peren.) pojavljať sja, zaroždať sja, voznikať'' (Gag), *doŋ-*, *doŋ-*, *doŋ́g-*, *dog-* 'geboren werden', *doŋmïyan* 'unfruchtbar' (Khor), *dog-* 'gebären' (SOg); ***Kh*** *toŋ-*, *to·g-* 'gebären' (Kh), *toŋ-* 'gebären' (KhT); ***SE*** *tuġ-* 'roždať, rožať, rožať, oteliť sja, okotiť sja i t. d. (o životnyh), (obl.) nestiś, klasť jajca (o pticah), (razg.) pribavljať sja, umnožať sja, prinositʹ dohod' (Uzb), *tuġ-*, *tuq-* 'to bear, to bring forth children' (TurkiJ), *tugh-* 'to give birth to, to bear' (TurkiSh), *tuġ-*, *tuq-*, *tux-* 'rodiť, rodiť sja' (TurkiL), *tuġ-* 'geboren werden', *toġ-* 'id., aufgehen (von Sonne)' (TurkiTR), *tuġ-* 'plodiť, rožať, roždať sja, klasť, nestiś, zaroždať sja, voznikať, probuždať sja' (MUyg), *toġ-* 'rožať, roždať sja', *tox-* 'rožať', *tuġ-*,

tux- ‘rožat′, rožd*a*t′sja’ (Sal), DOG-, *dog-* ‘naitre, accoucher’ [Pot. *tug-*] (SalK), *tuġ-* ‘rožat′’ (YUyg), *toġ-* ‘rodit′sja’, *tuġ-*, *tuq-* ‘rožd*a*t′, rodit′sja’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tū-* ‘rodit′, nestis′ (o pticah)’ (Alt), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen’ (AltR), *tug-* ‘rodit′sja’ (AltL), *tū-* ‘rodit′, nesti jajca’ (AltQK), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen, geboren werden’ (AltTelR), *tuġ-* ‘telit′sja, nestis′ (o pticah)’ (Khak), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen’ (KhakQbR), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen’ (KhakQchR), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen’ (KhakSR), *tū-* ‘gebären, Eier legen’ (KhakShR), *dū-* ‘to give birth’ (FY); ***Y*** –.

E/T The vowel in the verb alternated in EOT. All data could be read with /o/ or /u/ with the exception of Brahmi, where we find both closed [u] and open [o] transcriptions in the same word. In the index to his monograph, Erdal (1991) provided an alternating vocalism, *tog-*, *tug-*, whereas Clauson always read /o/ and Sevortjan opted for /u/. In Kh and the SW branch, we find /o/ and in SE /u/. Kip /u/ points to /*o/, but the labialisation and spirantization of the following *-g* > *-γ* > *-w* also influenced the vowel. Chuv is neutral. The T verb is attested as of the early EOT sources. Originally, the verb was intr and only became tr in some lgs fr the Medieval period on. In some lgs, it can be both tr and intr. On some ders of the basic verb, see Erdal (1991): *twgušlug* ‘birthplace’ (274), *twgum* ‘birth’ (292), *twgr-uš-* ‘to generate each other’ (570) and *twg-ur-* ‘to give birth, to engender, cause to exist’ (723).

Ramstedt’s comparison (1949: 271) T *tog-* ~ Mo *tugurbi-* ‘to compose’ ~ Kor *toida-* ‘to become, to happen’ is unacceptable (cf. also Joki (1952: 338)). The Mo word denotes a mental action.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 180–181) who first considered that H *tojik-* comes fr T. Budenz (1873: 111) listed the H verb among the lexemes which seem to have a T source. According to Bárczi (1941: 311), the H verb may originally have been FUgr or its base is identical with that of *tol-* ‘to push’. Sal (1970: 98–99) explained it fr a U base **toγз-* ‘to give, to bring, to take’. Palló (1973a: 216–217) accepted Vámbéry’s idea and connected the H verb with T *tog-* ‘to give birth’. According to Lakó (1967–1978/3: 635–636), H *tojik-* is of debated origin. It may be a U inheritance, but it may also be an early T lw. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 931–932) regarded H *tojik-* as being of uncertain der. If it was inherited fr U, its old semantics could be ‘to give, to bring, to take’ and its meaning ‘to lay an egg’ could have developed fr the H phrase *monyt tojik* id. (*mony* ‘egg’). According to him, the T source for the H verb requires further investigation. According to Palló (1982: 196–197), a T starting point for *tojik-* is more likely than an U etymology. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1524–1525) suggested two possibilities: (1) H *tojik-* may have originated fr OT and its copied form was **toγ-*; this explanation can be strengthened with the word for ‘hen’ **tyúk**. (2) It may also be a U inheritance. In this latter case, the U basic verb could have been **toγe-* ‘bringen, holen, geben’. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *tojik-* among the T copies in H.

H /y/ in *tojik-* is a hiatus filler. The comparison with FUgr **toγe-* 'bringen, holen' presents semantic difficulties, the comparison with H *tol-* 'to push, move forward' poses not only semantic, but also phonetic difficulties (see Rédei 1986–1991/2: 529). The meaning 'to lay eggs' is documented in Chuv, in the NE and in some other T lgs.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 180–181; Budenz 1873: 111; Bárczi 1941: 311; Ramstedt 1949: 271; Joki 1952: 338; Egorov 1964: 234; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 635–636; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 931–932; Räsänen 1969: 483; Sal 1970: 98–99; Clauson 1972: 465–466; Palló 1973a: 216–217; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 245–247; Palló 1982: 196–197; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 529; Erdal 1991: 274, 292, 570, 723; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1524–1525; Fedotov 1996/2: 201–202, 240.

TOK¹ [tok] 'sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio*' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Tocu* [toku], 1198 ? PN *thuc* [tuk], 1329 *took* [tok], c1395 *thok hal* [tok hål] | *tok* < **toku* ← WOT **toku* | T *doki*, *tugu*, *togo* (Messerschmidt 1720–1727/3: 105), *tógho* Tataris (Pallas 1811/3: 91).

OT –; **MT** ? *toġu* 'balık yavrusu' (ATuh); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *toġï* 'märsin balïgï; osetr' (SibTat), *tuġu* 'der Stör' (SibTatTR); ***SW*** *dokï* 'beluga, belužij' (Tkm); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *tog* 'der Barsch' (KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

Mo *dogdur* 'pike perch' (L).

E/T The T fish name which can be regarded as the etymon for H *tok*¹ 'sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio*' only comes up in certain ModT lgs. Its earliest occurrence is Messerschmidt (1720–1727/3: 105). Its presence in ATuh may be connected with *tog-* (see **tojik**). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1377) reconstructed a PT fish name **Tog* on the basis of three items, but one of them (Alt *tūlï* 'kuskuč (ryba)') does not pertain here. They disregarded the Tkm item. Their attempt to connect T *toku* with PMo **dogdur* 'pike, perch' and PTu **dukčā* 'a kind of fish' calls for further investigation, as they are morphologically unclear.

E/H It was Munkácsi (1912–1913b: 359) who first listed H *tok*¹ among the T lws in H. He mentioned SibTatTob *tugu* and Shor *tog* 'Barsch' as perfect corresponding forms. According to Pais (1934d: 256), the T source of the H fish name could have been *tok*¹ with the meaning 'stuffed, full, thick, strong, satiated'. Thus, according to him, the Grm name for sturgeon *Dick* may be a H calque. Németh (1937: 139–140) argued in favour of the early T origin of H *tok*¹ and reconstructed a T copied form **tuku* for it. Bárczi (1941: 312) accepted the T starting point for H word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 932; 1993–1997/2: 1525), the word is of uncertain der. It may be an OT lw, but its corresponding T forms are very sporadically documented. The T copied form can be reconstructed as **toku* or **tuku*. Ligeti (1986: 296) considered the word to be an early T copy (**tokï*). On the ethnohistorical side, see Pócs (1979: 421).

◆ Messerschmidt 1720–1727/3: 105; Pallas 1811/3: 91; Munkácsi 1912–1913b: 359; Pais 1934d: 256; Ligeti 1937a: 303; Németh 1937: 139–140; Bárczi 1941: 312; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 932; Pócs 1979: 421; Ligeti 1986: 294, 296, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1525; Rácz 1996: 142; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1377.

TOKLYÓ [tokyō] 'one-year-old lamb' | 1661 *toklyó juhot* [tokyō yuhot] | *tokyō* < **tok-l′u* < *toklu* ← Cum **toklu* | EOT *toklï* 'a lamb of a few months'.

OT *yandačïmδa qońlug twqlïlïg* 'during my return with the sheep and the young lambs' (RMShin N 6), *toqlï* 'six-month-old sheep' (AK), *toqlï* 'lamb' (AQB); **MT** *tuxlï*, *tuqlï* 'godovalaja koza' [*tōqlī* 'a one-year-old goat' in Turkistan, *tōxlī* in our country] (AIM), *toḳlï*, *toqlï* 'bir yıllık koyun yavrusu, toklı' (AIMI), *toġlï* 'a type of sheep' (AKD), *toġlï* 'agneau de trois mois' (AChag), *toġlï*, *toqlï* 'ovečka trih mesjačnaja' (AChagBud), *tokli*, *toġlï* 'ein drei Monate altes Lamm' (AChagR), *toġlï* 'toqlï, quzï' (AChagŠS), *toġlï* 'Widder, Lamm' (AChagŠSK), *toklu*, *toklï* 'Lamm (bis zu einem Jahre)' (AChagZ), *toklu* 'bir yaşar erkek koyun' (AAHI), *toqlï* 'agneau, petit mouton' (ABul), *toqlï* 'einjähriges Schaf' (AHou), *toklu* 'bir yaşında erkek koyun' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tuklï* 'gadättä bäränlämägän ber yäšlek sarïk yäki käjä; godovalaja ovca ili koza, obyčno nejagnivšajasja' (TatD1), *tuklï* 'ber yäšlek; godovalyj' (TatD2), *tuktï* (dial) 'tuuïna aydan artkan kuy bäräne' (TatE), *tuqtï* 'jagnenok' (Bashk), *tuqlï* 'äle bäränlämägän sarïk; ovca, kotoraja ešče ne jagnilas′' (SibTat), *toktu* 'jarka, (južn.) dvuhletnij valuh' (Kirg), *toqtï* 'a lamb towards the end of its first year, a lamb more than six months old' (Kaz), *toqtï* 'godovalyj jagnenok' (KazB), *toqlï* 'jarka' (Kklp), *toqlu*, *toqtï* 'godovalyj jagnenok' (Kklp, Ščerbak 1961: 115), *toklï* 'godovalyj jagnenok' (Nog), *toqlu* 'dvuhletnjaja ovca' (Nog, Ščerbak 1961: 115), *toqlu* 'godovalyj barašek' (CrTat), *toqlu* 'godovalyj jagnenok' (KarC), *toqlu* 'polugodovalaja ovca, jagnenok' (Kum), *toqlu* 'barašek, jarka, jagnenok (vozrastom ot šesti mesjacev do odnogo goda)' (KrchBlk), *toqlu* 'ein grösseres Lamm' (KrchP); ***SW*** *toklï* 'godovalyj barašek' (Tkm), *toġlu* 'barašek (perestavšij sosat′ moloko)' (Az), *toflu* 'altï aylïg guzu; šestimesjačnyj jagnenok' (AzD), *toġlï*, *toxlu* id. (AzD, Ščerbak 1961: 115), *toklu* 'having pendant glands (goat), yearling lamb' (Tt), *tohlu* 'bir yaşındaki erkek kuzu, toklu', *toklu* 'altı aylıktan bir yaşına kadar olan erkek kuzu' (TtD), *toklu*, *tohlu* 'bir yaşında koyun' (TtDA), *toklu* 'ein drei Monate altes Lamm' (TtR), *toklu* 'godovalyj jagnenok' (Gag), *toxlį*, *tọxlï*, *tọglį*, *toxli*, *toxlï*, *tuxlį*, *tọ̲xlį*, *to̲u̲la*, *tuxlï* 'Lamm (6 bis 12 Monate)' (Khor), *toxli*, *tuxuli* 'Lamm (6-12 Monate)' (SOg); ***Kh*** *tọgïlï* 'einjähriges Lamm' (Kh), *toqli* 'Jungschaf, 6-12 Monate' (KhT); ***SE*** *tŭqli* 'barašek, jarka' (Uzb), *toxla* 'vzroslyj jagnenok' (MUyg), *t′o′qtï* 'ovca odnogo goda' (YUyg), *toqtï* 'ovca odnogo goda' (YUygM); ***NE*** *togdu* 'godovalaja ovca, jarka' (Tuv), *tuġul* 'telenok korovy (do odnogo goda)' (Tof ← Mo); ***Y*** *tugut*, *tubut* 'olenonok, olenij telenok do goda' (Y), *tugut*, *tubut* 'Renntierkalb', *tugutkān* 'Renntierkälbchen' (Dlg).

Mo ? *tugul* 'calf less than a year old' (L).

E/T As Clauson (1972: 469) previously observed, the exact meaning of *toklï* varies in the different T lgs. It means a 'lamb' older than a *kozï* but younger than a *koń*. The first appearance of this word may perhaps be documented in RMShin, although this part of the inscription is damaged. The word that precedes this word is *kónlug*

and this serves to strengthen Berta's reading. Brockelmann (1954: 68, 120) attempted to trace T *toklï* (he wrote *toglï*) back to **toguglï* 'ebengeboren', but this is morphologically obscure. Ščerbak (1961: 115), nevertheless, repeated it. The etymological interrelation with T *tog-* or *tug-* 'to be born' (on which see **tojik**) is unacceptable. Ramstedt proposed a similar etymology. According to him (1935: 409), the Mo word *tugul* 'Kalb' may be a dev der fr *tugu-*, which is the Mo form that corresponds to T *tog-* 'to be born'. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 524–525) rejected all these suggestions. He pointed out that the T internal guttural is an unvoiced *-k-* and not a voiced *-g-* and that the semantic side of the explanation also poses difficulties. The interrelation between T *toklï* and Mo *tugul* 'Kalb' is, according to Doerfer (1985: 104), uncertain. The Mo word is a lw in the Tu dials (*tukučān* formed with the Tu suff *+čān*, *tutuksan*, *tuxsān* and Man *tukšan*). Tenišev's (2001: 434) view that the word may have derived fr *tok* 'satiated' or fr a corresponding verbal form **tok-* cannot be verified because of the lack of a suitable suff.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1470) considered PT **toklï* 'lamb', PMo **tugul* 'calf' and PTu **tuKu-* 'calf, young of deer, to bear' as a "Western isogloss". The genetic interrelation between these forms is, however, implausible. Some T words (see e.g. Tuv *toš* 'one-year-old elk', Tof *doš* id.) which they list under the PT heading cannot belong to the same T proto-form.

It is important to take a closer look at the common isogloss of Tuv and YUyg **togdï* or *tokdï*. Is this a lexicalized preterite of *tog-* as in the name of *Kün Togdï* "the Sun Risen" in AQB? In all likelihood, no. The stem is **tok* everywhere with the exception of Tuv (see **toktï* in Bashk, Kaz, Kirg and Kklp). Stachowski's suggestion notwithstanding (1993: 229), Y and Dlg *tugut* cannot be the pl for Mo *tugul*.

E/H Hunfalvy (1864a: 285) regarded the H word as a T lw early on. It was Vámbéry (1870: 181) who later also argued in favour of the T origin of the word, having compared it with Tt *toklï* 'six-month-old lamb'. Gombocz (1912b: 130) considered *toklyó* to be of OChuv der (**toklïg*). Bárczi (1941: 312) accepted the OT etymology of the word. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 933–934) assumed an OT copied form **toklïg*. Ligeti (1986: 122–123, 282) listed *toklyó* among the Kip, or more precisely Cum, lws in H and said that its Cum copied form could have been **toklu*. He contended that the T word cannot be an earlier lw because in that case one should expect the H form **tokoly*. The H form *toklyó* shows a secondary palatalized *-l-* (H *toklu* > *toklyu* > *tokyō*). One cannot reconstruct a T form **toklïg* on the basis of the earliest T data, as had previously been assumed in the literature. If the T word had had this early form, it should have been preserved in the Karakhanid lg, and see also Tuv *togdu*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1526) changed his earlier position and accepted Ligeti's arguments. He reconstructed the Cum copied form as **toklu*.

◆ Hunfalvy 1864a: 285; Vámbéry 1870: 181; Gombocz 1912b: 130; Ramstedt 1935: 409; Bárczi 1941: 312; Brockelmann 1954: 68, 120; Ščerbak 1961: 115; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 524–525; Ligeti 1964: 28; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 933–934; Clauson 1972: 469; Doerfer 1985: 104; Ligeti 1986: 122–123, 194, 200, 278, 282, 543; Stachowski 1993: 229; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1526; Tenišev 2001: 434; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1470.

TOLMÁCS [tolmāč] 'interpreter' | 1075/†1124/†1217 GN *talmach* [tålmāč], 1209 GN *Tholomach* [tolomāč], 1310 *tolmachy* [tolmāči], c1430 *tolmach* [tolmāč] | *tolmāč* < **tolmač* ← WOT **tolmač* | EOT *tïlmač*, MT *tolmač* 'interpreter'.

OT *til* 'Zunge' (UHeilk I:79), *til* 'Zunge' (UTTI 74, UTTVI 174), *tïl* 'Zunge' (ti̲l – ti l̲) (BI 1), *tīl*, *til* 'tongue, dialect or language, speech of words' (AK), *uqušqa biligkä bu tïlmačï tïl, yaruttačï erni yorïq tilni bil* 'the tongue is the interpreter to intellect and to wisdom. Know that an eloquent tongue causes a man to shine' (AQB); **MT** *til* 'Sprache' (UOg), *til* 'dil' (UY), *til* 'langue' (UHy), *til* 'langue, information' (UHyS), *til* 'tongue' (ABF), *tïlmač* 'interpreter', *til* 'tongue, language' (AGul), *tilmeç* 'tercüman', *til* 'dil' (AHMA), *til* 'język, mowa' (AHŠ), *til* 'jazyk, reč′' (AHŠF), *tïlmač* 'dilmaç, tercüman', *dil*, *til* 'dil, söz, kelâm' (AIMI), *til* 'jazyk' (AM), *til* 'jazyk, reč′' (ANehF), *til* 'tongue, speech, language' (ARbg), *til* 'jazyk' (ATef), *til* 'dil' (AYC), *til* 'langue', *tïlmač* 'drogman, interprète' (AChag), *til* 'dil' (AChagAbA), *til* 'nyelv [tongue, language]' (AChagAbV), *til* 'jazyk' (AChagB), *til* 'tongue' (AChagG), *til* '(anat.) jazyk' (AChagLN), *tïlmaǰ* (spelt) 'an interpreter' [who is an intermediary between two people and translates their words fr one lg to another, also pronounced *dïlmaǰ*] (AChagSC), *tilmaǰ* 'terǰüman' (AChagŠS), *tilmaǰ* 'Übersetzer, Sprachkundiger', *dilčik* 'Dolmetsch', *til* 'Zunge, Sprache' (AChagŠSK), *tilmaǰ* 'Dolmetscher' (AChagZ), *tolmač*, *tolmac* (*tolmaz*) (← Sl) 'Dolmetscher' (LCCG), *tïlmač* [the vowel is indicated with an *-e-* in the first syllable] 'Dolmetscher' (LCCI), *dil*, *til* 'lisan, dil' (AAH), *ṭałmač*, *ṭåłmač* 'interpréte, drogman' (ABul), *til* 'langue' (ADur), *til* 'nyelv; Zunge' (AKav), *til* 'language' (AMGh), *dïlmač*, *tïlmač*, *ṭïlmač* 'perevodčik, tolmač', *til* 'jazyk' (ATuh), *tïlmač*, *dïlmač*, *tilmač* 'dilmeç, tercüman', *til* 'dil' (ATuhA), *tlïmačlïx* 'office, duty of an interpreter, dragoman', *til* 'tongue (a prisoner of war taken for the purpose of obtaining intelligence)' (AmCh), *dilmač*, *dilmeč* 'tercüman' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tălmač* 'perevodčik, (ust.) tolmač, perevodčeskij', *čĕlxe* 'jazyk, jazykovyj, jazyčnyj, (peren.) jazyčok, jazyk, reč′, jazykovoj, rečevoj, (peren., razg.) jazyk, plennyj, (ust.) nagovor, zagovor, zaklinanie' (Chuv), *tălmač*, *tălmačă* 'tolmač' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *tïlmač* '(ust.) perevodčik', *tel* '(anat.) jazyk, jazykovyj, jazyčnyj, jazyk (reč′)' (Tat), *dalmač* 'tïlmač, perevodčik' (TatD2), *tel* 'nyelv; Zunge, Sprache' (TatB), *tïlmas* '(ust.) perevodčik, perevodčica', *tel* 'jazyk, jazykovyj, jazyk, reč′' (Bashk), *tilmäc* 'tärǰemäče; tolmač, perevodčik' (SibTat), *til* 'jazyk' (SibTatBD), *tilmäc* 'der Dolmetscher, Übersetzer' (SibTatBR), *tilmeč* '(ust.) perevodčik' (Kirg), *tïlmaš* '(hist.) (office) translator, clerk', *tïlmäštä-* 'to translate', *tïl* 'tongue, language' (Kaz), *tïlmaš* 'perevodčik, perevodčica' (KazB), *tilmaš* 'perevodčik, tolmač', *dilmaš* 'perevodčik' (Kklp), *tïl-*

maš '(razg.) perevodčik (ustnyj)', *til* 'jazyk, jazykovyj, jazyk (sredstvo obščenija)' (Nog), *tilmač* 'perevodčik' (CrTat), *tolmač*, *talmač* 'perevodčik', *til′* 'jazyk, reč′, zaliv' (KarT), *tolmac* 'perevodčik', *til*, *kil′* 'jazyk' (KarH), *til′* 'jazyk, reč′, zaliv' (KarC), *tolmač* 'der Uebersetzer, Dolmetscher' (KarCR), *tilmač* (sic!) '(ust.) perevodčik, tolmač' (Kum), *tïlmač* 'perevodčik, tolmač, (ust.) slovar′', balk. *tilmanč* 'perevodčik, tolmač, (ust.) slovar′', *til* 'jazyk, reč′' (KrchBlk), *tïlmač* 'Dolmetscher' (KrchP); ***SW*** *dilmāč* 'perevodčik, tolmač', *dil* '(anat.) jazyk, jazyk, reč′, jazykovoj, rečevoj' etc. (Tkm), *dilmanǰ* 'perevodčik, tolmač', *dil* 'jazyk' (Az), *dilmandž* 'perevodčik, tolmač' (AzD), *dilmaç* '(arch) interpreter, dolmetscher, dragoman' (Tt), *dilmaç*, *dilmanç* 'çevirmen' (TtD1), *dilmaç* 'tercüman' (TtDA), *dilmaǰ* 'der Dolmetscher' (TtR), *talmač*, *tïlmač* 'tolmač, perevodčik' (Gag), *dīl*, *dil*, *ḍil*, *ḍili*, *dēl* 'Zunge' (Khor); ***Kh*** *til*, *ti·l* 'Zunge, Sprache' (Kh), *ti·l* 'Zunge' (KhT); ***SE*** *tilmoč* '(ust.) perevodčik, tolmač', *til* '(anat.) jazyk, jazyk, reč′' (Uzb), *til* 'tongue, language' (TurkiJ), *tïl* 'jazyk', *tił* 'bran′, vygovor', *til* 'jazyk, bran′, špion' (TurkiL), *tilmač* '(ust) perevodčik' (MUyg), *til*, *cil*, *ʒil* 'jazyk' (Sal), *til*, *t'il* 'langue' (SalK), *tïl* 'jazyk' (YUyg); ***NE*** *tilmeš* 'perevodčik' (Alt), *tilmäč* 'der Dolmetscher' (AltR, AltTelR), *tilbeč* 'tolmač, perevodčik' (AltL), *tilbäč* 'der Dolmetscher' (AltLR), *telmeš* 'tolmač, perevodčik', *til* 'jazyk' (AltQK), *tälmäš* 'der Dolmetscher' (AltQKR), *til* 'jazyk' (AltTK), *tĭlbesčĭ* 'perevodčik', *tĭl* '(anat.) jazyk, (lingv.) jazyk, reč′' (Khak), *tĭlbes* 'perevod, perevodčik, tolmač' (KhakB), *tilbäs* 'der Dolmetscher' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *tilbäc* 'der Dolmetscher' (ChulR), *dïl* 'tongue, language' (FY), *dïl* '(anat.) jazyk, reč′, jazykovoj' (Tuv), *tolmōčï* 'ustnyj perevodčik, tolmač', *tïl*, *dïl* '(anat.) jazyk, jazyk, reč′' (Tof); ***Y*** *tïlbās* 'tolmač, perevodčik, perevod, tolkovanie, istolkovanie', *tïl* 'jazyk, spenek (zastežka) u prjažki, slovo (proiznesennoe), rěč', izrečenie, otvět, dokozatel′stvo etc.' (Y), *tïlbās* 'perevod' (YS), *tïl* 'Zunge, Sprache, Wort' (Dlg), *tulmās*, *tïlbās* 'Übersetzung', *tïlbāhïn* 'Wörterbuch', *tïl* 'Rede, Verabredung, Abmachung, Vereinbarung' (DlgS).

Mo *tolmači* 'interpreter' (L).

ORus *tъlmač*, Rus *tolmač* (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 72).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 662–665) discussed the widespread T word *tïlmač* 'interpreter'. On T **tïl* 'tongue', see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1371), where they compare the T word with PTu *dilga*(*n*) 'voice'. On the word, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 233–235) and Fedotov (1996/2: 190). Egorov (1964: 236) and Fedotov (1996/2: 190) rightly considered the Chuv word *tălmač* to be a lw in Chuv. The immediate source for the Chuv word could be Tat *tïlmač*. T **til* is represented in Chuv as *čĕlxe* 'jazyk' < WOT **tïlak* (Fedotov 1996/2: 411). The T word was borrowed by Rus (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 72), and some T lgs re-borrowed it. In ArmKip, it is of Pol origin. According to Grønbech (1942: 248) and Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 662–665), and in spite of Németh's position (1958: 1–8), the item *tolmač* in LCCG may be a Rus lw. The It part of the CC contains *tïlmač*. According to the majority of the re-

searchers that have dealt with the etymology of this word, e.g. Clauson (1972: 500) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 233–235), *tïlmač* 'interpreter' may appear to be connected with *tïl* 'tongue, informer, information' (see Clauson 1972: 489–490) but this is morphologically obscure since *-mač* is otherwise a dev suff in words for food. On earlier etymological attempts, see a selected bibliography in Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 234). Therefore, Clauson did not exclude the possibility that the word which first appeared in AQB is a lw, and he mentioned that it existed in a slightly different form in OChSl. The Sl words are, however, of T origin.

Jyrkänkallio (1952: 1–11) attempted to find etymologies in the Near East and the Far East. They were dismissed by Németh, who acknowledged that the ending *+mAč* is rare, but pointed to the word *sïgïrtmač* 'Kuhhirt' fr *sïgïrt* 'Kuh'. Since *tïlmač* occurs among the names for the Pechenegs (see Golden 1980/1: 214), Németh supposed that the word is of Pech origin. Golden saw a transcription of T *talmač* in Arm *T'armač'*. The ending *+mAč* is in evidence as a suff for various kinds of foodstuffs in EOT *yörgemäč* 'the paunch and intestines wrapped folded in the smaller intestines and then cooked by roasting' (Clauson 1972: 966), *kömeč* (*kömmeč*) '(food) buried in ashes to cook it' (Clauson 1972: 722), *bulamač* 'a kind of thin gruel' (Clauson 1972: 338) and *kagurmač*, *kaburmač* 'parched wheat' (Clauson 1972: 613). However, Ligeti (1935a: 260) observed early on that there does exist another T word with the same meaning: *kelemeči*. This word appears in the colophon of the Uyg *Rājavadāka-sūtra*, in the Ming dict (UHy) and in AIM. It is the equivalent of Mo *kelemürči*, later *keleči* 'interpeter' < *kele* 'tongue'. In the earliest document in which we find *tïlmači* (AQB), it is the equivalent of *kelemeči*. Erdal has no explanation for the morphological structure of *tïlmač* (1991: 319). The suff *-mA* is dev and can be of no use here. One has the impression that a word of unknown origin was adapted to T *tïl*, and that T *tïlmač*(*ï*), later *tilmäč*, influenced Mo *kelemürči*, which changed to *kelemeči* and was taken over by certain T lgs. The word *tïlmač* became a cultural wandering word which moved with the interpreters themselves.

E/H According to Ásbóth (1896: 465–466), the Serb form *tolmač* was borrowed fr H. The Slvn and Rus words were, however, copied fr the T lgs. Németh (1922: 5–6) pointed out that the T form that corresponds to the H word could have been of Pech der because a similar name had been noted in that lg. According to Bárczi (1941: 312), the H word is of debated origin. Kniezsa (1955: 772–773) considered H *tolmács* as a T copy. The Sl correspondences go back regularly to an Ancient Sl word **tъlmač*, which could have been borrowed fr T **tolmač* or **tïlmač*. Fr a phonetic point of view, it is not necessary to suppose a Sl mediation for H *tolmács*. In terms of cultural history, the interpreter is known to have had a very important and high position in the T nomad state organizations. The T etymology of the H word is also borne out by the fact that the Hungarians could have had ethnic contacts with the Turks

earlier than with the Sl peoples. Németh (1958) maintained that the word was copied fr Pech. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 664) rejected his opinion. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 935) accepted the T etymology of the H word and noted that the T word has an internal T etymology (< T *tïl* ~ *til* 'tongue'). The T copied form could have been **tïlmač* or, less plausibly, **tulmač*. According to Ligeti (1986: 260–261), the H word may be of Cum origin. The T etymon is a der of *tïl*, *til* 'tongue'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1526–1527) changed his position and thought that the source of H *tolmács* is uncertain. It may go back either to a Sl or a T copied form. The word appears as a GN earlier than the Cum migration, and this particular place was named after a person, thus the Cumans can be excluded fr the T lgs fr which the H word was copied.

◆ Ásbóth 1896: 465–466; Németh 1922: 5–6; Ligeti 1935a: 260; Bárczi 1941: 312; Grønbech 1942: 248; Jyrkänkallio 1952: 1–11; Kniezsa 1955: 772–773; Németh 1958: 1–8; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 662–665; Egorov 1964: 236, 323; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 72; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 935; Clauson 1972: 338, 489–490, 500, 613, 722, 966; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 233–235; Golden 1980/1: 214; Ligeti 1986: 253, 260–261; Erdal 1991: 319; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1526–1527; Fedotov 1996/2: 189–190, 411; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 311–313; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1371.

TORLÓDIK 'to pile up, to become blocked', **torlik** id. see **torol**.

TORMA [tormå] 'horseradish, *Armoracia rusticana*' | †1252/1270 PN *Tormas* [tormāš], c1395 *torma* [tormå] 'astrucium' | *tormå* < **turma* ← WOT **turma* | EOT *turma* 'radish'.

OT *turma* 'Rettich' (UHeilk II:1,85,102), *turma* 'radish' (UXuangzangIndex), *turmā* 'radish'. Hence 'carrot' is called: *sarïg turma* meaning, 'yellow radish' (AK); **MT** **turma* (MS: <TRNH>) 'radish' (ABF), *turp* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *turb* (*turp*), *ïtrïb*, *itrib* 'gros radis, radis' (ADur), *turma* (Houtsma erroneously: *tärmä*) 'Rettich' (AHou), *ṭurb* 'red'ka' (ATuh), *turp* 'turp' (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *torma* 'red'ka' (Tat), *tïrma* 'torma; red'ka', *torba* 'ačï torma; red'ka' (TatD1), *tïrba* 'ačï torma; red'ka' (TatD2), *torma* 'retek; Rettich' (TatB), *tŏrma*, *turma* 'der Rettich' (TatKR), *torma* 'red'ka' (Bashk), *tŏrmå* 'retek' (BashkP), *torop* 'torma; red'ka' (SibTat), *tŭrïp* 'horseradish' (Kaz), *turma* 'red'ka' (KarT, KarH), *turma* 'der Rettich' (KarTR), *turïp* 'redis, rediska' (Nog), *turup*: *adžï turup* 'red'ka', *beyaz* (*sarï*) *turp* 'repa' (CrTat), *turma* 'red'ka' (KrchBlk), *turma* 'Rettich' (KrchP), *turma* 'Rübe' (BlkP); ***SW*** *turp* 'red'ka', *turp* '(bot.) red'ka' (Az), *terme* 'a kind of wild radish', *turp* 'radish, bot. *Raphanus sativus*', *türb* (< Pe, lrnd.) id. (Tt), *turma* 'turp' (TtD); ***Kh*** *turb* 'Rettich (*Raphanus*)'; ***SE*** *turp* 'red'ka' (Uzb), *turup*, *tūp* 'turnip' [according to Jarring, it is of Pe origin] (TurkiJ), *torma* '(dial) red'ka' (MUyg), *torma*, *turma*, *tür'ma* 'red'ka' (Sal), *turma*, *t'urma* 'rave', *qi̱či̱ turma* 'radis' (SalK), *turma* 'red'ka' (YUyg), *torma*, *turma* 'red'ka' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo MMo *turma* 'radis, carotte' (Hy).

E/T Although Zajączkowski (1932: 93) mentioned T *turma* among words with the ending °*ma*, he did not provide any possible etymological explanation for it. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 504–505) pointed out that the T word cannot have an internal T etymology because of its "eigentümlichen Nebenformen" *turb*, *turub* and *turf*. Doerfer thought that the T word might have been copied either fr Pe or fr another lg. Clauson (1972: 549) thought that *turma* may be a lw in the T lgs, although he indicated his uncertainty with a question mark. Despite his opinion, the T word survives in the majority of the NW lgs, not merely in one or two, and even crops up sporadically in the SW and SE branches. Elsewhere, it has been displaced by Pe *turp*. The resemblance between the T word *turma* and the Pe word *turp* may, however, suggest that *turma* is a lw in T.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1478) discussed the reconstructed forms PT **turup*, **turum* 'turnip', PMo *torum*(*a*) 'turnip' and PTu **terbe* 'name of an edible plant' under the PA entry **t'ùrmV* 'a kind of vegetable'. The PTu form, which is reconstructed on the basis of one single item, cannot belong here for phonetic and semantic reasons. The Mo form, as also mentioned by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak, may be of T origin. According to them, one cannot exclude the possibility that the T form is of Ch der. The suggested Ch etymology, i.e. 土卵 *tu-luan* 'yam', calls for further investigation.

E/H It was Munkácsi (1886–1887: 471) who first compared H *torma* with T words. Gombocz (1907a: 364; 1912b: 101) accepted the T etymology of the word and later (1912b: 131) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **turma* for it. Munkácsi (1932: 108–110) listed additional T data and cited Laufer's Mo data *turma* 'radish' fr his *Sino-Iranica* (1919: 574). In the Vullers Pe dict (1862/1: 439), one can find the item *turub* and *turma* fr older sources. According to Munkácsi, the Pe words *turup* and *turma* are originally T. He thought that T *turma* and *turup* (on the latter, see the following data: Kirg *turup* 'radish', SibTat *torop* id., CrTat *turup* 'carrot', Az *t´urup* id., etc.) go back to the T verbal base *tur-* 'to stand' and that they are ders formed with the suffs *-mA* and *-(X)p*. As he mentioned, the semantic side of this etymological proposal may be correct. The Lat word for 'radish' is *radix*, which carried the original sense of 'root'. Bárczi (1941: 314) considered the H word to be of T origin. As he noted, the H noun *torma* only occurred in the H sources at the end of the 14th c. but it had already been mentioned as a PN (*Tormás*) by Anonymous. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 945), the H word is of OT der. Its copied form could be *turma* and the original meaning of this form was 'radish'. Ligeti (1986: 280, 309) presumed that the H word was a copy of an OChuv form **turma*. The T word was borrowed into Mo and Pe. According to Ligeti, T *turma* cannot be separated fr *turp* (see *turp* 'radish' (Tt), *turp* (Az), Afshar *turpča* 'radis' (Ligeti), *trup* (Gag), *turp* (Tkm), etc.). These data were borrowed fr Pe (*turb*, *turub*, *turf* 'radish'). Laufer (1919: 574) did not

accept Munkácsi's and Gombocz's opinions and thought that the H word may have originated fr Pe. Ligeti accepted Doerfer's (1963–1975/2: 505) view that the word was copied by the Turks early on. In the T and Ir lgs, the word generally denotes 'carrot, radish'. The meaning 'horseradish' could, however, have already occurred on the T side. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1532), the H word has a T starting point. The T word may have a Pe source, but the origin of the Pe word is unclear.

◆ Vullers 1862/1: 439; Munkácsi 1886–1887: 471; Gombocz 1907a: 364; Gombocz 1912b: 101, 131; Vámbéry 1914: 215; Laufer 1919: 574; Munkácsi 1932: 108–110; Zajączkowski 1932: 93; Bárczi 1941: 314; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 302; Moór 1959b: 199; Moór 1960: 396; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 504–505; Tamás 1966: 799; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 945; Räsänen 1969: 501; Moór 1971: 963; Clauson 1972: 549; Ligeti 1986: 280, 309; Benkő 1993–1997/2:1532; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1478.

TOROL [torol] 'to pile up (tr)', **torlódik** [torlōdik] 'to pile up, to become blocked', **torlik** [torlik] id. | 1508 *torlanak* [torl-ånåk], 1519 *torlyk* [torlik], 1786 *torlódása* [torlōdāšå], 1803 *torlódik* [torlōdik] | *torlōdik-*, *torlik-* < *torol-* {with suffs *-Ōdik-* or *-ik-*} < *toro-* {with suff *-(V)l-*} < **toro-* ⟵ WOT **turo-* | T *turo-* 'to block (a road, etc.)' < ? EOT **tu-*.

Of debated T origin.

OT *tomuš teyin äšidip* 'I have heard that [the road] is blocked' (RMTon 23), *tamu yolï tutunguz* 'Den Höllen-Weg hast Du versperrt' (UTT III 14), *tu-*: *ol aġzïn tūdï* 'he shut his mouth'. Also of any hole that one covers up. (AK), *qalïqïġ tudï* '[now ducks and geese, swans and wild swallows] cover the air' (AQB); **MT** *tuer* (? read: *tuvïr-*) 'verstopfen' (LCCG), *tur-* 's'arrêter' (AChag), ? *tus-* 'Weg versperren' (AChagŠSK); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tărăn-* 'upiratʹsja vo čto-l', *tărăn-* (*tĭrĭn-*) 'natykatʹsja, vtykatʹsja, vonzatʹsja, spotykatʹsja, zapinatʹsja, pošatyvatʹsja (?), nabrasyvatʹsja etc.' (ChuvA), *tărăx* 'két sövénykaró között levő sövényrész; der Zwischenraum zwischen zwei Pfählern eines Zaunes', *tărăn-* 'nekimenni, nekirohanni, belelütközni, ráakadni; losfahren, an den Leib gehen, anrennen, aufstossen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tura-* 'versperren (von einem aufrechtstehenden Körper der den Weg versperrt)' (TatKR), *toro-* 'pregraždatʹ, zaderživatʹ', *torgo-* 'prepjatstvovatʹ, pregraždatʹ putʹ, zaderživatʹ, uderživatʹ' (Kirg), *tos-* 'pregraždatʹ putʹ, dorogu', *tosqïn* 'zagraždenie, pregrada, prepjatstvie' (Kklp); ***SW*** *tor* 'neob″ezžennyj, nehoženyj (o doroge, o trope)' (Gag); ***Kh*** *ṭọgāq* 'Tür des Ofens oder der Schüsselregals und dergleichen, Öffnung eines Gefäßes' [Wohl zu T *tō-* 'blockieren'] (Kh); ***SE*** ? *tŭs-* 'zagraždatʹ, pregraždatʹ, zagoraživatʹ, zakryvatʹ', *tŭsik* 'prepjatstvie, pregrada, barʹer, (redk.) kordon, (peren.) prepjatstvie, pregrada, pomeha' (Uzb), *tos-* 'to stop, to hinder, to keep back, to keep away, to turn away something, to close, to arrest', *tuġ* 'a dam in a river or channel' (TurkiJ), *tura-* 'versperren (von einem aufrechtstehenden Körper, der den Weg versperrt)' (TurkiTR), *toralġu* 'prepjatstvie, pregrada, pomeha', *tori-* 'zagoraživatʹ, pregraždatʹ' (MUyg), *tumaq* 'pregrada, prepjatstvie (naprimer v puti)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *toura-*

'zagradit' put', zagorodit', uderžat'' (AltQK), *toro-* 'vorbringen, vorschieben, hemmen, aufhalten' (AltTelR), *turhul* 'lock' (FY), *tugla-* 'pregraždat' put'' (Khak), *torul-* 'zaderživat'sja pered prepjatstviem, priostanavlivat'sja', *dugla-* 'zakryvat', prikryvat', zaslonjat', peregoraživat', zagoraživat', zabivat', zadelyvat', zatykat'' (Tuv), *dug*, *tug* 'zakrytyj, zavalennyj vhod v noru, kryška' (TuvD, Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 254–255), *tor-* 'zaderživat'sja, zastrevat'', *dug* 'izgorod', zapruda, plotina' (Tof); ***Y*** *toruy-* 'stojat' pered čem, zakryvat', pokryvat', zaslonjat'', *tū* 'verša, morda (rybolovnoe orudie)' (Y).

Mo *tor-* 'to get stuck, to be stopped, delayed', *torgo-* 'to stop, hold, catch, to retard, impede' (L).

E/T With rare exceptions, I only collected words in the database that may go back to T **tur*(*o*)-. Räsänen (1969: 496) read and reconstructed **tu-* 'den Weg sperren'. Clauson (1972: 434) thought that *tō-* 'to close, block' (with uncertain vocalism) should be the basis of *toḏ-* 'to be full, satiated', *tok* 'full, satiated' and *tol-* 'to be filled', thus the the reading *-o-* is very probable in the word. In their Kashgari edition, Dankoff and Kelly separated *tu-* 'to shut, plug up, cover' fr **to-* 'to fill'. Following Clauson, Erdal (1991) discussed a number of ders for **to-*: see *to-k* 'satiated, full' (248), *to-l-um* 'a skin container' (293, attested only since the MT period), *todum*: *bir todum yem* 'one full of food' (297), *todumsuz* and *todunčsuz* 'insatiable' (298–299, 353), *tolu* 'full', *tolun* 'full (of the moon or the sun), full (of a voice), complete' (303), *todgun* 'a constantly flowing river, like the Euphrates' (329), *tolkok* 'an inflated skin container' < *tol-gOk* (359), *to-š-* 'to be filled with many things' (569–570), *to-d-* 'to be or become satiated' (643), *tod-ur-* 'to satiate, fill the stomach' (722–723), *toš-gur-* 'to fill, to fulfil, accomplish' (753–754) and *tol-tur-* 'to fill' (811). Although these ders definitely belong together and they may come fr **to-* 'to fill', there are certain other lexemes which, despite Erdal's opinion, present semantic difficulties if we attempt to connect them to the same base. See *to-nču* 'stopped up hole in the earth' (Erdal 1991: 289), *tonču+k-* (cf. *är tončuktï* 'the man was clogged up so that he couldn't breathe' and *sugur tončuktï* 'the weasel hibernated' (496)), *to-n-* 'to be blocked, to be closed up' (620), *to-l-* 'to be made to block a passage' (this verb has other meanings in some sources which may go back to the sense 'to fill' (678)) and *yol tozumčï* 'highwayman' (117, 759). Clauson (1972) did not discuss the word *tonču*, *tozumčï*, however having discussed *ton-* (514–515) and *tončuk-* (517), he pointed out that they show an *-u-* in the first syllable in some lgs.

On the basis of the T data we can presume that there were two verbs in OT, *to-* 'to fill' and **tō-* or **tū-* 'to block, cover', while the vocalism of the Mo word does not help here. The denotation 'block, cover' pertains to *tūg* 'obstructed, obstruction, barrier', which is attested as of the early OT sources (see Clauson (1972: 463–464)), but not mentioned by Erdal among the *-(X)g* nominals (see also Tatarincev (2000–

2004/2: 254–255, 261–262)). **tō-*, **tū-* must also be linked to EOT *tuyuk* as in *tuyug kapug* 'locked (door)', *tuyuk kün* 'overcast (day)' and *tuyuk kiši* 'a stingy man' (AK), that is 'covered sky' and 'a man with closed hands'. This may be analysed as **tū-Ok*, where /y/ is a hiatus filler. I assume that the original vowel was a closed labial /u/ and the data that contain an /o/ are secondary.

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1470), the PT **Tug* 'dam, fish trap', PMo **togsiya* 'net for catching birds, to fish with a net' and PTu **tuki-* 'to fish' represent a Western isogloss. The T form may reflect contamination with **togi* 'mound, dam'.

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak listed the following data under the PT form: Orkh *tug*, Kashgari *tug*, Uyg *tug*, BashkD *tïw*, Kirg *tuk*, Khak *tug*, KhakShr *tug*, Tuv *dug-da-* 'to make a partition', Tof *dug* and Y *tū*.

E/H According to Szarvas (1887a: 530–531), the H verbs *torlik-* and *torlódik-*, which mean 'to push oneself', may be etymologically linked to the H verb *tol-* 'to push'. He erroneously thought that the verbs *tor°-* and *tol-* are alternative forms. He observed that the verbal forms with *-r-* may occur with the meanings normally attributed to *tolódik-*, *tódul-* 'to flow, rush to, to stream to', and that the form with *-l-* also comes up in the sense usually ascribed to *torlódik-* 'to pile up, gather (in a heap)'. According to Pais (1943c: 347), on the basis of the denotations of the verbs *torl- ~ torol-* 'to vomit, throw up', one can suppose that they are related to the H word *torok*, *tor* 'throat'. According to Benkő (1963: 20), the H verbs *tol- ~ tojik- ~ tolódik- ~ torlódik- ~ tolul-*, etc. may be members of a word-family where a word split occurred. Later, he (1967–1984/3: 944–945) noted that they may all derive fr the H verb *tol-*. The oldest documented member of this word-family is *torlik-*. Its segment *-rl-* could have developed fr *-l-* with gemination (*-ll-*) and dissimilation (*-rl-*). The other forms may go back to this secondary base *torl-*. According to him, the semantic side of this etymology can be explained fr the basic meaning 'to put something somewhere, to push something, to throw, chuck'. The other possible explanation supposes an obsolete H basic verb *torol-*, *torl-* 'to vomit', which may be tied to H *torok* 'throat', but this etymology seems less plausible. According to Palló (1982: 198–200), H *torlik-* may be of OT origin. She reconstructed the T copied form as **tor- ~ *toro-*, which may come fr the OT base *to-* 'to close, block' documented in some MT lgs. Palló thought that the sense of the verb *torol-* 'to revenge oneself', may be metaphorical and that this semantic shift occurred in H. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1533) strengthened his earlier opinion and claimed that the ultimate base of the H verb forms may be the H verb *tol-*. The OT starting point for these verbs and their relationship to H *torok* 'throat' appear to be less likely. Ligeti (1986) did not mention the H word family among the T copied forms in H.

We have to distinguish the H verb *torol-* 'anhäufen' (1508), *torlik-* 'sich anhäufen' (1519) and *torló* 'Getreidehalm' (1577) fr *torol-* 'rächen'. It remains an open question if H *torol-* 'to pile up' and T *toro-* 'to block' belong together. H *torlasz* 'barricade' (1831, 1834) is a neologism, nevertheless it shows that the semantics of *torol-* 'pile up' included the denotation 'to pile something up to create a block'.

◆ Szarvas 1887a: 530–531; Pais 1943c: 347–348; Benkő 1963: 20; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 944–945; Räsänen 1969: 496; Clauson 1972: 434, 463–464, 514–515, 517; Palló 1982: 198–200; Erdal 1991: 117, 248, 289, 293, 297–299, 303, 329, 353, 359, 496, 514–515, 517, 569–570, 620, 643, 678, 722–723, 759, 753–754, 811; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1533; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 254–255, 261–262; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1470.

TORONTÁL [torontāl] 'a kind of small falcon, *Falco columbarius aescalon*' | 1234 ? PN *truntayl* [truntāl′], 1323 GN *Turuntal* [turuntāl], c1395 *torontaÿl* [torontāl′], c1405 *torontal* [torontāl′] | *torontāl* < *turuntal′* < **turuntay* ← WOT **turuntay* | EOT *turumtay* 'a kind of small hawk, merlin, *Falco aescalon*', MT *turuntay*.

OT *turumtāy* 'name of a bird of prey, a hunting bird'. A man may be given the name *turumtāy* as an honorific (AK); **MT** *turumtay* 'a well-known animal' (ABF), *turmutay* (!) 'egy madár neve [the name of a bird]' (AChagBL), *turumtay* 'ein kleiner Raubvogel, der Neuntödter' (AChagR), *ṭurunṭay* 'espèce d'autour, oiseau de proie' (ABul), *ṭorunṭay* (r: *ṭurunṭay*) 'jastreb' (ATuh), *toruntay* (r: *turuntay*) 'şahin cinsinden bir kuş' (ATuhA), *turumtay* 'karagöz cinsinden bir alıcı kuş' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *torïmtay* 'pusteĺga (ptica)' (Tat), *toromtay* '(zool.) pusteĺga (ptica)' (Bashk), *turumtay* 'derbnik (kobčik)' (Kirg), *tŭrïmtay* '(zool.) merlin (a hunting bird of the falcon species)' (Kaz), *turumtay* 'ein kleiner Raubvogel, der Neuntöter' (KazR), *turïmtay* 'kobčik (lovčaja ptica)' (Kklp), *turïmtay* 'kobčik (lovčaja ptica iz porody sokolinyh)' (Nog); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *turumtoy* '(zool.) derbnik, sokol-derbnik' (Uzb), *turumtaï* 'a sparrow hawk', *turumtai* 'the merlin' (TurkiSh), *turumtay* '(zool.) ptica vida kobčikovyh' (MUyg); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo MMo *turumtay* 'merlin, the male of any kind of hawk' (AKD), *torumtay*, *torimtay*, *turimtay* 'the male of any kind of hawk, small-sized birds of prey' (L).

E/T In discussing T *turumtay* 'ein kleiner Raubvogel', which has well documented corresponding forms in the Mo lgs, Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 502–504) thought that the T and Mo words may be lws fr a third unknown lg. He suggested that this may be a case of "die Verbalhornung aus Tabugründen eines im Tü. ursprünglich anders lautenden Wortes". He also pointed out, however, that the initial segment *tur°* crops up frequently in T bird names. He thought that this sequence may also be of onomatopoeic origin.

Clauson (1972: 550) believed that *turumtāy* is an "oddly shaped" word and may, therefore, be a borrowing in T. It denotes a kind of small hawk but is probably also used for other similar birds. Mo contains *turimtay* as an early lw fr T. On the spread

of the word in other lgs, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 502–504). On the T data of the word used as PNs, see also Räsänen (1969: 501) and Tenišev (2001: 651).

E/H Gombocz (1914–1915: 295–296) considered the H noun *torontál* and the OH PN *Turuntal* to be of plausible T der and compared them with the rarely attested T bird name *turumtay*. He also listed certain Mo data. Benkő (1953b: 11) noted that the final *-l* in the H noun and PN goes back to a T *-y* and that the *-j* [y] > *-ly* [l′] > *-l* change may be an internal H development. Ligeti (1956: 340–346) regarded the H word as a Kip lw. The word-internal development *-mt-* > *-nt-* may have occurred on the T side. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 948) was of the opinion that H *torontál* may come fr an OT starting point. The development of the H word ending is, however, uncertain. According to Ligeti (1986: 87), H *torontál* cannot be listed among the OT lws of the Chuv type. Its source may be CT *turumtay*, *turuntay* 'a kind of small hawk, *Falco columbarius aesalon*', the oldest item of which is attested in the Kashgari compendium. The Mo corresponding form in Ch transcription is *turumtay* (and not *turimtay*). According to Ligeti – in a shift fr his earlier position – it is not obvious that the H noun should share the same origin as the form that was used as a PN. The H form of the noun, <turumtaÿl>, represents T *turumtāy*, showing that the T word-final segment did not disappear in all cases (see e.g. **boka** and **búza**) in which it was lost in the same position. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1533) suggests that the word originates fr T, and that, though the final (*y* > *l′* > *l*) is not quite clear, the change shift perhaps came about under the influence of other names of birds of prey, such as **karvaly**. In any case, it is a term used in hunting with such birds, the H terminology of which demonstrates great T influence (see § 7.3).

◆ Gombocz 1914–1915: 295–296; Benkő 1953b: 11; Ligeti 1956: 340–346; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 502–504; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 948; Räsänen 1969: 501; Clauson 1972: 550; Ligeti 1977–1979/1: 175–181; Ligeti 1986: 87; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1533; Tenišev 2001: 651.

TÓT [tōt] 'Slovak' | 1121/1420 GN *Tout* [tōt], 1219/1550 GN *tot* [tōt], 1138/1329 PN *Tottí* [tōttī], c1405 *thot* [tōt] 'sclauus', 1637 'Slovak' | *tōt* < **tat* < **tāt* ← WOT **tāt* | EOT *tat*, *tāt* 'an alien, a stranger, a pagan'.

OT *ol …a [?] tatïŋa tägi bunï körü biliŋ* (RMKT S 12), and see the parallel text: *oglïŋa tatïŋa tägi bunï körü biliŋ* 'see and know this (all of you) down to your sons and alien subjects' (RMBilg N 15, translated by Berta), *tat* 'Persian' – among most of the Turks. Proverb: *tatïg kõzrä tikānig tüprä* '(Strike) the Persian on the eye, (cut) the thorn at its root' (AK), *tat* 'Uygur infidels' – among the Yaġma and Tuxsi. I heard it fr them in their own country. They use it in this expression: *tat tawġāč* meaning 'Uyghurī and Ṣīnī' (AK); **MT** *tat* 'reʿayadan bir tayife [a class of serfs (riʿāyā) who do not live in towns and, without being actual slaves, are in the service of the landed gentry, also used of a class of unemployed roughs]' (AChagAb), *tat* 'raayadan bir tayife, şehirde sakin olmayanlar' (AChagAbA), *tat* 'az alattvalók egy osztálya,

mely nem lakik a városban, valaki mellett szolgálatban valók, önkéntesek csapata [a class of subordinates that does not live in town, serves somebody, a group of volunteers]' (AChagAbV), *tat* 'klass naroda, poddannyh, neživuščih v gorod' (AChagBud), *tat* 'die Klasse der Unterthanen, die nicht in den Städten leben, Leute die bei den hohen Würdenträgern wohnen und dienen, aber nicht ihre Sklaven sind' (AChagR), *tat* 'a clan of Persians' (AChagSC), *tat* 'türk hükmüne girmiš olan qavïmlara denür, tājīk gibi' (AChagŠS), *tat* 'die unter türkische Herrschaft sich begebenden Völker' (AChagŠSK), *tat* 'ekinci, fellâh [one MS adds 'Arab and Persian]' (AAH), *tat* 'Türkçe bilmez, dilsiz, arap, farisî' (AAHI), *ṭaṭ* 'étranger' (ABul), *ṭaṭ* 'laboureur, fellah (étranger, non-Turc)' (ADur), *ṭaṭ* 'gorožanin, krest′janin' (ATuh), *tat* 'şehirli, yerli çiftçi' (ATuhA), *tat* 'yabancı, ecnebi, özel olarak Acem' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tat* 'tat, tatskij', *tat xalkï* 'taty, tatskij narod' (Tat), *tat* 'tat, tatskij' (Bashk), *tat* 'tatskij', *tatlar* (*Azerbayǰanda, Dagestanda häm Iranda ǰasawšï xalïq*) 'taty' (RKklp), *tat* 'tat, tatskij' (Nog), *tat* 'gorskij tatarin' (CrTat), *tat* 'von den Einwohnern im westlichen Theile der Krym habe ich die Tataren, die nördlich von Sydak wohnen, *Tat* nennen hören, sonst ist mit der Ausdruck *tat* in keinen Dialekten aufgestossen' (CrTatR), *tat* 'tatarin južnogo berega Kryma, tat' (KarSh); ***SW*** *tat* 'Tat (narodnost′ v Azerbajdžane)' (Az), *Tat* 'scornful name given by the Turks to subject Persians and Kurds, (arch) poor, wretch, stranger' (Tt), *tat* 'kekeme, dilsiz, şehirde oturmıyan bir sınıf halk' (TtD), *tat* 'yabancı' (TtDA), *tat* 'die Klasse der Untertanen, die nicht in den Städten leben, Leute, die bei den hohen Würdenträgern wohnen und dienen, aber nicht ihre Sklaven sind, Leute, die sich von ihrem Volke getrennt haben, in Folge dessen in Abhängigkeit geraten, armer Sünder' (TtR); ***Kh*** *tāt* 'Bezeichnung für die persische Sprache' (Kh); ***SE*** *tat* 'tat' (MUyg), *ta't*, *taŕ't* 'tangut, tibetec' (YUyg), *tat* – tangut 'tibetec' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T Clauson (1972: 449) noted that the basic meaning of the word *tat* could be 'an alien', probably a subject, but in any case an inferior. It is the name of a population in the Crimea. In some SW sources (e.g. Lehce-i Osmānī), old Pe and Kurdish populations were named *Tat*, and this name hence came to mean 'miserable, destitute'.

E/H Vámbéry (1882a: 352) attempted to explain the ethnonym *tót* fr the T word *tat*, which, according to him, has been used to denote foreigners that have settled somewhere in one's own country. Réthy (1890: 210–211) rejected Vámbéry's explanation and proposed to link the ethnonym with the IE word *teut*, *tauta* 'people'. Borovszky (1894: 342) listed *tót* among H borrowings fr Grm. Melich (1929: 321–328) accepted that the ultimate base of the H word *tót* may be IE **teu̯tā* 'people'. He thought that the immediate source of this name could either be the lg of the Bulgar Turks or that of an ancient Celtic or Illiric tribe that was assimilated by the Hungarians after they occupied their new homeland. Bárczi (1941: 315) accepted Melich's proposal about the possible Celtic or Illiric origin of the ethnonym. Moór (1951a:

108) thought that this ethnonym may be of IE der, but that it was borrowed fr the Alans or Turks before the H land-taking. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 951–952; 1993–1997/2: 1535), the immediate source of this lw cannot be determined. It may be interrelated with OHGrm *diot*, MHGrm *diet* 'people', Grm *deutsch* 'German', Lat *teutoni* 'a German people', etc. The copied form could be **tauti* or **touti* and it was generally used to denote the Sl people. Later, the borrowed lexeme only signified some of the Sl people (the so-called Kay-Croatians, Slovens and Slovaks). In the mid-20th c., the word referred to the Slovaks. It took on a pejorative connotation and by today the H word *tót* has become obsolete, though, it is common as a family name. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *tót* among the T lws in H.

IE **theuth* is absent fr the Ir and Ind lgs and present only in the "Ancient European" group (Germanic, Celtic, Baltic) (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 652–653), thus it is unlikely that T *tat* has anything to do with one of the late forms of IE **theuth*. The Gothic form *þiuda* or OHGrm *diot* or similar forms could not have constituted the basis for H *tót*. The H word is originated fr T while the length of the vowel represents a secondary H development.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 379; Wagner 1879: 164–165; Vámbéry 1882a: 352; Réthy 1890: 210–211; Borovszky 1894: 342; Melich 1929: 321–328; Bárczi 1941: 315; Moór 1951a: 108; Simony 1955: 359; Moór 1956: 114; Nagy 1958: 104; Moór 1962a: 298; Kiss 1964: 194; Tamás 1966: 800; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 951–952; Clauson 1972: 449; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1535; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1995: 652–653; Golden 2006a: 17–18.

TÖKÉL [tökēl] 'to perform', **tökéletes** [tökēleteš] 'perfect', ? **tökít** [tökīt] 'to torture, to destroy' | p1372/c1448 *tekelletes*, *tewkelletel* [tek-ēlleteš, tök-ēlletel], p1416/c1450 *ṭọkellèteffegrè* [tök-ēlleteš-šēgre], c1493 *tekeytenek* [tek-eytenek] | *tökēleteš* < *tökēl-* {with suff *-AtOš*} < **tökē-* {with suff *-(V)l-*} < **tüke-* ← WOT **tükä-* | EOT *tükä-* 'to come to an end, to finish', *tükät-* 'to bring to an end, to complete', MT 'to kill'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *barča tükẅp täzä* 'all were exhausted and ran away' (RMShin), *tükā̆-* 'to grow fully', *tükäl* 'complete, safe and sound' (RTIrk), *tükällig* 'vollkommen' (MManIII Nr. 6 recto 10), *kirü tükäsär* 'wenn man daher vollständig eingetreten ist' (UTTV B:35), *tükäl* 'völlig, vollendet' (UTTIV A:75), *tükä-* 'zu Ende sein' (UTTVII 13:48, 21:2, etc.), *tükäl* 'ganz, vollständig' (UTTVII 40:121), *tükä-* 'to come to an end', *tükäl* 'complete, entire', *tükäl-* 'to complete' (UXuangzangIndex), *tükäl ärdämlig* 'sehr tugendhaft' (UManI 12:18), *tükälig* 'vollkommen' (MManIII Nr. 7 recto 14), *tükä-* 'zu Ende, vollkommen sein': *tükämiš* (tükāmiṣ – tyu kyā mi ṣ) 'beendet' (BA 11), *tükäl* (tükäl̲ – tyu kyā l̲) 'vollkommen': *tükäl bilgä täŋri täŋrisi burhan* 'der vollkommen weise, allergöttlichste Buddha' (BH 5,6), *tükällig*: *tükälligig* 'die Vollkommenheit' (acc) (BD 37), *tükä-* 'be finished and done with, be enough for', *īš tükādi* 'the deed was over and done with', *bu aš qamuġqa tükādi* 'this food was enough for everyone', *tükāl*, *tükäl* 'completeness', *tükät-*: *ol īšin tükätti* 'he finished his work'

(AK), *tükäl qïl tiläk* ‘fulfil his desire’ (AQB); **MT** *tüke-* ‘tamamlanmak, bitmek’, *tükel* ‘tam’ (UY), *tükä-* ‘terminer, achever’, *tükäti* ‘complètement’ (UHyS), *tükä-* ‘vollendet sein’ (UCivPl 01:23), *tükäl* ‘vollkommen, vollständig’ (UCivSa 01:6), *Tükäl* PN (UCivSa 06:8), *tükän-* ‘to come to an end, be exhausted’, *tükät-* ‘to spend’ (AGul), *tükel* ‘hep(si), tamam, mükemmel’, *düken-*, *tüken-* ‘tükenmek’ (AHMA), *tügäl*, *tükäl* ‘doskonały, zupełnie, cały, całkiem’ (AHŠ), *tügäl* ‘soveršenno, polnosťju, sovsem, celyj, vesʹ’, *tügän-* ‘okončitʹsja, zakončitʹsja, isčerpatʹsja, istoščatʹsja’ (AHŠF), *tūkä-* ‘fanā [to come to an end]’ (AIM), *tüken-* ‘bitmek, kalmamak’ (AIMI), *tükäl* ‘all, whole’ (not *tügel*) (AKD), *tükäl* ‘complete’, *tükä-*: *tükä- alqïn-* ‘to become used up and exhausted, to vanish and waste away’ (AKor), *tügät-* ‘zakančivatʹ’, *tügän-* ‘končatʹsja’ (AM), *tükel* ‘hep, bütün, tamamıyla’ (ANeh), *tügäl* ‘soveršenno, polnosťju, sovsem, celyj, vesʹ’, *tügän-* ‘okončitʹsja, zakončitʹsja, isčerpatʹsja, istoščatʹsja’ (ANehF), *tükäl* ‘all’ (ARbg), *tügä-* (r: *tükä-*) ‘končatʹsja’, *tügäl* (r: *tükäl*) ‘vpolne, vsecelo’ (ATef), *tüke-* ‘tamamlanmak, bitmek’, *tükel* ‘tam’ (AYC), *tükäl-* ‘être complete’ (AChag), *tükengenil-* ‘bevégeztetik [to bring something to an end]’, *tüküz* ‘egész, teljes [whole, complete]’ (AChagAbV), *töküz* ‘celʹnyj, bez izʺjana’ (AChagB), *tükel* ‘dokončennyj, spolna’ (AChagBud), *tügäl*, *tügän* ‘vse’ (AChagLN), *tügel* ‘sovsem’ (AChagMA), *tükäl*, *tügäl* ‘ganz, ganz und gar, alle’ (AChagR), *tükel* ‘tamam’, *tükel-* ‘tamam olmaq, enǰāma ermek’ (AChagŠS), *tökel-* ‘vollständig sein’ (AChagŠSK), *tükeli* ‘ganz’ (AChagZ), *tügel* ‘vollendet, vollkommen’ (LCCG), *tükäl* (tuchal) ‘vollendet, volkommen, Vervollkommnung’ (LCCI), *dükäl* ‘hep, bütün’, *dükän-* ‘tükenmek’, *tükän-* – bugünkü manasında (AAH), *tük-* ‘abschneiden’ (AHou), *tükän-* ‘elvégződik; zu Ende sein’, *tükät-* ‘elvégez; beenden’ (AKav), *tükän-* ‘to be finished’, *tükät-* ‘to finish’ (AMGh), *tügän-* ‘končatʹsja, zakančivatʹsja, zaveršatʹsja, soveršatʹsja, ispolnjatʹsja’ (ATuh), *tüket-* ‘tüketmek’ (ATuhA), *tugal* ‘complet, complètement, totalité’ (AmTr), *tugal* ‘polnosťju, celikom, vse’ (AmD), *tugal* ‘complètement, totalement, la totalité’ (AmE), *dükeli*, *tükeli*, *dükel*, *dügeli* ‘hem, cümle, hepsi, bütün’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** ? *tĕkel* ‘četnoe čislo, (razg.) čet’ (Chuv), *tĕkel* ‘čet, nečet’ (ChuvA), *tĕkel* ‘páros szám; gerade Zahl’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tögäl* ‘rovno, točno, rovnyj, točnyj, polnyj, spolna, polnosťju’ (Tat), *tögä-* dial. ‘beterü, tämamlau, ber dä kaldïrmau’ (TatE), *tögät-* ‘beendigen’ (TatKR), *teüäl* ‘rovno, točno, celyj’, *teüällä-* ‘zaveršatʹ, okančivatʹ, zakančivatʹ, sčitatʹ, podsčityvatʹ kogo-čto, proverjatʹ naličie kogo-dego’, *tökä-* ‘pristraivatʹ’ (Bashk), *tökät-* ponud. ot *tökä-* (BashkA), *tügäl* ‘teljes, teljesen [complete, completely]’ (BashkP), *tögä-* ‘beterü; končatʹ; yabïgu, arïgayu; istoščatʹsja’, *tügä-* ‘betü; istoščatʹsja, končatʹsja’, *tügät-* ‘beterü; končatʹ’ (SibTat), *tügöl* ‘vesʹ, celikom, spolna’, *tügöt-* ‘končitʹ, zakončitʹ, zaveršitʹ, dovesti do issjakanija, (ust.) likvidirovatʹ’ (Kirg), *tügel* ‘(math.) integer, undivided, all wholly, completely, in full, entirely, the whole’ (Kaz), *tügel* ‘vesʹ, celikom, spolna’ (KazB), *tügöl* ‘ganz und gar, vollständig, ganz unversehrt, wohlerhalten, richtig der Zahl nach’

(KazR), *tüwel* 'nalico, ves′, celikom' (Kklp), *t′ug′al* 'soveršennyj, polnyj', *t′ug′at′*- 'ispolnjat′, končat′' (KarT), *tig′el* 'soveršennyj, pravil′nyj', *tig′et*- 'končit′, zakončit′' (KarH), *tüget*- 'končat′, isčerpyvat′, dovodit′ do konca, uničtožat′' (KarC), *tügel′* 'polnota, polnyj, celyj, vpolne, spolna, sovsem, vse, celikom, soveršenstvo, soveršennyj, bezukoriznennyj, zakončennyj, nevinnyj, čistyj, iskrennij', *tügeyt*- 'končat′, spravljat′sja', *tüket*- 'končat′, spravljat′sja s čem-l.' (KarSh), *tükäl*, *tügäl* 'ganz, ganz und gar, alle, vollkommen, unschuldig', *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (KarLR), *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (KarTR), *tügelle*- '(ust.) končat′, zakančivat′, zaveršat′', *tügen*- 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, zaveršat′sja, prekraščat′sja' (Kum), *tügel*- 'končat′sja' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *tükel* 'ves′, vse, sploš′, celikom, polnost′ju, celyj, v celosti', *tüken*- 'izrashodovat′sja, istratit′sja, zakančivat′sja, zaveršat′sja, isčerpyvat′sja' (Tkm), *tükän*- 'končat′sja, issjakat′, issjaknut′, istoščat′sja, isčerpyvat′sja' (Az), *tükel* 'complete, full, accomplished, perfect, the whole of, entirely', *tüket*- 'to exhaust, to use up, to consume, to bring to an end, to finish' (Tt), *tükel* 'tam, bütün' (TtD), *tüken*- 'končat′sja, issjakat′, istoščat′sja, prihodit′ k koncu' (Gag), *ṭịkän*- 'zu Ende sein' (Khor); ***Kh*** *tikän*-, *ṭịkän*- 'vollendet werden, zu Ende gehen', *tikät*- 'beenden, fertigstellen' (Kh); ***SE*** *tuga*- 'končat′sja, okančivat′sja, zakančivat′sja, zaveršat′sja, byt′ okončennym, zakončennym, zaveršennym, issjakat′, isčerpyvat′sja', *tugal* 'zakončennyj, okončatel′nyj, polnyj, polnost′ju, celikom, spolna, ves′, vse', *tugat*- 'končat′, zakančivat′, okančivat′, zaveršat′, isčerpat′, likvidirovat′, izživat′, uničtožat′' (Uzb), *tögɛ*- 'to come to an end, to finish' (TurkiJ), *tuga*- 'to come to an end' (TurkiSh), *tügä*-, *tüge*- 'okančivat′sja', *tüget*-, *tügät*-: *iš tügät*- 'soveršat′, okančivat′, zakančivat′ dela', *tögät*- 'končat′' (TurkiL), *tügä*- 'zu Ende gehen', *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (TurkiTR), *tügü*- 'končat′sja, zakančivat′sja, zaveršat′sja, okančivat′sja, isčerpyvat′sja, istoščat′sja, likvidirovat′sja, (peren. skončat′sja, umeret′)', *tügäl* 'polnyj, polnost′ju, celikom, spolna, ves′, vse', *tügät*- 'v razn. znač. končat′, zaveršat′, zakančivat′, okančivat′, dovodit′ do konca (napr. kakoe-l.) delo, isčerpyvat′, istoščat′ (napr. zapasy), likvidirovat′' (MUyg), *tügä*- 'zakančivat′sja' (MUygMKuč), *tügüt*- 'okončit′' (MUygMAks), *tü'ke*-, *tüke*-, *te'kē*-, *tüge*-, *t'uke*- 'končat′sja, zaveršat′sja' (YUyg), *tüke*- 'končat′sja', *tük*- 'vypolnjat′' (YUygM); ***NE*** *tügen*- 'končat′sja, issjakat′, istoščat′sja, oskudevat′, istlevat′, iznašivat′sja' (Alt), *tögöt*- 'beendigen, zu Ende bringen' (AltR, AltTelR), *tügön*- 'prekratit′sja, istoščit′sja, končit′sja' (AltQK), *tügel*- '(dial) prekratit′sja, issjaknut′, končit′sja, oskudet′, istoščit′sja, istlet′, iznosit′sja' (Khak), *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (KhakQbR), *tögät*- 'beendigen, zu Ende bringen', *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (KhakSR), *tügät*- 'vollenden, beendigen, vernichten' (KhakShR); ***Y*** *tüksü*, *tügüsü* 'dovol′no, polno' (Y).

Mo *tegüs*- 'to come to an end, to be finished, fulfilled, carried out, completed, to be perfect, complete', *tegüs* 'complete, full, whole, fulfilled, perfect, accomplished,

twins', *tegülder* 'full of ..., full (of moon), perfect, complete, completely, perfectly, entirely' (L), *tüge-* 'to distribute', *tügel* 'distribution, complete, whole, entire', *tügǰi-* 'to stuff, to fill up (L)'.

E/T The base of the T etymon may be *tükä-* 'to come to an end, finish' (see Clauson 1972: 479). Clauson discussed some ders of the base: *tükät-* (*tükāt-*) 'to bring to an end, complete' (479), *tükätī* 'completely' (479), *tükāl* 'complete, entire' (480) and *tükällig* 'perfect' (481–482). In addition to these ders, see also *tükün* under the section on the dominant suff *-Xn* in Erdal's monograph (1991: 303). *tükäl*, as Erdal noted (330), is a very well documented der; it comes up in RTIrk as well as in Man, Buddhist and Karakhanid texts. It also appears in BuddhKat 27, written as *thu-kāl*. Discussing the verb *tükä-*, Erdal did not reject the proposal made by Dankoff at PIAC 1983 that *tükä-* 'to be completed, fulfilled' may go back to an ancient form **türk+ä-*. This suggested etymology would tend to bear out the semantic side of a possible T origin for the H word-family. As Erdal observed, if Dankoff's suggestion can be accepted, the meaning of *tükä-* appears to have undergone a shift towards 'coming to an end' and the earliest occurrences of the members of the T word-family (*tükäl*, *tükäti*) show that the basic sense could be 'perfect', 'completion'. On T *türk*, see under the entry **török**. According to Ščerbak (1997: 160), the T verbal base *tükä-* 'končat'sja, zaveršat'sja' and its der *tükäl* appeared in MMo as *tüge-* and *tügel*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1469) reconstructed the PT form as **tüke-* 'to come to an end' and attempted to verify its genetic interrelation with PMo **tögüs-* 'to come to an end'.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 181) compared the H word with its T corresponding forms; Budenz (1873: 90) accepted his comparison. Simonyi (1876: 393; 1883a: 63) proposed an internal H etymology for the word and attempted to connect it with H *tész-* (*tévé*) 'to make, do'. He thought that *tökél-* may be formed with a freq suff *-kel-*. Munkácsi (1880: 155) and Szarvas (1886: 35; 1893: 187–189) accepted Simonyi's explanation. Later, however, Munkácsi (1909c: 347) rejected Simonyi and Szarvas's position and pointed out that the H word, as already shown by Vámbéry, has good T corresponding forms. Bárczi (1941: 315–316) refuted the T etymology of the word and reinforced the idea that it may be tied to the H verb *tész-* (*tévé*) 'to make, do'. Palló (1982: 201–202) assumed that T *tükä-* 'vollständig sein' was borrowed into H and could have been adapted to the H verbal system with the H dev verbal suff *-l-*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 957–958) ruled out the T starting point for the word and thought that it may be etymologically linked to the H verbal base *tész-* (*tévé*) 'to make, do'. Ligeti (1986) did not list H *tökéletes* among the T copies in H. On the etymology of H *tesz-*, see § 8.5. Deriving *tökél-* fr *tesz-* (< *te-*, *tev-*) is problematic, even according to Benkő, because "das Wesen und Funktion des inl *k* ist unklar" (1993–1997/2: 1538–1539), but he added, the T origin is "kaum wahrsch[einlich]".

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 393–394; Vámbéry 1870: 181; Budenz 1873: 90; Simonyi 1876: 393; Munkácsi 1880: 155; Szarvas 1881: 163; Simonyi 1883a: 63; Szarvas 1886: 35; Szarvas 1892: 196; Szarvas 1893: 187–189; Simonyi 1895: 531; Munkácsi 1909c: 347; Vámbéry 1914: 216; Tolnai 1929: 47; Bárczi 1941: 315–316; Kardos 1953: 56; Imre 1958: 140; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 957–958; Clauson 1972: 479–482; Palló 1982: 201–202; Erdal 1991: 303, 330; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1538–1539; Ščerbak 1997: 160; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1469.

TÖMÉNY [tömēń] ‘concentrated, *arch* many, ten thousand, a military unit of people (1515)’, **töméntelen** [tömēntelen] ‘innumerable’ | 1213/1550 PN *Tumen* [tümēn], c1405 *twmen* [tümēn] ‘tumenum’, c1490 *tamenesere* [tamēń-ezere], c1518 *töme eezör* [töme ēzör] | *tömēntelen* < *tömēń* {with suff +*tAlAn*} < *tümen* ← WOT **tümän* | EOT *tümän* ‘ten thousand’.

OT *bir tümän arduqï yeti bïŋ* ‘seventeen thousand’ (RMBilg S 1), *bir tümän agï* ‘one thousand (i.e. innumerable) precious things’ (RMKT N 12), *tümän* ‘ten thousand’ (RTIrk 32), *tümän* (according to Barat, perhaps ← NPe, UXuangzangIndex), *sansaz tümän yïl boltï* ‘zahllose Myriaden Jahre sind verflossen’ (UManI 10:4–5), *tümän* ‘much or many’, *tümān* ‘all sorts’, *tümän miŋ* ‘million’ (AK), *tümän* ‘ten thousand’ (AQB); **MT** *tümen* ‘onbin, binlerce, pek çok’ (UY), *tümän* ‘dix-mille’ (UHy), *tümän* ‘dix-mille’ (UHyS), *tümän* ‘zehntausend’ (UCivSa 01:10), *Tümän* PN (UCivMi 20:3), *tümän* ‘ten thousand, much, many’ (AGul), *tümän* ‘10 tysięcy, wielka ilość’ (AHŠ), *tümän* ‘desjatʹ tysjač, bolʹšoe količestvo’ (AHŠF), *tümän*: *tümän tuġ* ‘companies and brigades’ (ARbg), *tümen* ‘onbin, binlerce, pek çok’ (AYC), *tümän* ‘dix mille, somme de dix mille dinàrs’ (AChag), *tümän* ‘çoqluqdan kinayedir ve on biŋ miktarï Osman aqčasï’ (AChagAb), *tümen* ‘çoklukdan kinayedir ve on bin mikdarı Osman akçası’ (AChagAbA), *tuman* ‘sokaság, tízezer [multitude, ten thousand]’ (AChagAbV), *tumân* ‘desjatyj razrjad iz desjatkov tysjač’ (AChagB), *tümän* ‘količestvo’ (AChagBud), *tümän* ‘ten thousand’ (AChagG), *tümän* ‘desjatʹ tysjač, mnogočislennyj’ (AChagLN), *tümän* ‘ten thousand’ (AChagSC), *tümen* ‘on biŋ’ (AChagŠS), *tuman* ‘Zehntausend’ (AChagŠSK), *tuman* ‘Zehntausend, Corps von Zehntausend Mann, Truppe’ (AChagZ), *tümen* (tvmen) ‘zehntausend’ (LCCG), *tümän*, *dümän* ‘tümen (10.000)’ (AAH), *tuman* ‘mgła’ (ABul), *tuman* ‘dix mille’ (AmTr), *tuman* ‘dix mille’ (AmE), *tümän* ‘on bin, pek çok’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tĕmen* ‘(ust.) mir, vselennaja, svet, tʹma, besčislennoe množestvo, bolʹšoe vojsko’ (Chuv), *tĕmen* ‘mir, množestvo, oblastʹ’ (ChuvA); ***NW*** *tömän* ‘desjatʹ tysjač’ (Tat), *tömän* ‘(ist.) tysjačkij (načalʹnik voennogo opolčenija)’ (Bashk), *tömän*: *tömän törle* ‘törle-törle, meŋ törle; raznoobraznyj’ (SibTat), *tümön* ‘nesmetnoe količestvo, tʹma (mnogo), desjatʹ tysjač’ (Kirg), *tʹumʹanʹ* ‘desjatʹ tysjač’ (KarT), *kimėn*, *timėn* ‘desjatʹ tysjač’ (KarH), *tümėn* ‘desjatʹ tysjač, očenʹ mnogo, otrjad v desjatʹ tysjač čelovek, očenʹ vysokaja summa (vrode grečeskogo talanta), okrug, oblastʹ, kotorye mogut postavljatʹ desjatʹ tysjač voinov’ (KarC), *timän* ‘zehn tausend’ (KarLR), *tümʹän* ‘zehntausend, sehr viel’

(KarTR), *tümen* ‘desjaťˊ rublej’ (Kum), *tümen* ‘(razg.) desjaťˊ rublej, desjatirublevka, červonec’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *tümen* ‘(ust.) tuman (nazvanie denežnoj edinicy v Irane), (ust.) (voen.) desjaťˊ tysjač, tˊma, množestvo’ (Tkm), *tümän* ‘tuman (moneta v Irane)’ (Az), *tümen* ‘(mil.) division, (fig.) a heap or a lot of, (fin.) the Persian coin or currency (of about eight shillings)’ (Tt), *tümen* ‘toptan, hepsi birden, yığın, küme, sürü’ (TtD); ***Kh*** *timän*, *tṷmän* ‘iranischer Tuman (Geld)’ (Kh); ***SE*** *tuman* ‘(ust.) desjaťˊ tysjač, (ist.) tumen (vojskovaja edinica iz desjati tysjač vsadnikov), (ist.) tumen, uezd, tuman (denežnaja edinica v Irane)’ (Uzb), *tümɛn* ‘ten thousand’ (TurkiJ), *tuman* ‘ten thousand’ (TurkiSh), *tümen*, *tümän* ‘desjaťˊ tysjač (oblastˊ, rajon)’ *tüîmen* ‘desjaťˊ tysjač’ (TurkiL), *tümän* ‘desjaťˊ tysjač’ (MUyg), *tümen* ‘desjaťˊ tysjač’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tümen* ‘nesmetnoe količestvo, tˊma, množestvo’ (Alt), *tümön* ‘zehntausend, sehr viel’ (AltR), *tümän* ‘zehntausend, sehr viel’ (AltTelR), *tüben* ‘nesmetnoe količestvo, množestvo, tˊma’ (Khak), *tüben* ‘tumen, desjaťˊ tysjač’ (KhakB), *duman* ‘ten thousand’ (FY), *tümen* ‘(ust.) desjaťˊ tysjač, tˊma, množestvo, besčislennyj, mnogočislennyj, nesmetnyj’ (Tuv); ***Y*** *tümän*, *tübän* ‘očenˊ mnogo, bolˊšoj, gromadnyj’, *tümen* ‘očenˊ, *ütümän* ‘mnogo’ (= *ütügän* ‘mnogo’ + *tümän*)’.

Mo *tüme*(*n*) ‘ten thousand, the masses, multitude, myriad, indefinitely large number, a military unit of 10.000 men (hist.)’ (L).

Rus *tьma* ‘besčislennoe možestvo, desjaťˊ tysjač’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 134), *tuman* ‘desjaťˊ tysjač’ (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 119).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 632–642, especially 641–642) outlined and discussed the various opinions on the origin of the T word *tümän* in detail. One of the views pointed to Toch. On the Toch origin, see Adams (1999: 301): TochB *t*(*u*)*māne*, TochA *tmaṃ* ‘ten thousand, myriad’. According to Adams the word is a borrowing fr some MIr source (Bailey 1985: 120, **tu-mṅa-* ‘great measure’), the same one that produced ModPe *tumān* ‘ten thousand’. Uyg *tümän* may be an independent borrowing fr the same source or a lw fr Toch A or B.

Another group of scholars connected the word with several Ch words. Blochet (cited by Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 641) suggested 多萬 *duo man* ‘les dix mille’. *duo* denotes ‘many’, which would fit, but it was pronounced *ta* in EMCh. In a paper published in Antiquity 47 (1973a: 37–42), Clauson stated that there is no acceptable etymon for *tümän* in the IE lgs and Pulleyblank recommended that he should link it to Ch *wan* ‘ten thousand’. This was “something like *myan*” in MCh and may be a continuation of a form **dman*. In Pulleyblank (1991: 318), we find 万 *wàn* ‘ten thousand’ as well as 萬 *man*, *mo* id., that is the second character suggested by Blochet, which was *muan*^{h} in EMCh. However, a prefixed or preradical dental oral stop has yet to be identifed in ACh (see Baxter 1992: 218–234).

The Sl word *tuman*, *тьма* ‘fog, mist, darkness’, or more precisely its IE original or some forms of it, were also thought to be related to *tümän*. But this is also unconvincing (on the proposed IE background, see Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 795, 801).

Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 400–401) claimed that T *tümän* (PT **Tümen*) may be an internal “Altaic” form and they compared it with PJpn **ti* ‘thousand’ and PKor **čïmïn* id. They supported Doerfer’s argumentation that the T word represents the source of Pe *tümän* ‘10.000’, not vice versa, but that some T words (e.g. Kh, Az, Kum) are re-borrowings fr Pe. They maintained that the corresponding Toch word may have come fr T. Further, they considered Mo *tümen* to have originated fr T.

It is unlikely that so high a numeral would have existed in any of the proto lgs. Most probably, it ultimately comes fr a lg which disappeared, e.g. Ruanruan. But the H word is beyond any doubt fr WOT.

E/H H *töméntelen* is formed with a privative suff and carries the sense ‘many, numberless’. This type of formation is known in other cases as well (see H *számtalan* ‘numberless’). H *tömény* changed its original meaning to ‘of high proportion’ (salt, alcohol).

Vámbéry (1870: 181) listed some T corresponding forms. Budenz (1873: 90) accepted Vámbéry’s comparison. Although Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 408–410) mentioned the T and Mo correspondences, they also claimed that H *tömény* may be interrelated with the H word-family of the basic word *töm-* ‘to fill’, which could originally have denoted ‘thick’. Vámbéry (1882a: 295) did not rule out the possibility that H *tömény* was borrowed fr an Ir lg. Gombocz (1907a: 364; 1912a: 103; 1912b: 131) compared H *tömény* with T *tümän* ~ Mo *tümen* ~ Tu *tumen* and reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tümän* for it. Simonyi (1908: 387) pointed out that the ultimate source for the H word may be the Toch corresponding form and noted that H **ökör** may also have originated fr Toch (*okso*). Zichy (1922: 171–172) observed that the H word which is only used today with the privative suff as *töménytelen* ‘countless, many’ was attested earlier as *töményezer* ‘many thousands, ten thousand, million, etc.’ It was originally an important term in military organisation. One *tümän* consisted of 10.000 soldiers. Tagányi (1924: 137–138) did not accept Zichy’s position and thought that *tömény* could initially have signified a unit of measurement in H and was used for blocks of rock salt. Bárczi (1941: 316) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 962) strengthened the T origin of the H word. Ligeti (1986: 594) made mention of the word without any comment. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1540), the word came fr T. The T word may be of Toch der.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 408–410; Fogarasi 1864: 386; Vámbéry 1870: 181; Budenz 1873: 90; Halász 1879: 488–489; Vámbéry 1882a: 295; Vámbéry 1885a: 62; Szily 1902–1908/1: 346; Takáts 1906: 108, 112; Gombocz 1907a: 364; Ramstedt 1907: 22; Simonyi 1908: 387; Gombocz 1912a: 103; Gombocz 1912b: 131; Zichy 1922: 171–172; Tagányi 1924: 137–138; Németh 1934: 169; Ligeti 1935a: 214, 216; Bárczi 1941: 316; Pais 1944b: 139; Mägiste 1959: 175; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 632–642; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 119, 134; Benkő

1967–1984/3: 962; Räsänen 1969: 498, 504; Clauson 1973a: 37–42; Bailey 1985: 120; Ligeti 1986: 48, 253, 594; Pulleyblank 1991: 318; Baxter 1992: 218–234; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 795, 801; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1540; Fedotov 1996/2: 215; Ščerbak 1997: 107; Adams 1999: 301; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 400–401.

TÖR [tör] 'to break (also e.g. hemp, salt, pepper), to separate into pieces, to break, to crush' | early 13th c./c1350 *[m]ege turied* [megē tür-yed], p1372/c1448 *meg tewrnÿ* [meg tör-ni] | *tör-* < **tō̄r-* < *tū̄r-* < *tüɣür-* ← WOT **töɣür-* < **töɣ-* {with suff -(*U*)*r-*} | EOT *tög-* 'to pound, crush, grind, to beat down (flowers), to forge (iron)'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *tög-* 'crush': *är tūz tō̄gdi* 'the man crushed the salt (or other)' (AK); **MT** ? *tügi* 'riz cru [gereinigter Reis, Reis ohne Hülsen]' (UHy), *tög-* 'to beat' (AGul), *dögül-* 'döğülmek' (AHMA), *tög-* 'bić, miażdżyć' (AHŠ), *tög-* 'bit′, udarjat′, razdavlivat′, kovat′, sžimat′' (AHŠF), *tök-* (r: *tög-*) 'dağıtmak' (AIMI), *tög-* 'to crush, grind, pound, pulverize' (AKD), *tögül-* 'to be beaten to death' (AKor), *tög-* 'bit′, udarjat′, razdavlivat′, kovat′, sžimat′' (ANehF), *tög-* 'to beat, to thresh' (ARbg), *tög-* 'schlagen, knüpfen' (AChagR), *tövgüč* 'Mörser und Stössel' (LCCI), *töv-* 'çalmak, vurmak, döğmek' (AAH), *dög(k)üč̣*, *döküč* (*dögüč*) 'mortier' (ADur), *dög-* 'schlagen', *dögüč* (? *döggüč*) (Houtsma erroneously: *doguč*) 'Mörser' (AHou), *dög-*, *töy-* 'bit′, udarjat′, kolotit′', "in other lgs" *tög-* 'bit′, udarjat′' (ATuh), *töy-* 'döğmek' (in the margin by a second hand *tög-*, *dög-*) (ATuhA), *tov-* 'to beat, strike, shoot', *tovul-* 'to be beaten' (AmCh), *dög̑-* 'ezmek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tiver-* 'bit′, stegat′, lestat′, nanosit′ udar′' (ChuvA), *tü-* 'toloč′, drobit′, krošit′, toloč′, mjat′, rubit′, šinkovat′, (razg.) kolotit′, tuzit′, dubasit′' (Chuv), *tü-* 'toloč′, drobit′, mjat′ (len, konopel′), rubit′ (kapustu), krošit′, bit′', *tĕv-* 'toloč′, drobit′, mjat′ (len, konopel′), bit′, kolotit′' (ChuvA), *tü-* Szp. id. 'mozsárban zúzni (lent, gabonát, sót); stossen, zerstampfen (in einem Mörser)' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *töy-* 'toloč′, rastoloč′, rastirat′, rasteret′ (v stupe), utrambovyvat′, utrambovat′, (peren.) kolotit′, bit′, lupit′' (Tat), *tü-* 'sugu – boz turïnda; pobit′ gradom' (TatD1), *tev-* 'töyü; toloč′, rastoloč′', ? *töy-* 'tapau; rubit′' (TatD2), *töy-* 'mozsárban összetörni, zúzni; zerstossen, kleinstossen' (TatB), *töy-* 'toloč′, rastirat′ (v stupe), obdirat′ (zerna), toloč′, utrambovyvat′, (peren., razg.) kolotit′, lupit′, (peren., razg.) upletat′, est′ bystro, s appetitom' (Bashk), *töy-* 'bärü, sugu; udarjat′', *tüy-* 'töyü; toloč′; töyäü; nabivat′' (SibTat), *tüi-* 'zerreiben, zerstossen' (SibTatTR), ? *tökö-* 'grubo obrabotat′, predvaritel′no obrabotat′, vykovat′ včerne, pridav formu bolvanki' (Kirg), *tüy-* 'to knock, to strike, to pound (grain) in a mortar' (Kaz), *tū̄-* 'zerstossen, zerstampfen' (KazR), *tüy-* 'toloč′, rastirat′, molotit′, sžimat′, tolkat′, udarjat′ kulakom' (Kklp), *tüy-* 'toloč′, rastirat′ (v stupe), obdirat′ (proso, jačmen′, oves v derevjannoj stupke), (razg.) bit′, kolotit′ (kulakom)' (Nog), *dög-* 'kolotit′, bit′, kovat′' (CrTat), *tüy-* 'toloč′, molot′, drobit′' (KarSh), *tüy-* 'rubit′, bit′, izbivat′' (Kum), *tüy-* 'bit′ izbivat′ kogo, kolotit′ kogo-čto, kovat′ čto, molotit′, toloč′, rušit′ čto' (KrchBlk), *tüy-*, *tū̄-* 'schlagen' (KrchP), *tüy-* 'schlagen,

prügeln, treten' (BlkP); ***SW*** *döv-* 'lomaťˊ, razbivaťˊ, razlamyvaťˊ, raskalyvaťˊ, drobitˊ, rubitˊ, molotitˊ, lomaťˊ, privoditˊ v negodnostˊ, lomaťˊ, portitˊ, (peren.) bitˊ, kolotitˊ'' (Tkm), *döy-* 'izbivaťˊ, porotˊ, kolotitˊ, stučaťˊ, postučaťˊsja, kovaťˊ, toločˊ, molotitˊ'' (Az), *döğ-*, *döv-* 'to beat, to thrash, flog, to thresh (grain), to hammer, forge, etc.' (Tt), *döv-*, *döğ-* 'yenmek, çalmak, vurmak' (TtD1), *dȕ-* 'bitˊ, kolotitˊ, izbivaťˊ, pobeždaťˊ, vzbivaťˊ, sbivaťˊ, molotitˊ, toločˊ, molotˊ, stučaťˊ, udarjaťˊ, bitˊ (ob orudii), imetˊ ottenok, otlivaťˊ (o cvete), bitˊ v ladoši, aplodirovatˊ'' (Gag), *dẹ-*, *doy-*, *dȯy-*, *dȯg-*, *dẹg-*, *dȯk-*, *döu̲-*, *dög-*, *dȭg-*, *döy-*, *deg-*, *dēg-*, *dey-*, *dȯy-* 'klopfen' (Khor), *dög-* 'schlagen, klopfen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *tı̣-* 'schlagen, klopfen' (T *tö·g-*, vielleicht eher *tü·g-*?), *tı̣yül-* 'zerschlagen, zerstoßen werden', *tı̣yılmiš* '«zerschlagen» (im übertragenen Sinne: schlapp, ermattet)' (Kh), *tȕ-* 'klopfen' (KhT); ***SE*** *tuy-* 'toločˊ (v stupe), očiščaťˊ, proizvoditˊ obdirku, obdiratˊ (šeluhu), (peren.) kolotitˊ, hlestaťˊ (kogo-l.)' (Uzb), *tüg-* (dial), *tüy-* 'toločˊ'' (MUyg), *teĭ-*, *toĭ-*, *tüĭ-* 'bitˊ, udarjaťˊ, kolotitˊ'', *tiĭ-* 'udarjaťˊ, ljagatˊ'', *töĭ-* 'bitˊ, udarjaťˊ, kolotitˊ'', *ʒ'eĭ-* 'bitˊ, ustraivatˊ'' (Sal), D'ÖY-, D'ÖG- 'battre' (SalK), ? *torġa-* 'krošitˊ, rezatˊ na melkie kuski', ? *tüĭ-*, *tue-* 'vtykatˊ, vonzatˊ'' (YUyg), ? *tüy-* 'prosunutˊ, vsunutˊ, protknutˊ, votknutˊ'', *tüyü-* 'vtykatˊ (napr. o šile)' (YUygM); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *tügse-* 'to thresh grain, to beat metal' (L).

E/T On the base of the possible T etymon for the H verb, see Clauson (1972: 477): *tȭg-* 'to pound, crush, grind' (cf. Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 270–272) and Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1382)). In the entry mentioned, Clauson saw a problem in the occurrence of the closed labial in some Kip lgs, but it is actually not a strange representation in this position (before **-g-* > *-w-*, *-y-*). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak reconstructed a closed vowel *-ü-* for the PT verb. Erdal (1991: 340) discussed a der of *tög-* with the suff *-I* (*tögi* 'cleaned and/or crushed cereal' (cf. also Clauson 1972: 478)). He contended that the etymon for the H word is the caus form of the verb *tög-* with the suff *-Ur-* (Erdal 1991: 710–726). Chuv *tiver-* is missing fr the Skvorcov dict (1982), but it is present in Ašmarin (1928–1950/14: 26). In Skvorcov (1982: 479), we find *tivert-* 'bitˊ, udarjaťˊ, stegatˊ''. The suff *-t-* perhaps serves a caus function, which was lost in **tiver-* (< WOT **tögür-*).

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 182; 1914: 216), the H verb *tör-* 'to break' may be of T origin, but he compared it with T words which cannot pertain here. However, Budenz (1873: 90) did not rule out the interrelation of the H verb to T *kïr-* 'to break' mistakenly proposed by Vámbéry. Later, Budenz (1873–1881: 233–235) placed the H verbal bases *tör-* and *sér-* (*sért-*) 'to injure' side by side and attempted to give them a Ugr etymology. Bárczi (1941: 317), B. Lőrinczy (1953: 186) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 968–969; 1993–1997/2: 1544) considered the H verb to be of unknown origin. According to Palló (1971c: 215), the H verb may have been derived internally fr the base **tö-* with the H freq suff *-r-*. She thought that H **tö-* may go back to a T base (see Chuv *tü-*, *tĕv-* ~ CT *tög-* 'to pound, crush, grind'). Ligeti (1986) did not include

tör- among the T lws in H. Chuv *tiver-* is a possible representation of WOT **tögür-* (cf. Chuv *tiv-* 'trogat′' < WOT **teg-*, EOT *teg-* 'to reach'), while *tivert-* 'dostavat′, dotjagivat′sja, kasat′sja', is a homophone of *tivert-* 'bit′, udarjat′' but is regarded by the Chuv lexicographers as identical.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 423; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 90; Budenz 1873–1881: 233–235; Simonyi 1876a: 150; Munkácsi 1895a: 264; Simonyi 1895: 440; Vámbéry 1914: 216; Ašmarin 1928–1950/14: 26; Gombocz 1938–1940: 151; Bárczi 1941: 317; B. Lőrinczy 1953: 186; D. Bartha 1958: 155; Imre 1958: 140; Bárczi 1962: 108; Egorov 1964: 264; Pais 1965: 156; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 968–969; O. Nagy 1968: 460–461; Palló 1971c: 214–215; Clauson 1972: 477–478; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 270–272; Pais 1975: 272; Skvorcov 1982: 479; Erdal 1991: 340, 710–726; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1544; Fedotov 1996/2: 260; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1382.

TŐR [tō̆r] 'snare, trap' | 1138/1329 ? PN *Turídí* [tū̆r-idi], 1152 ? PN *Turus* [tū̆r-üš], p1372/c1448 *terben* [tēr-ben], *tewrben* [tō̆r-ben] | *tō̆r* < **tō̆r* ⟵ WOT **tō̆r* | EOT *tōr* 'a trap, a net for catching birds or fish'.

Of possible T origin.

OT *torčï* 'oiseleur aux filets' (UHamTouHou), *tor* 'net' (UXuangzangIndex), *tōr* 'snare, net for catching birds or fish' (AK), *tōr* 'ağ (metinde "tuzak" manasında)' (AQB), *tor* 'Netz': *torï* 'sein Netz' (tori – to ri) (BG 59); **MT** *tor* 'sieci, sidła' (AHŠ), *tor* 'set′, silki, nevod' (AHŠF), *tor* 'réseau, filet' (AChag), *tor* 'ipekden išlenen šebeke' (AChagAb), *tor*, *tur* 'ipekden işlenen şebeke ve balıg ağı' (AChagAbA), *tör* 'tőr, halfogó gyalom, varsa [snare, fishing net]', *tör*, *tor* 'tőr, háló [snare, fishing net]' (AChagAbV), *tor* 'das Fischernetz, das Netz, das Netz zum Vogelfangen' (AChagR), *tor* 'anything netted like a hunting net or a woman's hairnet' (AChagSC), *tor* 'ağ' (AChagŠS), *tor* 'Netz', *torla-* 'Falle legen', *tur* 'Falle' (AChagŠSK), *tor*, *tör* 'Netzgeflecht, Netz, Jagdnetz' (AChagZ), *tor* 'ağ, şebeke, tuzak' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tur* 'silok, teneta' (Bashk), *tor* 'set′ (gl. obr. dlja lovli ptic)' (Kirg), *tor* 'net, seine, fishing net, noose, snare', ? *toora* 'a small net (for fishing)' (Kaz), *tor* 'zapadnja, rešetka, setka, lovuška, pautina, set′, nevod' (KazB), *tor* 'das Fischernetz, das Netz, das Netz zum Vogelfangen' (KazR), *tor* 'setka, set′, kruževa, setka (risunok na kožure dyni), izvilina' (Kklp), *tor* 'setka, set′, setčatyj, tjulevaja zanaveska' (Kum), *tor* 'Netz' (KumN); ***SW*** *tor* 'set′, nevod, setka, setevoj, setka, setčatyj uzor (na poverhnosti dyni), (razg.) setka, avos′ka, (razg.) setka, majka, (peren.) lovuška, zapadnja seti' (Tkm), *tor* 'set′, setka, teneta, matovyj' (Az), *tor* 'das Fischernetz, das Netz, das Netz zum Vogelfangen' (AzR), *tor* 'net, tissue' (Tt), *tor* 'ince örgülü balık ağı' (TtD), *dor* 'balık ağı' (TtDI), *tor* 'balık ağı, tuzak' (TtDA), *tor* 'das Fischernetz, das Netz, das Netz zum Vogelfangen' (TtR); ***Kh*** *tụ°r* 'Netz' (Kh), *tọ·r* '"Kettfaden", eher: Netz' (KhT); ***SE*** *tŭr* 'set′, setka, setčatyj, vjazanyj, kruževa, setka, setčatyj uzor na poverhnosti dyni' (Uzb), *tor*, *to* 'net, spider's web' [according to Jarring, it is of Pe origin] (TurkiJ), *tur* 'a net' (TurkiSh), *toî* 'pautina' (TurkiL), *tor* 'das Fischernetz, das Netz zum Vogelfangen'

(TurkiTR), *tor* ‘set′, setka, kruževo, (tekst.) osnova (polotna), (peren.) lovuška, seti’ (MUyg), *tor* rybolovnaja set′’ (MUygMDolan); ***NE*** –; ***Y*** *dogur* (Y ← Mo).

Mo *toor* ‘net, grate’, *togša* ‘a net or snare set placed in crotches of trees for catching birds’ (L).

E/T According to Ramstedt (1935: 401), T *tor* and Mo *toor*, *tuor* are genetically related. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 607) rejected Ramstedt’s assumption, but Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1449) actually agreed with it. They attempted to connect the following “Altaic” parallels under the PA entry **t′ŏbru* ‘net, network’: PT **tor* ‘net for catching birds or fish’, PTu **turku-* ‘to get caught (in a trap, net)’ and PMo **towr* ‘net, cage’. Doerfer did not accept Gombocz’s opinion on the etymology of H *tőr* (see below **E/H**). According to Doerfer, T *tor* was borrowed into Mo in different chronological layers and that is the reason for the variety of the word forms in Mo (*tor*, *togor*, *to̲ur*). Räsänen (1969: 502) compared the T words *tuz*, *tuzak* ‘silok’ with Mo *toor*, *tuor* and pointed out that T *tor* is a copy fr the Mo lg. His opinion was hesitatingly supported by Tenišev (2001: 419–420). Ščerbak (1997: 158) considered WMo *tour*, MMo *tōr* to be of T origin. According to Morgenstierne (2003: 83), Pash *tor* ‘net, snare, trap’ may phonetically be a der fr **tanθra-* (cf. Skt *tantra* ‘loom, warp’ (…)), but Pe, Taj, Munji *tūr*, etc. ‘net, trap’ are all lws fr T *tor*. The merging of a T and an Ir word in Pash is quite possible.

The T etymon for the H word was copied by certain IberoCauc lgs. It is present in the Ir lgs (Pe *tōr*, today *tūr*) and Mo (see Ligeti (1986: 176, 298) and Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 606–607)).

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 182), H *tőr* may be compared with AChagAbV *tő̄r*, Y *dogur* and Tt *tuzak*. Budenz (1873: 90) did not rule out Vámbéry’s comparison, however he corrected the words to Chag *tor* and Y *doġur* and rightly pointed out that Tt *tuzak* must be deleted fr among the corresponding forms. Later, he (1873–1881: 232–233) proposed a Ugr etymology and (1883: 448) observed that the word *tő̄r* noted by Vámbéry must be regarded as a ghost word. Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 121) matched the H word with Y *doġur* ‘Vogelschlinge’ and later (1893: 267; 1901b: 610) added some other T words as well as Mo *togus* (read *togur*) ‘Netzwerk’ to his analysis. Gombocz (1912b: 131–132) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tögür*, although the related T words consist of a monosyllabic structure. The bisyllabic words in Mo (cf. WMo *toor*, *togor* ‘filet, treillis’ (Kovalevskij 1844–1849/3: 1786)) indicate the earlier existence of a long vowel in the word. On the basis of Zenker’s and Budagov’s readings: *tor*, *tör*, *torlamaq*, *törlemek*, Németh (1915: 176) attempted to verify that the copied form could have included a front vowel. According to Moór (1939: 32; 1959: 366), the front-vocalic variant appeared in H. Bárczi (1941: 317) considered the H word as an OT lw. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 969–970) placed this word side by side with its supposed T, Pe and Mo corresponding forms and claimed that it is a widespread international word.

It may be a T copy, but T does contain back-vocalic forms. Ligeti (1986: 297–298) assumed a T copied form *tō̈r* or *tör*. According to him, it was an instrument used by bird catchers. Benkő stressed that the etymology is possible only if a fronting occurred either in T or in H (1993–1997/2: 1544), but he found no data for this.

The word is a member of a group where H preserved the front variant of a word, which is only documented with back vocalism in the T sources and lgs (see **bese**, **bölény** and § 6.4.3).

◆ Kovalevskij 1844–1849/3: 1786; Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 423; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 90; Budenz 1873–1881: 232–233; Budenz 1883: 448; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 121; Munkácsi 1893: 267; Munkácsi 1894a: 76; Munkácsi 1901b: 610; Gombocz 1907a: 365; Gombocz 1912b: 131–132; Simonyi 1914: 385; Vámbéry 1914: 216; Németh 1915: 176; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Ramstedt 1935: 401; Moór 1939: 32; Bárczi 1941: 317; Moór 1959: 366; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 606–607; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 969–970; Räsänen 1969: 502; Clauson 1972: 528; Ligeti 1986: 176, 297–298; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1544; Ščerbak 1997: 158; Tenišev 2001: 419–420; Morgenstierne 2003: 83; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1449.

TÖRÖK [török] 'Turk, Turkish, Turkic, from c1476 also "Ottoman"' | 1055 GN ? adlacum *turku* [türkü], †1092//1399 GN *Turuk* [türük], 1138/1329 PN *Turcu* [Türkü], 1211 GN *Turk* [türk], *turk* [türk], 1239 *thevreker* [törek-ēr], c1476 *twrwknepek* [türük nēpek] | *török* < *türük* < *türk* < *türkü* ⟵ WOT **türkü* | EOT *türkü* > *türk* 'Turk'.

OT *türk* 'Turk' (RMTon, RMKT, RMBilg), *bu qamag̈ türk budun* (read: *bo … bodun*) 'dieses ganze Türkische Volk' (MTTII A:10), *türk*: *türk uluš* 'Türkenstamm' (UManI 26:25), *türk* 'türkisch': *yimä türk savïnda bar* 'Es heißt weiter in türkischen Sprichwörtern' (UTTVII 42), cf. *ärkkä türkkä* 'nach Macht und Stärke' (UUII 10:15), *türk* 'Turk' (UXuangzangIndex), *türk* 'Name of the son of Noah, God's blessings be upon him … The singular is *türk* <TURKU̲> as well as the pl, cf. *türk* A particle of time indicating 'the mid-point of the ripening of a fruit', cf. *türk üzüm ōdi* 'the mid-time of ripening grapes', *türk yigit* 'a young man at the prime of his youth' (AK); **MT** ? *Türük* PN (UOg), *türk* 'Türk' (UY), *türk* 'türkisch' (UCivSa 19:1,2,6), *Türk* PN (UCivSa 15:11,13), *türk* 'Turk', *türkī* 'Turkish' (AGul), *Türkče* 'Türkçe' (AHMA), *türk* 'Turek' (AHŠ), *türk* 'turk (ėtnonim)' (AHŠF), *türk* 'sil′nyj' (ATef), *türk* 'in the prime of one's life' (ARbg), *türk* 'Türk' (AYC), *türk* 'Turk' (AChagG), *turk* 'turk' (AChagLN), *türk* 'türkisch, der Türke' (AChagR), *türk* 'Türke aus Asien' (AChagZ), *türk* 'gayri araplardan birisi olup aynı lisanın sahipi' (AAH), *türük äri* 'ein Türke' (AHou), *türk* 'Turk' (AMGh), *türk* 'tjurk' (ATuh), *türk* 'Türk' (ATuhA), *turk* 'Turquie, Turc' (AmTr), *turk* 'turok, tureckij' (AmD), *turk* 'Turkey, a Turk, Turkish' (AmCh), *turk* 'turc, Turquie' (AmE); **NT *Chuv*** *tĕrĕk* 'tjurok, tjurkskij, (ust.) turok, tureckij', *turkkă* 'turok, tureckij' (Chuv), *tĕrĕk* 'tjurok, turok', *turăk* 'turok', *turkă*, *turkka*, *turkkă* 'turok' (ChuvA); ***NW*** *törek* 'turok, tureckij', *törki* 'tjurkskij, po-tjurkski' (Tat), *török* 'török; Türke' (TatB), *törk* 'der Türke' (TatKR), *török* 'turok, tureckij', *törki* 'tjurkskij, tjurki (pis′mennost′)' (Bashk), *törkĕ* 'gadi xalïkka xas; prostonarodnyj', ? *türkü*

'xalïkčan; narodnyj' (SibTat), *türk* '(ob ovcah) krupnyj i žirnyj', *türkü ičik* 'vid šuby' (Kirg), *türk* 'turok' (RKirg), *türĭk* 'a Turk' (Kaz), *tŭrkĭ* 'tjurkskij' (KazB), *türk* 'turok' (RKklp), *türk* 'turok, tureckij', *tyurk* 'tjurki, tjurkskij' (Nog), *türk* 'turok' (KarSh), *türk* 'turok, tureckij, tjurk, tjurkskij, (ust.) tjurki (odna iz stihotvornyh form)' (Kum), *türk* 'tureckij, tjurkskij, Turcija' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *türk* 'tjurk, tjurkskij, turok, tureckij, (razg.) prostak, prostodušnyj, legkovernyj, doverčivyj' (Tkm), *türk* 'turok, tureckij, tjurkskij' (Az), *Türk* 'a Turk, Turkish, (Turko-, Turco-)' (Tt), *türk* 'türkisch, der Türke' (TtR), *türk* 'turok, tureckij' (Gag), *türkị*, *türkị* 'Türke, türkisch' (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *turk* 'turok, tureckij, tjurk, tjurkskij', *turkiy* 'tureckij, tjurkskij' (Uzb), *türk* 'Turk, illiterate person' (TurkiJ), *türk* 'tjurk, turok', *türki* 'tjurkskij' (MUyg), *türük* 'tjurk' (MUygMKuč), *turkï*, *turĭïqï* 'tjurk, tjurkskij' (Sal); ***NE*** *turk* 'turok' (RAlt), *türk* 'tjurk' (KhakB), *türk*, *tyurk* 'tjurk, tjurkskij', *turk* 'turok, turčanka, tureckij' (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *türüg*, *türke* 'Turk' (L).

E/T It is worth noting that the word is not known among the Y and Kh lgs; in Chuv, as in certain other lgs, it is a learned lw. For a discussion of the most popular theory that the ethnonym *Türk* is identical with the T word *türk* 'strong', see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 483–495). Doerfer was of the opinion that early occurrences of the ethnonym in the T sources written in Runiform script represent the following possible readings: **türük*, **türĕk* or **türk*. He added, however, that the reading based on internal and foreign (Ch) sources can only be **türk*.

Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 483–495) provided a brief overview of the apparently acceptable etymological explanations of the ethnonym and presented the most important bibliographical data fr the earlier literature. He listed the following explanations: (1) the ethnonym is identical to the nominal *türk* 'mächtig' (see Le Coq (1909/1972c: 545) and Németh (1926–1932b: 275), among others); (2) *türk* may be a dev nominal fr *törä-*, *törü-* (see Vámbéry 1879: 52); (3) on the basis of the Ch word **türküt*, the ethnonym can, according to Pritsak (1952: 76), be analysed as **tür*+*k*+*üt*, composed of **tür*, which is an unidentified T noun, the "collective suffix" +*k* and "the old plural suffix" +*üt*; (4) according to Kononov (1949: 40–47), the base of the T ethnonym could be *tür*, *tör* 'Ehrenplatz in der Jurte', which is a cognate of *törü*, *törä* 'Gesetz' (see **törvény**); (5) Deny (1955: 192, n. 1) thought that either *türk* may go back to the noun *tür* 'sorte, espèce (espèce humaine ?)' or it is a dev nominal fr the base *türe-*, *türü-* 'prolifier, pulluer'. According to Doerfer, the only possible explanation may be the solution noted under point (1), thus the ethnonym *türk* may be identified with the T nominal *türk* 'mächtig'.

Doerfer's opinion notwithstanding, Clauson (1962: 84–88) pointed out that the original form of the ethnonym was *Türkü* and that an etymological link to the word *türk* is out of the question (see also Clauson 1972: 542). According to Clauson, *türk* was first a noun that denoted 'the culminating point of maturity (of a fruit, human

being, etc.)', which was later used as an adj 'just fully ripe', but it was never used in the generalized sense of 'strong'.

Róna-Tas dealt with the starting point of the ethnonym in a long essay (1991: 10–13). Investigating all forms of the word in the early T sources and in the Ch, Sogd, Heb, Tib and other transcriptions, he came to the conclusion that the ethnonym itself is of Ir, and most probably of Khot Saka, origin. The initial form was **trukă*. It comes fr the same environment as the name for the leading clan among the early Turks, the Ashina. As the name for the ruling tribe, it was identified with the T word *türk*, meaning 'strength, ripe'. According to the Chinese Annals, the Turks took their name fr the Golden Mountains, which are shaped like a helmet, the word for which is "türküt" in their lg. No such or similar name is known fr any Central Asiatic lg, with the exception of Khot Saka, where we find *tturakä* 'cover' in addition to *ttrukä* 'Turk'.

E/H According to Melich (1909: 437–440), the ethnonym *török* in H may have derived fr Ott. The copied form should have consisted of a bisyllabic structure. Melich made mention of the fact that Constantine VII used the name *turkoi* to signify the Hungarians, but this does not mean that they were familiar with this ethnonym at the time. Munkácsi (1921–1925a: 61–62) supported Vámbéry's (1879: 52) suggestion that the T ethnonym *türük* may have an internal T etymology that goes back to the T verbal base *törä-* 'geboren werden'. He considered less likely the other explanation that it may be interrelated with the T and Mo nouns that mean 'helmet'. Németh (1922: 3) rejected Vámbéry's position and observed that the first meaning of the ethnonym was 'force'. Németh (1927: 271–274) provided a detailed discussion of earlier etymological attempts concerning the name of the Turks, which was originally a tribal name, and strengthened the hypothesis first advanced by Le Coq (1912: 151) that *türk* could initially have denoted 'force'. Bárczi (1941: 317) accepted Melich's view. Moór (1943: 51–53) believed that *türk* could have been the name for the Khazars and that the ethnonym was thus borrowed into H before the Hungarians occupied their new homeland. Gyóni (1943: 136–138) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 972) agreed with the etymological explanation offered by Le Coq and Németh. Benkő also pointed out that the ethnonym was already familiar to the Hungarians before the land-taking. Ligeti (1986: 270–271) rejected Melich's rationale and noted that the Ott influence could only have played a role in the renewal of the H ethnonym *török*. He thought that this ethnonym was the name for the Khazars in the AH lg. Róna-Tas (1991: 10–13) stressed that the final *-ü* in the ethnonym *Türkü* is also reflected in the early H sources. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1545-1546) called attention to the fact that the name referred to different groups at different times. It was the name used for the Hungarians by the MGr authors, but never a self-appellation.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 434; Vámbéry 1879: 52; Melich 1909: 437–440; Kovács 1910: 259; Le Coq 1912: 151; Munkácsi 1921–1925a: 61–62; Németh 1922: 3; Németh 1926–1932b: 275; Németh 1927: 271–274; Bárczi 1941: 317; Gyóni 1943: 136–138; Halasi-Kun 1943: 82; Moór 1943: 51–53; Barthold 1945: 24–26; Kononov 1949: 40–47; Bárczi 1951: 16–17; Pritsak 1952: 76; Bazin 1953: 315–322; Deny 1955: 192; Imre 1958: 141; Kononov 1958: 81; Clauson 1962: 84–88; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 483–495; Kljaštornyj 1965: 278–281; Zajončkovskij 1966: 194–201; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 972; Räsänen 1969: 506; Clauson 1972: 542; Ligeti 1986: 204, 267, 270–271; Róna-Tas 1991: 10–13; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1545–1546.

TÖRTÉNIK [törtēnik] 'to happen, to occur' | p1372/c 1448 *tewrtenek*, *tertenek* [törtēnēk, tertēnēk], 1533 *tẘrtynnek* [törtēn-nek] | *törtēnik-* < *törtēn-* {with suff *-ik-*} < **törtün-* ← WOT **tör*(*ü*)*tün-* | EOT *törüt-* 'to bring into existence, to create' < *törü-* 'to come into existence' {with suff -(*X*)*n-*}.

OT *töröt-* 'to create, bring into existence' (RTIrk 55), *täŋrili yerli törütmiš törü ol* 'dies sei ein von Himmel und Erde eingesetztes Gebot' (UTT VI: 270), *yalŋuq törūdi* 'Man came into being'. This is an intr verb, that means *xuliqa* 'He was created', *törüt-*: *täŋri yalŋuq törütti* 'God Most High created Adam (and other creatures)'. In Oğuz dial *törüt-* means 'to fit a thing, or make it right' (AK), *törüyür bälgürär* 'werden geboren und sichtbar' (MTTII B:48), *törümiš* 'geboren' (UTTIII 115), *törüt-* 'entstehen lassen' (UTTVI 270, 330), *törü-* 'hervorbringen' (UUII 5:15), *xarïmaq ölmäk törüyür* 'es ... wird das Altern und Sterben hervorgebracht' (UUII 5:15), *törüt-* 'to create, to bring into existence' (Buddhist and Manichean texts cited by Erdal 1991: 790), *törü-* 'to come into existence' (UXuangzangIndex), *törümiš näŋ ärsä yoqalğu turur* 'whatever comes to be is bound to cease' (AQB); **MT** *törüt-*, *töret-* 'yaratmak' (UY), *törütgän* 'causing to spring up' (ABF), *törüt-* 'türetmek', *dörüt-* 'yaratmak' (AHMA), *törät-* 'tworzyć, stworzyć' (AHŠ), *törät-* 'sozdavat′, tvorit′' (AHŠF), *tōrätgān* 'al-mūǰid [Creator]' (AIM), *türütken* (r: *-ö* in the first syllable) '(Tanrı atlarından) yoktan var eden' (AIMI), *törüt-* 'to create' (AKor), *törät-* 'tvorit′' (AM), *törüt-* 'yaratmak' (ANeh), *törit-* 'to bring into existence, create' (ARbg), *törüt-* 'tvorit′, sozdavat′', but *törädäči*, *törüdäči*, *törütäči* 'tvorec, sozdavatel′' (ATef), *törüt-*, *töret-* 'yaratmak' (AYC), *törä-* 'arriver au même point, se produire, faire' (AChag), *törä-*, *törü-* 'yoq eken bir nesne dörümek' (AChagAb), *türe-*, *türü-* 'yok iken bir nesne dürümek' (AChagAbA), *töre-*, *törü-* 'megterem, teremtődik, létre hozatik [to grow, be created, come into existence]' (AChagAbV), *törät-* 'sozdavat′, tvorit′' (AChagLN), *törüt-* 'schaffen' (AChagR), *törä-* 'to be born, to come into existence', *törät-* 'to bring into existence' (AChagSC), *türet-* 'vermehren' (AChagZ), *törä-* <tørα-> 'erschaffen werden, geboren werden', *törät-* <tørαt-> 'erschaffen', *törät*(*t*)*äči* 'Erschaffer' (LCCG), *törā-* 'to plant, set up' (according to Clauson, an error for *tirā*) (AAH), *dörük* 'narod, svet, mir', *dörüt-* 'sozdavat′, tvorit′', *dörütči* 'tvorec' (ATuh), ? *dürük* (r: *dörük*) 'el gün, halk', *dürüt-* (r: *dörüt-*) 'yaratmak' (ATuhA), *dörü-* 'to come into existence', *dörüt-* (? *dörät-*) 'to create' sometimes of God, but more often not, fairly common (AOtT, Cl.), *türet-*,

dürüt-, *düret-*, *dürit-* ‘icat, ibda etmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** [*turtăm* ‘daĺnjaja rodnja’, *turtu* ‘rodstvennaja svjazʹ’] (ChuvA); ***NW*** *türä-* ‘tabu, tudïru; roditʹ’ (TatDI), *türä-* ‘tabu, tudïru; roditʹ’ (TatD2), ? *türken* ‘roditeĺskij dom dlja ženščiny, vyšedšej zamužʹ’ (Bashk), *törö-* ‘(o ženščine) roditʹ’, *töröt-* ‘okazyvatʹ rodovspomoženie, ispolnjatʹ objazannosti akušerki, akušera’ (Kirg), *döre-* ‘pojavljatʹsja, voznikatʹ, roždatʹsja’, *döret-* ‘tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ’ (Kklp), *türe-* ‘razmnožatʹsja’ (CrTat), *tʹorʹa-* ‘ploditʹ, rožatʹ’, *tʹorʹatʹ-* ‘prinimatʹ rody’ (KarT), *tėrė-* ‘ploditʹ, roždatʹ’ (KarH), *törė-* ‘rožatʹ’ (KarSh), *törʹå-* ‘gebären’ (KarTR); ***SW*** *döre-* ‘voznikatʹ, obrazovyvytʹsja, pojavljatʹsja, proishoditʹ, roždatʹsja’, *döret-* ‘tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ, roždatʹ’ (Tkm), *törät-* ‘ploditʹ, proizvoditʹ, tvoritʹ, sozdavatʹ’, *törä-* ‘razmnožatʹsja, narožd atʹsja, plodit sja, obrazovatʹsja, voznikatʹ, prishoditʹ’ (Az), *törä-* ‘Füllen oder Lämmer werfen’ (AzR), *türe-* ‘to spring or crop up, (to start into existence), to appear in abundance, to be generated, to increase or grow, to multiply, (gram.) to be derived from’, *türet-* caus of *türe-* (Tt), *töre-*, *türe-*, *düre-*, *dürü-*, *töle-* ‘büyümek, çoğalmak’ (TtD), *dürüt-* ‘yetiştirmek, büyütmek, meydana getirmek’, *türet-* ‘bir cinsi çoğaltmak, yetiştirmek’ (TtD1), *törä-* ‘sich vermehren, viel sein’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *törɛl-* ‘to be born’ (TurkiJ), *töyö-* ‘roditʹ, roditʹsja, bytʹ živym’, *töyöt-* ‘roditʹ, sozdatʹ’ (TurkiL), *töri-* ‘voznikatʹ, sozdavatʹsja, roždatʹsja’ (MUyg), ? *tʻor-* ‘predstatʹ, javitʹsja’ (YUyg), *tora-*: *telge tora-* ‘javitʹsja vo sne, pokazatʹsja vo sne’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *törö-* ‘roditʹ’, *töröt-* ‘zastavitʹ roditʹ’ [*töröl* ‘rod, rodstvo, rodina’ ← Mo] (Alt), *törö-* ‘geboren werden, (wird manchmal in der Bedeutung von) gebären (angewendet)’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *töre-*, *törö-* ‘roditʹsja’, *töröt-* ‘roditʹ’ (AltL), *törö-* ‘roditʹsja’, *töröt-* ‘roditʹ’ (AltQK), *törö-* ‘roditʹsja’ (AltTK), *töre-* (dial), *töri-* ‘roždatʹsja’ (Khak), *törä-* ‘geboren werden’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *törü-* ‘rožatʹ (o ženščine), prinositʹ detenyšej (o životnyh), klastʹ jajca (o ptice), roditʹsja’, [*törel* ‘rodstvennik, rod’ ← Mo] (Tuv), *törü-* ‘roždatʹsja’, *törüt-* ‘roždatʹ’ [*törel* ‘rodnja, krovnye rodstvenniki’ ← Mo] (Tof); ***Y*** *törō-* ‘roždatʹsja, roditʹsja (narodiťsja), rožatʹsja, proishoditʹ ot kogo (mužčiny ili ženščiny) ili ot čego, vozroždatʹsja ot čego, rožatʹ’ (Y), *törō-* ‘rožatʹ (o ženščine), telitʹsja (o korove)’, *töröt-* ‘roždatʹ, rožatʹ, roditʹ’ (YS), *törō-* ‘gebären, geboren werden’ (Dlg), *törō-* ‘gebären, (Eier) legen’, *töröt-* ‘gebären, trächtige Rentierkühe zu einer Stelle / einem Ort bringen, wo sie in Ruhe gebären können’ (DlgS).

Mo *törö-* ‘to be born, come into being, to appear, arise, occur’ (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 533) erroneously gives the reading *törūmiš* in RMKT N 10, but it is not *törü-* ‘to come into existence’ that appears in the phrase *kiši oġlï qop ölgäli tirimiš*, but **tiri-* ‘to live, be alive’ – the T word as it was copied into Mo. According to Erdal (1991: 324), *töz* ‘root, origin, element’ (see Clauson 1972: 571) is more likely to derive fr *törü-* ‘to come into existence’ than fr **törü-z*. Fr *töz* one can find ders in Az and its dials (cf. *tözö-*, *töze-*, *töözö-* ‘sozdavatʹ, osnovatʹ’, cited by Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 283)). The basic verb *törü-* is intr and its caus form is

törüt- ‘to create, bring into existence’ (Clauson 1972: 536; Erdal 1991: 790). The suff *-(X)l-* was added to the caus form in *törütül-*, an item fr AQB. Joki (1952: 337) discussed the Kam verb *törär-*, *trēr-* ‘geboren werden’ as being of T origin. According to Doerfer (1985: 126), the T word *törö-* ‘geboren werden, entstehen’ was borrowed by Mo (*törö-*, *töröl* ‘Geschlecht’) and it occurred in the Tu lgs via Mo mediation (*turul*). Egorov (1964: 261) thought that the T words (*törö-*, *törü-*, etc.) come fr Mo. The semantically corresponding Chuv forms are, according to him, *turtu*, *turtăm* ‘rodnja, rodstvo’, which represent ders fr Chuv *turt-* ~ CT *tart-* ‘to pull, drag’ etc. The same is noted by Fedotov (1996/2: 254). They are both right to say that the word WOT **tartam* ‘line’ with the suff *-(X)m* can be traced back to *tart-* ‘to pull’ (see **barom** and **tart**). Ščerbak (1997: 158) considered MMo *töre-* ‘rožat′’, ‘rožda t′sja (o čeloveke)’, WMo *törü-* ‘proishodit′, voznikat′, rožda t′sja’ to go back to T. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1462) attempted to reconstruct PA **t‘ŏri* ‘to be born, copulate’ and argued in favour of the genetic interrelation between PT **töre-* ‘to be born, originate’, PMo **töre-* ‘to be born’ and PTu **tur-* ‘to be born, grow, to go out, herd of deer during coupling, bear family’. They mention, however, that the Mo form may originally be T. The only question which remains open is whether the final /n/ in H *történ-* is the T refl suff or a H instantaneous suff. Berta’s suggestion was that it was the former and I agree (see **bán**, **bocsán**, **bosszant**, **gyón**, **köszön** and **szán**[1]). According to Erdal (1991: 799), there exist four verbs in his corpus with the suff *-Xn-* following the suff *-(X)t-*. A final decision may be taken if we find **törtün-* < **törütün-* in the sources.

E/H Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 445) compared the base of the H verb with Mo *törö-* ‘to give birth’. Bárczi (1941: 318) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 974; 1993-1997/2: 1547) believed the verb to be of unknown der. Ligeti (1986) did not note *történik-* among the T copies in H.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 445; Bárczi 1941: 318; Joki 1952: 337; Nagy 1953: 491; Kubínyi 1954: 408–409; Károly–Zsembery 1960: 152; Egorov 1964: 261; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 974; Clauson 1972: 533, 536, 571; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 283; Doerfer 1985: 126; Erdal 1991: 324, 790, 799; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1547; Fedotov 1996/2: 254; Ščerbak 1997: 158; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1462.

TÖRVÉNY [törvēń] ‘law’ | mid-13th c./c1300 *turuentelen* [türvēn-telen], p1372/c1448 *tewruen* [türvēn] | *törvēń* < *türven* < **türγen* < **türüγen* ← WOT **törüγän* < *törükän* < *törü* + {with suff *+kAn*} | EOT *törü* ‘traditional, customary, unwritten law’.

Of possible T origin.

OT *elig tutwp törẅg etmiš* ‘having taken control of the realm, he organised the (system of) traditional laws’ (RMKT E 3, RMBilg E 4), *äčüm apam törẅsinčä* ‘according to the traditional law of my ancestors’ (RMKT E 13, RMBilg E 12), *törülüg törü* ‘gesetzliche Regierung’ (UTTI 89), *kirtü* (r: *kertü*) *törü-lärtä* ‘im wahren Gesetz’ (UTTIII 136), *törü* ‘Gesetz, Lehre’ (UTTVI 37,42, etc.), *törü* ‘traditional, custom-

ary, unwritten law, ceremony' (UXuangzangIndex), *törö* 'Gesetz, Regel': *etenmäk yaratïnmaqlïg törösindä* 'im Gesetz des sich Herrichtens und sich Schmückens' (BD 8), *törö* (törösi – tyo ryo si): *törösi bolsar* 'wenn es dafür eine Regel gibt' (BC 9), *törü* 'custom', *ēl qalïr törü qalmas* 'the realm may be left behind but not custom' (AK), *törü* 'law and order, justice, rule', *törüsüzlük* 'illegal, disorder' (AQB); **MT** *törü* 'règle, norme' (UHy), *törü* 'règle, norme' (UHyS), *törü* 'Gesetz, Gewohnheitsrecht' (UCivAd 03:29), *döre* 'töre', *töre* 'töre, usûl, gelenek' (AHMA), *törä* 'prawo zwyczajowe, zwyczaje' (AHŠ), *törä* 'obyčaj, zakon' (AHŠF), *töre* 'töre, adet' (ANeh), *törä* 'obyčaj, zakon' (ANehF), *törä* 'customary law' (ARbg), *törä* 'zakon, obyčaj' (ATef), *törä* 'race royale, titre donné aux parents du khan à Bokhara, roi, chef, loi, droit, usage établi par Djenguiz-Khan' (AChag), *töre* 'ādat ve qānūn [custom, law]' (AChagAb), *türe* 'adet ve kanun' (AChagAbA), *töre* 'szokás, törvény [custom, law]' (AChagAbV), *törä* 'glava, predvoditel'' (AChagB), *törä* 'obyčaj, zakon' (AChagBud), *törä* 'die Regel, das Gesetz' (AChagR), *törä* 'rasm wa qānūn; (metaph.) the code of law (*şarī'at*) which Çiŋgiz Xan promulgated' (AChagSC), *töre* 'Gesetz, Sitte, Gebrauch' (AChagZ), *törä* <tora, toura, tørä> 'Sitte, Gebrauch, Gesetz' (LCCG, LCCI), *dürä* (r: *dörä*) 'kanun, türe' (AAH), *tör*, *törä* 'obyčaj, zakon' (ATuh), *tür*, *türe* 'türe, âdet' (ATuhA), *tora*, *toray* 'loi, droit, jugement, tribunal' (AmTr), *tora* 'sud' (AmD), *tora* 'loi, droit, tribunal' (AmE), *türe*, *töre* 'adet, usul, kanun' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *türe* '(ust.) sud′ja, činovnik, načal′nik' (Chuv), *türe* 'sud′ja, činovnik, pomoščnik staršiny' (ChuvA), *türä* 'bíró; Richter' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *türä* '(ust.) načal′nik, činovnik, sanovnik, (peren. prenebr.) bjurokrat' (Tat), *türä*: *türä-terpe* 'türä; načal′nik', *türä*: *türäle qunaq* 'küčtänäč belä kilgän kunak; gost′ prišedšij s gostincami' (TatD2), *türä* 'bíró; Richter' (TatB), *türä* 'načal′nik, činovnik' (Bashk), *turä* 'bíró, vitéz [judge, valiant]' (BashkP), *türä*: *türä baba* / *türä ġuca* 'ireneŋ abïysï; staršij brat muža; ukïgan, xörmätle kešene olïlap atau; obraščenie k uvažaemomu, počtennomu čeloveku' (SibTat), *törö* '(v ėpose) gospodin (ėpitet vlastitel′nogo bogatyrja), (ist.) gospodin (tak kirgizy nazyvali vseh carskih činovnikov), (ust.) bjurokrat' (Kirg), *töre* '(iron.) chief (official), (hist.) aristocrat, nobleman, gentleman, mister, white bone' (Kaz), *töre* 'barin, car′, aristokrat, činovnik, potomok hana' (KazB), *tör* 'die Sitte', *törö* 'der kirgisische Adlige, der Sultan, ein Nachkomme des Ablai-Chan', *törö* 'die gerichtliche Entscheidung' (KazR), *töre* 'gospodin, barin, činovnik, sanovnik, pravosudie' (Kklp), *töre*, *töreši* '(ust.) sud′ja, prisjažnyj' (Nog), *töre* 'gospodin, čelovek znatnogo proishoždenija, činovnik' (CrTat), *t′or′a* 'sud, sudebnoe delo, sudebnyj process, prigovor, rešenie suda, obyčaj' (KarT), *tėrė* 'zakon, pravo, sud' (KarH), *törė* 'zakon, pravo, obyčaj' (KarSh), *tärä* 'das Gesetz, das Recht, das Gericht' (KarLR), *tör′ä* 'das Gericht, die gerichtliche Sache, der Prozess, die gerichtliche Entscheidung' (KarTR), *töre* '(ust.) sud, rasprava' (Kum), *töre* 'erkölcs, erkölcsi szabály, szokás; Sitte, moralische Regel' (KumN), *töre* '(ist.) tere (tretejskij sud, člen tretejskogo suda), obyčaj, porjadok, moda' (Krch-

Blk), *töre* ‘Recht, Gewohnheitsrecht, Brauch’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *töre* ‘(ust.) sanovnik hana, ėmira’ (Tkm), *töre* ‘custom, rule, law’, *törü* ‘custom, usage, convention, tradition’, *türe* ‘law, usage, rule, coil (of rope, etc.)’ (Tt), *töre* ‘âdet, gelenek’, *türe* ‘usul, âdet, görenek’ (TtD), *töre* ‘âdet, nizam’ (TtDA), *törä* ‘die Regel, das Gesetz’ (TtR); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tŭra* ‘(ist.) gospodin, čelovek vysokogo proishoždenija, (ust.) sanovnik, činovnik, bjurokrat’, – pribavljaetsja k imenam sobstvennym mužskim pri počtitel′nom ili laskovom obraščenii, *Tura* – imja sobstv. mužskoe i ženskoe (Uzb), *turæ* – title for a Russian, as opposed to *sahïb* for a Western European (TurkiJ), *törä* ‘(ust.) čelovek iz hanskogo roda, belaja kost′, (peren.) bjurokrat’ (MUyg), *töre* ‘zakon, obyčaj’ (Sal); ***NE*** ? *töröl* ‘rod, rodstvo, rodina, otčizna, otečestvo’ (Alt), *törö* ‘das Volk (ein sehr altes Wort, welches nur noch in der Poesie angewendet wird)’ (AltR), ? *töröl* ‘rod, rodstvo, rodnja, priroda’ (AltQK), ? *törögön* ‘rodnja’ (AltTK), *törö* ‘der Oberbeamte, der Distriktsverwalter’ (AltTelR), *töre* ‘stepnoj zakon, obyčnoe pravo’ (KhakB), *töre* ‘(ust.) stroj, režim’ (Tuv); ***Y*** –.

Mo *törö* ‘law (national, traditional or established), power, order, regime, rule, government, state’ (L).

E/T In discussing the T words that pertain to the T etymon for the H word, Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 264–267) separated them into two groups. The words with a rounded vowel in the second syllable (PT **törö* > OT *törü*) appear before the Mo period and the words with an unrounded vowel in the second syllable (*törä*) are documented after the Mo period. According to Clauson (1972: 531–532), the T word *törū* (*törō*) ‘traditional, customary, unwritten law’ represented one of the basic political terms of the early T pagan period. It was in evidence later as a religious term in the sense of ‘a rule’ subordinate to the prescriptions of the true doctrine, *nōm*. In the Kar lg, it meant ‘custom, customary law’ and was placed in opposition to the religious law of Islam. *törū* (*törō*) became an early lw in Mo (cf. Ščerbak (1997: 158)). The Mo word was later re-borrowed by some T lgs and it also emerges in Man *turu* ‘sayings of holy or wise men, traditional methods handed down by the disciples of a wise man’ and *doro* ‘doctrine’ (Norman 1967: 405), the first word being absent fr Rozyczki (1994: 62).

The Chuv word *türe* is a VKip lw. On the Cher and Voty lws fr the T lgs, see Fedotov (1996/2: 264). The Sib data *törö* ‘narod’, *töröl* and *törögön* do not pertain here, as they are ders fr *törü-* ‘to come into existence, be born’.

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1464–1465), the T word *törü* ‘law’ is probably an old der of PT **tör′* > **törgü* (EOT *tüz* ‘root’). They did not reject the T starting point for Mo **töre* ‘order, regulation, matrimony, marriage’, however, under the entry PA **t‘ŏŕe* ‘law, regulation’, they attempted to connect PT **tör′* ‘foundation, root, origin, ancestors’ with PTu **turgun* ‘reason, cause’ and PMo **töre* ‘order,

regulation, etc.' According to them, H *törvény* was copied fr T *törgü* "with an early disappearance of *-g-".

E/H Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 446–448) thought that H *törvény* may be a der fr the H verb *tör-* 'to break', however they also mentioned that H *törvény* has corresponding forms in T (*törä*), Mo (*törü*) and Man (*doro*). Vámbéry (1870: 182) compared the H word with Uyg *törü* and Chag *törä*. Budenz (1873: 90) did not rule out Vámbéry's proposal, but he believed that the final element (*-vény*) of the H word calls for further investigation. Simonyi (1896: 51) determined that the basic word of H *törvény* may be of T der and observed that it is documented as of the 8th c. Munkácsi (1901b: 610–611; 1921–1925b: 301) rejected the T etymology of the H word. He thought that H *törvény* goes back to OInd *dhárman-* 'Gesetz, feststehende Ordnung'. Setälä (1928: 300–302) supported his proposal. Gombocz (1907a: 365; 1912b: 132) supposed that an OT base had been borrowed and repeated Budenz's opinion that the word ending *-vény* requires explanation. According to Moór (1939: 36), the T etymology of H *törvény* cannot be ruled out, but the final element of the word seems to be unclear. Bárczi (1941: 318) claimed that the base of the H word may be of OT origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 975), the source of H *törvény* is uncertain. It may, however, be interrelated with the T words *törü*, *törä*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1547) thought that the T etymology poses morphological problems because the H suff *-vÁny* is dev. The word is mentioned in Ligeti (1986: 253), but placed in brackets in the Index.

The uncertainty of the T source lies with the /v/ in the word. This may be of H der as in H *falu*, *falvat* (Acc.) 'village' (< AH **falwă*) < PUgr **palγă* (> POUgr **pūγəl* > PVog **pi̯wəl ~ păyl*, POst **puγəl*). The suff *+kAn* (Erdal 1991: 76–77) is an old suff and became obsolete as early as EOT. It appears in the name of Ursa Major *yetikän* 'the seven stars'. It occurred in *bašgan* 'chief of people' fr *baš* 'head' (Tt *başkan* 'president' is a neologism) and in titles like *tengrikän* 'godlike', *tärkän*, *tarkan*. The ending of the H word came under the influence of the H suff *-vÁny* (see also **bálvány**, **örvény**).

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 446–448; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 90; Munkácsi 1884b: 96; Simonyi 1896: 51; Munkácsi 1901b: 610–611; Gombocz 1905: 278; Gombocz 1907a: 365; Gombocz 1912b: 132; Vámbéry 1914: 214; Munkácsi 1921–1925b: 301; Setälä 1928: 300–302; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Moór 1939: 36; Bárczi 1941: 318; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 264–267; Egorov 1964: 265–266; Tamás 1966: 807; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 975; Norman 1967: 405; Räsänen 1969: 495; Clauson 1972: 531–532; Ligeti 1986: 253; Erdal 1991: 76–77; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1547; Rozyczki 1994: 62; Fedotov 1996/2: 263–264; Ščerbak 1997: 158; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1464–1465.

TŐZEG [tȭzeg] 'peat, turf, dried dung' | †1082//1407 ? GN *Tuzuk* [tüzük], 1585 *tőzet* (r: *tözeci*) [tözeki], 1647 *tőzekvel* [tȭzek-vel], 1784 *tőzeg* [tȭzeg], 1808 *tüzek* [tüzek] | *tőzeg* < *tözek* ← Cum **tezäk* | EOT *täzäk* 'animal dung', MT 'dry dung'.

OT *täzäk* ‘animal dung’ (RTIrk 23), *täzäk* ‘horse dung (AK); **MT** *täzäk* ‘dung’ (AKor), *täzäklä-* ‘sypat′ pomet’ (ATef), *tezäk* ‘fumier des animaux’ (AChag), *tezek* ‘kizjak’ (AChagMA), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (AChagR), *tezäk* ‘animal dung’ (AChagSC), *tezek* ‘Kuhfladen, bes. in Kuchen getrockneter Kuhmist’ (AChagZ), *täzäk* ‘tezek, gübre’, *däzäk* ‘tezek’ (AAH), *täzäk* ‘Pferdemist’ (AHou), *täzäk* ‘navoz, pomet’ (ATuh), *täzäk* ‘hayvan pisliği, gübre, süprüntü’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** *kisek* ‘kizjak, navoz’ (← Rus), *tislĕk* ‘navoz, pomet, navoznyj’ (← Tat) (Chuv), *tislĕk*, *tislĕx* ‘navoz’, *kisek* ‘navoz’ (ChuvA), *tislĕk* ‘trágya; Dünger’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tizäk* ‘navoz, kizjak, pomet, kal, ispražnenija, navoznyj, kizjakovyj’, *kizäk* ‘kizjak’ (Tat), *kizäki* ‘kizäk; kizjak’ (TatD2), *tiðäk* ‘navoz, kizjak, navoznyj, kizjakovyj, kizjačnyj, pomet, kal, ispražnenija, fekalii’ (Bashk), *tĕðäk*, *tŏðäk* ‘trágya [dung]’ (BashkP), *tizäk* ‘der Mist, trockener Mist’ (SibTatBR), *tezek* ‘pomet (gl. obr. konskij)’ (Kirg), *tezäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (KirgR), *tezek* ‘dung, fuel of dung and straw in the shape of bricks’ (Kaz), *tezek* ‘kizjak, pomet’ (KazB), *tezäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (KazR), *tezek* ‘kizjak, navoz’ (Kklp), *tezek* ‘kizjak (vysohšij pomet rogatogo skota, kotoryj ispol′zuetsja kak toplivo), kizjakovyj’ (Nog), *tezek* ‘kizjak (v starinu – toplivo)’ (CrTat), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (CrTatR), *tez′ak* ‘pomet’, *ėz′ak* ‘navoz’ (KarT), *tėzėk* ‘navoz’ (KarH, KarSh), *tezek* ‘kizjak, kizjakovyj’ (Kum), Krch *tazgek*, Blk *tezgek* ‘kal, ispraženija, pomet’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *tezek* ‘kizjak, pomet, navoz’ (Tkm), *täzäk* ‘kizjak (navoz krupnogo rogatogo skota)’ (Az), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (AzR), *tezek* ‘dried dung’ (Tt), *tezek* ‘sığır hayvanlarının kurumuş veya kurutulmuş tersi’ (TtD), *tezek* ‘mayıs kurusu, gübrelerinin kendi halile kuruyanları’ (TtDA), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (TtR), *tezek* ‘kizjak, gniloj, isporčennyj’ (Gag), *dẹzzäk*, *däzzäk*, *dezzäk′*, *dezey*, *dezzey* ‘Mist’ (Khor), *tazak* ‘Dung’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *täzäk* ‘Mist’ (Kh), *täzäk* ‘Mist’ (KhT); ***SE*** *tezak* ‘kizjak (vysohšij pomet rogatogo skota ili lošadej, kotoryj idet na otoplenie), pomet’ (Uzb), *tizɛk*, *tẹzɛk* ‘dung of a horse, ass or cow’ (TurkiJ), *tizak* ‘horse dung’ (TurkiSh), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (TurkiTR), *tezäk* ‘pomet (rogatogo skota), navoz, ėkskrementy’ (MUyg), *tesex* ‘kizjak, navoz’, *tēzex*, *tözex* ‘kizjak’ (Sal), *ᴅezex*, *ᴅėzi* ‘fumier’ (SalK); ***NE*** *tezek* ‘kizjak, suhoj pomet, upotrebljaemyj dlja topliva’ (Alt), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *tezek*, *tezik* ‘suhoj navoz, kizjak’ (AltL), *tizek* ‘kizjak, suhoj pomet (životnyh), (obl.) nazem’ (Khak), *tizek* ‘nazem, kizjak’ (KhakB), *tezäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *täzäk* ‘der trockene Mist, der Mist’ (KhakShR); ***Y*** –.

E/T The T word *täzäk* meant ‘dung’ and especially ‘dung of beasts’. It is a lw in Pe (*tazak* ‘dung of birds and beasts’) and in certain other lgs (see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 508–509)). On Rus *tezek*, *tezjak*, *kizjak*, *kizjok*, Blg *tezek* and Rom *tezíc*, *tizíc*, see Fasmer (1964–1973/2: 231; 1964–1973/4: 36).

On the T data for the word used as PNs, see Tenišev (2001: 678). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1423–1424) discussed PT **tEŕek* 'dung' and compared it with some "Altaic" parallels, which, however, do not pertain here. Under the PT heading, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak mentioned Chuv *tirĕs* 'navoz' and Tuv, Tof *de˝s* 'clotted blood' with a question mark. These words can hardly be interrelated with the other T words discussed here. Their remark about a possible contamination by PA **t'ə́ŕe* 'soil, dust' and PT **tōŕ* 'dust' (cf. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1465) is unacceptable.

Egorov (1964: 254) erroneously connected some Chuv words (see dial *tirĕs*, *tirĕslĕk* 'navoz') with Tat, Bashk *tizäk*, Kirg *tezek* and Khak *tizek* in the entry *tislĕk*. On Chuv *tirĕs*, which has corresponding forms in some other lgs, see also Fedotov (1996/2: 236). The Chuv words may be linked to Tat *tires*, Bashk *tireθ*, CrTat *tires*, Kklp *daris*, Tkm *ders* and Az *täz*, which denote 'navoz, pomet' everywhere, but these words have different origins. The word *kizäk* is a variant of Tat *tizäk*; it was copied into Rus and re-copied by some T lgs.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 182; 1882a: 290) matched the H word with Tt *täzäk*, but Budenz (1873: 128) did not accept this comparison. Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 461) erroneously linked H *tőzeg* to H *tűz* 'fire'. This idea also came up in Vámbéry (1914: 217). Patrubány (1882: 18) was of the opinion that the H word was copied fr an OttT word. Ligeti (1938c: 207–210) contended that the OttT origin of the word can be rejected. The T word is already documented in Kashgari. The source of that T word is unknown. Ligeti thought that H *tőzeg* may be of Cum–Pech origin. Halasi-Kun (1938: 306) argued for an OttT starting point for the H word because of the voicing of the final T segment *-k* to *-g* reflected in H. Bárczi (1941: 318) and Beke (1950: 462) accepted Ligeti's (1938) view. Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 509) mentioned Bárczi's opinion on the T origin calling it unclear but without any argumentation. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 978), the T lw may pertain to either the early or the second layer of T borrowings in H. Ligeti (1986: 91) called attention to the fact that the lengthening of /ö/ in the first syllable is secondary in H and that it goes back to a closed T vowel **e*. According to him, it is a Kip phonetic feature. Ligeti (1986: 245) doubted that the GN *Tuzuk* fr 1082/1338/1350/1407 belongs here. He considered H *tőzeg* as a copy fr the Cum lg. Benkő accepted Ligeti's position (1993–1997/2: 1548).

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 461; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 128; Patrubány 1882: 18; Vámbéry 1882a: 290; Simonyi 1895: 164; Vámbéry 1914: 217; Gáldi 1938: 328; Halasi-Kun 1938: 306; Ligeti 1938c: 207–210; Bárczi 1941: 318; Beke 1950: 462; Gunda 1951: 212–213; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 508–509; Egorov 1964: 254; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 231; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 36; Kiss 1964a: 26; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 978; Räsänen 1969: 477; Ligeti 1986: 91, 118, 120, 194, 199, 202, 244–245, 540, 543; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1548; Fedotov 1996/2: 236; Tenišev 2001: 678; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1423–1424, 1465.

TULOK [tulok] ‘steer, young bullock, ox or cow’ | 1291–1294 GN *Tulukd* [tuluk-d], c1395 *tuluk* [tuluk] ‘bidens (two-year-old sheep)’ | *tulok* < **tukol* ← WOT **tokol* | EOT *tokluk* ‘hornlessness of an animal’ < *tok*: *tok yïlkï* ‘a hornless animal’.

OT *toqluq* ‘baldness (of a man), hornlessness (of an animal)’, *toq*: *toq är* ‘a man without hair on his head’, as of the Turks, *toq yïlqï* ‘a hornless animal’, that is one that has no horns (AK); **MT** *toqal* ‘femme moins considérée que toutes les autres femmes et qui est au rang des servants’ (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *tuqal* ‘mülkäk; komolaja, bezrogaja’ (TatD2), *tuqal* ‘komolyj, bezrogij (o korove, koze i.t.p.)’ (Bashk), *tokol* ‘bezrogij, komolyj, (peren.) (o čeloveke) bespomoščnyj, bezzaščitnyj, (peren.) (o dereve) bez vetvej, (ėtn.) mladšaja žena (pri živoj staršej žene)’ (Kirg), *toqal* ‘the youngest wife’, *toqal sïyïr* ‘a cow without horns’, *toqul* ‘stump (of a tree), end of a candle’ (Kaz), *toqul* ‘der Baumstumpf, das Lichtende, der Grund eines Hornes’, *toqal* ‘stumpf, mit abgebrochener Spitze; ohne Hörner; die jüngere Frau (da sie der älteren gegenüber sich nicht verteidigen kann)’, *doġal* ‘stumpf’ (KazR), *toqal* ‘bezrogij, (ust.) vtoraja žena, mladšaja žena i posledujuščie ženy, obrublennyj (o dereve)’ (Kklp), *toqalaq* ‘komolyj’ (RKklp), *tokal* ‘bezrogij, komolyj, (razg.) britogolovyj’, *tokalak* (razg.) id. (Nog), *toqal* ‘tupoj, kucyj, glupyj’ (CrTat), *toqal* ‘zagnutyj, zakruglennyj, tupoj’ (KarSh), *toqal* ‘bezrogij, komolyj, s nebol′šimi rogami, prizemistyj’ (Krch-Blk); ***SW*** *tuluk* ‘korova (byk) s razvedennymi rogami, (peren.) tronutyj, čoknutyj (o čeloveke)’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tŭqol* ‘bezrogij, komolyj, (fol′k.) korotkij’ (Uzb), *toqal* ‘a hornless cow’ (TurkiSh), *toqol* ‘bezrogaja skotina, vne glavnaja žena’ (TurkiL), *toqal* ‘komolyj, bezrogij, (ust.) vtoraja žena, mladšaja žena i posledujuščie ženy’ (MUyg), *toq* ‘korotkij’, *t′olïq* ‘korotkij, korotkaja’ (YUyg), *toq*: *toq quzruq* ‘korotkij hvost, kucyj’ (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *toyman* ‘bezrogij, (obl.) komolyj’ (Khak), *tuġul* ‘telenok (do odnogo goda)’ (Tof ← Mo); ***Y*** ? *tugul*, *tubul*, *tumul* ‘vnutrennaja kost′ roga ili kogtja’ (← Mo), *tugut*, *tubut* ‘olenenok, olenij telenok do goda, hotja by s rogami uže (napr. ranneju vesnoju, hotja roga vyrastajut do oseni)’ (Y).

Mo ? *tugulmay* ‘the soft corn in horns’ (L), *tugalmay* id. (KhalK), *duγl*, *dugnts^{a}g* ‘Hornwurzel’ (Kalm).

E/T Pritsak (1957: 209–211) identified OChSl *tvolaga* ‘junge Kuh, Kalb’ with BulgT **togul* > **tūl* ‘Kalb’, which, according to him, might have derived fr T *tog-* ‘to be born’. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1378) collected the pertinent T data under the PT heading **Tok* ‘hummel, base of a horn, with a shaved head’. They compared the T word with Mo *duku* ‘front part of the head, forehead (colloq), a “star” mark on the forehead of a horse, occiput, back of the head (dial)’. The basic meaning of the T word is ‘hornless’ as well as ‘without arms, power, such as the second wife, who is at the mercy of the first wife’. This is far fr the semantics of the Mo word. The T word *tokol* may have derived fr *tok* ‘hornless’, which is present in AK and, according to Zieme (personal communication), denotes ‘kahl’ of monks in certain old Uyg texts.

The suff +(*V*)*l* surely represents a very old ending, because it plays a role in some compound suffs, but has not been active since the OT period. The Mo word **tugul* 'the soft corn in horns' and its ders may somehow pertain here.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 182; 1914: 217) argued in favour of the T origin of *tulok* on the basis of T words not related to it. Budenz (1873: 91) erroneously failed to reject Vámbéry's idea that Chag *turuk* 'two-year-old ox' may, perhaps, be relevant here and he thought that *turuk* may show an *-r-* ~ *-l-* alternation. Simonyi (1895: 166) also accepted the comparison H *tulok* ~ Chag *turuk*. Gombocz (1907a: 365–366; 1912b: 133) did not exclude the possibility that there are cognates for H *tulok* in the Mo lgs, such as *tugul* 'calf', however he mentioned that the interrelation of these word forms with the H word *tulok* calls for further investigation. He also pointed out that the Chag word *turuk* noted by Vámbéry seems to be a ghost word. Horger (1927: 499) was of the opinion that the copied BulgT form could be **tuguluk*. Mészöly (1928: 33) segmented the H word as **tul*+(*o*)*k* and took it to be a dim form with the suff +*k* fr the basic word **tul* ← BulgT **tugul*. According to Bárczi (1941: 320), the H word is of uncertain der. Palló (1963: 196) agreed with Pritsak's explanation (see **E/T**) and claimed that the OChuv word could have been copied into H and OChSl as a dim form **togul*+*ak*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1000) regarded the H word as being of unknown origin. He contended that the primary sense of the word could be '(junger) Ochs, (junge) Kuh'. He also believed that a T or Mo starting point for the word is not very likely. Ligeti (1986) did not list H *tulok* among the T lws in H. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1560–1561) suggested that it may be a T lw, based on T **tog-* 'geboren werden' with suffs *l* and *k*. However, he considered this as problematic because no such word as **tuɣuluk* exists in the T lgs. The semantic change 'still hornless young animal' > 'young animal, steer, heifer' may have occurred in WOT. See **toklyó**.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 489; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 91; Alexics 1888: 69; Simonyi 1895: 166; Gombocz 1907a: 365–366; Munkácsi 1908e: 293; Gombocz 1912b: 133; Vámbéry 1914: 217; Horger 1927: 499; Mészöly 1928: 33; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Moór 1939: 33; Bárczi 1941: 320; Benkő 1953b: 21; Pritsak 1957: 209–211; Murádin 1962: 481–482; Palló 1963: 196; Nagy 1964: 167–180; Tamás 1966: 805–806; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1000; Räsänen 1969: 485; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1560–1561; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1378.

TÚRÓ [tūrō] 'cottage cheese, cheese curds' | 1152 ? PN *Turus* [tūrū-š], 1374 ? PN *Turos* [tūrō-š], c1395 *thuro* [tūrō] | *tūrō* < **turō* < **toraɣ* ← WOT **toraɣ* | EOT *turi* or *tori* 'bitter, acid', MT *torak* 'a kind of yoghurt', WOT **tarak* > Chuv or fr Rus | Cf. Gr *βου τυρον*, Grm *Bu-tter*, Rus *tvorog*, H *tarhó* 'curdled milk' ← Sl.

OT ? *turï* 'bitter, ill-natured': *turï nāŋ* 'anything having a bitter taste like the taste of gall nuts', hence 'a man who is ill-natured' is called *turï kiši* (AK); **MT** *toraq* 'yolcu aşı, azık' (AHMA), *turaq* (? *-o-*) 'dried milk' (AKD), *toraq* 'fromage' (AChag), *toraq* 'der Käse' (AChagR), *turaq* (? *-o-*) 'koyulaşmış süt' (AAH), Tkm *ṭuraq* (*-o-*) 'Gericht aus Jugurt mit pikanten Zutaten (Dill, Kerbel oder Minze)' (AHou), *do-*

rak, *torak* ‘süzülmüş yoğurt, çökelek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *turăx* ‘varenec, prostokvaša, kisloe moloko’, *tăvara* ‘syrok (domašnij)’ (Chuv), *tora* ‘syrok’, *tăvara*, *tvara* ‘syrok (syr, kruglyj, malen′kij, pripljusnutyj)’, *turăx*, *torăx* ‘kisloe moloko, varenec, prostokvaša’ (ChuvA), *turăx* Szp. id. ‘forralt, leszedett savanyított tej; Art saure Milch’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tura* ‘tura (sort domašnego syra)’ (Tat), *tura* ‘kort, kïzïl ėremček; osobo prigotovlennyj krasnyj tvorog; ėremčektän yasalgan vak kïna kümäč; melkie lepeški iz tvoroga; jïläk kagï; pastila iz klubniki’ (TatD1), *tura* (dial) ‘sladkoe kušan′e iz jagod zemljaniki, klubniki, do gustoty vyvarennoe v cel′nom moloke, krasnyj tvorog (izgotovlivaetsja kipjačeniem stvorožennogo moloka do polnogo isparenija syvorotki)’ (Bashk), *toraq* ‘brynza (domašnjaja)’ (Kklp); ***SW*** *turuggay* ‘sort syra’ (AzD), *torak* ‘(prov.) dried skim milk’ (Tt ← Sl), *torak* ‘çökelek, keş, kurut’, *dorak* ‘yoğurt ve kaymaktan yapılan bir türlü peynir’ (TtD), *dorak* ‘yoğurt ve kaymaktan yapılan bir çeşit yağlı peynir, yağı alınmış sütten yapılan peynir’ (TtD1); ***Kh*** *tuºra·q*, *tụºrāq*, *toraq* ‘getrocknete Sauermilch’, *tọºraqavā̆* ‘Art Zuspeise aus trockenem sauren Quark’ [a possible compound with *avā* ‘?’] (Kh), *tōra·q* ‘Buttermilch (?)’ (KhT); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *tōrdo* ‘pahta’ (Alt), *tarak* ‘tarak, prostokvaša’ (Tuv ← Mo); ***Y*** *tar* ‘prigotovlennoe iz snjatogo varenago moloka kisloe moloko (*suorat*), kotoroe v perebrodivšem za leto vide zapasaetsja na zimu’ (Y).

Mo *taraġ* ‘clabbered milk, sour milk’ (L).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 210–211) discussed the possible T etymon for the H word under the entry NPe *dōrāġ* ‘sour milk’. The T word, which is only documented since the MT sources, cannot be directly related to the Mo word *tarag*, as Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 210–211) rightly stated, because of the first-syllable vocalism. The Mo word may, however, be a suffixed T lw fr OT *tār* ‘a kind of dairy product’ (see Clauson 1972: 528), cf. *tār* ‘milk residue, that is clotted milk which remains at the bottom when the pure butter has been melted and drawn off’ (AK), which survives only in Y *tar* ‘a kind of yoghurt prepared in the summer and kept to eat in the winter’. As Clauson stated, the T word has traces in Mo *tarag* ‘coagulated sour milk’ and Pe *tarxwāna* ‘a preparation made of dried curds’. Ščerbak (1997: 166) erroneously compared the Mo word with MKip *turčï* ‘marinovannyj’ (ATuh), Tkm *turšï* ‘kislyj’ and Tt *turşu* ‘solen′ja, kisljatina’. The Chuv word forms *turăx*, *torăx* may go back to WOT **tarak*.

Doerfer also excluded some T words fr the cognates, like Tat *tugaruk* ‘Quark’ and KhakSR *tubrak* ‘weißer Käse, Quark’. These may be lws fr Rus *tvorog*, a word which may have its origins in IE (cf. Fasmer (1964–1973/4: 31–32)). Doerfer did not rule out the possibility that T *torak* also came fr IE.

According to Tenišev (2001: 452), the Chuv word *tăvara* ‘syrok domašnij’ was borrowed into the VKip lgs. On the T data, see Räsänen (1969: 490). Egorov (1964: 260) cited Abaev’s remark that Ptolemy mentioned a Sarmatian tribe named *τορεκαδαι*.

In *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor* (Vol. 1), Abaev (1949: 152) thought that the first element of this tribal name may be identical with the Ir word *turi* 'kisloe moloko'.

The WOT form **toraɣ* may be a den der fr *tor*(*ï*) with the den suff *+rAk* (Erdal 1991: 62–65), which originally served as an intensifier and later a marker of the comparative degree. The voicing of the final *-k* is problematic here, because the suff exists in Chuv and is *+rAx*. It is, however, possible that the *-x* is a second intensifier in Chuv, *+rAk* > *+rAg* > *+rA* > *+rA+x*. On the semantic change 'bitter, acid' > 'cheese', see **sajt**.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 182) matched H *túró* with its Chuv corresponding form. Budenz (1873: 91) accepted Vámbéry's comparison. Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 129) claimed that certain other H cognates exist for the H word (*tarh*, *tarha*, *taróh* and *tarhó*) which were borrowed via Sl mediation fr the same T source as *túró*. Gombocz (1905a: 165) thought that H *túró* represents an early T lw in H and placed it side by side Chuv *torăx*, *turăx* 'curdled milk', but later (1907a: 366; 1912b: 133) separated the Chuv forms fr Chag *torak* 'Käse', which, according to him, could perhaps have been where the word in question originated. He rejected Miklosich's idea that the H word may be a Sl lw and pointed out that Sl *tvarog* 'lac coagulatum' corresponds to *tarhó* 'geschlierte Schafmilch' in H. Gombocz (1921–1925: 84) was of the opinion that the word goes back to PBulg **tugrag*, however Sl *tvarog* and Cher *tugara*, *tuara* could be lws fr Chuv **tăvarag*. Munkácsi (1929: 59–61; 1929a: 95) argued in favour of the Chuv origin of the word under discussion. He believed that the Chuv word form *tora* 'cheese' may correspond regularly to H *túró* and that the other Chuv word *torăx* may be a lw fr a VT lg. Beke (1937a: 99) observed that the H word may also denote 'foam' in some cases. According to Moór (1939: 36), it may, perhaps, be of Ir der. Bárczi (1941: 320) refuted a Sl starting point for the word. In his view, H *túró* may be an OT lw notwithstanding that Kip and Turki corresponding forms may be of debated origin. Pais (1961: 221–223) thought that the T etymon for the H word may be a der of the T verb *turuq-* 'to swell in the veins (of blood), to gather (of pus in a wound)' which is documented in Kashgari's compendium. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1005), H *túró* is originally OT. The interrelation of the T words to certain words with similar phonetics of IE origin (see e.g. Gr *τυρός* and Rus *tvorog*) requires further investigation. Ligeti (1986) listed the H word among the T lws in H without comment. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1563–1564) reconstructed the T copied form as **turag*.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 499–500; Vámbéry 1870: 182; Budenz 1873: 91; Vámbéry 1882a: 212; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 129; Munkácsi 1901a: 192; Gombocz 1905a: 165; Gombocz 1907a: 366; Gombocz 1912b: 133, Vámbéry 1914: 217; Räsänen 1920: 223; Gombocz 1921–1925: 84; Munkácsi 1929: 59–61; Munkácsi 1929a: 95; Beke 1937a: 96, 99; Moór 1939: 36; Bárczi 1941: 320; Abaev 1949: 152; Gombocz 1960: 17–19; Pais 1961: 221–223; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 210–211; Egorov 1964: 259–260; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 31–

32; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1005; Räsänen 1969: 490; Clauson 1972: 528; Erdal 1991: 62–65; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1563–1564; Fedotov 1996/2: 184, 253; Ščerbak 1997: 166; Tenišev 2001: 452.

TURUL [turul] 'the totem bird of the Árpád dynasty (1000–1301), a bird of prey' | 1217/1229 PN *Turul* [turul], 1237 GN *Turul* [turul], c1282 *turul* [turul], 1522 *wyzesthwrol* [vizeš-turol] | *turul* < **tūrul* < **tuɣrïl* ← WOT **toɣrïl* | EOT *togrïl* 'a bird of prey'.

OT *Alp Toġrul Tegin* PN (UPfahl 23:13), *toġrïl* 'a bird of prey. He kills a thousand geese and eats one. The man's name *Toġrïl* is after this, in the dial of the Känčāk', ? *toġrïl* 'Gut wurst stuffed with meat and spices', *toġrā-*: *ät toġrādï* 'he cut up the meat (for *tutmāč*, or other)' (AK); **MT** *Toġrïl* PN (UCivSa 04:24), *Toġrul* PN (UCivRH 09:7,8,14), *toġrul* 'a bird of prey: the royal falcon' (ABF), *toġrul* 'bir nevi yırtıcı kuş' (AIMI), *toġra-* 'krošiť, razrezať' (ANehF), *toġra-* 'to slice' (ARbg), *toġra-* 'couper en petits morceaux' (AChag), *toġrul* 'eine Art Jagdvogel', *torġa-* 'in kleine Stücke zerschneiden' (AChagR), *toġrul* 'the name of a hunting bird', also the name of a well-known Saljuk *pādišāh*, whose father was Alp Arslan (AChagSC), *dogrul* 'Jagdfalke' (AChagZ), *tuġrul* (r: *toġrul*) 'bir kuştur, turnalara bırakıldığı zaman hepsini tepeler', *toġra-* 'doğramak' (AAH), *toġral-* 'don kirden doğralmak, lime lime olmak, biçilmek' (AAHI), *ṭoġram* 'morceau (dela viande)' (ADur), *ṭogram* 'Brotbissen' (AHou), *ṭoġran-*, *ṭoran-* 'byť razrezannym na melkie kuski, razrezaťsja' (ATuh), *toġran-*, *toran-* 'doğranmak' (ATuhA); **NT *Chuv*** *tura-* 'krošiť, rezať, narezať na melkie kusočki, lomtiki, (peren.) rubiť, krošiť, uničtožaťʼ (Chuv ← Tat), *tura-* 'krošiť, rezať na melkie kuski, rubiť, ispiliťʼ (ChuvA), *tura-* 'apróra vagdalni, morzsolni; in kleine Stücke schneiden, zerschneiden, zerhacken, zerkrümmeln', *turam* 'morzsa; Krume' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tura-* 'krošiť, raskrošiť, narezať, razrezať, razrubať, razrubiť, izrubať, izrubiť (na melkie kuski)', *tural-* 'krošiťsja, raskrošiťsja, narezaťsja, razrubaťsja, razrubiťsja (na melkie kuski)' (Tat), *tura-* 'apróra vagdalni; zerstückeln, zerschneiden' (TatB), *tura-* 'krošiť, razrezať, razrubať, izrubať (na melkie kuski), (peren.) ubivať, uničtožať (razrubaja)' (Bashk), *tūra-* 'melko rezať, krošiťʼ (Kirg), *tura-* 'to chop, to cut into small pieces' (Kaz), *tuura-*, *tuvra-* 'melko narezaťʼ (Kklp), *tuvra-* 'melko narezať, krošiť, razrezať, razrubiť na melkie kuski' (Nog), *doġra-* 'narezať, rubiť, kolotť (drova), šinkovaťʼ (CrTat), *doġra-* 'drobiť, krošiťʼ (KarSh), *tuvra-* 'melko rezať, krošiťʼ (KarT, KarH), *tuvra-* 'rezať, razrubať na kuski' (Kum), *tuŭra-* 'rubiť, rezať, šinkovať, sečʼ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *doġra-* 'krošit, rezat na melkie kuski, kromsatʼ (Tkm), *doġra-* 'rubiť, kolotiť, piliť, krošiť, narezaťʼ (Az), *toğrul* 'gerfalcon', *doğra-* 'to cut into slices' (Tt), *durulu* 'çobanaldatan kuşu' (TtD1), *doora-* 'rezať, razrezať na melkie kuski, rubiť, krošiť, razmeľčať, sečʼ (Gag), *ḍogra-* 'zerschneiden, zerteilen' (only in one dial) (Khor); ***Kh*** *ṭorga-*, *ṭo̲rga-*, *ṭogra-* 'zerstückeln, (Brot) zerkrümeln' (T *togra-*) (Kh); ***SE*** *tŭğra-* 'melko rezať, krošiť, šinkovať

(napr. kapustu, morkov′)' (Uzb), *toġra-* 'to cut, to cut into pieces, to chop, to mince' (TurkiJ), *toyo-* 'krošiť mjaso' (TurkiL), *toġra-*, *toġrï-* 'narezať (o lapše), krošiť'' (Sal), *toġri-* 'krošiť, rezať, razrezať na kuski, šinkovať'' (MUyg), *torġa-* 'krošiť, rezať na melkie kuski' (YUyg); ***NE*** *tuġra-* 'krošiť'' (AltV) *toġïra-* 'rezať čto-l. na melkie kuski, razmeľčať, krošiť čto-l.' (Khak), *toġra-* 'in kleine Stücke zerschneiden' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *tuġra-* id. (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *dōra-* 'raspilivať (raskalyvať) poperek' (Tuv), *dōra-* 'rubiť ili rezať poperek' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T At the end of the entry *ṭoġrïl* 'eine Habichtart, *Astur trivirgatus*', Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 346–348) expressed his doubts to the tenability of the OT etymology of the H word *turul* mentioned by both Gombocz (1912b: 133) and Bárczi (1941: 320), because it is only recorded once in 1282 and it is "phonetisch eigenartig". This is a simple mistake on Doerfer's part, he missed the H history of the word. Clauson (1972: 472) regarded the exact identity of *togrïl* 'a bird of prey' as uncertain. It was borrowed into Pe. Fr the OT period on, it is known very often as a PN. Clauson thought that *togrïl* shares a clear semantic connection with *togrā-* 'to cut, or split into slices or small pieces' (Clauson 1972: 472). The verb *togrā-* (*d-*) is present with some phonetic changes (see e.g. *tuvra-* and *tūra-*) in most of the ModT lgs. In Clauson (1972), we find the following data: *ušak tograp* 'slicing it up fine' (UHeilk I 76), <ol> *ät tograd̄ī* 'he sliced the meat for *tutmač* or something else' (AK), *togra-* 'to break into pieces' (AChagSC), *ṭogra-* 'to cut in pieces' (AAH). On certain ders (*tograt-*, *togral-*, *togran-* and *tograš-*), see Clauson (1972: 472–473). Clauson (1972: 472) noted that the shape of the Uyg verb form *togrulup* with *-u-* in the second syllable is unexpected, and Erdal (1991: 678–679) also observed that /u/ calls for clarification because otherwise the suff contains a non-dominant vowel (*X*). Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 248–249) considered T *dogra-* 'rezať, razrezať na melkie kuski, etc.' to be a der fr an unattested verbal base **tog-* with the suff *-rA-*. Sevortjan's proposal is not convincing for morphological reasons. In EOT, we know of a formant °*rA-*, which, however, can be added to nominal bases of onomatopoeic origin (see Erdal 1991: 469–474). Sevortjan was further of the opinion that the reconstructed verb **tog-* constitutes the base not only of *togrul*, but also of *togan* 'falcon' (on the latter, see Clauson 1972: 470–471). His explanation (see under the entry *dogan*, Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 247–248) is unacceptable. Tenišev (2001: 169) assumed that the base of the Kalm word *tūġan* (Ramstedt 1935: 413), which is a T lw, may be identical with the word under discussion. On the T data of the word used as PNs, see Tenišev (2001: 650–651). On PT **dogra-* 'to cut into slices, small pieces', see also Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1348), who compare the T word with Mo *daga-* 'to be able to cut (of a knife)'. This proves neither phonetically nor semantically satisfactory. The noun *togrul* may be a dev der fr the verb **togru-*, a variant of *togra-* with the dev suff *-(V)l*, on which see **boglya**, **szakáll**, **tengely** and § 6.5.6. The meaning 'a bird which cuts its prey into pieces' is possible.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 183) who first saw the H word as having originated in T. Thury (1886: 124–125) also argued in favour of a T starting point for the word. Budenz (1873: 91) accepted Vámbéry's rationale, however he rightly pointed out that some T words that Vámbéry had listed in connection with the T etymology of the H word do not pertain here. For his part, Vámbéry (1882a: 219) strengthened his former argument, while Munkácsi (1895b: 452) called attention to some Vog dial words which may also pertain to the old T etymon. Then, Vámbéry (1914: 217) attempted to provide an internal T etymology for the T word and linked the name of the bird to the T verb *tugra-*, *togra-* 'to cut into pieces'. Gombocz (1912b: 133) agreed with the T source for the word and (1914–1915: 298) discussed forms that can be found in H as PNs and GNs. Later, Bárczi (1941: 320) accepted the T etymology of the word. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1005–1006) reconstructed the T copied form as **togrul* or **tugrul*. H *tórul* (*túrul*) became obsolete, but it was renewed in the 19th c. Since then, it has taken the form *turul*. According to Ligeti (1986: 70–71, 296–297), *turul* is a lexeme in the written lg which was renewed in the 18th c., thus it cannot be decided whether its earlier forms in fact had a long vowel /ū/ in the first syllable. It was the name of the totemistic bird of the Árpád dynasty, and comes up very often as a PN in the T lgs. As a noun, the T word denotes a kind of hawk. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1564) reiterated his earlier opinion, and added that this T word survives today as a historical term (and not as a zoological one).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Budenz 1873: 91; Vámbéry 1882a: 219; Budenz 1884: 14; Verbickij 1884: 372; Thury 1886: 124–125; Munkácsi 1895b: 452; Szily 1902–1908/1: 351; Gombocz 1907a: 366; Gombocz 1912b: 133; Gombocz 1914–1915: 298; Vámbéry 1914: 217; Ligeti 1935a: 216; Ramstedt 1935: 413; Bárczi 1941: 320; Pais 1949: 37–43; Németh 1953a: 314; Bárczi 1957: 68; Györffy 1958: 569; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 346–348; Egorov 1964: 259; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1005–1006; Clauson 1972: 470–473; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 247–249; Ligeti 1979: 31; Ligeti 1986: 70–71, 296–297; Erdal 1991: 469–474, 678–679; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1564; Fedotov 1996/2: 251; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 197–198; Tenišev 2001: 169, 650–651; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1348.

TÚZOK [tūzok] 'bustard, *Otis*' | †1082/1338/1350 GN *Tuzuk* [tūzuk], c1395 *thuʒuk* [tūzuk] | *tūzok* < **toγzak* ← WOT **togδak* | MT *togdak* 'bustard'.

OT –; **MT** *toġdaq* 'espèce d'outarde à la chair succulente, probablement le même oiseau qui est nommé *xarčal* dans l'Inde', *toġduy* 'outarde' (AChag), ? *toy* 'kuşun adıdır' (AChagAbA), *togdurï*, *togdarï* 'túzok [bustard]' (AChagBL), *toġdaq* 'strepet' (AChagBud), *toġdaq*, *tavdaq*, *tuġdaq* (r: *toġdaq*) 'Trappgans (avis otis tarda)' (AChagR), *toġdaq* 'yešil ābī renkte bir quštïr' (AChagŠS), *tuġdak* (r: *toġdak*) 'grüne Vogelart, Storch', ? *tuġduy* 'Vogelart' (AChagŠSK), *tugdak* 'Trappgans (avis otis tarda)' (AChagZ); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *duadak* 'pustynnaja ptica, bezrodnyj, bobyl', holostoj (o čeloveke), (dial.) gusynja, ne vyvedšaja gusjat', *düdäk* '(zool.) drofa, dudak' (Tat), *dawadaq* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan – koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah', *duwadaq*, *duwadak* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan –

koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah; yalgïz, torïr ǰirě bulmagan, öysez-yortsïz, näsel-näsepsez – keše turïunda (odinokij, bezdomnyj, bezrodnyj – o čeloveke)', ? *duġadaq*, *dïvadaq* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan – koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah; yalgïz, torïr ǰirě bulmagan, öysez-yortsïz, näsel-näsepsez – keše turïunda; odinokij, bezdomnyj, bezrodnyj – o čeloveke', ? *dïvadaq* 'xuǰasïz xayvan turïnda; bez hozjaina, bezdomnyj – o životnyh' (TatD1), ? *duwadaq* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan – koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah', *duwadaq*, *duġadaq*, *dugadak* 'düdäk, drofa', ? *duwadaq* 'yalgïz, semyasïz – keše turïnda; odinokij, bezrodnyj – o čeloveke', ? *duġadaq* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan – koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah; yalgïz, semyasïz – keše turïnda; odinokij, bezrodnyj – o čeloveke; ozïn, nečkä keše turïnda; dolgovjazyj – o čeloveke', ? *duġazaq*, *dïwadak*, *tugadak* 'yalgïz, bala čïgarmagan koš-kort turïnda; odinokij, nevyvodivšij ptencov – o pticah' (TatD2), *tuġaðaq* 'drofa, drofinyj' (Bashk), *tōdak* 'drofa, dudak' (Kirg), *dualaq*, *duadaq* '(zool.) bustard (*Otis tarda*)' (Kaz), *dŭvadaq* 'drofa' (KazB), *duadaq* 'die Trappe' (KazR), *tuwalaq* 'drofa' (Kklp), *duvadak* '(zool.) drofa, dudak' (Nog), *duvadaq* 'drofa' (CrTat), *duvadaq* 'drofa' (KarSh), *duwadaq* 'drofa, (peren., razg.) balda, durak' (Kum), *duwadaq* 'drofa, drofinyj, (poėt.) lebed′' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *togdarï* '(zool.) drofa' (Tkm), *dovdaġ* 'drofa' (Az), *dovdaġ* 'drofa' (RAz), *toğdarı* 'greater bustard', *toy* 'greater bustard, (zool.) *Otis tarda*' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tuġdoq* (obl.), *tuvdåq*, *tuvalåq*: *tŭxta tuvalåq*, *tudåq*, *dudaq* '(zool.) drofa' (Uzb), *doġdaq* 'die Trappe' (TurkiTR), *doġdaq* '(zool.) teterev, drofa' (MUyg); ***NE*** *todax* 'drofa (stepnaja ptica)' (Khak), *tōdax* 'drofa' (KhakB), *tōdaq* 'das Feldhuhn' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *togduk* 'drofa' (Tuv), *toġdaq* 'hoholok (u ptic), čub (u čeloveka)' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *toġodaġ*, *todoġ*, *toġodoġ* 'bustard' (L).

E/T Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 519–524) provides an overview of the T data with this semantics under the entry *toġdarī* 'Trappe, *Otis tarda*'. On the basis of TtR *togdarï*, *togdäri*, Chag *togdarï*, he thought that these initially Chag (→ Tt) forms can be regarded as "eine (aus Tabugründen erfolgte?) Verballhornung des im Tü. (und Mo.) häufigeren *toġdaq*, das allerdings in den Dialekten auch oft unlautgesetzlich behandelt wird". His hypothesis calls for further investigation. Furthermore, he suggested that T forms like *tog* and *toy* with the same meaning (first documented in the MT sources) may also belong here and that they may represent the base of the T forms *togdak*, *dokdak*. See the following data in his collection: *toi̲* 'Trappe' (AChagR, TtR), *tui̲* (r: *toi̲*) (TtR), *toi̲*, *toð* (AK), *duġ* (r: *toġ*) 'toy kuşu' (AAH), *ṭoġtoy* 'outarde' (ABul) and *toġduy* 'outarde' (AChag) (Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 520). According to Doerfer, both of these basic words *tog* and *toy* may be of onomatopoeic origin.

Doerfer's proposal that the base of T *togdak* may be *tog* cannot be verified. According to Ščerbak (1997: 156), there is no suitable internal T etymology for OT **tog*-

dak, thus it may be of foreign der. The T word was copied by Mo and the contemporary forms in several T lgs may be re-borrowings fr Mo. Tenišev (2001: 174) erroneously attempted to start out fr an A base **toyga-* (sic!): T *toy*, *tog* ~ Mo *togadag* (cf. Ramstedt 1935: 404) ~ Tu *toyta*, Man *toyton* 'nazvanie pticy' (Cincius 1975–1977/2: 191). Otherwise, he connected the Karakhanid forms *toy* (*toð*) 'the bustard, *Otis spp.*' – according to him, the latter form may have resulted fr hypercorrection – with MKip *toy* and *dog* id., ModOg *toy* and Uzb *tuvalåq*. On the T words, see also Clauson (1972: 449). He contended that the Mo word *toga-dag* may have been borrowed by many T lgs and one can see a confusion in some of them between the original and the copied forms.

The T word was borrowed into Mo and fr there into Tu. In the Tu dials, one can find *tōdok* and *tōda*, while *todai* and *todo* are attested in Man (see Doerfer 1985: 100).

The T etymon for the H word is unattested in Chuv. Räsänen (1969: 483) thought, however, that Rus *drahva*, *drohva*, *drafa* and *drofa* may go back to Chuv **tărax* 'Otis tarda', which later became obsolete in Chuv (see also Dobrodomov (1968: 100–104)). Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 542) did not agree with this explanation because of phonetic difficulties.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 183), H *túzok* comes fr T. Gombocz (1912b: 133–134, 169, 173) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tōzak* for it. He was of the opinion that the original T internal segment *-gd-* corresponded to *-z-* in OChuv. Bárczi (1941: 320–321) considered the H word to be of T der. Kniezsa (1955: 966) presumed an early T lw in H. Palló (1959: 252–254) accepted Gombocz's assumption and thought that the phonetic change of the internal T segment in OChuv could be *-gd-* > *-d-* > *-z-*. Ligeti (1960: 298–299; 1961: 32–34), however, reconstructed the OChuv form copied into H as **tugδak*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1009) supposed an OChuv copied form **tugzak*. Ligeti (1986: 30–31) pointed out that the word is unknown in Chuv but that H *túzok* may be an OChuv lw. Its copied form could be either **togδak* or **togzak*. Ligeti thought that the segment *g* must have been present in the copied form and that it disappeared in H. This phonetic change caused the lengthening of the vowel before it. It is also beyond doubt that the spirantisation of the original T *-d-* had already occurred in T. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1565), the OChuv copied form could have been either **tugδak* or **tuδak*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Gombocz 1912b: 133–134, 169, 173; Räsänen 1920: 177; Németh 1921: 25; Ramstedt 1935: 404; Bárczi 1941: 320–321; Benzing 1944: 25; Räsänen 1946: 196; Kniezsa 1955: 966; Palló 1959: 252–254; Ligeti 1960: 298–299; Ligeti 1961: 32–34; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 519–524; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 542; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1009; Dobrodomov 1968: 100–104; Räsänen 1969: 483; Palló 1971a: 80; Clauson 1972: 449; Cincius 1975–1977/2: 191; Doerfer 1985: 100; Ligeti 1986: 30–31, 70, 79–80, 82, 89, 189, 195, 305, 528, 530; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1565; Ščerbak 1997: 156; Tenišev 2001: 174.

TÜKÖR [tükör] 'mirror' | 1215/1550 PN ? *Ticuram* [tikür-åm], early 13th c./c1350 *tukere* [tüker-e], 1474 *tukorbe* [tükör-be], dial *tiker* [tiker] | *tükör* < **tiker*, **tüker* ← WOT **tikär*, **tükär* | Cf. **teker**.

For all data with /g/ etc., see under **teker**.

OT –; **MT** *tikir* 'cercle', but *tegrük* 'arrondi' (AChag); **NT** ***Chuv*** *tĕkĕr* 'zerkalo, zerkal′nyj, (ust.) binokl′, podzornaja truba, (dial) steklo' (Chuv), *tükĕr* 'steklo', *tĕkĕr* 'zerkalo, podzornaja truba, astroljubija, binokl′, očki, steklo', *tĕkĕrt* 'zerkalo' (ChuvA), *tĕkĕr* 'távcső; Fernrohr, Fernglas' (ChuvP); ***NW*** –; ***SW*** *teker* '(razg.) koleso', *tigir* 'koleso, kolesnyj, špul′ka, špulečnyj, (prost.) velosiped, velosipednyj', *teker* 'krug, disk, koleso' (TtB), *teker* 'wheel, circular, round', *tekerlek* 'wheel (of a vehicle), round disk' (Tt), *teker*: *teker-teker* 'vrazvalku', *tekerlek* 'koleso, kolesnyj, krug (kolbasy, syra, provoloki)' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

Mo *tögürüg*, *tögerig*, *tügürig* 'circle, disk, circular, round, a monetary unit' (L).

OChSl *микъръ* 'zerkalo' (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 57).

E/T As shown by Egorov (1964: 244), the OChSl forms *микъръ*, *микърь*, *тыкъръ*, *тикърь* and *тыкърь* 'mirror' were borrowed in the Balkans fr BulgT. The word also appears in CherM (see Fedotov (1996/2: 213)). It pertains to a word-family that is present in most T sources and lgs with /g/ (see **teker**). Some Chuv dials show a labial form. Räsänen wrote *tøgør* 'zerkalo' in a personal handwritten note in his copy of ChuvP (Paasonen 1908: 161), which I received fr Kecskeméti. Chuv <k> /g/ reflects a WOT /k/. The phoneme /k/ is one of the Chuv–Og isoglosses in this word. The item *tükĕr* in Ašmarin (1928–1950/14: 205) comes fr a Chuv translation of the poem *Poltava* by Pushkin. The translation fr 1912 is the work of Tihonov, and the labial is authentic, but may have been a reduced /õ/.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 183; 1914: 218) regarded the H word as being of T origin and pointed out that Chuv has a corresponding form. Budenz (1873: 91) accepted Vámbéry's opinion. According to Munkácsi (1904a: 358), the H and Chuv words may be tied to the OChSl word forms and these words may be etymologically interrelated with the T word-family *täkär*, *tägär* 'round, wheel'. The semantic connection can be explained by the fact that a mirror is generally a rounded object. Gombocz (1912b: 134) observed that H *tükör* is a T word that comes up not only in Chuv, but also in some other T lgs as *tögürük*, *tögäräk* in the sense of 'round'. Ligeti (1935a: 196) stressed that the T etymon for the H word *tükör* corresponds to *tögürig* in WMo. According to Bárczi (1941: 321), the H word may plausibly have originated fr T. Kniezsa (1955: 966–967) considered the word as an early T lw. OChSl also contains similar forms with the same meaning 'speculum; Spiegel'. The word is, however, unknown in the contemporary Sl lgs. The H word and the OChSl word forms may share the same T source. Moór (1959a: 524) did not accept the T etymology. He thought that it presents a serious semantic problem, because the meaning 'mirror' is only attested

in Chuv. The H word cannot, however, according to Moór, go back to the OChuv form as the first-syllable vowel in OChuv must have been an *ö* and H consisted of an *i* earlier on. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1010; 1993–1997/2: 1566) regarded the H word as a plausible OT lw. He felt that the copied T form could have been **tiker*, denoting 'a rounded object'. Ligeti (1986: 319–320) reconstructed an OChuv word **tiker* for H *tükör* and thought that the H and Sl forms have a T source in common. He mentioned, however, the problematic lack of any historical information on the use of the mirror in the Western Turkic territory. We do not know what shape these objects could have had. We know about the use of rounded bronze mirrors in China, but the question of whether they were also used in the Western part of Turcia must remain open.

The WOT form surely consisted of a labial vowel, otherwise Chuv would feature a *č-*. In fact, the labial form appears in Chuv dials. In this case, I reconstructed an /i/ ~ /ü/ alternation. The word is a DBulg word. The H data also show an /i/ ~ /ü/ alternation, and it is not easy to decide which of the two is the earlier or original H vowel. As my colleagues Csanád Bálint and Attila Türk informed me, round mirrors have been known in Eastern Europe since the Sarmatians. Small bronze pieces have been excavated, which were used for decoration in the Saltovo culture.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Budenz 1873: 91; Miklosich 1886: 356; Munkácsi 1904a: 358; Paasonen 1908: 161, Gombocz 1912b: 134; Vámbéry 1914: 218; Ašmarin 1928–1950/14: 205; Ligeti 1935a: 196; Bárczi 1941: 321; Kniezsa 1955: 966–967; Moór 1959a: 524; Egorov 1964: 244; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 57; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1010; Räsänen 1969: 492; Ligeti 1986: 48, 203, 318–320; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1566; Fedotov 1996/2: 213; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1360.

TŰR[1] [tūr] 'to endure, suffer, bear, stand' | 1299/1300 ? GN *tyre* [tūr-ē], p1372/c1448 *tewrhettendew* [tūr-hettendō], p1416 *türietec* [tūr-yētek] | *tūr-* < **tür-* ⟵ WOT **tör-* | EOT *töz-* 'to endure, suffer'.

OT Qifčāq dial *tōz-* 'to suffer fr cold and hunger': *är tumluġqā tōzdi* 'the man suffered fr cold and hunger because of the cold' (AK); **MT** *töz-* 'to obey, follow' (AGul), *töz-* 'cierpieć, cierpliwie czekać, wytrwać' (AHŠ), *töz-* 'stradaťˊ, vyderžaťˊ, ustojaťˊ, vynositˊ stradanija, terpeťˊ, pereživaťˊ' (AHŠF), *töz-* 'dayanmak, tahammül etmek' (ANeh), *töz-* 'stradaťˊ, vyderžaťˊ, ustojaťˊ, vynositˊ stradanija, terpeťˊ, pereživaťˊ' (ANehF), *töz-* 'to suffer, endure' (ARbg), *töz-* 'supporter' (AChag), *töz-* 'ṣabr etmek ve ṭāqat götürmek' (AChagAb), *töz-* 'sabretmek' (AChagAbA), *töz-* 'tűr' (AChagAbV), *töz-* 'preterpetˊ' (AChagMA), *töz-* 'ertragen, erdulden, ausdauern, sich fügen' (AChagR), *töz-*, *tözlän-* 'to endure' (AChagSC), *tüz-* 'erdulden, ertragen' (AChagZ), *töz-* 'leiden', *tözot-* (*tøst-*) 'leiden lassen, peinigen', *tözmelüx* (tøsmiluch) 'Leiden', *tözümlük* 'Geduld' (LCCG), *töz-* 'leiden', *tözümlü* 'geduldig, ausdauernd' (LCCI), *töz-*, *döz-* 'sabır ve tahammül etmek' (AAH), *düz-* (r: *döz-*) 'ertragen' (AHou), *töz-* 'to endure' (AMGh), *töz-* 'to endure, to be firm, to be able to support' (ATuh), ?

toz- ‘ždat′’ (AmD), *toz-* ‘souffrir, tolérer’ (AmE); **NT *Chuv*** *tüs-* ‘terpet′, vynosit′, preterpevat′, podvergat′sja čemu-l., terpet′, vyderživat′, služit′ (ob odežde, obuvi)’ (Chuv ← Tat), *tüs-* ‘terpet′, vyterpet′, vynosit′’ (ChuvA), *tüs-* Szp. id. ‘eltűrni, kitartani, elszenvedni; dulden, ertragen, leiden’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tüz-* ‘terpet′, sterpet′, vyterpet′, vynosit′, vynesti, perenosit′, perenesti, vyderživat′, vyderžat′’ (Tat), *tüz-* ‘eltűrni, kitartani, elszenvedni, vmitől visszalépni, fölhagyni; dulden, ertragen, leiden, zurücktreten, ablassen (von etwas)’ (TatB), *tüð-* ‘terpet′, perenosit′, vynosit′, vyderživat′, terpet′, sderživat′sja’ (Bashk), *tuð-* ‘elviselni, eltűrni’ (BashkP), *tüs-* ‘terpet′, vyterpet′’ (SibTatBD), *töz-* ‘to suffer, to endure (adversity)’ (Kaz), *töz-* ‘terpet′, sterpet′, perežit′, vyderžat′, perenosit′’ (KazB), *töz-* ‘ertragen, erdulden, ausdauern, sich fügen’ (KazR), *tözim* ‘terpelivost′’ (Kklp), *töz-* ‘terpet′’ (RKklp), *töz-* ‘terpet′, vynosit′, perenosit′, vyderživat′’ (Nog), *t′oz′-* ‘ždat′’ (KarT), *töz-* ‘ždat′, ožidat′, terpet′, perenosit′, podčinjat′sja’ (KarT, KarC), *töz-* ‘ausharren, dauern, erwarten’ (KarTR), *tėz-* ‘ždat′, ožidat′, nadejat′sja’ (KarH), *toz-* ‘ždat′, podžidat′’ (KarC), *täz-* ‘warten’ (KarLR), *töz-* ‘terpet′, vynosit′ čto, sderživat′sja, vyderživat′, perenosit′ čto, perežit′, (peren.) miriť sja s čem’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *döð-* ‘terpet′, vynosit′, perenosit′’, *döð*: *döð gel-* ‘terpet′, vynosit′’ (Tkm), *döz-* ‘terpet′, sterpet′, perenosit′, perenesti, ustojat′, vyderživat′, vyderžat′, vynesti’ (Az), *döz-* ‘katlanmak, tahammül etmek’ (TtD); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tûz-* ‘to be enduring, to be patient’ (TurkiSh), *töz-* ‘terpet′’ (TurkiL), *töz-* ‘terpet′, perenosit′, vynosit′’ (MUyg), *toz-* ‘terpet′’ (YUyg), *tüz-* ‘terpet′, perenosit′ bol′’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *tö″s-* ‘terpet′, vyderživat′’ (Tof); ***Y*** *täsiy-* ‘terpet′ (poterpet′), preterpevat′, vyterplivat′, vynosit′, etc.’ (Y).

Mo *tes-* ‘to bear, stand, to endure’ (L), *tes-* id. (KhalK), *tes-* ‘aushalten, dulden, ertragen, leiden’, *tür-* ‘Not leiden, in schlechte Lage sein’ (Kalm), *tese-* ‘terpet′, perenosit′’ (Bur).

E/T Clauson (1972: 572) reconstructed an EOT equivalent of the etymon for the H verb with a long vowel (see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 272–273), Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 249) and Ščerbak (1970: 197)). However, the pharyngealized vowel in Tof and the short vowel in Tkm show that the vowel was originally short.

The first occurrence of the T word is in AK, where Kashgari mentioned it as a Kip lexeme. AChagSC *tözlä-* seems to be a secondary form with a nominal base *töz*. The noun **töz* comes up in Tkm and in some other sources as well (cf. Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 272). Sevortjan also cited *döy-* id. fr Tt dials. The *-z-* ~ *-y-* alternation in Tt calls for further investigation.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the Mo word was re-borrowed into AltT *türä-* ‘bedstvovat′’, however the semantic connection is not very clear. Under the entry, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1448) considered PA **t‘ī̆ŕi* ‘to suffer, endure’ to be a “Turko-Mong. isogloss”. However, the isolated Kalm data are surely of WOT

origin. The Chuv word *tüs-* is a VKip lw. On the CherM dial *tüsaš-*, see Fedotov (1996/2: 265).

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 183; 1914: 218) viewed H *tűr-*[1] as having originated fr T. Gombocz (1912b: 134–135) and then Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1014; 1993–1997/2: 1568) reconstructed **tör-* for the OChuv copied form. According to Palló (1982: 208), since Vámbéry's proposal, one cannot find any new remarks on the T etymology of the H word. In ModChuv, the T word is present as a Tat lw. Ligeti (1986: 14–15) pointed out that the corresponding WOT word parallels one in Mo. The Y verb *täsiy-* goes back to Mo **tese-* (cf. Mo *tes-* 'to bear, stand, endure' (L) and Bur *tese-* 'terpeť, perenosiť. Ligeti (1986: 118, 199) observed that the long vowel in the H word may stem fr an internal H compensatory lengthening, thus he assumed an OChuv copied form **tör-* (~ CT *tōz-*).

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Gombocz 1912b: 134–135; Vámbéry 1914: 218; Bárczi 1941: 321; Egorov 1964: 267; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1014; Räsänen 1969: 495; Ščerbak 1970: 197; Clauson 1972: 572, 597; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 272–273; Palló 1982: 208; Ligeti 1986: 14–15, 118, 199, 320, 526; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1568; Fedotov 1996/2: 264–265; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 249; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1448.

TŰR² [tūr] 'to roll up (a scroll or one's sleeves)' | 1525/1640 *türettel* [tür-ettēl], c1560 *betűrwe* [be-tūr-ve] | *tūr-* < **tür-* ← WOT **tür-* | EOT *tür-* 'to roll up (a scroll or one's sleeves)'.

OT *tür-* 'roll up' (UXuangzangIndex), *tür-* 'roll up (a book): *ol bitig türdi* 'he rolled up the book (or other)' (AK); **MT** *tụr-* 'plier, enrouler: lever (le camp)' (UHy), *tür-* '(vt.) to roll up, fold together' (AGul), *dür-* 'dürmek, katlamak' (AHMA), *türül-* 'to be rolled up' (AKor), *tür-* 'dürmek, katlamak' (ANeh), *türmäk* 'stuffed meatball(s)' (ARbg), *türün-* 'svertyvať', *türül-* 'svernuťsja, zavernuťsja, zakryťsja' (ATef), *tür-* 'replier' (AChag), *tür-* 'összetekerve kötni [to bind rolling up]' (AChagAbV), *tür-* 'svernuť, zavernuť' (AChagBud), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, aufschürzen' (AChagR), *tür-* 'qïvïrub devširmek, sarmaq' (AChagŠS), *tür-* 'wickeln' (AChagŠSK), *dür-* 'zusammenfalten, umwickeln, zusammenrollen' (AChagZ), *dür-* 'bükmek, katlamak, tomar haline getirmek' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *tĕr-* 'sobiraťť, sgrebaťť (v kuču), mjaťť, komkaťť, rastiraťť, (peren. razg.) upletaťť', *tĕrke* 'tjuk, rulon, obščee nazvanie upakovannyh kakim-l. obrazom predmetov – perevod zavisit ot tipa upakovki: uzel, svertok, svjazka, kipa, pačka i t.p., motok, (dial) ohapka', *tĕrkele-* 'svoračivaťť, svertyvaťť, skatyvaťť, svjazyvaťť, uvjazyvaťť, upakovyvaťť, zavertyvaťť, komkaťť, mjaťť, trepaťť' (Chuv), *tĕr-* 'komkaťť, sobiraťť v kuču (solomu)', *tĕrke-* 'svertyvaťť, zavertyvaťť', *tĕrke* 'svjazka, svertok, tjuk, uzel' (ChuvA), *tĕrke*: *pušăt-tĕrki* 'háncs-csomó, amely egy pár cipőre elég; ein zusammengelegtes Bündel Lindenbast, soviel als man zu einem Paar Schuhe braucht' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tör-* 'zavertyvaťť, zavernuťť, obertyvaťť, obernuťť, zakutyvaťť, zakutaťť' (Tat), *tör-* 'urau, čornau; motaťť, namatyvaťť, omatyvaťť; urap alu, urau; obstupaťť, okružaťť; äyländerep

alu; ogorodit′' (TatD1), *tör-* 'zavertyvat′, obertyvat′' (TatD2), *tör-* 'összehajtogatni, belegöngyölni; zusammenlegen, -fallen, rollen', *törön-* 'fölgyürkőzni, fölgyűrődni; sich aufstreifen, sich stülpen, sich einrollen' (TatB), *tör-* 'zavertyvat′, obertyvat′, zakručivat′, svertyvat′, zasučivat′, zavoračivat′' (Bashk), ? *tör-* 'etärü; otodvinut′; ber jirgä jïyïp yäki köräp kuyu; sgrebat′' (SibTat), *tür-* 'aufhäufen' (SibTatTR), *tür-* 'zavoračivat′, zasučivat′ (napr. rukava, štaniny), podnimat′ (napr. podol, polu), (peren.) tščatel′no obsledovat′, osmatrivat′' (Kirg), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, aufschürzen, in die Höhe heben (die Rockschösse)' (KirgR), *tür-* 'to turn up, to roll up, to raise slightly, to lift hem of dress, to roll up one's sleeves' (Kaz), *tű̄r-* 'zavernut′, zasučit′, podvernut′' (KazB), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, ausschürzen, in die Höhe heben (der Rockschösse)' (KazR), *tür-* 'zasučit′ (rukava), zavernut′ (podol)' (Kklp), *tür-* 'zavertyvat′, zavoračivat′, obertyvat′, zasučivat′' (Nog), *töz-* 'erdulden, ertragen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *düyr-* [*dű̄r-*] 'svertyvat′, skatyvat′, komkat′, (peren.) brat′ pomnogu, zagrebat′, (peren.) podmjat′ pod sebja, podčinit′ sebe' (Tkm), *dürmäk* 'buterbrod v vide trubočki', *dürmäklä-* 'zavoračivat′ edu v hleb (v čurek) v vide trubočki' (Az), *dür-* 'to fold, roll up' (Tt), *dür-* 'katlamak, katlayarak kaldırmak, sarmak, kıvırmak, derleyip toplamak' (TtD1), *dür-* 'bir şeyi katlayıp bükmek' (TtDA), *dür-* 'zusammenfalten, aufrollen, zusammendrehen' (TtR), ? *dür-* 'rasupit′sja, nahmurit′sja' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** ? *tur-* '(redk.) priglaživaja (pričesyvaja) pripodnjat′ vverh (resnicy, brovi, volosy)' (Uzb), *tür-* 'to wind up, to wind wool into balls, to roll up, to roll on (a spindle)' (TurkiJ), *tur-* 'to wind up, to roll' (TurkiSh), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, ausschürzen, in die Höhe heben (der Rockschösse)' (TurkiTR), *tür-* 'motat′, namatyvat′, smatyvat′, nakručivat′, zagibat′, sgibat′, podvertyvat′, svertyvat′, svoračivat′, skatyvat′, zakatyvat′, zavoračivat′, zasučivat′, morščit′, smorščit′, hmurit′, hmurit′sja' (MUyg), *tür-* 'plier, rouler' (SalK); ***NE*** *tür-* 'zavoračivat′, skladyvat′, svivat′' (Alt), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, ausschürzen, in die Höhe heben (der Rockschösse)' (AltR), *t′ür-* 'dvigat′sja, begat′' (AltL), *tür-* 'namatyvat′ (verevku)' (AltQK), *tür-* 'rasputyvat′, razobrat′, razrušit′', ? *tű̄r-* 'zakručivat′' (AltTK), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Ärmel), zusammenrollen, ausschürzen, in die Höhe heben (der Rockschösse)' (AltTelR), *tür-* 'zavoračivat′, svertyvat′, skladyvat′' (Khak), *tür-* 'aufrollen (die Aermel), zusammenrollen, ausschürzen, in die Höhe heben (der Rockschösse)' (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *dür-* 'svertyvat′, skatyvat′ (napr. bumagu), smatyvat′ (napr. nitki, verevku)' (Tuv), *dür-* 'svoračivat′, skručivat′ v rulon, v trubočku' (Tof); ***Y*** *tű̄r-* 'zavertyvat′, svertyvat′, vit′ (svertyvat′, skatyvat′) v trubku, namatyvat′' (Y).

Mo *türi-*, *türe-* 'to drag, haul, tug, to push forward, to bully, push around' (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 530–531) discussed the T etymon for the H verb. The original vowel in the T verb was long (cf. Ščerbak (1970: 198) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 319–320)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1387) included the PT form **dű̄r-* 'to fold,

to roll together' in conjunction with PMo **dörseyi-* 'to shrink, shrivel, be folded', but this comparison seems semantically unacceptable.

On the ders of the T verbal base, see *türül-* (548), *türün-* (552) and *türüš-* (554) in Clauson (1972); see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/3: 320). The dev nominal *türgäk* 'a package, bundle' (Clauson 1972: 544; cf. Erdal 1991: 395) belongs here as well. Clauson also took *türgün* 'a tribal community, etc.' (AK) to be a der of this verb, but this is unconvincing. Erdal (1991: 327–330) does not mention the word among the lexemes formed with the suff *-gXn*. Clauson's explanation poses not only semantic, but also phonetic problems. If *türgün* had developed with *-gXn*, the form one would expect in AK is **türkün* (see Erdal 1991: 327). Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 505) discussed the T word *türmä*, which appears in NPe as a borrowed lexeme that means 'Sattelfilz, bemalte Seide, Kaschmirschal', and it may perhaps also be a der fr *tür-* 'to roll up'.

Rus *tjurjuk*, *tjurik* 'mešok, sumka' (cf. Räsänen 1969: 506; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 137) was copied fr T *türük*, a der fr *tür-*.

E/H According to Vámbéry (1870: 183; 1914: 218), H *tűr-*² is of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 134) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tür-*, while, according to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1014–1015; 1993–1997/2: 1568), it was either **tür-* or **tūr-*. Palló (1982: 207) accepted Gombocz's OChuv etymology. She observed, however, that only the ders of the old verb that denotes 'svjazka, svertok, uzel, etc.' are represented in Chuv today. Ligeti (1986: 320) listed H *tűr-*² among the early T borrowings in H without any comment.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Gombocz 1912b: 20, 134; Vámbéry 1914: 218; Bárczi 1941: 321; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 505; Egorov 1964: 227; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 137; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1014–1015; Räsänen 1969: 506; Ščerbak 1970: 198; Clauson 1972: 530–531, 544, 548, 552, 554; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 319–320; Palló 1982: 207; Ligeti 1986: 320; Erdal 1991: 327–330, 395; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1568; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 297–298; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1387.

Ty

TYÚK [tʹūk], **tik** [tik] 'hen' | 1109 PN *Ticus* [tik-uš], 1138/1329 PN *ticudi* [tik-odī] (Fehértói 2004: 755), 1181/1288 GN *tykod* [tik-od], *tykud* [tik-ud], 1198 *thuc* [tūk], 1325 *tyuk* [tʹūk], p1372/c1448 *tykmonyat* [tik-moń-āt] | *tyūk* < **tiuk* < **tūk* < (*tik* < **tīk* <) **tiwuk* < **tiɣuk* ← WOT **tiɣuk* | EOT *takigu* 'a domestic fowl', MT **taguk*.

OT *taqïgw yïlqa* 'in the Fowl year' (RMShin N 10, RMShin W 4), *taqïġu* 'Huhn' (UHeilk I:69), *taqïġu* 'Huhn' (UTTIV A:55), *taqïġu quš ara erkek tiši bar* 'Unter jenen Hühnern waren Hahne und Hennen' (MMan I 36, 5-7), *taqïġu* 'Huhn' (UTTVII 24:10), *taqïġu* 'Huhn' (UUII 84:8), *taqaġu* a generic term for 'cocks and domestic fowl', they are differentiated by saying *ärkäk taqāġū* for 'cock' and *tišī taqāġū* for 'hen', *taquq* appears as a Tkm. word (AK), *taqïgu* 'Huhn' (tqigu) [an animal in the cycle] (BP 7,32); **MT** *taġuq* 'Huhn' (UOg), *taqau* 'poule, gallinacée' (UHy), *taqïġu* 'Huhn' (UCivSa 10:1), *tawuq* 'tavuk' (AHMA), *tawuq* 'kura, kogut' (AHŠ), *tawuq* 'kurica, petuh' (AHŠF), *taqūq* 'kurica' (AIM), *daġuq* 'tavuk', *taġuq yïlï* 'Türkçe 12 yıl atlarından 10uncu yılın adıdır' (AIMI), *ṭavuq* 'cock', *daquq* 'fowl, hen', *taġaqu*, *taḫuq* 'cock, hen' (AKD), *takuk*, *tavuk* 'tavuk' (ANeh), *tawuq* 'kurica, petuh' (ANehF), *taġuġ*, *tavuġ* 'poule' (AChag), *taġuq*, *tavuq* 'kurica' (AChagBud), *tawuq* 'kurica' (AChagMA), *taquq*, *tauq*, *taġuq* 'das Huhn' (AChagR), *taġuk*, *tawuk*, *tawuġ*, *taquq*, *taxuq* 'a bird, also the name of one of the Turkic years' (AChagSC), *taġuġ* 'tavuq, deǰāǰ' (AChagŠS), *qara tauq* – Name eines turteltauben-ähnlichen Vogels (AChagŠSK), *tauk* 'Huhn' (AChagZ), *tavox* <taoh> 'Huhn, Hahn' (LCCG), *tavuq* <tauc> 'Henne' (LCCI), *taquq* 'tavuk' (AAH), *ṭoquq* (misvocalized), *ṭaquq* 'poule' (ABul), *ṭaġuq*, *ṭavuq* 'poule' (ADur), Tkm. *daquq*, Kïp. *daġïq* 'Huhn' (AHou), *tavuq* 'tyúk; Huhn' (AKav), *ṭavuq* 'kurica' (ATuh), *tavuq* 'tavuk' (ATuhA), *tavux* 'poule, coq' (AmTr), *tavux* 'fowl, hen' (AmCh), *dakuk* 'tavuk' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *čăxă* (*čăx*) 'kurica, kurinyj' (Chuv), *čăx*, *čăxă*, *čuxă* 'kurica' (ChuvA), *čăxă*, Szp. *čăgă* 'tyúk; Henne' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *tavïk* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Tat), *tawïq* 'tavïk; kurica' (TatD1), *tawïq*, *tawïk*, *tavïk* 'tavïk; kurica' (TatD2), *tauïk* 'tyúk; Henne' (TatB), *tauq*, *tawïq* 'das Huhn' (TatKR), *tauïq* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Bashk), *tawuk* 'tyúk [hen]' (BashkP), *tauïq* 'tavïk; kurica' (SibTat), *tavïq* 'kurica' (SibTatBD), *tauq* 'das Huhn' (SibTatTR), *tōk* 'kurica, (ust.) god kuricy' (Kirg), *tauq* 'das Huhn' (KirgR), *tauïq* 'hen, chicken' (Kaz), *tauïq* 'kurica' (KazB), *tauq* 'das Huhn' (KazR), *tawïq* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Kklp), *tavïk* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Nog), *tavuq* 'kurica' (CrTat), *tavux* 'kurica' (KarT), *tavuk* 'kurica' (KarH), *tavuq* 'kurica' (KarSh), *tawux* 'das Huhn' (KarTR), *tavuq* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Kum), *taŭuq* 'kurica, kurinyj, ptičevodčeskij' (KrchBlk), *ta'uq* 'Huhn' (KrchP), *ta'uq* 'Huhn' (BlkP); ***SW*** *takïk* '(ust.) kurica', *tovuk* 'kurica, kurinyj, (prost.) fazan' (Tkm), *tōq* 'kurica' (TkmD), *toyug* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Az), *tavuk* 'hen' (Tt), *tauk* 'kurica, kurinyj' (Gag), *to̲u̲ux*, *to̲u̲ux*,

toyux, *tō̲q*, *to´$^{\underline{u}}$ux*, *to´$\underline{u}^{u}$x*, *to^{o}x*, *to$\underline{u}$q*, *toyuq*, *to$\underline{u}$x*, *to$\underline{u}$uq*, *to$\underline{u}$*, *to´ux*, *to$\underline{u}$x*, *tūx* ‘Huhn’, *to$\underline{u}$uq*, *tōq* ‘Hahn’ (the latter meaning can only be found in one dialect) (Khor), *taux*, *toux* ‘Huhn’ (SOg); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *tovuq* ‘kurica, kurinyj, (obl.) penie petuhov (v opredelennoe vremja noči)’ (Uzb), *toxï*, *toxa*, *toxæ* ‘hen, cocks and hens, cock, chicken’ (TurkiJ), *tâuq* ‘a fowl’ (TurkiSh), *taqo*, *taqu*, *toxo* ‘kurica’ (TurkiL), *toqa* ‘das Huhn’ (TurkiTR), *tavuq* (dial) ‘kurica’, *toxa*, *toxu* ‘kurica’ (MUyg), *taqa* ‘kurica’, (detsk.) *taqa-taqa* (parn.) ‘o kurica, kurica’ (MUygMAks), *tōġo*, *tox*, *tux* ‘kurica’ (Sal), *tox*, *t‘^{o}x* ‘poule’ [Pot. *tox* (*taux?*), R *t‘ox*] (SalK), *t‘aqa*, *ta’qa* ‘kurica’ (YUyg), *taqa*, *taqaġa*, *taqaġï*, *taqaqï* ‘kurica’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *takā* ‘kurica’ (Alt ← Mo), *taqa* ‘das Huhn’ (AltR), *tāk* ‘kurica’ (AltL), *tāq* ‘das Huhn’ (AltLR, AltTelR), *tāq* ‘kurica, galka’, *takā* ‘kurica’ [the latter is re-borroved fr Mo] (AltQK), *tāq* ‘die Dohle’ (AltQKR), *taġax*, *taŋax* ‘kurica’ (Khak), *taŋaq* ‘das Huhn’ (KhakSR, KhakShR), *tahay* ‘chicken’ (FY), *dagā* ‘kurica, kurinyj’ (Tuv ← Mo), *taqqïnyaq* ‘(zool.) kurica’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *takiya*(*n*) ‘chicken, the tenth of the twelve animals of the zodiac’ (L).

E/T The T word *takī̲gū* carries two meanings, ‘a domestic fowl’ and ‘one of the animals in the twelve-year cycle’. It appears in Mo as an OT lw in the form of *takiya* (see Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 441–444; Clauson 1972: 468; Ligeti 1986: 48; Ščerbak 1997: 152). Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 441–444) discussed the T word under four headings: (1) OT *tāqīqū* (which is also “confused with the data of the fourth group” form *dāqīqū*); (2) *taqāġū* and its variants (*taġāġū* and *taxāqū*(*i*)), which are MT forms with some representatives in NT, like MUyg *toxo*, *toxu*, etc.; (3) *tāvuġ*, which goes back to *taquq*. *tāvūġ* has many representatives with various forms in NT; (4) *dāqūq* (which may be an OOg form). Doerfer’s effort to divide the extraordinarily varied variants of the T word proves useful in demonstrating the great variability of this old word. The Mo word *takiya* (< **takiga*) was re-borrowed into some SibT lgs. Ju *tixo* and Man *čoko* reflect a Mo **tikagu*, while Evn *tæqčaqa* ‘kuropatka’ is a compound word formed fr *taek* (< **tiwak*) and *čoqo*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1431) attempted to connect PT **tiakïgu* (-ŋu) to the MT parallels as genetically related, though they are clearly lws. Clauson (1972: 468) regarded the word as an old animal name ending in °*gU*. Joki (1952: 305), Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 441–444) and Ščerbak (1997: 152) suggested a quasi-onomatopoeic origin. According to the traditional readings in RMShin, we have *takïgu* in lines N 10 and W 4, but the reading may also be *takagu* in both cases. The exact quality of the word-final rounded vowel is dubious. It might also be correctly read as *takago*. In AK, the word is spelt *takāgū*. In ChagSC, the Mo forms of the word are given as *taguk*, *taxuk* and *taxakuy*.

E/H After earlier attempts, Vámbéry (1870: 183) considered H *tyúk* and its dial variant *tik* to be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 135) reconstructed an OChuv copied form **tïwuk*, and Bárczi (1941: 322) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1020) accepted his opinion. Ligeti (1986: 43) rightly rejected Doerfer’s (1963–1975/2: 441–444) proposal that

the H word may come fr T **tiyuq* < **tīāqiūq*. Nor did he (Ligeti 1986: 442) agree with Poppe's (1974: 138) position that H *tyúk* derives fr T **tīuk* < **tikaku*. Ligeti reconstructed the copied form as **tiguk*. He thought that the first-syllable vowel *ï* is secondary to an earlier **a*, as one can also see in certain other H words (cf. **dió** and **tinó**). After the vocalisation of the word-internal H *-g-*, the diphthong in *tīuk* changed to a long vowel *ú*. H *tyúk* has the same relationship to the dial word *tik* as H *lyuk* 'hole' does to dial *lik*. See PFUgr **lowkkɜ* > PUgr **lowkkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lūkə* > **l̥iukə* > OH *l′uk* > *liku* ~ *luk* > H *lyuk*, *lik* 'hole'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1571) accepted Ligeti's explanation. See § 12.2 (Addenda) on p. 1493.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 183; Gombocz 1912b: 14, 135; Ramstedt 1935: 375; Bárczi 1941: 322; Joki 1952: 305; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 441–444; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1020; Clauson 1972: 468; Poppe 1974: 138; Pais 1975: 323; Ligeti 1986: 43, 48, 442; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1571; Ščerbak 1997: 152; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1431; Fehértói 2004: 755.

U, Ú

UGU in **ugufa** [ugufå], **ug** [ug] *arch* 'owl, *Strix*' | 1075/+1124/+1217 GN *Huger* [ug-ēr] (Györffy 1963–1998/1: 906), 1193 *vgu-fa*, *ugu-fa* [ugu-få, ugu-få], 1282/1411 PN *Wg* [ug] (Reuter 1982: 462), 1287 GN *wgh* [ug], 1289/1291 GN *wgh* [ug] (Györffy 1963–1998/1: 398) | *ug* < *ugu* ← WOT **uγu* | EOT *ügi*, MT *ugu*, T *uku* id.

Of debated T origin.

OT *ūhi* 'owl'. According to Kashgari, the genuine Turks call it *ūgī*. The *hā'* is found in the speech of Khotan and Känčāk, since they are not Turks, but settlers in the lands of the Turks (AK), *ügi täg usuz* 'sleepless like an owl' (AQB); **MT** *ügü* (? MS <AWAZ>) 'owl' (ABF), *ükü* (r: *-g-*) 'baykuş, puhu' (AIMI), *ükü* 'hibou' (AChag), *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu' (AChagR), *ügü* ('with *-g-*') 'a bird like the sparrow hawk which can see in the dark' (AChagSC), *ükü* 'ǰugd' (AChagŠS), *ögü* 'Uhu' (AChagŠSK), *ögü* 'Eule, Uhu' (AChagZ), *ügü* <vgu> 'Eule' (LCCI), *ügü* 'baykuş' (AAH), *ügü* 'hibou, grande chouette' (ABul), *ükü* 'sova' (ATuh), *ügü* 'uhu kuşu' (ATuhA), *üğı*, *üğü* 'baykuş cinsinden olan puhu kuşunun bir çeşidi' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *üxĕ* 'filin' (Chuv), *ükĕ*, *ükkĕ*, *üx*, *üxĕ*, *ünkĕ* 'filin (nazv. pticy)' (ChuvA), *ükĕ*, *üxĕ* 'füles bagoly; Uhu' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *öke* '(dial) sova, sovinyj' (Tat), *ökö* 'mäče bašlï yabalak; filin' (TatD1), *ökö* 'mäče bašlï yabalak; filin, sova', *ökö*: *ökö yabalaġï* 'mäče bašlï yabalak; filin, sova' (TatD2), *ökö* 'filin' (Bashk), *ögö*, *ügü* 'mäče bašlï yabalak, baygïš; filin' (SibTat), *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu' (SibTatBR), *ükü* 'filin (v starom bytu sčitalsja svjaščennym), ukrašenie iz per′ev filina na šapke devoček, devušek (upotrebljalos′ i kak amulet), (ėtn.) ukrašenie iz per′ev filina v čelke lošadi (kotoruju veli ot ženiha roditeljam nevesty, kogda ehali svatat′)' (Kirg), *ükĭ* 'eagle owl' (Kaz), *ŭkĭ* 'filin, sova' (KazB), *üki* 'filin, sova, syč, per′ja ptic, slučaščie dlja ukrašenija golovnogo ubora ženščiny' (Kklp), *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu' (CrTatR), *uġïy* 'filin' (KarSh), *uku* (balk.) 'sova' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *xüvi* 'filin' (RTkm, RTkmAB), *öğü* 'great owl', *üğü*, *öğü* 'owl' (Tt), *üğü kuşu* 'öleş yiyen büyük bir kuş' (TtDA); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ukki* '(zool.) filin' (Uzb), *uki* 'owl' (TurkiSh), *ükä* 'sova, domovyj syč, filin' (MUyg); ***NE*** *ükü* 'filin' (Alt), *ügü* 'filin' (AltQK), *ükkü* 'die Eule' (AltTölR), *ügü* 'filin, syč' (Khak), *ügü* 'sova' (KhakB), *ögö* 'die Eule' (KhakQbR), *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu', *ögö* 'die Eule' (KhakSR), *uġu* 'der Uhu', *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu' (KhakShR), *ügü* 'filin' (Tuv), *ügü* 'die Eule, der Uhu' (TuvSR), *hügü* '(zool.) filin' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *uguli*, *uuli* 'owl' (L).

E/T The T word *ūgī* 'owl' survives in a few other lgs with *ö-* or *-k-* (Clauson 1972: 101). On the T word forms, see Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 156), Egorov (1964: 282) and Räsänen (1969: 519). Tenišev (2001: 170–171) reconstructed an old alternation **ügi* ~ **ükki* for the T word. This alternation can be explained by the onomatopoeic

character of the word, as Ramstedt (1951: 108) pointed out. The disappearance of the initial *h-* in this word (but see RTkm) may also have been caused by its onomatopoeic character. Tenišev (2001: 170–171) compared the T word with the following "Altaic parallels" that mean 'filin': Mo (*h*)*uguli* (Ramstedt 1935: 454), Kor **púhəŋ* and Jpn *puku*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1485) considered PT **ügi* 'owl', PMo **uguli* id. and PTu **oksari* id. to be an onomatopoeic Western isogloss.

E/H The word was not previously covered in the H etymological dicts. Based on PNs which could be of T origin, Reuter (1982: 460–462) was the first to assume that a noun **ug* had existed earlier in H. Its corresponding form can be documented in Kirg as *uku*, *sarï uku* 'owl'. According to him, the earlier appearance of the supposed H word can also be verified with the H noun *ugufa* 'owl tree' which was misread earlier as *üd´(ü)fa* 'holy-tree'. Cf. **egyház** and **ül** (ünnepet). Reuter suggested that another possible occurrence of the obsolete H word may found in the GN *Ugér*, the first element of which may be the word under investigation. A T starting point for H *ugu* is borne out by certain other T lws in H that denote hunting birds and were also used as PNs. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of H *ug* among the T lws in H, nor did Benkő discuss the word, but see *Uhu* in Benkő (1993–1996/2: 1575). The etymology is uncertain because of the scarce documentation of the H word and also because of its onomatopoeic nature.

◆ Ramstedt 1935: 454; Ramstedt 1951: 108; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 156; Györffy 1963–1998/1: 398, 906; Egorov 1964: 282; Räsänen 1969: 519; Clauson 1972: 101; Reuter 1982: 460–465; Benkő 1993–1996/2: 1575; Tenišev 2001: 170–171; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1485.

ÚR [ūr] 'gentleman, lord, sir, high dignity, Lord (also of a king or of God)' | 1009/†1257 GN *Hurhyda* [ūr-hidå], 1075/†1217 GN *Kerestur* [kerest-ūr], late 12th c./c1195 *uromc* [ur-omk] | *ūr* < **uri* ← WOT **urï* || **ország** 'country, state, empire' | 1138/1329 ? PN *vrfag* [ursāg], late 12th c./c1195 *uruʒāgbele* [urusāg-bele], 1359/1509 *orzag wta* [orsāg ūtå] | *orsāg* < *ursāg* < **urusāg* < **ur*(*u*) {with suff +*šĀg* / +*sĀg*} | EOT *urï* 'male child, son (of rulers or begs)'.

OT *bäglik urï oglïn qul qïldï* 'their sons, who were fit to be begs they made slaves' (RMBilg E 7), *inim yeti urum üč qïzïm üč ärdi* 'I had seven younger brothers, three sons, and three daughters' (RMSüj 6), *urïla-* 'to give birth to a male child' (RTIrk 5), *ur-* 'tun, hineintun' (UHeilk I:100,149), *ärük uruġï* 'Aprikosenkern' (UHeilk I:101), *uruġ* 'Samen' (UManI 17:15), *urï oġlan* 'männliches Kind' (UHeilk II:2,65), *täŋri urïsï* 'Göttersohn' (UUII 28:6, 29:16), *urï oġul kälürgäy* 'sie wird einen Knaben zur Welt bringen' (UTTVII 26:18), *urï* 'son, boy', *uruġ* 'clan' (UXuanzangIndex), *uruġ* 'Samen' (MManIII Nr.7,II Rückseite 4), *urï oġlān* 'male children', *uruġ* 'the seed of anything'; 'seed for sowing' is called: *uruġ*, thus *uruġ äkti* 'he sowed the seed'. 'Relatives' are likened to it, and are called *uruġ tarïġ*. *ur-*, *ūr-* 'put, strike' and in one occurrence *urï-*: *qïz bṻt urïdï* 'the girl put *bṻt* on', *bṻt* being the name for 'a large

and valuable turquoise which is attached to the forelocks of the sons or daughters of nobles' (AK), *ay ärsig urï* '[Oh] my brave boy' (AQB); **MT** *uruġ* 'Stamm', *ur-* 'schlagen' (UOg), *urug* 'graine, semence, parent': *urug tarïg* 'parents par alliance' (UHy), *ur-* 'vurmak, teveccüh etmek' (UY), *ur-* 'auflegen, hinzufügen' (UCivLo 01:4), *urïsïz* 'sohnlos' (UCivAd 03:1), *uruġ* 'Samen, Saatgut, Nachkommen, Nachfahren' (UCivSa 04:3), *ur-* 'to strike' (ABF), *urluq* 'grain, corn, ear of corn', *ur-* 'to strike, beat, hit, to bark' (AGul), *ur-* 'vurmak, dövmek, koymak, takmak' (AHMA), *urluq* 'nasienie, ziarno', *uruġ* 'nasienie, potomstwo' (AHŠ), *ur-* 'bit′, udarjat′', *urluq* 'semja, zerno', *uruġ* 'semja, potomstvo' (AHŠF), *ur-* 'bit′' (AIM), *ur-* 'vurmak', *uruġ* 'tohum' (AIMI), *ur*! 'knock (imperative)' (AKD), *ur-* 'to beat' (AKor), *ur-* 'bit′', *uruq* 'plemja' (AM), *ur-* 'bit′, udarjat′', *urluq* 'semja, zerno', *uruġ* 'semja, potomstvo' (ANehF) *ur-* 'to beat, to play (a musical instrument), to put, to erect, construct, etc.', *urluq* 'seed', *uruġ* 'seed, offspring', *uruġluq* 'kinship' (ARbg), *uruġ* 'semja, semena' (ATef), *ur-* 'vurmak, teveccüh etmek' (AYC), *uruġ*, *uruq* 'parent, famille, ensemencement, agriculture' (AChag), *ur-* 'biçmek' (AChagAbA), *ur-* 'ver' (AChagAbV), *uruq* 'plemja, rod, koleno' (AChagB), *ur-* 'bit′, vybivat′, nazyvat′, vodruzit′' (AChagLN), *uruġ* 'Ursprung, Rasse', *uruq* 'Verwandter' (AChagŠSK), *uruq*, *urux* 'Nachkommenschaft, Kind' (LCCG), *urluq* 'Same (der Pflanzen)' (LCCI), *ur* 'tohum', *ur-* 'vurmak', *urluġ* 'tohumluk' (AAH), *uruk* 'bir ata oğlanlarından çoğalan köy, mahalle, şehirhalkı', *vur-* 'vurmak' (AAHI), *vur-*, *vurur* 'bić, uderzyć' (ABul), *urluġ* 'Saat' (AHou), *ur-* 'schlagen' (AKav), *ur-* 'to hit, to strike, to touch, to look like' (AMGh), *ur-* 'bit′, udarjat′', *urluq* 'semja' (ATuh), *ur-* 'vurmak', *urluq* 'tohum' (ATuhA), *ur-* 'to strike, hit' (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ăru* 'plemja, rod, plemennoj, rodovoj, potomstvo, pokolenie', *vără* 'semja i semena, semečko', *văr-* 'ottalkivat′ s siloj, otšvyrivat′, brosat′, kidat′, švyrjat′, udarjat′, (ust.) sglazit′, napustit′ porču, (dial.) sbyvat′ s ruk, prodavat′', *vărlăx* 'semja, semena, semennoj, poroda' (Chuv), *ăru* (*ĭru*) 'rod, potomstvo', *ărăv* 'plemja', *vărlăx* (*vŏrlŏx*) 'semja, semena, zerna, plemja, proishoždenie, poroda', *vărlăk* 'semja', *vără* (*vŏrŏ*) 'semja', *văr-* 'brosat′, ronjat′, švyrjat′, kidat′, bit′' (ChuvA), *ăru* 'nemzetség, rokonság; Verwandtschaft, Geschlecht', *vără* '(növény)mag; Same', *vărlăx* 'magszem, vetőmag; Samenkorn, Saatkorn', *văr-* 'megbabonázni, megrontani; hexen, behexen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *orlïk* '(bot., s.-h.) semja, semennoj', *orï* 'narost, šiška, želvak, kap (na dereve)', *ïru* (prost.), *ïrug* (knižn.) 'rod, rodovoj' (Tat), *ïru* 'tugan, tugan tiešle, rodnye, rodstvenniki, rodnja' (TatD1), *ïru*: *ïru-radnä*, *ïru-tamïr* 'tugan-tumača, kardäš-ïru; rodnja, rodstvenniki' (TatD2), *or-* 'verni, kosolni; schlagen, einramme[l]n', *orlok* 'magszem, vetőmag; Samen, Saatkorn' (TatB), *orloq* 'semja, semena, semennoj, semja, sperma, semennoj, (peren.) matka, samka-proizvoditel′nica (domašnego skota)', *oruġ*, *ïrïu* 'rod, potomstvo, rodovoj, ženskaja polovaja kletka' (Bashk), *uruk* 'semena, (biol.) semja, poroda (sem′ja), rod, plemja', *urū* 'rod, plemja, (peren.) vid, rod, sort, poroda', ? *ur* 'narost, naplyv, grib (na dereve)', *urum* 'potom-

stvo' (Kirg), *ru* 'family, kin, clan, family name, tribe, generation', *ŭr-* 'to beat, hit, thrash', *ur-* 'to put, to place, to set, to establish' (Kaz), *urïk* 'semja, semena', *uruw* 'rod, plemja', *ur-* 'udarjat′, bit′, kolotit′' (Kklp), *urlïk* 'semena, semja, zerno, semennoj, zernovoj' (Nog), *urluq* 'semja, semena, semečki', *uruv* (dial.) 'rod, rodnja, vid, variant', *ur-* 'bit′, udarit′, pahtat′, vzbivat′ (moloko v pahtalke)' (CrTat), *urluk* 'semja, potomstvo' (KarH), *urluq* 'semja, posev, deti, potomstvo', *urlïq* 'semja, proishoždenie čeloveka' (KarSh), *urlux* 'semja, potomstvo, plemja' (KarT), *uruv* 'rod, plemja, proishoždenie, sem′ja, pokolenie' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *urluq* 'semja, semečko, semena, semennoj, (biol.) semja, semennoj, rod, plemja, rodstvenniki, sorodiči' (Kum), *urluq* 'semja, semečko, semena, semennoj, poroda, sort', *ur-* 'bit′, udarjat′, zabivat′, vbivat′, etc.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *urug* 'rod, rodovoj' (Tkm), *vur-* 'bit′, udarjat′, udarit′, ranit′ ili ubivat′ oružiem, etc.', *ur* 'narost, opuhol′, šiška' (Az), *vur-* 'to strike, to hit' (Tt); ***Kh*** *hur-* 'spalten, zerschlagen, zerreißen', *vur-* 'schlagen' (T *ūr-*) (Kh), *hur-* 'zerreißen' (KhT); ***SE*** *uruġ* 'semja, rod, plemja, rodstvennik', *ur-* 'bit′' (Uzb), *ur-*, *uy-* 'to beat, to knock, to strike, to hit, to throw', *uruġ*, *uruq*, *uyuq* 'seed, kernel, seed corn, offspring, family' (TurkiJ), *uyuġ*, *uyuq* 'semja' (TurkiL), *uruġ*, *uruq* 'zarodyš, semja, semena, zerno, rod, plemja, pokolenie, rodnja, rodstvenniki' (MUyg), *urux*, *orux*, *orïx*, *ōrïx* 'rodnye, rodstvenniki', *urïġar*, *uruxar* 'rodstvenniki' (Sal), *oruġ*, *orïġ* 'rod, pokolenie, rodstvo' (YUyg), ? *ur-* 'spuskat′, klast′, polagat′', *uruġ*, *urug*, *uruq* 'rodstvo, rod, pokolenie', *uruq* 'rodstvennaja linija, rodnja' (YUygM); ***NE*** ? *ur-* 'sypat′, lit′, nalivat′', *ur* 'narost, naplyv (na dereve)' (Alt), ? *ur-* 'lyt′, vylit′, sypat′, vysypat′' (AltQK), ? *ur-* 'lit′, vylivat′, nalivat′, prolivat′, bit′' (AltTK), ? *ur-* 'sypat′ čto-l., lit′, nalivat′ čto-l., polivat′ čto-l.' (Khak), *urïn* 'seed' (FY), *uru* 'narost (na stvole dereva, na tele), opuhol′, želvak', *urug* 'devočka, rebenok, devuška, detskij, devičij, devičeskij', *urug-darïg* 'deti, detvora' (Tuv), *uru* '(bot.) narost, vyrost, šiška (na stvole dereva), drevesnyj naplyv', *uruġ* 'rebenok', *uruġ-darïġ* 'rodnye deti, vse rodstvenniki (v sovokupnosti)' (Tof); ***Y*** *ūr-* 'klast′, nakladyvat′, gruzit′, vkladyvat′, zakladyvat′, etc.', *urū* 'rodnja, rodstvennik (-nica), srodnik, rodstvo, etc.' (Y), *urū* 'Verwandter', *ūr-* 'legen, schreiben, setzen, festsetzen, bestimmen' (Dlg), *urū* 'Verwandter, Sohn oder Schwester der Ehefrau von *ego*, Tochter der Schwester des Vaters der Ehefrau von *ego*, verwandt(schaftlich)' (DlgS).

Mo *ur* 'excrescence or burr on a tree, tumour', *urgu-* 'to grow, sprout', *urguča* 'harvest, yield, crop', *urug* 'relatives by marriage, foetus' (L), MMo *urux* 'relatives, progeny', Pl. *uru'ut* (SH).

E/T As Clauson (1972: 197) pointed out, *urï* is not documented later than the Karakhanid period but it is common until then. Despite his opinion, *urï* may have derived fr an unknown base **ur-*. For euphemistic reasons, however, this base may be identical with *ur-* 'to beat, to strike, to put' (cf. Clauson (1972: 194–195)). Another word fr the same base is *urug*. According to Clauson, *urug* 'seed, pip, kernel' is a

simplex, but with metaphoric extensions like ‘progeny, descendants’. Erdal (1991: 213) contended that *urug* ‘seed’ being an object noun, may be etymologically interrelated with *ur-*, a verb which also carries the meaning ‘to put’. Erdal thought that *urug* was used primarily in an agricultural sense (‘seed’) and that its metaphorical use (‘progeny, descendants’) may be secondary. His contention is borne out by the fact that *urug* often comes up in binoms with *tarïg* (see **dara**). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 605–606) reconstructed a verbal base for T *urug*, **ur-* *‘to give birth, to inseminate’, and Tenišev (2001: 308) accepted his explanation. The comparison of the T word with Tu *hurū* ‘sem´ja, mnogodetnaja ženščina’ seems questionable. Tenišev posed the question whether the OT word *urï* may be a contracted form of **uruk* ‘seed, pip, clan’, but this solution does not seem very likely. On the T data, see also Tenišev (2001: 323–324). Further, there is a third word, *urluk* ‘seed’ (for sowing), metaphorically ‘progeny, descendants’ (see Clauson 1972: 229; Tenišev 2001: 116), which may belong to this word-family. As Clauson claimed, it is not attested earlier than the 13th c. According to him, *urluk* may be a den der fr *ur*, “but the only evidence for the existence of such a word is the entry in İd. [= AAH] … where *ūr* may be a misunderstanding of *urū*”. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 604) offered the same rationale. Egorov (1964: 49) believed that the Chuv word forms *ăru* and *vără* occurred because of a Chuv internal word split fr T *urug*. It seems more likely, however, that the Chuv words *vără*, *vărlăx*, meaning ‘semja, semena’, are regular representatives of CT **urug*, **urlXk* (the latter may go back to either **urug+lXk* or *urï+lXk*) and Chuv *ăru*, *ărăv* ‘rod, plemja, potomstvo, pokolenie’ may be VKip lws fr **ïruw*. Chuv *vără* was copied into CherH (*vïrya*) (Fedotov 1996/1: 109). Chuv *vărlăx* ‘semja, semena’ also appeared as a lw in the same dial (*vïrlïk*), but CherM copied the corresponding form (*urlïk*) fr Tat (cf. Fedotov (1996/1: 110)). Based only on certain T words, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1039) compared the PT reconstruction **urï* ‘male child, son’ with PTu **ŋur* ‘male (of small carnivores)’ and PMo **gura* ‘roebuck’. This comparison, however, is unacceptable. Independently of this, they reconstructed a PT form **urug* (~ **or-*) ‘seed, child, girl, kin, kind, relatives’. They discussed the T forms *urug*, *uruk*, *urluk*, etc. under this heading and rejected the possibility – one that Räsänen (1969: 516) had mentioned previously – that these T forms are derived fr PT **ur-* ‘to beat, hit’, which they listed in the next entry (1188). They agreed that Mo *urug* was borrowed fr T. Under another entry (1504) (PAlt **ŭro* (~ *-u*)), they connected PT **ur* ‘growth, excrescence’ with PTu **ure-* ‘to grow, sprout, bush’, PMo **urgu-* ‘to grow’. These words belong together.

The Mo word *ur* ‘excrescence or burr on a tree, tumour’ may be a ‘growth, what is grown on the surface, tumour’ and forms part of the same semantic field as ‘seed, fruit, child, the growth of the crop, the family’ (see Grm *Auswuchs*, *Nachwuchs*). T *urï* is a dev noun with the suff *-I* fr *ur-*. Its earliest meaning was ‘male child’, and,

later, in opposition to *ogul*, it took on the sense of 'male children of the ruling clan, prince, young man from the ruling class'. This was copied by H.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 184) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. Harmatta (1955: 253) pointed out that the source for H *úr* can be explained on the basis of the OIr word **sŭra-* 'lord, commander'. Németh (1956a: 358–364) attempted to trace H *úr* back to a der of T *u-* 'to be able', i.e. *uyur* or *uyar* 'mighty, suitable'. Palló's (1956: 157–167; then 1959: 245) etymological idea was based on the *d* > *δ* > *r* change in Chuv. According to her, H *úr* may come fr a copied form *ïru*. This form goes back to OChuv *ïdug* 'messenger' > 'saint' and was copied after the phonetic shift **idu* > **ïδu* > (**ïzu*) > *ïru* before the Hungarians occupied their new homeland. H *ú* may stem fr the internal H phonetic change *ïru* > *uru* > *úr*. Without serious argumentation, though citing Ibn Fadlan, Györffy (1958: 590–595) endeavoured to trace H *úr* back to a reconstructed BulgT form **wuyrïg*. According to Györffy, this would be the form that corresponds to CT *buyuruk ~ buyruk*. This is impossible, however, because *b-* is preserved in the lg of the Volga Bulgars. Moór (1958a: 358–359) claimed that H *úr* is of FUgr der and listed some seemingly corresponding Mord, Voty, etc. forms to support his etymology. According to Pais (1962a: 138–146), the second element of the OH name *Vrsuuru ~ Ursuur* is identical with the H noun *úr* 'dominus' and it might have originated fr T. The name comes up in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous, where we learn that Cum is the starting point for *Vrsuuru ~ Ursuur*. Pais argued that the H word has the T etymon *urū*, which may lead back to the T verb *ur-* 'to strike'. The verb could, according to Pais, have a der "with the suffix *-uq*" and in the sense of 'something which is struck' > 'seed'. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 653–655) regarded the H word as a FUgr inheritance, but he felt that the corresponding forms are far and uncertain. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1035), *úr* is of unknown origin. It may, perhaps, have come fr FUgr with the original meaning 'male', but its other FUgr, T and Ir etymologies cannot be verified. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1579) modified his position. According to him, there are two possible roots for the H word: (1) It may be an OT borrowing with a copied form **uru* or **urï* (? < T **ur-* 'befruchten, zeugen'); (2) It might have been inherited fr FUgr. In this case, the FUgr basic word could be **urɜ* 'Männchen' > 'Mann'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention the word. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 545) was of another opinion. According to him, one can assume three possibilities: (1) H *úr* may be a Ugr legacy fr an OIr lw; (2) It may go back to a T word *uyur* 'Mächtiger, Adliger'; (3) It may also be BulgT in origin and in this case it may have the CT corresponding forms **ïduk ~ *ïdug* 'das von Gott geschickte Verhängnis'. Finally, Rédei did not exclude the possibility that the H word comes fr FUgr **urɜ* 'Mann, Männchen'. Róna-Tas (1994a: 138–146) argued in favour of the T source for H *úr*. According to him, the H word has its beginnings in the T word *urï* with the meaning 'boy'. The Chuv corresponding form of this CT word denotes

'seed'. This word may come fr either **uru*, **urï* or **urug*. The EOT form *urï* and its WOT corresponding form **uru* are not isolated words, but members of an important T word-family. OT *urïlan-* 'to give birth to a male child' belongs in this word-family. According to Róna-Tas, the verbal base of the T family was not originally identical with the T verb *ur-* 'to beat'. One can suppose a T verbal base **ur-* 'to impregnate', which could later have been identified for euphemistic reasons with the verb *ur-* 'to beat, strike' (cf. H **baszik** 'to copulate', which originates fr T *bas-* 'to press'). T *urï* may be a der fr *ur-* with the suff *-I*. This word was copied in the form **urï* > **uru* 'young man'. In H, *uruszág* 'land' was formed fr the word, indicating that a word-final *-u* was still present in the OH base (*uru*). According to Kara (1995: 65–68), Róna-Tas's etymology cannot be accepted without some hesitation, because the T word is only known in the sources in the sense of 'male child, young boy'. On the other hand, H *úr* does not denote 'úrfi [young master/gentleman]' or 'boy, male child'. Benkő (1995: 68–69) thought that Róna-Tas's etymology seems better argued than the uncertain FUgr explanation. Róna-Tas (1995b: 63–65) strengthened his earlier rationale and demonstrated some new T data to demonstrate the EOT usage of the word, also used as a PN in the Uyg texts. Harmatta (1997: 74) reiterated his Ir etymology.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 184; Bárczi 1941: 324; Harmatta 1955: 253; Németh 1956a: 358–364; Palló 1956: 157–167; Györffy 1958: 590–595; Moór 1958a: 358–359; Palló 1959: 245; Pais 1962a: 138–146; Egorov 1964: 42, 49; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 653–655; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1035; Räsänen 1969: 365, 515–516; Clauson 1972: 194–195, 197, 229; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 604–606; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 545; Erdal 1991: 213; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1579; Róna-Tas 1994a: 138–146; Benkő 1995: 68–69; Kara 1995: 65–68; Róna-Tas 1995b: 63–65; Fedotov 1996/1: 88, 109–110; Harmatta 1997: 74; Fehértói 2001: 465–466; Tenišev 2001: 116, 308, 323–324; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1039, 1188, 1504.

Ü, Ű

ÜDÜL [üdül] ‘to refresh oneself, to rest, to become cured’ | 1578 *v̊dól* [üdöl], 1621 *fól̊dúlni* [föl-üdül-ni], 1793 *felűdítésére* [fel-üdīt-ēsēre], 1814 *idülni* [idül-ni] | *üdül-* < *idül-* < **edül-* < **edü* {with suff +(*V*)*l*-} ← WOT **edü* | EOT *edgü* ‘good, morally good’ | See **egyház**, **ül** and **ünnep**.

Of possible T origin.

OT *ād* anything ‘manufactured’, such as brocade and the like; it may be shortened to *äd* – this is the better pronunciation; *ädgü äd* ‘a good manufactured item’, *ädgü* ‘good (of anything)’ (AK); **MT** *edgü*, *idgü* ‘iyi’ (UY), *ädgü* ‘bon, excellent’ (UHyS), *äygü* ‘good’ (AGul), *edgü* ‘iyi’ (AHMA), *ädgü* ‘dobry, najlepszy’ (AHŠ), *ädgü* ‘horošij’ (AIM), *edgü* ‘iyi’ (AIMI), *eyü* ‘good’ (AKD), *ädgü* ‘good’ (AKor), *egu* ‘dobryj, horošij’ (?) (AM), *edgü* ‘iyi’ (ANeh), *ädgü* ‘dobryj, slavnyj’ (ANehF), *ädgü* ‘righteous’ (ARbg), *äðgü*, *äzgü*, *äygü* ‘horošij, dobryj, zdorovyj’ (ATef), *edgü* ‘intelligent’ (AChag), *idgü* ‘blagoj, dobryj’ (AChagBud), *ädgü* ‘dostojnyj’, *ödgü* ‘horošij, dostojnyj’ (AChagLN), *ädgü* ‘ferasetlü, fehmlü’ (AChagŠS), *idgu* ‘scharfsinnig, verständig’ (AChagŠSK), *izgü* ‘gut’ (AChagZ), *eygi*, *egi* ‘gut’, *eygilik*, *egilik*, *iygilik* ‘Güte, Wohlwollen, Gnade’ (LCCG), *eygi*, *eyi* ‘gut’ (LCCI), *ägü* ‘horošij, dobryj’ (ATuh), *igi* ‘good, well’ (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ĭră* (*ĭr*) ‘dobro, *sušč.* horošee, prijatnoe, dobryj, horošij, prijatnyj, horošo, prijatno, uvažaemyj, dostojnyj uvaženija, dobroporjadočnyj, (*mif.*) dobryj duh, *s častičej ta v kačestve vvodn. sl.* horošo’ (Chuv), *ĭră* (*ĭrĭ̆*) ‘dobryj, horošij, prevoshodnyj, otličnyj, zdorovyj, milyj, počtennyj, svjatoj, dobro, horošo, po-horošemu’ (ChuvA), *ĭră*, Sp. *ĭră* ‘jó; gut’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *izge* ‘svjaščennyj, svjatoj, blagoj, dobryj, (rel.) svjatoj, blagočestivyj’ (Tat), *izge* ‘heilig, fromm, gut’ (TatB), *izge* ‘svjatoj, svjaščennyj, dobryj, horošij, blagoj (*ust.*), (*rel.*) svjatoj, blagočestivyj’, *ige* ‘(*razg.*) horošij, dobryj’ (Bashk), *iðgu*, *iðge* ‘jó, jámbor [good, pious]’ (BashkP), *iygi* ‘horošo, horošij, dobro’ (Kirg), *igĭ* ‘good, kind, helpful, useful, well, better’, *ĭzgĭ*, *ezgĭ* ‘kind, good, cherished, sacred’ (Kaz), *ĭzgĭ* ‘blagoj, dobryj, blagorodnyj’ (KazB), *iygi* ‘horošij, dobryj’ (Kklp), *iygi* ‘horošij, blagorodnyj, dobryj, horošo, blagorodno’ (Nog), *ėyi* ‘horošo’ (CrTat), *äyi* ‘gut, schön’ (CrTatR), *iyi* ‘horošij’ (KarT), *ėgi* ‘horošij, dobryj, krasivyj’, *ėyi* ‘horošij, prevoshodnyj’ (KarH), *igi*, *iyi* ‘gut, sehr, tüchtig’ (KrchP), *igi* ‘gut, wohl’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *ėygilik* ‘blagopolučie, dobro, blago’, *iyi* ‘good’ (Tt), *äyi* ‘gut, schön’ (TtR), *ī* ‘horošij, dobryj, horošo’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ėzgu* ‘(knižn.) blagoj, dobryj’, *ėgilik* ‘dostoinstva, horošie kačestva ili storony (čego-l.), dobroe delo, blagodejanie’ (Uzb), *izgu* ‘good’ (TurkiSh), *äzgü* ‘(*rel.*) svjatoj, (*peren.*) dobryj, horošij’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *ėy* ‘vporu, v samyj raz’ (AltQK), *izĭ*: *izĭ-čox* ‘neudobnyj, neskladnyj (ob odežda), neudobno, ne po sebe’ (Khak), *ėki* ‘horošij, lučšij, zdrav-

stvujte, horošo, lučše, "horošo" (otmetka)', *ėkī* 'zdravstvujte' (Tuv); ***Y*** *ütüö* 'očen′ horošij, prekrasnyj, (ust.) blagorodnyj' (YS), *ötüö* 'gut, Güte, Gutmütigkeit' (Dlg).

Mo *ede-*, *edege-* 'to recover, to get well, heal', *ed* 'things, objects, property' (L).

E/T It is a matter of debate (see **E/H**) whether the H word *üdül-* shares the same etymon as **egyház**. If the T origin can be accepted, the base is WOT **edü*, which, due to a H change **edü* > *idü* > *üdü*, forms part to the same word-family as **egyház** does (see the details there).

E/H H *üdül-* is not documented earlier than 1578 and has its own word family. The words *üdít-* 'to make happy, to refresh' and *üde* 'fresh' pertain here, both perhaps representing back-formations. Also relevant are *üdvöz-* 'to say a benediction', *üdvözít-* 'to work on salvation', *üdvözítő* 'Saviour, Christ' and *üdv* (1728) 'salvation', the latter perhaps a back-formation. The roots of this family are debated. Benkő suggested that they all go back to *üdül-* and pertain to a supposedly fictional base of unknown der (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1584). Let us first see the most important opinions. It was Vámbéry (1870: 184) who first considered the H verb *üdül-* 'to refresh oneself, to rest' to have come fr T. However, his etymology was based on data, the majority of which do not belong here. Budenz (1873: 91–92) did not accept Vámbéry's comparison. Munkácsi (1901b: 649–650) pointed out that the first elements of the H lexemes *id-vez-* 'to be saved, find salvation, welcome somebody', *id-nap* 'holiday' and *egyház* 'church' may be interrelated with *üdül-*, *idül-* 'to refresh oneself' and that they may have their ultimate base in Skrt. Gombocz (1912b: 135–136) considered the base of the H verb to be of OChuv origin, however he did not accept Munkácsi's (1901b: 649–650) suggestion that H *üdül-* shares the same base as *idvez-*, *üdvöz-* 'willkommen', *innep* 'Feiertag' (< **id-nap*) and *egyház* 'Kirche'. Vámbéry (1914: 219) regarded *üdül-* as a member of a H word-family, the basic word of which may be the noun *üdv* 'salvation'. This H word may originally have come fr T. Vámbéry erroneously connected T *ïduk* 'holy' with *eygü* 'good'. He correctly mentioned H *ünnep* 'holiday' here, although he incorrectly thought it to be a calque fr T *tüyün* 'holiday'. According to Németh (1921–1925b: 243), the basic word for H *üdül-* may be a T copied form of OT **ädgü* 'good, holy'. Ligeti (1933a: 278–279) supposed he had the basis for the Y form when he reconstructed a T verb **eð-*. *edgü* > *edü* is a dev noun fr this verb, like *ber-* > *bergü* > *berü* → H *bér*. Bárczi considered (1941: 325, *üde*) the H verb *üdül-* to be an internal der in H. Its base may be identical with the etymon for the first element of the H word *egy-ház*. Moór (1953: 92) listed *üdül-* along with *idő* 'Zeit, Wetter', *ige* 'verb, word' and *öböl* 'gulf' as Mo lws in H. According to Kiss (1968: 256), H *ünnep* 'holiday' may be a calque fr SerbCroat *blâgdān* 'prazdnik'. He pointed out that the primary stem of *ünnep* may be identical with the absolute stems of *üdül-* and *üdít-*. Palló (1972a: 405–412) thought that the copied BulgT word could be **üdele-* and that it may be a cognate of the T etymon for H **idő**. The T base could

initially have referred to the rest period at midday. According to her, the OBulg verb **üdälä-* may be the source not only for H *üdül-*, but also for Mo *üdele-* 'to have a midday break'. The Mo verb was later re-borrowed by certain T lgs. Palló was of the opinion that the copied form **üdälä-* changed to *üdüle-* in H and that the final vowel could have disappeared later. The ending *-ül* in the H verb has been felt to be a H ending for the intr/refl verb forms in intr-tr verb pairs (cf. H *hevül-* 'to get hot' ~ *hevít-* 'to heat something', *merül-* 'to dive, sink' ~ *merít-* 'to dip, plunge something', etc.). According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1046–1047), H *üdül-* is a member of a H word-family of unknown origin. He believed that the etymological interrelation of the basic words for *üdül-*, *egyház* and *ünnep* and their connection with the H verb *ül-* '(ein Fest) feiern, (eine gewisse Zeit) feiern' do not seem likely. He also rejected the etymological explanation for H *üdül-* fr the noun *idő* 'time', nor did he accept the Ir and T etymologies of the basic word for *üdül-*. Palló (1982: 211–212) modified her earlier position slightly and pointed out that the primary meaning of T *öd* was not 'time', but 'midday (time)' (cf. Mo *üde* 'noon', which is a T lw). This Mo noun could be the base of Mo *üdele-* 's' arrêter en voyage vers le milieu du jour pour se reposer et prendre un repas, faire la siest', which was later re-borrowed into some T lgs as a term in animal husbandry. The Hungarians copied not only the noun fr T, but also the verb formed fr the nominal base. The copied form could have been **ödlä-*, which changed in H in the following way: **ödlä-* > **ödölä-* > *ödöl-* > *üdül-*. According to Palló, T *ōd* 'Mittag, Zeit' > **ödlä-* ⟶ Mo *üdüle-* 'zur Mittagszeit rasten' has a very good semantic parallel in the T nomen-verbum *tüš* 'midday time' ~ *tüš-* 'to rest at midday time'. For the unusual H change *ö* > *ü*, see **szűnik** ⟵ T *sön-*. The disappearance of the final vowel in OT **ödlä-* > **ödölä-* can, according to Palló, be explained through the borrowed verb being adapted to the H closed syllabic verbal system. Ligeti (1986: 33) tied H *egy* 'holy' to *ünnep* (< *idnap*) and *ül-* (< *idleni* 'to celebrate'). According to him, H *üdül-*, documented as of the 15th c., may be an internal H der fr *id* (*üd*) with the H den verbal suff +(*V*)*l-*, which is a back-formation fr *id-nap* 'holiday'. The original sense of *üdül-* was 'to make holy, sanctify, hallow'. The verb with this meaning became obsolete and it can only be found in the phrase *ünnepet ül-* 'to hallow the holiday, to celebrate'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1588), H *üdül-* is a member of a word-family fr a fictitious stem of unknown der. Its base may be related to that of the H verb *üdvöz-* 'to be saved'. Benkő contended that the T etymology of *üdül-* is not possible though he accepted the T source of **ül** 'to celebrate a holiday' < **idl-* and **ünnep** 'holiday' < **idnap*. It is true that the form *idül-* (1814) of *üdül-* (1587) is relatively late. But *üdvöz-* < *idvez-* (13th c./1416) and other members of the family show that the late occurrence of *idül-* is due to mere chance. Thus I see no compelling argument to separate *üdül-* fr **ünnep**, **ül** and **egyház**.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 184; Budenz 1873: 91–92; Munkácsi 1901b: 649–650; Gombocz 1912b: 135–136; Vámbéry 1914: 219; Németh 1921–1925b: 243; Ligeti 1933a: 278–279; Bárczi 1941: 325; Moór 1953: 92; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1046–1047; Kiss 1968: 256; Palló 1972a: 405–412; Palló 1982: 211–212; Ligeti 1986: 33; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1584, 1588.

ÜL [ül] 'to observe a feast, to celebrate (a wedding or a triumph)' | p1456 *Illietek* [il-l'etek], 1508 *v̊dlj* [üdly], 1559 *ÿdlik* [üdl-ik].

For all data, see **üdül**.

E/T–E/H The word converged with the now homophonous H word *ül-* 'to sit, dwell', but is a simplified form of MH *üdül-* (see **üdül**). The change *üdül-* > *üdl-* > *üll-* > *ül-* occurred in H and is well documented. H *ül-* 'to sit' has a very broad range of meanings and is of unknown origin (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1587–1588).

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1052; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1587–1588.

ÜNNEP [ünnep] 'feast', **ünnepnap** 'feast day, holiday' | p1372/c1448 *ydneppre* [id-nepp-re], c1405 *inep* [innep], p1416/c1450 *ynnèpėtọl* [innep-ētō̜l], *innennap* [innep-nap] | *ünnep* < **üdnep* < *idnep* < **idnap* < *id* + *nap* 'day' < **id* < **edü* ← WOT **edü* | EOT *edgü* 'good, morally good' | See **egyház**, **üdül** and **ül**.

E/T See **egyház** and **üdül**.

E/H The first part of the word can be found in **egyház**, **ül** and **üdül** as well. EOT *edgü* ~ WOT **edü* also denoted 'holy'. The second element of the word is H *nap* 'day'. The original meaning of the H word was 'holiday'. The assimilation of *-dn-* > *-nn-* and the secondary labialisation of the first-syllable vowel represent internal H developments. After the assimilation *-nap* > *-nep* the composition lost its analytic semantics and for the second time the word *nap* was added: (*id* + *nap* > *ünnep* + *nap* > *ünnepnap*). It was Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1053; 1993–1997/2: 1588) who provided this scenario and it is generally accepted. The origin of the word *nap* 'day' and *Nap* 'sun' is unknown.

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1053; Ligeti 1986: 273; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1588.

ÜNŐ [ünō̜] 'heifer, roe doe' | 1193 GN *Tarýneu* [tar-ineü], 1293 PN *vnee* [ünē], c1395 *ÿne* [ine], p1416/c1450 *v̇nọ* [ünō̜] | **ünō̜* < **inō̜* < **ineü* < **ineɣ* ← WOT **inäɣ* | EOT *ingäk* 'cow' < **in-* {with suff *-gAk*}.

OT *ingäk kölükün* 'with the cattle and baggage animals' (RMTon 15), *ürüŋ äsri ingäk buzagulačï bolmïš* 'a white-spotted cow was on the point of calving' (RTIrk 41), *ingän* 'female camel' (RTIrk 5), *ingäk yaġï* 'Kuhbutter' (UHeilk I:77,88), *ingäk* 'Kuh' (UTTVII 22:17), *ingäk* 'cow', Oġuz: 'female turtle' (AK), *ud ingek öküz* 'oxen and cattle' (AQB); **MT** *inäk* 'vache' (UHy), *inäk* 'krowa' (AHŠ), *inäk* 'korova' (AHŠF), *īnāk* 'korova' (AIM), *inek* 'cow' (AKD), *inek* 'inek' (ANeh), *inäk* 'korova' (ANehF), *ingäk*: *tewä ingäki* 'verbljudica', *ingän* 'verbljudica' (ATef), *inäk* 'vache' (AChag),

inäk ‘korova’ (AChagBud), *inek* ‘korova’ (AChagMA), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (AChagR), *inäk* ‘cow’ (AChagSC), *inäk* ‘sïğïrïn dişisi’ (AChagŠS), *inek* ‘Kuh’ (AChagŠSK), *inek* ‘die Kuh’ (AChagZ), *inäk* ‘Kuh’ (LCCI), *inäk* ‘bugünkü manasında’ (AAH), *inäk* ‘vache’ (ABul), *inäk* ‘vache’ (ADur), *inäk* ‘Kuh’ (AHou), *inäk* ‘tehén; Kuh’ (AKav), *inäk* ‘korova’ (ATuh), *inek* ‘inek’ (ATuhA), *inak* ‘vache’ (AmTr), *inak* ‘korova’ (AmD), *inak* ‘vache’ (AmE); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ĕne* ‘korova, korovij, (peren.) o neukljužem, nepovorotlivom čeloveke: korova (o ženščine), uvalen′, medved′ (o mužčine)’ (Chuv), *ĕne*, *ine* ‘korova’ (ChuvA), *ĕne* Szp. id. ‘tehén; Kuh’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ėŋgäk*: *ėŋgäk döyä* ‘verbljudica’ (Bashk), *enäk* ‘ana poši; samka losja; ana hayvan; samka’, *inäk* ‘sïyïr; korova’ (SibTat), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (SibTatTR), *inek* ‘(v nekotoryh mestah) korova’, *iynek* (južn.) ‘korova, korova jaka’ (Kirg), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (KirgR), *yinėk* ‘korova’ (KarH), *inek* ‘korova’ (RKum), *iynek* ‘korova, korovij’ (KrchBlk), *inek* ‘Kuh’ (KrchP), *inek* ‘Kuh’ (BlkP); ***SW*** *inek*, *inäk*, *inäy* ‘korova’ (TkmD), *inäk* ‘korova, korovij’ (Az), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (AzR), *inek* ‘cow’ (Tt), *ine* ‘buzağı’ (TtD), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (TtR), *inek* ‘korova, korovij’ (Gag), *ịnäy* ‘Kuh’, *ịnȧy*, *ịnäy* ‘Färse’ (Khor), *inak* ‘Kuh’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *inäk* ‘Kuh’ (KhT); ***SE*** *inäk* ‘korova’ (UzbD, Ščerbak 1961: 97), *inɛk* ‘cow’ (TurkiJ), *ünak* ‘a milk cow’ (TurkiSh), *inek* ‘korova’, *inäk qala* ‘rogatyj skot (krupnyj)’ (TurkiL), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (TurkiTR), *inäk* ‘korova’ (MUyg), *inex*, *inix* ‘korova’ (Sal), *in′ex* ‘vache’ (SalK), *enek*, *enek‘* ‘korova’ (YUyg), *enek*, *inek* ‘korova’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *inek* ‘korova’ (Alt), *nek*, *nik* ‘korova’ (AltL), *nek* ‘korova’ (AltQK), *iynek*, *inek* ‘korova’ (AltTK), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (AltTelR), *ĭnek* ‘korova’ (Khak), *nek* ‘die Kuh’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *inäk*, *näk* ‘die Kuh’ (KhakShR), *inäk* ‘die Kuh’ (ChulR), *inïh* ‘cow’ (FY), *inek* ‘korova, korovij’ (Tuv), *inėk* ‘krupnyj, rogatyj skot, korova’ (Tof); ***Y*** *ïnax* ‘korova, baba (mužčina s slabym, neréšitel′nym harakterom), los′, *Cervus alces*’, *anax* ‘korova’ (Y), *ïnax* ‘korova’ (YS), *ïnak* ‘Kuh’ (DlgS).

Mo *üniye*(*n*) ‘cow’, *ingge*(*n*) ‘female camel’ (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 184) and Ligeti (1986: 280–281) both thought that the OT word for ‘cow’ (*ingäk*) may have derived fr the nominal base **in*. Another der *ingān* was developed fr the same base, which appeared parallel to *ingāk* in the early sources. (RTIrk not only contains *ingäk*, but also *ingän*.) The T etymon for the H word is of course *ingäk* and not *ingän*. The most important historical data for *ingän* ‘she-camel’ are the following: RTIrk, AK, AIM, AIMI, ARbg, ATef, AChag, *ingän*, *inän* AChagSC, AHMA, AHou, ATuh, ATuhA, AotT. The word survives in some modern lgs, e.g. TurkiJ, MUyg, Tuv, Tof, Kirg, Kaz and Kklp. On the T data, see Ščerbak (1961: 97), Räsänen (1969: 172), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 360–361), Tenišev (2001: 447–448) and Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 375–376).

According to Ligeti, *ingäk*, which was first documented in the EOT inscriptions, may be a der with the suff *+gAk*. It has not, however, been preserved and was displaced by *inäk*, which was formed with the suff *+Ak*.

Tenišev (2001: 436) previously rejected Sevortjan's erroneous assumption that the primary form of the word contained a word-initial *y-*, as in KarH *yinėk*, and that it is therefore a der fr the verb *yeni-* 'rožaťʼ. Tenišev pointed out that there are forms with a word-internal *n+g* in the EOT sources written in Runiform script. Given this fact, these word forms could also be read as *inigäk*. On the various etymological explanations, see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 359–360) and Tenišev (2001: 436). As Egorov (1964: 64), and, more recently, Tenišev observed the etymology of this word is, however, obscure.

Ligeti (1986: 280–281) noted that the word is also present in Mo, but that it has another base there: *üni*. Doerfer (1985: 139) did not mention the T corresponding forms and assumed the Mo word *üniyen* 'Kuh' was the source for Tu *unigen*, *uńigän* and Man *uniyen*. Tenišev (2001: 436), on the other hand, contended that T and Mo may contain the same old base **inig* and that the original meaning of the word could be 'female artiocactyla'. Ščerbak (1997: 120) compared OT *iŋän* with MMo *iŋgen* 'verbljudica'. Under another entry (163), he mentioned MMo *üneyen* 'korova' (MA) as a T lw. In Evnk and Neg, *inak* occurred as a Y lw (cf. Fedotov (1996/1: 151)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 619–620) connected PT **in-gek*, **in-gak*, **in-ken* 'cow, female camel' with PMo **ünigen*, thinking that the base of these interrelated forms may be PA **i̲unu* 'cow'. According to them, Man *uniyen* is a Mo lw, while Mo *ingen* 'female camel' was borrowed fr T.

The forms *ingäk* and *iŋäk* represent the same word with different orthographies. The original form is PT **ingäk*, while WOT contains *inäk*, which is present in other T lgs. It may be a dev noun fr a hitherto unattested verb **in-* with the suff *-gAk* (Erdal 1991: 391–396). The word for she-camel was formed fr the same base but with the suff *-gAn* (Erdal 1991: 382). We cannot exclude the possibility that this **in-* goes back to an earlier *äm-* 'to suck': **ämgän*, **ämgäk* > *ängän*, *ängäk* > *ingän*, *ingäk*. The labial nasal /m/ may also have influenced the vowel in the first syllable, hence **ämgän* > *üngän* ⟶ Mo *ünigen* > *üniyen*. This would then represent a semantic split in *ämgän* between 'the sucking' and 'the one from which they suck'. However, the change fr an open /ä/ to a closed /e/ makes this proposition less plausible.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 184) considered the H word to be of T origin on the basis of certain T corresponding forms. Gombocz (1912b: 136) supposed a reconstructed OChuv form **inäg*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1053) accepted the T etymology of the word. According to Balogh (1988: 479), however, the word may be explained fr Ugr **jenз-* 'to grow' with the semantic shift 'growing' > 'young'. Ligeti (1986: 79) noted that Mo *üniyen* < *ünigen* is related to the T word, but that the T and Mo words are not identical. The immediate T etymon for the H word could be the T form **inäk*. According to Rédei (1986–1991/2: 848), the word-final H *-ő* seems to be a H den nominal suff. It

is the same H suff which occurs in H **tinó**. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1588) reconstructed a T copied form **inäg* for the H word.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 184; Gombocz 1912b: 10, 12, 136; Bárczi 1941: 326; Ščerbak 1961: 97; Egorov 1964: 64; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1053; Räsänen 1969: 172; Clauson 1972: 184; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 359–361; Doerfer 1985: 139; Ligeti 1986: 79, 280–281; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 848; Balogh 1988: 479; Erdal 1991: 382, 391–396; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1588; Fedotov 1996/1: 151–152; Ščerbak 1997: 120, 163; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 375–376; Tenišev 2001: 436, 447–448; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 619–620.

ÜRGE [ürge] 'ground squirrel, *Citellus citellus*' | c1395 ? *ir* [ir] 'Ziesel', 1469 ? PN *urge* [ürge], c1525 *ewrge* [ürge] 'critetus', 1559 *irgeket* [irgē-ket], dial *irge* [irge] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1096) | *irge*, *ürge* < **ürge* ← WOT **örgä* | T *örgä*, *örkä* 'souslik'.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** –; ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** *örkö* 'suslik' (Alt), *örkö* 'ein kleines Steppentier' (AltR), *örge*, *örke*, (dial) *ürke* 'suslik' (Khak), *ürkä* 'ein kleines Steppentierchen' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *örge* 'suslik' (Tuv), *örgä* 'das Murmeltier' (TuvSR), *örge* '(zool.) suslik' (Tof); ***Y*** *örgö* 'evraška (ovražka), melkij polevoj zvěrek v rodě suslika, *Spermophilus Eversmanni*' (Y), *örgüö* (dial) 'suslik' (YS).

Mo *ürxe* '(*vost.*) suslik' (BurL).

E/T The range of the European ground squirrel, *Spermophilus citellus* (H *ürge*), covers the Eastern European steppe and South Siberia. Joki (1952: 253) considered the word to be a der ("Partiz.-Perf. auf *-a*") fr the T verb *ürk-*, *hürk-* 'scheu werden, scheu sein, erschrecken (intr)', but his etymological explanation is unacceptable because of serious semantic and morphological difficulties (see Bur *ürge-* 'pugaťsja').

E/H It was Vámbéry (1882a: 219) who first argued in favour of the T origin of the H word. Paasonen (1902: 244) agreed. Gombocz (1912b: 136) assumed that an OChuv form **ürkä* (? **örkä*) was borrowed. According to Németh (1916a: 24–25), the Chuv word for 'souslik' *tïrkas* (*čïrkas* in the transcription by Nikolskij) cannot be compared with the H word. Bárczi (1941: 327) regarded the H word as a T lw. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1054–1055), H *ürge* may perhaps be a copied form fr OT **örgä*. The T origin presents a challenge in that one can find the arch word *ir* 'souslik' in H, which may be interrelated with H dial *irge* id., but the H word *ir* cannot be explained on the basis of the T forms. Ligeti (1986: 201, 305) thought that H *ürge* may be a T lw with a shortened word-initial vowel and with a secondary base. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1589), this word represents an OT lw. The etymological status of H *ir* 'Ziesel' is, however, unclear, unless it is a back-formation.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 219; Paasonen 1902: 244; Gombocz 1912b: 136; Németh 1916a: 24–25; Bárczi 1941: 327; Joki 1952: 253; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1054–1055; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/2: 1096; Ligeti 1986: 201, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1589.

ÜRÖM [üröm] 'wormwood, *Artemisia*; bitterness' | 1212 ? GN *Eurim* [ürim], 1260 ? GN *vrumvelg* [ürüm-veld'], 1362 PN *Irmes* [irm-eš], c1395 *fer ÿrem* [fer ürem], c1405

vrem [ürem], p1416/c1450 *vṛǫmbè* [üröm-be], p1435 *irim* [irim] | *üröm* < *ürim* ~ *irim* < **erim* ← WOT **erim* | MT *irbän*, T *erim*, *ermän* ‘*Artemisia*’.

OT –; **MT** ? *irbän* ‘Quendel-Thymian’ (ChagR); **NT** ***Chuv*** *arăm* (dial), *ėrěm* ‘polyn′, polynnyj’ (Chuv), *arăm* ‘absinthium, polyn′’ (ChuvA), *arăm*, *ärěm* ‘üröm; Wermut’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ärem* ‘(bot.) polyn′, polynnyj’ (Tat), *ärem* ‘üröm; Wermut’ (TatB), *ärem* ‘polyn′, polynnyj’ (Bashk), *irmän* ‘polyn′, bogorodskaja trava, očen′ poleznaja dlja korma lošadej, cmin [= (*Helichrysum arenarium Moench*), čebrec, serocvet, neuvjada (Dal′)]’ (SibTat), *äräm* ‘polyn′’ (SibTatBD), *irmän* ‘Quendel-Thymian, ein sehr vorteilhafter Gras zum Futter für die Pferde’ (SibTatTaraR), *ėrmen* ‘polyn′, ėstragon’ (Kirg), *ermene* ‘a kind of wormwood (*Artemisia*)’ (Kaz), *yermen* ‘polyn′ krupnogolovčataja’ (Kaz, Tenišev 2001: 132), *yermene* ‘polyn′’ (KazD, Tenišev 2001: 132), *ermän* ‘Wermuth’ (KazR), *yermanï* ‘vid tamariska’ (KklpD, Tenišev 2001: 132); ***SW*** –; ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *ėrman* ‘polyn′ gor′kaja’ (Uzb), *ärmän*, *ämän* ‘polyn′’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *irben* ‘(bot.) bogorodskaja trava’ (Khak), *irben* ‘čabrec, tim′jan, bogorodskaja trava’ (KhakB), *erbän* ‘Wermuth, Thymian’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *irbän* ‘Quendel-Thymian’ (KhakSR), *irmän* ‘Quendel-Thymian’ (ChulR); ***Y*** *ärbäsin* ‘obščee nazvanie grubyh, sornyh trav’ (Y).

Mo *erme* ‘Artemisia Sieversiana, Artemisia macrocephala’ (L), *erṃ* ‘Wermuth’ (Kalm), *ermē* ‘a variety of Artemisia’ (KhalH), *ürmedehen* ‘polyn′’ (Bur).

E/T According to Tenišev (2001: 132–133), T **ermen* and **erem* may be Mo lws. According to him, **ermen* is a Western Mo form and **erem* an Eastern one; the Y word *ärbähin* < **ärbäsin* may be of Mo origin, because it shows the Mo pl suff +*s*, sg *erben* vs. pl *erbes*. This is a misunderstanding, nevertheless it is a Mo lw (**ermesün*) (see Bur). The Bur item goes back to a form *örmedesün*. The general direction of the borrowing could be T ⟶ Mo.

On the Chuv word *arăm*, which is often used in constructions with the words *ută* ‘grass’ or *kurăk* id., see Fedotov (1996/1: 57–58). Chuv *arăm* was borrowed by Cher (*arəm*). In the Chuv lg, the T word is also attested as a relatively late Tat lw (see *ėrěm* ‘polyn′’; cf. Fedotov (1996/2: 480)).

E/H Vámbéry (1882a: 223) attempted to connect the H plant name *üröm* ‘artemisia’ with T *irün* (!). According to Munkácsi (1887–1890a: 129; 1903a: 253), the T word cited by Vámbéry cannot be verified, however the H word *üröm* has Chuv and Tat corresponding forms, thus the word may be of T origin. Gombocz (1912b: 136–137) reconstructed an OChuv word **ärim* for H *üröm*. According to Németh (1935–1939: 527), the copied T word could be **irim*, nevertheless the T attested forms show that the first-syllabic vowel would much more likely have been an original **ä*. The interrelation and development of the first-syllabic vowels in the H and T word variants appear to be unclear. Bárczi (1941: 327) accepted the T etymology of the H word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1055), H *üröm* may, perhaps, be a T borrowing, but

its corresponding forms can only be documented in the Volga region and they may have been copied fr Mo. These words may be interrelated with the H word if their earlier form was **irem*, however the T words seem to point to an earlier form **ärem*. Ligeti (1986: 47–48) considered H *üröm* to be an early T copy. Following Ligeti's argumentation, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1589) regarded the H word as being of plausible T origin. According to him, the borrowed form could be either **irem* or **erem*. Be that as it may, the development of the H word-initial vowel does not seem very clear. In some cases, Chuv /a/ reflects an open /ä/, but a closed /e/ in other instances: *ešik* > *alăk* 'gate, door' (see § 6.3.2). The WOT form was **erim*.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 223; Munkácsi 1887–1890a: 129; Munkácsi 1903a: 253; Gombocz 1912b: 136–137; Németh 1935–1939: 527; Bárczi 1941: 327; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1055; Ligeti 1986: 47–48, 203, 208; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1589; Fedotov 1996/1: 57–58, 1996/2: 480; Tenišev 2001: 132–133.

ÜRÜ [ürü] 'wether, sheep' | c1395 *vru* [ürü], 1571 *irű* [irṻ] | *ürü* < **irṻ* < **iriγ* ⟵ WOT **iriγ* | EOT *irk* 'ram', T *irik* id.

OT *irk* 'a four-year-old sheep' (AK); **MT** *irk* '(castrated) ram' (AKD), *irkäč* (-ǰ) 'bouc' (AChag), *irgeč* 'kozel' (AChagBud), *irkeǰ* 'keči ayġïrï', *erkeǰ* 'dört yašïndaki keči' (AChagŠS), *irkaǰ* 'Ziegenbock', *ergeč* 'drei-vierjährige Ziege, Ziegenbock' (AChagŠSK), *erkeč* 'Bock, Ziege' (LCCG), *ärkäč* 'koç, Kıpçaklarda inelmiş keçi' (AAH), ? *örük* 'mouton châtre', *irkäč* 'bouc châtre' (ABul); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *irk*, *irik* 'trehletnij valuh' (Kirg), *irk* 'baran (hološčenyj), baranij' (Kum), *irk* (karač.), *irik* (balk.) 'valuh, hološčenyj baran' (KrchBlk), *irik* 'Hammel' (BlkP); ***SW*** *ïq* '4–5-letnij kozel' (TkmD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 377), *ürü* 'ein verschnittener Widder, Hammel' (TkmR), *irk* 'enenmiş koyun' (TtD); ***SE*** *eyik*, *iyik* 'a castrated ram' (TurkiJ), *iik* (sic!) 'hološčenyj baran' (TurkiL); ***NE*** *irik* 'baran' (AltTK), *irik*, *irk* 'der Hammel' (AltTelR), *irik* 'der Hammel' (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *irt* 'valuh (kastrirovannyj baran)' (Tuv), *i˝rt* 'kladenyj baran, valuh' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

Mo *irge* 'castrated ram, wether' (L).

E/T Mo *irge* 'castrated ram' is a T lw. It was borrowed fr Mo into Tu and Man as *irge* (see Doerfer (1985: 136)). On the T words, see Clauson (1972: 220–221) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 377–378). As Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 379–380) rightly stated the Tuv and Tof word forms with *-rt* are inner phonetic developments. The words that denote 'goat' do not pertain here (see **kecske**). It is questionable whether they go back to *erke* and +(*X*)*č*; this suff was mainly used for names of relatives (see Erdal (1991: 44-46)). However, see **üvecs**, perhaps as a sign of endearment for animals living in the house. The item cited by Radloff (1893–1911/1: 1833) as *ürü* 'ein verschnittener Widder, Hammel' is mysterious (TkmR). The abbreviation "Türkm. V" is refers to Vámbéry. Perhaps it is a ghost word.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 184; 1882a: 210) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. According to Munkácsi (1903a: 254), H *ürü* 'Hammel' relates to Mo *irge*.

Gombocz (1912b: 137) reconstructed an OChuv form **irig*. Ligeti (1933a: 276) was of the opinion that H *ürü* corresponds to both T *irk* and Mo *irge* and that they all show a phonetic shape that may be closer to an older phase in the phonetic development of the word. Németh (1942a: 5) contended that the T etymon for the H word **irig* may represent a clear der of T *är ~ ir* 'man'. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1055) accepted the T etymology of the H word. It was borrowed into Rom as *iréu* 'wether'. According to Eren (1977: 157), the base of T *erkäč* 'he-goat' is identical with the T etymon for H *ürü*. T *erkäč* may have derived fr it with the suff *+č*. Ligeti (1986: 79, 197) claimed that H *ürü* belongs among the OT lws in H and that its copied form could be **irik*. In H, it underwent the phonetic change **irik* > *irű* > *ürü*. Mo *irge* 'castrated ram' is linked to the T word but does not represent the same phonetic structure. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1589) reiterated his earlier position and thought that the copied T form could have been **irig*. The final *-g* is also reflected in the Mo item; *-rg-* and *-rk-* stand in opposition in Mo: T *iräg* ⟶ Mo **ireg* > *irge*.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 184; Vámbéry 1882a: 210; Radloff 1893–1911/1: 1833; Munkácsi 1903a: 254; Gombocz 1912b: 137; Ligeti 1933a: 276; Bárczi 1941: 327; Németh 1942a: 5; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1055; Clauson 1972: 220–221; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 377–378; Eren 1977: 157; Doerfer 1985: 136; Ligeti 1986: 79, 197; Erdal 1991: 44-46; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1589; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 379–380.

ÜSZÖK [üsök] 'hot embers, extinguished embers', **üszög** [üsög] 'blight, smut, black rust' | 1390 PN *Jzeges* [iseg-eš], c1395 *ÿfeug* [isög], c1405 *vʒug* [üsög], c1489 *yzekes* [isek-eš], 1506 *ǫzǫgghel* [üsög-gel], 1647 *üszökét* [üsök-ēt] | *üsök*, *üsög* < *isüg* ⟵ WOT **isig* | EOT *isig* 'hot, heat' | See **izzik**.

OT *isig* 'warm, cordial, affectionate' (RTIrk), *İsig Saŋun* PN (RTIrk colophon), *kün täŋri yaroqï isigi engäy* 'Des Sonnengottes Licht und Wärme wird herabkommen' (MMIII 23,2–3), *säviglig yaltraġlï isig yüzüŋüzän* 'Dein liebes, leuchtendes, lebendes Antlitz' (MMI 10,8–9), *isig* 'heiß, (lebens-)warm, Wärme, Hitze': *isig öz* 'Leben' (UTT IV A:63, B:11), *ïsïġ* 'heiß' (UHeilk I:87), *isig* 'heiß' (UHeilk I:113), *isig* 'warm' (UTTVII 17:5), *isig* 'hot, heat' (UXuanzangIndex), *isik* (sic!) 'warm' (BI 10, BM 24), *isig* 'warm, heiß' (isiḵ – i si ḵ) (BI 10), *isig nāŋ* 'something hot', *isig kūn* 'a hot day', *isi-* 'become warm' (AK), *isig* 'warm, hot' (AQB); **MT** *ïsïġ* 'heiss' (UOg), *isig* 'chaud' (UHy), *isi*, *issi* 'warm, hot' (AGul), *is*(*s*)*ig* 'sıcak, ısı', *issü* 'ısı, sıcak(lık)' (AHMA), *isig*, *is*(*s*)*i* 'ciepły, gorący' (AHŠ), *isik* 'žara, žarkij, gorjačij', *is*(*s*)*i* 'teplyj, gorjačij' (AHŠF), *īssī* 'gorjačij' (AIM), *isi* 'sıcak', *isigkün* 'sıcak gün', *ïsït-* 'kızdırmak, sıcaklık vermek' (AIMI), *isig* 'fever, warm, hot', *isi* 'hot, heat, warmth' (AKD), *isig* 'hot, heat' (AKor), *isig* 'sıcak' (ANeh), *isik* 'žara, žarkij, gorjačij' (ANehF), *isig*, *ïssïġ* 'hot, warm', *ïssïq-*: *köŋül ïs[s]ïqdï* 'she fell in love' (ARbg), *isig*, *issig*, *ïsïġ* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij', *ïssïlïq* 'žar, teplota' (ATef), *ïsïġ*, *ïsïq*, *ïstïġ* 'chaud, chaleur' (AChag), *ïsïġ*, *ïsïq* 'ïssï' (AChagAb), *ısıg*, *ısık* 'ıssı' (AChagAbA), *ïsïġ*, *ïsïq* 'hő, forró, izzó [heat, hot, glowing]' (AChagAbV), *ïsïġ* 'gorjačij', *ïstïġ* 'žar, teplota' (AChagB), *ïsïġ* 'žarkij,

gorjačij' (AChagBud), *ïsïq* 'žara' (AChagMA), *issik* 'heiss' (AChagR), *ïsïġ*, *ïsïq* 'hot', *ïstï ot* (sic!) 'pepper' (AChagSC), *isiġ* 'warm' (AChagŠSK), *ïssïg* 'Hitze, Wärme, heiss, warm' (AChagZ), *isi*, *yisi* 'heiss, brennend, Brand' (LCCG), *issi* 'heiss', *issilik* 'Hitze', *issin-* 'sich erwärmen' (LCCI), *isi* 'sıcak', *issilik* 'sıtma' (AAH), *issi* 'chaud', *ïssïq* 'fièvre' (ABul), *issi* (? *ïssï*) 'chaud' (ADur), *ïssï* (r: *issi*) 'heiss', *ïssï* (r: *issi*) *şu* 'warmes Bad' (AHou), *ïssï* 'hot' (AMGh), *issi* 'gorjačij, teplyj', *isi-* 'stanoviťsja gorjačim, sogrevaťsja' (ATuh), *issi* 'sıcak', *isi-* 'ısımak' (ATuhA), *isi*, *issi* 'chaud' (AmTr), *ïssï* 'sıcaklık, hararet' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *ăšă* 'teplo, teplaja pogoda, teplota, teplyj, teplo, žara, žarkij, žarko, teplye kraja, jug, teplyj, južnyj, (peren.) teplota, laska, privetlivosť, serdečnosť, teplyj, laskovyj, privetlivyj, serdečnyj, teplo, laskovo, privetlivo, serdečno, (fiz.) teplo, teplota, teplovoj', *ăšši* 'žar, par (v bane)' (Chuv), *ăš* 'teplyj, žar, žara, ugar (bez dyma, nevidimyj)', *ăšă* 'teplo, žara, sila, vnutrennyj žar, lupcovka (verberatio), privetlivyj, serdečnyj, teplyj, laskovyj, prijatnyj' (ChuvA), *ăšă*, Szp. *ŏšŏ* 'meleg; warm' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ėsse* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj, žgučij (o vozduhe), gorjačo, žarko, znojno, žar, znoj' (Tat), *ėsert-*, *ėssert-* 'jïlïtu, kaynarlatu; sogrevať, razogrevať', *ės-*, *ėser-* 'ėsselänü; stanoviťsja, stať žarko' (TatD2), *esse* 'izzó, forró; heiss, glühend' (TatB), *ịsĭ*, *ịssĭ* 'heiss, die Hitze' (TatKR), *ėθe* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj, (peren.) polnyj čuvstv, gorjačij, žar, žara, znoj' (Bashk), *ĕssĕ* 'forró, meleg [hot, warm]' (BashkP), *esse* 'aš; sup', *ässü* 'ėsse; žarkij' (SibTat), *issi*, *issü* 'gorjačij', *isü* 'žara, gorjačij' (SibTatBD), *izū̃* 'heiss' (SibTatBR), *issi* 'heiss' (SibTatTR), *ïsï* 'žara, suhovej', *ïsï-* 'nagrevatťsja, nakaljatťsja', *ïsïk* 'gorjačij, žarko, žar, žara, (peren.) simpatičnyj, prijatnyj, milyj, gorjačiteľnaja pišča ili gorjačiteľnyj napitok, (peren.) pryščik, ugor', *ïstïk* (južn.) 'gorjačee hlebovo (bez mjasa)' (Kirg), *ïs-* 'to get warm (for example, of water), to become hot', *ïsï-* 'to become hot', *ïstïq*, *ïssï* 'hot' (Kaz), *ïstïq* 'gorjačij, žarkij, žarko, žara, znoj, žar', *ïssï* 'gorjačij, žarkij, žarko' (KazB), *ïstïq* 'heiss' (KazR), *ïssï* '(v razn. znač.) žar, gorjačij, žarkij, gorjačo, žarko, gorjačee (eda)', *ïsïq* 'simpatičnyj, prijatnyj, milyj' (Kklp), *issi* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj, gorjačo, žarko, znojno' (Nog), *issi* 'heiss' (CrTatR), *is´si* 'teplyj' (KarT, KarH), *issi* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij, teplo, žarko' (KarH, KarC), *issi* 'teplota, teplo, žar, žara, znoj, teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj, teplo, gorjačo, žarko, znojno, (peren.) laskovyj, dobryj, milyj' (Kum), *issi* 'warm' (KumN), *issi* 'žara, žarkij, žarko, žar, gorjačij' (KrchBlk), *issi* 'heiss, Hitze' (KrchP), *issi* 'heiss, Hitze' (BlkP); ***SW*** *ïssï* 'žarkij, znojnyj, žarko, znojnyj, horošij, prijatnyj' (Tkm), *isti* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij, žar, gorjačka, teplo, žarko', *isindir-* 'gretʹ, nagrevatʹ, podogrevatʹ', *isin-* 'gretʹsja, sogrevatʹsja', *isit-* 'boletʹ maljariej, gretʹ, nagrevatʹ, podogrevatʹ, sogrevatʹ, razogrevatʹ' (Az), *issi* 'heiss' (AzR), *ıssı* '(prov.) warm, hot', *ısı* '(neol., phys.) heat, thermal' (Tt), *issi* 'fazla sıcak, sıcak su', *isti*, *isdi* 'sıcak rüzgâr' (TtD), *issi* 'sıcak' (TtDA), *issi* 'heiss' (TtR), *yïsït-* 'gretʹ, sogrevatʹ' (Gag), *ịssi*, *issï*, *ïssï*, *issïx*, *issi* 'warm' (Khor), *issi* 'warm' (SOg); ***Kh*** *hissị̄* 'warm' (Kh), *hissig* 'warm' (KhT); ***SE*** *issiq* 'teplota, žar, žara, znoj, teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj, teplo,

gorjačo: žarko, (peren.) krasivyj, prijatnyj, milyj, privlekateĺnyj, (fiz.) teplota' (Uzb), *ïssïġ*, *ïssïq* 'hot, warm' (TurkiJ), *issiq*, *issigh* 'hot, warm' (TurkiSh), *issik* 'teplyj', *istik* 'žarkij' (TurkiL), *issiq* 'heiss' (TurkiTR), *issiq* 'žar, žara, teplo, znoj, žarkij, teplyj, znojnyj, gorjačij, žarko, teplo, gorjačo, znojno' (MUyg), *issiq* 'teplyj, žarkij' (MUygM-Turf), *issïq* 'žara, žarkij, gorjačij' (MUygMKuč, MUygBN), *ïsï*, *ïssï* 'teplyj, gorjačij, žarkij' (Sal), *i̲si̲*, *isi̲*, *q'i̲si̲* 'chaud, bouillant' [Pot. *isi* (*issi*)] (SalK), *ïssïġ*, *sïġ* 'gorjačij, žarkij, znojnyj' (YUyg), *issïg* (sic!) 'gorjačij' (YUygM); ***NE*** *izü* 'žara, žar, žarkij, gorjačij, znojnyj, žarko', *izi-* 'gretʹsja, sogrevatʹsja' (Alt), *üzū̃* 'heiss, die Hitze' (AltR, AltTelR), *izig*, *üzüg* 'žarkij, gorjačij' (AltL), *izig* 'heiss' (AltLR), *izü* 'gorjačij, žar, znoj', *ïzïk* 'gorjačij, teplyj (o pogode, o vozduhe)', *ïzïx* 'gorjačij' (AltQK), *ǐzǐg* 'žara, žar, gorjačij, žarko' (Khak), *ǐzǐg* 'žara' (KhakB), *izig* 'heiss' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *ïzïh* 'hot' (FY), *izig* '(prjam. i peren.) žarkij, gorjačij, žara, žar', *izi-* 'stanovitʹsja gorjačim (žarkim), razogrevatʹsja, (peren.) gorjačitʹsja' (Tuv), *i˝sǐg* 'gorjačij, žara, znoj', *i˝sǐ-* 'nagrevatʹsja, bytʹ gorjačim' (Tof); ***Y*** *itī* 'žarkij, gorjačij, žara, žar, znoj', *itigäs*, *ičigäs* 'teplyj, teplota' (Y), *itī* 'warm, heiß, Hitze', *ičigäs* 'warm' (Dlg), *itiy-* 'sich erwärmen', *itin-* id. (DlgS). See also **izzik**.

Mo *is-* 'to ferment, to oxydize', *isü* 'soot, black', *iskelte* 'fermentation' (L).

E/T Clauson (1972: 246) regarded *isig* 'hot, heat' as a der fr the verb *isī-* 'to be hot' (see Clauson 1972: 241). According to Clauson, the base originally contained front vowels. The verb is documented in Kashgari (see *isī-* in the phrases *mū̃n isīdī* 'the soup (etc.) was hot', and one says *tämür isīdī* 'the iron was hot', AAH and ATuh *isi-* 'to be hot').

As Erdal (1991: 189) demonstrated, the T word *isi-g* 'hot, heat' is attested in the OT corpus in runes and in Manichean script, among other forms of writing. These occurrences fix the velar consonant as voiced in the word-final position. The Brahmi source carries no significance here. The text in question consistently used <k> for [g] in front-vocalic words. The verbal base *isi-* 'to be hot' has several ders in OT discussed by Erdal (1991: 189, 339, 464, 557, 602, 773). According to Tenišev (2001: 20), the Kaz and Kirg word forms *ïstïk*, *ïstï* may go back to **ïsïlïk* and the forms *ïssï*, etc. with the long consonant *-ss-* could also be due to an assimilation. Ramstedt proposed an onomatopoeic origin (**pi*, **pis*, **fis*) for the verb (see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 671)). Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 350) stated that Ramstedt's explanation seems unconvincing.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 184) who first argued in favour of the T etymology of the H word on the basis of corresponding Chag forms. Budenz (1873: 74, 113) listed Vámbéry's T etymology within the group of seeming correspondences and rejected his explanation about the interrelation of the H words *izzó* 'glowing' and *üszök* 'hot embers'. Vámbéry (1914: 220) made some additions to the data noted earlier. Bárczi (1941: 327) viewed the FUgr etymology of the word as unpersuasive. According to

Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1057), the H word is of unknown origin. The etymological connection between *üszök* and the H word-family **izzik**, **izzad** and its T explanation prove weak. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1590) was of the opinion that the word form with a final *-g* (*üszög*) may be older than *üszök*, but in any case the word is of unknown der. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of this word.

The words that denote 'ember, extinguished ember' and 'black rust' are due to analogy and a word split, both of which occurred in H. The original meaning was 'ember, burnt wood, etc.' The WOT form was **isig*.

The only uncertainty remains its historical relation to **izzik**. The labialisation of the vocalism represents a H development. Most probably **izzik** and **üszög** were independently copied.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 184; Budenz 1873: 74, 113; Vámbéry 1914: 220; Bárczi 1941: 327; Joki 1952: 140; Egorov 1964: 45; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1057; Räsänen 1969: 173–174; Clauson 1972: 241, 246; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 671; Erdal 1991: 189, 339, 464, 557, 602, 773; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1590; Fedotov 1996/1: 95; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 350; Tenišev 2001: 20.

ÜVECS [üveč] *dial* 'one-year-old female sheep' | 1838 *üvecs* [üveč] | *üveč* < **öveč* ← WOT **öväč* | MT *ögäč* 'two-year-old sheep', T *öväč*.

OT –; **MT** ? *örkäč* 'örküç, enenmiş (koç yahut keçi)' (AIMI), *ögäč* 'dreijähriges Schaf' [according to Houtsma, it is a dim form], cf. Tkm. *ög* 'vierjähriges Schaf und darüber' (AHou), *öğeč*, *öveč* 'iki, üç yaşlarında erkek koyun ve keçi' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *yäyläüges*, *yäyläwes*, *közläweč*, *közläč* 'jäy köne yäki közgä taba tugan bärän; jagnenok vtorogo okota, letnij priplod', *közläwečlä-* 'köz köne bäränläü; jagnitʹsja osenʹju' (TatD2), *öŋeč* ? '(anat.) piščevod, dvuhgodovalyj', *öŋeč teke* 'dvuhgodovalyj kozel', *öŋeč irk* 'dvuhgodovalyj valuh' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *öveč* 'dvuhgodovalyj baran, dvuhgodovalaja ovca' (Tkm), *öyäǰ* 'ovca i baran starše dvuh let' (Az), *öveç* '(*prov.*) two-year-old ram' (Tt), *öğeç* 'bir yaşından dört yaşına kadar olan erkek koyun, enenmiş koyun, koç, dört yaşındaki erkek keçi', *ökeç* 'üç yaşındaki erkek keçi', *ögeş* 'kuzunun biraz büyüğü', *öveç* 'bir, iki, üç, dört yaşlarında erkek koyun, enenmiş erkek keçi ve koyun' (TtD), *öğeç*, *öyeç*, *öveç* 'kocaman boynuzlu erkek koyun, üç yaşlı erkek keçi', *öveç* 'iki yaşında ufak davar' (TtDA), *ǫgäč*, *öygäč* 'Jungschaf (1-2 Jahre)', *ǫgač*, *ǫgäč*, *ęygäč*, *ǫuǰäk*, *ǫugäč* 'Schaf(bock) (2-3 Jahre)' (Khor); ***Kh*** *ęyäč* 'dreijähriges (männliches) Lamm' (Kh), *ögäč* 'Schaf, 2-3 Jahre alt' (KhT); ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The possible T etymon for H *üvecs* is only documented as of the MT period. The etymological interrelation between *örkäč* (AIMI) and *ögäč*, *öväč* in some other MT sources does not seem very likely. The TatD data are interesting: **yayla öweč*, *küzlä üweč* 'young sheep from summer and autumn'. The ultimate base of the T etymon *ögäč* may be *ōg* 'an animal which has reached maturity', first mentioned by Kashgari. Clauson's (1972: 99) idea that this word is a secondary form of T *ōg*

'mother' in Kashgari and AHou does not appear very likely. According to Dankoff–Kelly (1982–1985/3: 45), the notion that *ōg* in *ōg at* 'four-year-old horse' (AK) goes back to the well-known T verb *ō-* 'to think, to think of (something Acc.)' is unacceptable for semantic reasons. *ōg* 'an animal which has reached maturity' represents an independent word and the T etymon for *üvecs* is a dim form of the extended base **ögä*. On the suff +(*X*)*č*, cf. Erdal (1991: 40).

E/H According to Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 690), the H word may be a "modified" form of H *ünő* (see **ünő**, which of course has no bearing on the word *üvecs*). Eren (1948: 34–37) observed that H *üvecs* might have been copied fr T **ögäč* ~ *öväč*, for which no old documented data exist, however it may be an old T word. Moór (1956: 41) and Benkő (1957: 70) accepted Eren's T etymology. Eren (1977: 155–156) pointed out that the T word *ögäč* may be a der with the suff +*č*. (A form parallel to *ögäč* may be *erkäč* 'he-goat'). Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1058) assumed that the H word is an early T lw. H *üvecs* is a Transylvanian dial word. Ligeti (1986: 102, 278) pointed out that the T etymon for the word comes up very sporadically in the T lgs. It is not documented in all T lg branches. According to Ligeti, despite Benkő's (1967–1984/3: 1058) opinion – Benkő accepted Eren's explanation – the H word cannot be an OT lw because, if it were, one would expect **őcs* or **ős* in H. According to Ligeti, *üvecs* does not seem to belong in the "middle layer" of the early T lws in H and it is much more likely a dial word with Og root in Transylvania. Ligeti's argumentation was based on the fact that the oldest form of the word in the T sources (AHou) was labelled "Tkm". According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1591), the word is a T lw; it may even be a lw fr OttT, but the late H occurrence counts against this.

Until we know more about the isolated word used in Csík County, Transylvania, all we can say is that the word is of T origin and that Ott can in all likelihood be excluded.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 690; Eren 1948: 34–37; Moór 1956: 41; Benkő 1957: 70; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1058; Clauson 1972: 99; Eren 1977: 155–156; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/3: 45; Ligeti 1986: 102, 278; Erdal 1991: 40, 44; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1591.

V

VÁJ [vāy] ‘to hollow out, to scoop out’ | 1270 *waiut* [vāy-utt] ‘evacuatam’, p1372/c1448 *ky waÿā* [ki-vāy-ā] | *vāy-* < **vay-* ← WOT **vay-* | EOT *ōy-* ‘to hollow out’.

OT *oy-* ‘to hollow out’ (RTIrk 29), *oy-* ‘aushöhlen’ (UHeilk I:147), *oy-* ‘to carve, to complete’ (UXuanzangIndex), *ōy-* ‘scoope out’: *ol qāġūn ōydï* ‘he scooped out the melon (or other)’ (AK); **MT** *oy-* ‘oymak, delmek’ (AHMA), *ōy-* ‘to engrave’ (AIM), *oy-* ‘oyuk açmak, çukurlatmak’ (AIMI), *oy-* ‘vykovyrivaťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ’ (ATef), *oy-* ‘creuser’ (AChag), *oy-* ‘vykapyvaťˊ’ (AChagB), *oy-* ‘vydalblivaťˊ, vyrezyvaťˊ’ (AChagBud), *oy-* ‘herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden’ (AChagR), *oy-* ‘to hollow out’ (AChagSC), *oy-* ‘qazmaq, delmek’ (AChagŠS), *oyuq* ‘ausgehöhlter Ort, Spalte’ (AChagŠSK), *oy-* ‘schnitzeln, stechen, aushauen, ausmeiseln’ (AChagZ), *oyovla-* ‘gravieren, einritzen’, *oyul-* ‘einsinken’, ? *oymax* ‘Fingerhut’ (LCCG), *oymaq* ‘Fingerhut’ (LCCI), *oyuq* ‘vydolblennyj, vyskoblennyj’, *oyul-* ‘byťˊ vydolblennym, vyskoblennym’ (ATuh), *oyuq* ‘oyulmuş’ (ATuhA); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *uy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, vydolbiťˊ, delaťˊ (sdelaťˊ) uglublenie, prorubaťˊ (prorubiťˊ, probivaťˊ, probiťˊ) otverstie, srezaťˊ, vyrezaťˊ, gravirovaťˊ, delaťˊ (sdelaťˊ) reznoj ornament’ (Tat), *uy-* ‘aushöhlen’ (TatB), *uy-* ‘vyrezaťˊ, delaťˊ vyrez, prorubaťˊ, probivaťˊ, dolbiťˊ’ (Bashk), *ōyman* ‘tirän; glubokij’, *ōymat* ‘kečkenä kül; malenʹkoe ozero’ (SibTat), *oy-* ‘vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ uglublenie, gravirovaťˊ, delaťˊ reznoj ornament’ (Kirg), *oy-* ‘to cut through, hollow out, make deeper, to engrave, carve’, *oyu* ‘decorative pattern, design, ornament’, *oyula-* ‘to make a design, to embroider’ (Kaz), *oy-* ‘vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ uglublenie, gravirovaťˊ, prorubiťˊ, vyrezaťˊ’ (KazB), *oy-* ‘herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden’ (KazR), *oy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ uglublenie, probivaťˊ otverstie, gravirovaťˊ, delaťˊ reznoj ornament, kolotʹˊ, vykalyvaťˊ’ (Kklp), *oy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ uglublenie, prorubaťˊ, probivaťˊ otverstie, vyrezyvaťˊ, vyrezaťˊ (polukrugom, vyemkoj), gravirovaťˊ, delaťˊ reznoj ornament, (kn.) vyšivaťˊ, kolotʹˊ, vykalyvaťˊ (napr. glaza)’ (Nog), *oy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vyrezaťˊ, gravirovaťˊ’ (CrTat), *oy-* ‘vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ dyru, vykalyvaťˊ (glaza)’ (KarSh), *oy-* ‘vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ vyemku, uglublenie v čem-l.’ (Kum), *oy-* ‘razrušaťˊ čto, valiťˊ, razvalivaťˊ čto, sryvaťˊ, rasstraivaťˊ (delo), (portn.) vyrezaťˊ vyem (vorotnika, rukava i t.p.)’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ōy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, (peren.) kolotʹˊ, vykalyvaťˊ’ (Tkm), *oy-* ‘ryťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, vysverlivaťˊ, delaťˊ vyemku, uglublenie’, *oyug* ‘vyemka, vytočka, vyboina, rytvina, proemina’ (Az), *oy-* ‘to carve, to engrave, to incise, to scoop out, to excavate’ (Tt), *oy-* ‘herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden’ (TtR), *oy-* ‘vyrezaťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *oy-* ‘dolbiťˊ, vydalblivaťˊ, delaťˊ uglublenie (dolbleniem), vykapyvaťˊ (uglublenie), ryťˊ, vykovyryvaťˊ, vykolupyvaťˊ (delaja uglublenie), prorubaťˊ, vyrezyvaťˊ, gravirovaťˊ, ščipaťˊ, uščipnuťˊ, vykolotʹˊ (glaza), razˊˊedaťˊ (napr.

o kislotah)' (Uzb), *oy-*, *uy-* 'to excavate, to undermine, to grave' (TurkiJ), *oi-* 'delaṫ uglublenie-jamku, vykovyrivaṫ', *ui-* 'vykovyrivaṫ' (TurkiL), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, genau bedenken' (TurkiTR), *oy-* 'prorubaṫ, dolbiṫ, prodalblivaṫ, vydalblivaṫ, vyrezaṫ, gravirovaṫ, vykalyvaṫ (glaza)' (MUyg), *oy-* 'dolbiṫ, vydalblivaṫ, vyryvaṫ (o glazah)' (YUyg); ***NE*** *oy-* 'vydalblivaṫ, delaṫ uglublenie, protykaṫ, probivaṫ', ? *oy* 'nizina, vpadina, kotlovina' (Alt), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, genau bedenken' (AltR, AltLR), *oy-* 'vykopaṫ, vydolbiṫ, vyrezaṫ, gravirovaṫ' (AltL), *oy-* 'vybiṫ' (AltQK), *oy-* 'probivaṫ naskvoz, prodyrjaviṫ, prokoloṫ, vykalyvaṫ glaza, oslepljaṫ' (AltTK), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, zusammenbiegen wie einem Bogen (von der concaven Seite), genau bedenken' (AltTelR), *oy-* 'vydalblivaṫ, delaṫ uglublenie, protykaṫ, probivaṫ čto-l.', ? *oy* 'nizina, dolina, vpadina, kotlovina, uglublenie' (Khak), *oy-* 'pronzaṫ kogo-čto-l.' (KhakS), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, genau bedenken' (KhakQchR, KhakShR), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushöhlen, herausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, durchtstossen, durchbohren, genau bedenken' (KhakSR), *oy-* 'herausgraben, ausmeisseln, aushählen, hearausschneiden, à jour arbeiten, gravieren, genau bedenken' (ChulR), *oy-* 'vydalblivaṫ, probivaṫ, prorubaṫ (napr. led)' (Tuv), *oy-* 'vydalblivaṫ uglublenie, vyrubaṫ kusok dereva ili brevna' (Tof); ***Y*** –.

OChSl *vaiti*, Rus *vajaṫ* (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 281; Menges 1961: 114–116).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb could be WOT **vay-* 'to hollow out'. As Clauson noted, the EOT verb *ōy-* (1972: 266–267) could have had a homophonous and semantically related nominal form *ōy* 'hole, cavity' (265–266). Clauson took *oyug* in the phrase in RTIrk 29 *usïč oyug alī barmīš* 'succeeded in obtaining the … hole' to be an Acc form of the nominal. Erdal (1991: 198), however, discussed the word as a dev nominal *oy-ug*. He also remarked that *oy-ug* signifies 'a mark' in AQB, presumably made by hollowing out, making a hole or engraving. In the entry *oyuk* 'mirage, landmark', Clauson (1972: 270–271) had earlier contended that this word is a simplex and clearly not identical with *oyuk* 'a hole, cavity', which only appears later and is first noted in ATuh. Regardless of this problem with *oyug*, we can assume the presence of not only a verb *ōy-* in EOT, but also a noun (see *ōy* 'a cavity (or deep valley) in the ground' (AK)). Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 425–428) pointed out that the T lgs comprise both verbal and nominal forms with the phonetic shape *oy*(-). Some ders fr the basic verb (e.g. *oy-ul-* and *oy-tur-*) are discussed in Clauson (1972: 273, 269) and Erdal (1991: 669, 808). On other possible ders fr the T basic word *oy*(-), see Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 434–435, 435).

Egorov (1964: 269) and Fedotov (1996/2: 269–270) attempted to link Chuv *uy*, dial *oy* 'pole' and its corresponding T forms (e.g. Kirg, Kklp, Nog *oy* 'nizina, vpadina', etc.) with T *oy-* 'to hollow out'. On the T verbal base, see Räsänen (1969: 359, e.g. Tkm *ōy-* 'dolbit'', etc.), who also included H *váj-*, and Rus *vajat´* in this entry. On the nominals, cf. Räsänen (1969: 358): *ōy* 'Vertiefung' ~ Mo (Ramstedt 1935: 303) *oi* 'Wald, Dickicht, Buschwerk' (Y *oy*), MMo *hoy* ~ Tu *hōy* 'boloto, tundra'. Joki (1952: 243–244) observed that Kam *oibak* 'kleine Grube' is a T lw (see T *oybak* and *oymak*). The copied form for it could be a der fr T *oy-* 'herausgraben', which he thought may be a nomen-verbum. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1044–1045), the PT verbal base could be **ōy-* 'to pick, peck, embroidery, thimble'. The interrelation between this verb and PMo **oya-* 'to sew, stitch', PTu **uyi-* 'to bind, knot together' is unacceptable because of semantic problems.

The IE origin of OChSl **vajati* has not been clarified (see Fasmer and Trubačev (Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 281)); Menges may be right that it is an old T lw fr the DBulg.

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 125) who argued in favour of the T origin of the H verb *váj-* on the basis of partially unrelated T forms. Budenz (1873: 76) corrected some of the T data cited by Vámbéry, but he also claimed that the H verb may have derived fr T (cf. T *oy-* 'to hollow out'). Budenz (1873–1881: 556) believed that H *váj-* may be a cognate of H *vág-* 'to cut', which originated fr Ugr. Gombocz (1901d: 248–249) rejected Budenz's explanation and argued for the T etymology (*oy-*) of the H verb. He pointed out that the prothetic *v-* may be regarded as a phonetic feature characteristic of Chuv. According to Bárczi (1941: 329), the starting point for the H verb *váj-* is unknown. Pais (1949a: 273–275) refuted Gombocz's T etymology, but he thought that cognates of the H verb may also be present in the FUgr and T lgs. According to Vértes (1949: 205–206), it seems very likely that the H verb comes fr FUgr. According to Menges (1961: 114–116), the OChSl form *vajati* may be interrelated with H *váj-*. Palló (1963a: 180–184) considered the H verb to be T in origin. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1069–1070), H *váj-* is of uncertain der. It may perhaps be tied to *ás-* 'to dig'. A FUgr source for the word in question is unsatisfactory. The T etymology of the word calls for further investigation. H **áj-* 'to dig' does not pertain here. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1597) proposed that the H word is an inner development, a split fr *vásik-* 'get dull, to wear away' that produced *esik-* 'to fall', *ejt-* 'to let fall', *feslik-* 'to (be)come unsewn' and *fejt-* 'to unstich'. However, all *-y-* sounds in *fejt-*, *ejt-* come before /t/. Benkő also mentioned the possibility of a T starting point. Ligeti (1986) makes no note of the H word.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 741–742; Vámbéry 1870: 125; Budenz 1873: 76; Budenz 1873–1881: 556; Munkácsi 1882: 57; Szarvas 1891a: 454; Gombocz 1901d: 248–249; Vámbéry 1914: 220; Ramstedt 1935: 303; Bárczi 1941: 329; Pais 1949a: 273–275; Vértes 1949: 205–206; Joki 1952: 243–244; Palló 1959: 241; Menges 1961: 114–116; Palló 1961a: 42; Benkő 1963: 18; Palló 1963a: 180–184; Egorov 1964: 269; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 281; Tamás 1966: 834; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1069–1070; Räsänen 1969: 358–359; Clauson 1972: 265–267, 269–

271, 273; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 425–428, 434–435; Erdal 1991: 198, 669, 808; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1597; Fedotov 1996/2: 269–270; Tenišev 2001: 98; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1044–1045.

VÁLYÚ [vāyū] 'trough, tray' | 1121/1420 GN *Walus* [vālū-š], c1395 *valu* [vāl′ū] | *vāyū* < *val′ū* < *vālū* < **valaγ* ⟵ WOT **valaγ* | EOT *oluk*, *olak* 'trough'.

OT *oluq* (*olaq* ?) 'something hollowed out of a tree trunk, such as a trough, for cooling juice or watering animals', *oluq* 'small boat. Its root meaning is the first [i.e. something hollowed out…]' [the second *U* was altered fr an original *A*!] (AK); **MT** *oluq* 'üstü açık boru' (AIMI), *olaġ*, *olaq* 'petit bateau' (AChag), *uluġ*, *uluk* (r: *-o-*) 'channel, gutter' (AChagS), *oluk* 'Rinne, Rinne an einem Mühlrade' (AChagZ), *oluq* 'suyun sür'atle akdığı oluk', *olaq* 'havuz' (AAH), *alaq*, *ålaq* (sic!) 'bassin, citerne' (ABul), *olaq* 'groove' (AMGh), *olaq* (sic!) 'a wooden bowl or trough' (ATuh, Cl.), *awlak* 'vodoem, bljudo, miska' (ATuhF); **NT** ***Chuv*** *valak* 'želob' (Chuv), *valak*, *volak*, *vulak* 'žolob', *valaška* 'koryto, koloda', *vălak* 'koryto, koloda, žolob', *vulă* 'stvol, dulo, stvol (ruž′ja), udilišče, deržalka, kaduška cepa' (ChuvA), *valak* 'malomcsurgó, csatorna, vályú; Mühlgerinne', *vulă*: *yăvăś vullï* 'fatörzs; Baumstamm' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ulak* 'želob, želobok, lotok (v mel′nice), koloda, kormuška (dlja skota), (spec.) ottok' (Tat), *ulak* 'abrakvályú, csatorna; Futtertrog, Rinne' (TatB), *ulaq* 'želob, želobok, koloda (vodopojnaja), kormuška, (dial) koryto' (Bashk), *ulåk* 'vályú [trough, tray]' (BashkP), *olïk* 'koloda (dlja vodopoja), želob' (Nog), *oluq* 'želob, vodosliv' (CrTat), *oluq* 'die Röhre, Dachrinne' (CrTatR), *olaq* 'rov', *oluq* 'želob, protok, rov, vodoprovod' (KarSh); ***SW*** *olum* 'brod, pereprava, mel′, melkoe mesto vodoema (gde pojat skot)' (Tkm), *oluk* 'an open trough like a gutter for water, etc. to flow in, gutter pipe, channel dug out for flowing water, groove' (Tt), *oluq* 'die Röhre, Dachrinne' (TtR), *oluk*, *xolluk* 'korzina, jaščik (kuda kury kladut jajca), podkladen′ (jajco), podkladok, podkladyš, želob (vodopojnyj, vodostočnyj, (teh.) fal′c' (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *olaq* 'koloda (dlja kormlenija domašnih životnyh)' (MUyg), *ulaq* 'koloda u kolodca dlja vodopoja skota, koryto' (MUygMKer), *ołax* 'derevjannyj želob dlja podači vody čerez dorogu, uščel′e, akveduk', *ołïx* 'želob, akveduk' (Sal); ***NE*** ? *ulak* 'zasada, skrytoe mesto', ? *ulan* 'bol′šoj berestjanoj kruglyj korob, vmeščajuščij do 25 pudov zernovogo hleba' (AltQK), ? *olïġ* 'kosogor' (Khak), *oluġ* 'die Thalhöhlung' (KhakQbR); ***Y*** ? *oluk*, *uluk* 'sled topora, vyemka (esli sdelana nožom ili toporom), ščepa, krupnyja ščepki (pri rubk′ drov', *uoluk* 'jamočka na šee nad grudnoju kost′ju (pod kadykom)' (Y), *oluk* 'zarubka, nadrub, nadrubka' (YS), *oluk* 'suol, kihi-süöhü suola; sled, otpečatok nog lap' (YD).

Mo ? *olugay* 'colon, large intestines, dried intestines of a sheep or cow used as a container for butter or liquids' (L).

Os *bælæğ* 'koryto, lodka' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 247–248).

E/T Clauson (1972: 136–137) interpreted the item in ATuh as *olaq* on p. 29b line 4 of the original. Fazylov–Zijaeva (1978: 259) read *awlaq* in the same place. The facsimile edition by Halasi-Kun (1942: 29) contains أَوْلاق (*awlaq*). Clauson supposed that the basic sense of T *oluk* (*olok*) was 'a hollowed-out tree trunk', hence 'trough, boat', and later 'gutter', etc. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 451–452) thought that the T word in question may derive fr a verbal base **ol-*, but he did not offer a meaning for the proposed etymological base. Menges (1988: 108) maintained that *valu* is the only possible original form in Chuv, whereas he suggested that other forms like *valak* and *volak* may be VKip lws. This is impossible. The initial Chuv word was *vulă*, while all other forms, such as *valak* and *vulak*, may go back to an unattested early WOT **ōläk*, a front-vocalic variant of *olak*. Egorov (1964: 46) felt that the Chuv word(s) may come fr *oy-* 'dolbit′' (see *váj-*, which is not impossible, but cannot be substantiated). Fedotov (1996/1: 99, 130) also cited the forms *vulaška*, *volaška* and *vălaška* fr ChuvA, which seem to have evolved under Rus influence.

The presumably T etymon for the H word may be of dev origin (see *olum*). Os *bælæğ* 'koryto, lodka' reflects a WOT form **valag*, as we would expect fr H.

Under the heading PT **oluk* 'gutter, hollowed-out tree trunk', Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 616) correctly pointed to the existence of a similar, but etymologically different form **ogluk* in the T lgs. The sources provide examples of this different base (see *oglug* 'malenkij kanal, rov' (AChagBud), *ogluk* 'hendek ve kaleni̲ etrafında olan or' (AChagŠS) and *ogluk* 'Burggraben' (AChagŠSK)). Despite Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak's opinion, Gag *xolluk*, Chuv *valak* and Y *uoluk* cannot, however, be interrelated with **ogluk*.

The Chuv word was copied into Cher (*βola*, *βol* 'Trog', *volo* 'Krippe', *βal* 'Trog, Wasserrinne', *βolak* 'Rinne') and Mord (*olak* 'želob') (cf. Fedotov 1996/1: 99). Egorov (1964: 46) confused Chuv *valak* (dial *vulak*) with certain T words which do not pertain here (e.g. Tt *yalak*).

E/H Munkácsi (1883: 99–100) compared the H word with its corresponding VT forms and demonstrated that the H word had been borrowed by certain Southern Sl lgs. Gombocz (1901d: 248) accepted Munkácsi's explanation and added that the epenthetic *v-* in the word may indicate a Chuv starting point. Gombocz (1912b: 223) later pointed out that deriving H *vályú* fr T presents phonetic difficulties. Munkácsi (1906c: 253) supported his earlier etymology explanation with new arguments. Notwithstanding his earlier position, Gombocz (1907a: 369; 1912a: 100; 1912b: 223) observed that the appearance of the epenthetic *v-* in the word does not point to Chuv roots, because its occurrence in Chuv represents a relatively late development. According to Németh (1930: 127), linguistic contact between the Hungarians and Bulgars continued after Hungarians occupied their new homeland in the Carpathian Basin. He thought that one sign of this may also be the H word *vályú*, which

could have been copied fr the lg of the Danubian Bulgars. Bárczi (1941: 331; 1958a: 76) did not exclude the possibility of a T source for the H word, but he believed that this poses certain phonetic problems. Benkő (1953b: 60) noted the H word as an example of the internal H phonetic change *-l-* > *-l′-*. Palló (1959: 241–243) accepted a BulgT starting point for the word in question. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1084) regarded H *vályú* as a plausible lw fr a T lg of the Chuv type. Ligeti (1986: 40–41, 278, 528) considered the word to have derived fr BulgT. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1603) suggested that it was borrowed fr a Chuv-type T lg before the H conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 806; Munkácsi 1883: 99–100; Alexics 1888: 112; Gombocz 1901d: 248–249; Munkácsi 1906c: 253; Gombocz 1907a: 369; Fokos 1909: 248; Gombocz 1912a: 100; Gombocz 1912b: 223; Vámbéry 1914: 221; Németh 1930: 127; Bárczi 1941: 331; Halasi-Kun 1942: 29; Benkő 1953b: 60; Bárczi 1958a: 76; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 247–248; Palló 1959: 241–243; Palló 1961a: 33–44; Egorov 1964: 46; Tamás 1966: 844; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1084; Räsänen 1969: 357; Clauson 1972: 136–137; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 451–452; Fazylov–Zijaeva 1978: 259; Ligeti 1986: 40–41, 278, 528; Menges 1988: 108; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1603; Fedotov 1996/1: 99, 130; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 616.

VEJSZE [veyse] ‘fishweir’ | 1055 GN *Ueieze* [veyesē], 1138/1329 PN *Weíces* [veysē-š], 1212/1397/1405 GN *veyzhel* [veys-hel′], 1316 *Weiz* [veys] ‘super septem clausuris piscium w. vocatis’ | *veyse* < **veyseγ* ← WOT **väyśäγ* | VT **üyčäk* ← ?.

Of debated T origin.

1 *öysek*, *vaśa*: **OT** –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *vača* dial. ‘mereža (rybolovnaja snasť)’ (Chuv), *vaśa* ‘rybolovnaja snasť, kotcy (rybolovnyj snarjad)’. Ustraivaetsja tak: naščepivaetsja množestvo elovyh plastinok, dlinoj do 2 aršin, a širinoj v 2 pal′ca, oni perepletajutsja vverhu i vnizu bečevkoj, v vide dlinnoj cynovki, i izgotovlennyj takim obrazom snarjad, zimoju stavitsja v ozerah pod led spiral′no (Der. Možar, Čeboks. u., pri reke Aniše), *vača* ‘venter (ryb snasť)’ – rybolovnaja snasť ustroennaja iz lučin, stavitsja v prorub′, ryba prihodit na svet i ee vytaskivajut *ăskăčpa* (ChuvA); ***NW*** *öysök* (dial) ‘stožary (šesty, vstavljaemye konusom v seredinu stoga dlja prosuški i provetrivanija sena), lovuška dlja ptic, silok’ (Bashk), *öysök* ‘silok dlja lovli ptic’ (BashkD2), *ücek*, *icök*, *ise*, *yese* ‘balïk totkanda yïlganï buïp kuyu öčen suga utïrtülgan cal; kotec, kotcy, pletnevoj pereboj čerez rečku dlja uderživanija i lovli zašedšej tuda ryby’ (SibTat).

2 *äb*: **OT** *äb* ‘dwelling place, tent, house’: *bän äbgärẅ tüšäyin* ‘let me go home!’ (RMTon 30), *äb* ‘house’ (RTIrk 9), *äv* ‘Haus’ (UManI 37:14), *äw* ‘Haus’ (UTTI 33), *äv* ‘Haus’ (UTTVII 28:43, etc.), *ėw* ‘Haus’: *ėwdä* (ėwtā̄ – eya wtyā) (BO 5), *äw* ‘Haus’: *äwimiz* (ā̄wimiz – yā wi mi z) (BG 3), *ā̄w, äw* ‘house’ (AK), *ev* ‘house’ (AQB); **MT** *öi* ‘Haus’ (UOg), *äv* ‘Haus’ (UCivSa 18:5,6,7, etc.), *äv* ‘house’, *ev* ‘house, chamber’ (AGul), *ev* ‘ev’ (AHMA), *ew* ‘dom, domostwo’ (AHŠ), *ev*, *ew*, *äv* ‘žilišče, dom, mesto obitanija’ (AHŠF), *ev* ‘insanın oturacağı yapı, ev’ (AIMI), *ev* ‘dom’ (AM), *ev*, *ew*, *äv* ‘žilišče, dom, mesto obitanija’ (ANehF), *ew*, *öw*, (rarely) *öy* ‘tent, etc.’ (ARbg), *öyü*, *öy*

'maison, tente' (AChag), *öy* 'ev' (AChagAbA), *öy* 'ház' (AChagAbV), *ev* 'dom, žilišče, obitališčče' (AChagLN), *oy* (r: *öy*) 'Haus' (AChagŠSK), *ev*, *iv*, *öv* 'Haus' (LCC), *äv* 'ev' (AAH), *äv* 'maison' (ABul), *yäv* 'maison' (ADur), *äw* 'Haus', in compounds: *öyü*, *öy* (AHou), *äv* 'Haus' (AKav), (Tkm.) *äv* 'dom, žilišče', *öy* id. (ATuh), (Tkm.) *ev* 'ev', *öy* id. (ATuhA), *ov* 'house' (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *avlan-* 'ženit′sja'; ***NW*** *öy* 'dom, izba, domašnij' (Tat), *ü* 'öy; dom' (TatD1), *üy* 'öy; dom' (TatD2), *öy* 'ház; Haus' (TatB), *öy* 'dom, izba, domašnij, zdanie, pomeščenie, mestožitel′stvo' (Bashk), *ü* 'dom, sem′ja', *üy* 'dom' (SibTatBD), *üy* 'jurta, dom, žilišče' (Kirg), *üyšik* 'little house, hovel, hut' (Kaz), *üyšik* 'sadok dlja ryby, kopna, domik, lačuga' (Kklp), *üy* 'dom, hata, saklja, izba, žilišče, zdanie' (Nog), *ėv* 'dom' (CrTat), *üy* 'dom' (KarSh), *ėv* 'dom' (KarC), *iv*, *yiv* 'dom', *yivcėk* 'domik' (KarH), *yuv*, *yüv*, *üv′* 'dom', *yuvč′ok* 'domik' (KarT), *üy* 'dom, žilišče, žil′e, kvartira' (Kum), *yüy* 'dom, žilišče, domašnij, žiliščnyj, komnata, komnatnyj' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *öyǰük* '(prjam. i peren.) gnezdo, (biol.) kletka' (Tkm), *ev* 'dom, domašnij', *evǰik* 'domik, domiško' (Az), *evcik* 'small house' (Tt); ***Kh*** ? *häv*, *höy* 'Haus, Zimmer' (Kh); ***SE*** *uy* 'dom, žilišče, žil′e, kvartira, etc.' (Uzb), *öy*, *ùy* 'house, room, chamber, building, home' (TurkiJ), *öy* 'žilišče, žil′e, dom' (MUyg), *oy* 'maison' [Pot. *üy*] (SalK); ***NE*** *ū̄* 'Haus', *üi* 'das Haus, die Jurte' (AltR), *ük*, *ug*, *uŋ* 'dom', *üy* 'izba, dom', *üyečik* 'domik, šalaš', *üyčik* 'izbuška' (AltQK), *ü*, *üv*, *üy* 'dom' (AltTK), *ib* 'jurta, dom, domašnij' (Khak), *ū̄* 'Haus' (KhakShR), *ög* 'jurta' (Tuv), *üiǰäk* 'das Balkengerüst auf dem Grabe' (TuvR), *ög* 'čum, jurta, izba, dom, pomeščenie' (Tof); ***Y*** *ǰiä*, *dyie* 'dom' (Y ← Tu), *ǰiä*, *dī* 'Haus' (Dlg ← Tu).

E/T Berta suggested as a possible T etymon for the H word, the dim form of OT *äv* 'tent, house', (H *vejse* ← WOT **väyśä* << **üyčäk* < **öyčäk* < **ävčäk* *'a small house'). This may be corroborated with *üyšik* 'sadok dlja ryby, kopna, domik, lačuga' (Kklp). The database includes certain other words (see e.g. Tkm and Kklp) with the suffs +*čUk* (see Erdal 1991: 106–108) or +(*X*)*čUk* (on which see Erdal 1991: 44–47). A further parallel to the semantics may be H *tanya* (of Sl der), originally 'place for fishing, deep water for fishing' > 'house, dwelling place'.

There are some counterarguments: Chuv has lost PT **äw* 'house', but it still has *kil* 'dom', *śurt* 'dom, zdanie' and *pürt* 'izba, dom', an IE, a T and a FUgr word, resp. However, it does contain *avlan-* 'ženit′sja', which derives fr *äw* 'house' (see H *házasodik-* 'to marry' fr *ház* 'house') and not fr its NW T form *öy*. The *äw* > *öv* > *öy* change took place in the MT period. In WOT times, an initial closed /e/ took on a prothetic *y-* (see *yeltewer* 'a title' or *yal* 'selenie, obšestvo' < **yel* < *el*), whereas an open /ä/ did not, as in *ak-* 'sejat′' < WOT **äk-* (see **eke**) and as in *avăr-* 'omut' < WOT **äwir-* (see **őröl** and **örvény**). In Chuv, we find *ančăk* 'ščenok' < **äńčäk* to EOT *enük* 'cub, puppy'. In the case of a WOT word, we would expect **anśa*, but /č/ may perhaps have been preserved after /n/. In any event, an *äv-* > *ȫy* > *väy-* shift

is not documented in Chuv. It is also difficult to suppose an early lw **öyček*. Thus Berta's proposal presents us with chronological difficulties.

The word is more likely to have come fr an unknown local lg which disappeared, but left the word in the Volga area. The very different variants of the word in the Chuv, Bashk and SibTat lgs tend to bear out this hypothesis. I have to mention the fact that one of the Chuv items comes fr a village called Možar near Čeboksary. The name of this village is the same as that of the Volga Hungarians. According to Egorov (1964: 47) and Fedotov (1996/1: 102), the Chuv dial words *vača* and *vaśa* may have been copied fr Cher *vasya*; they also noted H *vejsze* as a cognate of the Cher word.

E/H Munkácsi (1895a: 265) considered the H word to be of Ugr origin. He remarked that the corresponding Osty word is back-vocalic. Mészáros (1910: 7) observed that the H fishing term *vejsze* has a clear lexical parallel in Bashk *öysök*. According to Beke (1919: 13), it is unacceptable to compare the H word with certain FUgr words, as proposed by Paasonen and later by Setälä. Later, Beke (1929: 81) contended that the H word developed internally in H. Gombocz (1934: 41; 1938: 89) argued that the H word goes back to FUgr. Bárczi (1941: 334; 1951: 23) accepted Gombocz's position and rejected Mészáros's T comparison. According to Bereczki (1964: 117–118), the Cher form that corresponds to the H word *vejsze* seems originally to have been Chuv. Rédei (1967: 167–171) and Lakó (1967–1978/3: 688–689) claimed that the H word seems to have its roots in FUgr. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1107) thought this word to be of unknown der. He pointed to a possible connection with Bashk *öysök*, however, which calls for further investigation. Ligeti (1986: 41, 294, 528) listed *vejsze* among the T lws in H without any etymological explanation. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 551) claimed that the word has a PFUgr base **waya*- 'sinken', *s* is a H suff and *e* a poss suff and that the word denoted a kind of "sinking net". Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1615–1616) maintained that *vejsze* may represent an old inheritance fr FUgr and that the OT origin of the word is unlikely. However Benkő contended that the word has a PFUgr base **waya*- 'sinken' because of phonetical difficulties and questioned that *s* would be a H suff here and *e* a poss suff. The suggestion of Rédei is semantically too artificial. All types of nets sink in the water. According to Fedotov (1996/1:102) and Gordeev (1979–1997/2: 59), Cher *vasya* 'kotcy, rybolovnyj snast′' < OCher **väsä* was borrowed into Chuv as *vaśa*. As Gordeev noted (1979–1997/2: 98), Cher *večyl* 'rybolovnaja snast′' is not a Chuv lw, but a Rus one (Rus *vetyl*)'. Meanwhile, the origin of OCher *väsä* is also unclear.

I do not know the starting point for the word, but the fact remains that it is present in Chuv, Bashk and SibTat, Kklp and Cher, and hitherto not documented in Tat. It has to be an old fishing net, known around the Volga River. H copied the word somewhere in that region.

◆ Munkácsi 1895a: 265; Mészáros 1910: 7; Beke 1919: 13; Beke 1929: 81; Gombocz 1934: 41; Gombocz 1938: 89; Bárczi 1941: 334; Bárczi 1951: 23; Bereczki 1964: 117–118; Egorov 1964: 47; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 688–689; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1107; Rédei 1967: 167–171; Gordeev 1979–1997 /2: 59, 98; Ligeti 1986: 41, 294, 528; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 551; Erdal 1991: 44–47, 106–108; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1615–1616; Fedotov 1996/1: 102.

vék [vēk] 'a hole in the ice (for fishing)', **lék** id. | c1247 ? GN *Weik* [veyk], 1269/1411 ? PN *Leek* [lēk], 1287 ? GN *lek* [lēk], 1433 ? PN *wek* [vēk], 1557 *leket* [lēk-et], 1787 *vékeket* [vēk-eket], dial *lék* [lēk], *leket* [leket], *vék* [vēk], *veket* [veket] (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 792) | *lēk* ~ *vēk* < **vekü* ⟵ WOT **väkü* | MT *ökü* id.

OT –; **MT** *ökü* 'fissure dans le glace' (AChag), *ökü* 'su almaq ičün suyï deldikleri yer' (AChagŠS); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vak*, *vakă* 'prorub′' (Chuv), *vak*, *vakă* 'prorub′, vodopoj (i letom)' (ChuvA), *vakă* Syp. id. 'lék; Wuhne, Wake' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *bäke* 'prorub′' (Tat), *ökö* 'bäke; prorub′', *väke*, *wäke*, *mäke*, *päke*, *ökö*, *üke* 'bäke; prorub′' (TatD1), *väke*, *wäke*, *mäke*, *üke* 'bäke; prorub′' (TatD2), *mäke* 'prorub′' (Bashk), *üki* 'prorub' (Kaz, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 517), *üki* 'prorub′' (Kklp); ***SW*** *öyü* 'prorub' (Tkm, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 517), *öğü* '(rare) obstinacy, perversity, hole (in the ice crust)' (Tt); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** –; ***NE*** –; ***Y*** –.

E/T The first occurrences of the possible T etymon for the H word *vék* (*lék*) 'a hole (in the ice)' can only be detected in MT (Chag) sources. Tat *bäke*, TatD *väke*, *wäke*, *mäke*, *päke* and Bashk *mäke* are VBulg lws. Egorov (1964: 45) erroneously thought that the Chuv word may be interrelated with T *oy-* 'to hollow out' (see **váj**). Fedotov (1996/1: 96) accepted Räsänen's (1969: 370) PT reconstruction **ōkü*. The Chuv word was also copied into Cher. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1048), PT **ōkü* 'hole in the ice' may be tied to PTu *(*x*)*uK-* 'ice hole, glade, river rift, river' and the reconstructed forms may go back to PA **ōkʻe* 'deep place, place far from the shore'. The semantics was stretched to include Jpn 'open sea'.

E/H Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 901) and then Budenz (1873–1881: 691) claimed that H *vék* is a variant of H *lék* with the same meaning. It was Munkácsi (1895c: 385) who listed certain T forms fr the VT lgs that correspond to H *lék*, which takes the form *vék* in the Szekler dial. Later, he (1906c: 250–252) thought that the H forms *lék* and *vék* should be separated. He claimed that *lék* may be a secondary form that developed under the influence of the words *luk*, *lik*, *lyuk* 'hole' fr *vék* 'a hole (in the ice)', which may be a Chuv lw. Gombocz (1912b: 224) rejected Munkácsi's T etymological explanation and pointed out that H *vék* evolved internally in H fr *lék*. Bárczi (1941: 188) considered the origin of the H word to be uncertain. According to Lakó (1967–1978/3: 396), the FUgr comparison of *vék* presents more difficulties and thus the word may be a T lw. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 746) regarded the H words *lék* and *vék* being of debated der, the T origin seems less likely. Ligeti (1986: 41, 202, 294, 528) believed that the T etymology of H *vék* is only possible if its variant *lék* is sec-

ondary. The Tat and Bashk data which were borrowed with sound substitutions are originally Chuv. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 244) and Benkő thought (1993–1997/2: 885–886) that the word may have come fr U (cf. **le*(*j*)*kka*- 'Lücke, Riβ, schneiden, spalten').

The U origin is improbable because the Finn (*leikkaa*-), Est (*lõika*-, *leika*-) and Sam (Yurak *l′ekā*-) words cited are all verbs that denote 'schneiden, ernten, sich spalten'. Though the early H data are uncertain, AH **vekü* > *vēk* more likely came under the influence of H dial *lik* < *luk*, *lyuk* 'hole', which originated fr FUgr (see PFUgr **lowkkɜ* > PUgr **lowkkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lūkə* > **liukə* > OH *l′uk* > *liku* ~ *luk* > H *lyuk* 'hole' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 252)). The alternation H *vék* ~ *lék* came about in H.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 901; Budenz 1873–1881: 691; Munkácsi 1895c: 385; Simonyi 1895: 139; Munkácsi 1906c: 250–253; Fokos 1909: 248; Gombocz 1909–1910: 239; Gombocz 1912b: 224; Bárczi 1941: 188; Egorov 1964: 45; Deme 1967: 343–344; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 396; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 746; Räsänen 1969: 370; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 517; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/3: 792; Ligeti 1986: 41, 202, 294, 528; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 244, 252; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 885–886; Fedotov 1996/1: 96; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1048.

VENDÉG [vendēg] 'guest' | 1138/1329 PN *Wendeg* [vendēg], 1198 PN *vendic* [vendik], p1372/c1448 *vendege* [vendēg-e] | *vendēg* < *vendeg* ← WOT **vändäg* < **ündäg* | EOT **ündäg* 'the invited' < *ündä*- 'to invite' {with suff -(*X*)*g*} < *ün* 'voice' {with suff +*tA*-} | See **enő**.

Of debated T origin.

OT *üntä*- 'crier, élever la voix' (UHamTouHou), *üntä*- 'rufen', *üntädäči til* 'die rufende Zunge' (UTTI 108), *ündä*- 'to call', *ol mäni ündād̄i* 'he called me' (AK), *ündä*- 'to invite, to summon' (AQB); **MT** *indä*- 'to call, invite', *ündä*- 'to invoke, call upon' (AGul), *ünde*- 'çağırmak, dâvet etmek, duâ etmek', *ünleš*- 'çağrışmak' (AHMA), *ündä*- 'wołać, nawoływać, zapraszać', *ündäg*(*siz*) 'bez wezwania, samorzutnie' (AHŠ), *ündä*- 'zvať, priglašať' (AHŠF), *ündā*- 'zvať' (AIM), *ünde*- 'seslenmek, çağırmak' (AIMI), *ündä*- 'to call, invite, proclaim' (AKor), *ünde*- 'çağırmak' (ANeh), *ündä*- 'zvať, priglašať' (ANehF), *ündä*- 'to shout, call out, to summon' (ARbg), *indä*- 'zvať, kričať', *ündä*- 'podavať golos, zvať', (ATef), *ündä*- 'élever la voix, appeler' (AChag), *ündä*- 'to shout, to invite' (AChagAb), *inde*- 'davet etmek, kığırmak', *ünde*- 'kığırmak, davet eylemek' (AChagAbA), *inde*-, *ünde*- 'meghív [to invite]' (AChagAbV), *ündä*- 'kričať, prizyvať' (AChagB), *indekči* (r: *ündegči*) 'hivogató, aki valami vendégségre szokott hívni [the person who usually invites people to some feast]' (AChagBL), *ündä*- 'zvať' (AChagBud), *ündä*- 'einen Ton von sich geben, schreien, rufen' (AChagR), *indä*-, *ündä*- 'to invite, to call' (AChagSC), *ündä*- <vnda> 'rufen, herbeirufen, melden' (LCCI, LCCG), *ündä*- 'çağırmak, seslenmek, davet etmek' (AAH), *ün* 'Stimme, Geräusch', *ündä*- 'rufen' (AHou), *ündä*- 'kiált; rufen' (AKav), *ündä*- 'zvať, priglašať' (ATuh), *ünde*- 'ünle-' (ATuh), *unda*-

‘appeler, invoquer, inviter’ (AmTr), *unda-* ‘zvaťˊ, prizvaťˊ’ (AmD), *unda-* ‘appeler’ (AmE), *ündä-* ‘seslenmek, çağırmak, davet etmek’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** [*vime*, *mime*, *mimme*, *nime* ‘pomoč’] (Chuv, see **enő**); ***NW*** *öndä-* ‘prizyvaťˊ, prizvaťˊ (kogo-l.), obraščaťsja (obratiťsja) s prizyvom, ugovarivaťˊ, ugovoriťˊ, agitirovaťˊ, sagitirovaťˊ’ (Tat), *öndä-* ‘čakïru; zvaťˊ’ (TatD1), *öndä-* ‘prizyvaťˊ, obratiťsja s prizyvom’, *öndäüče* ‘priglašajuščij, glašataj’, *ėndäülä-* ‘maxsus äzerlänep čakïru; priglašenie s osobym prigotovleniem’, *öndäülä-* ‘tuyda töp kodanï karap yörtüče keše; gostˊ, priglašennyj na svadʹbu, kotoryj dolžen byl prismatrivaťˊ za glavnym svatom’ (TatD2), *öndä-* ‘meghívni, fölszólítani; rufen, einladen’ (TatB), *öndä-* ‘ugovarivaťˊ, agitirovaťˊ, zvaťˊ, prizyvaťˊ kogo, obraščaťsja s prizyvom k komu, (dial) oklikaťˊ kogo, obraščaťsja k komu’ (Bashk), *ön* ‘tavïš; golos’, *öndäü* ‘yaučï; svat, svaha’ (SibTat), *ündä-* ‘prizyvaťˊ’ (SibTatBD), *ündö-* ‘prizyvaťˊ (gl. obr. lovčuju pticu), (ili *ün de-*) izdavaťˊ zvuk, molviťˊ, (južn.) (o znahare) zagovarivaťˊ’, *ündök* ‘prizyv (lovčej pticy)’, *ündő̄* ‘prizyv, vozzvanie, obraščenie’ (Kirg), *ünde-*, *ündö-* ‘to voice, to call, to give voice, to summon, to respond, to comment (on)’ (Kaz), *ünde-* ‘prizyvaťˊ’ (KazB), *ündö-* ‘einen Laut, Ton von sich geben, sprechen’ (KazR), *ünde-* ‘govoriťˊ’, *ündeü* ‘prizyv’ (Kklp), *ünde-* ‘izdavaťˊ zvuk, podavaťˊ golos, govoriťˊ’ (Nog), *inde-* ‘podaťˊ golos’ (CrTat), *indė-* ‘zvaťˊ, prizyvaťˊ, priglašaťˊ, zvaťˊ, nazyvaťˊ, podavaťˊ golos, govoriťˊ, šeptaťˊ’ (KarT, KarH, KarC), *inˊdˊa-* ‘zvaťˊ, vyzyvaťˊ, prizyvaťˊ, priglašaťˊ’ (KarT), *inda-* ‘zvaťˊ’, *ünde-* ‘zvaťˊ’, *ünˊdˊe-* ‘podavaťˊ golos, kričaťˊ, zvaťˊ, sozyvaťˊ’ (KarC), *ündä-* ‘einen Ton von sich geben, schreien, rufen’ (KarTR), *ünde-* ‘govoriťˊ’ (Nog), *ön* (*balk.*) ‘golos, tembr, ton, melodija, (*rel.*) propovedˊ, nazidanie, nastavlenie, nravoučenie, moralʹ’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ünde-* ‘nastavljaťˊ, prizyvaťˊ, zvaťˊ’, *ündev* ‘sovet’ (Tkm), *ünnä-* ‘čagïrmag, säslämäk; zvaťˊ’ (AzD), *ünde-* ‘(*arch*) to cry out, to let out a sound, to sing’ (Tt), *īn*, *īn*, *i̯n* ‘Stimme, Laut, Ton’ (Khor); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *unda-* ‘priglašaťˊ, prizyvaťˊ (k čemu-l.)’ (Uzb), *indɛ-* ‘to invite, to entice, to call’ (TurkiJ), *ünda-* ‘to summon with the voice’ (TurkiSh), *ündi-* ‘molviťˊ, vymolviťˊ, promolviťˊ, prizyvaťˊ, priglašaťˊ, ugovarivaťˊ, vzyvaťˊ, vosklicaťˊ’ (MUyg), *inde-* ‘zvaťˊ’ (MUygMAks), *un-* ‘priglašaťˊ, zvaťˊ’ (YUyg), *unšï-* ‘čitaťˊ, proiznasitʹ’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ünde-* ‘izdavaťˊ zvuk, podavaťˊ golos’, *ün* ‘golos, zvuk, ton’ (Alt), *ünde-* ‘zvaťˊ, zvaťˊ v gosti, priglašaťˊ, priglasitʹ’ (AltQK), *ün* ‘golos, zvuk’ (AltTK), *ünne-* ‘izdavaťˊ zvuk, podavaťˊ golos’, *ünnig* ‘obladajuščij golosom’ (Khak), *ünnüg* ‘zvukovoj, golosistyj’ (Tuv), *ün* ‘golos’, *üngürü* ‘golosistyj’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The den verbal base of the T etymon for the H word may be **üntä-* ‘to call’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 180; Erdal 1991: 457) with the phonetic realisation *ündä-*. The verb demonstrates a wide range of meanings like ‘to call’, ‘to make a sound’, ‘to speak’ and especially ‘to invite’. On the nominal base (*ün*) of the verb, see **enő** and Eng ‘to give a call’, ‘call’. Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 356–357) collected the T word forms with the unrounded vowel *i-* under the entry *indä-* ‘prizyvaťˊ’ (see **enő**). The T etymon **ündäg* was formed with the well-known dev suff -(*X*)*g*, on which see Erdal (1991: 172–223).

The dev nominal **ündäg* is rare, but present in Chag *ündäkči* – read *ündägči* – while the dev noun **ündää* (< **ündäg*) is noted in the VKip lgs in the den form **ündäülä-* 'to invite as a guest' and as a noun *öndää* 'yaučï; svat, svaha; the go-between' (SibTat), *ündō* 'prizyv, vozzvanie, obraščenie' (Kirg), *ündeü* 'prizyv' (Kklp) and *ündev* 'sovet' (Tkm) (see also *ünnig* (Khak), *ünnüg* (Tuv) (< **ündüg*) 'golosistyj').

E/H It was Goldziher (1885: 241–246) who first assumed that the H word *vendég* may also be a T lw, but he erroneously attempted to locate the ultimate base of the T words in the Ar lg. However, he also allowed for some other possibilities. According to Alexics (1888: 112), the H word was borrowed into Rom. Munkácsi (1901b: 629) refuted Goldziher's explanation and came up with an unconvincing Ir etymology for this word. Simonyi (1902: 39) refuted earlier hypotheses for the H word and suggested another Ir starting point for it, which, however, is unacceptable. Juhász (1932: 277–280) claimed that H *vendég* might also have developed internally fr the H verb *vesz-* 'to take, buy', which was earlier synonymous with the H verb *fogad-*, having only later changed its meaning to 'to receive, welcome'. Bárczi (1941: 334) and Prohászka (1951: 47) agreed with Juhász's thinking, which Benkő (1967–1984/3: 113) rejected, as he considered *vendég* to be of unknown origin. According to him, the primary sense of the word could have been 'Fremder, Fremde, heimatlose Person'. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of *vendég* among the T copies in H. Benkő later modified (1993–1997/2: 1619) his earlier opinion and argued that H *vendég* originated fr It (cf. *venedigo* 'venezianisch, die Region Veneto betreffend'). Mózes (2007: 460–461) referred to earlier opinions and suggested that the H word came through Grm mediation (*Wenedig*).

The T etymology provided by Berta is satisfactory if we look at the VKip lgs. The denotation 'to invite as a guest' is covered by **ündeüle-* (< **ündäglä-*) in Tat and Bashk fr *ündew* < **ündäg* (see H (*meg*)*vendégel-* 'to invite, to treat as a guest' with the H den suff *+(V)l-* and see also Rus *gost´* 'guest', *gostit´* 'to be on a visit, to be a guest at somebody's'). The prothetic *v-* represents a WOT feature. The preservation of the final *-g* is similar in **sereg**, **serleg**, **sőreg** and **szúnyog**. The preserved oral dental in *-nd-* in H *vendég* parallels that of **kender**. The base is present in H **enő**.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874: 919; Wagner 1879: 165; Goldziher 1885: 241–246; Alexics 1888: 112; Kúnos 1897: 57; Munkácsi 1901b: 629; Simonyi 1902: 39; Ásbóth 1905: 57; Juhász 1932: 277–280; Kallós 1933a: 97–100; Bárczi 1941: 334; Prohászka 1951: 47; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 113; Clauson 1972: 180; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 356–357; Hadrovics 1975: 45–48; Erdal 1991: 172–223, 457; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1619; Mózes 2007: 460–461.

VER[1] [ver] 'to plait, to lay the rope' | 1426 *Kethelwerew* [ketēl-ver-ō̄], 1627 *kötélverő* [kötēl-ver-ō̄] | *ver-* ← WOT **ver-* < **ō̄r-* | EOT *ō̄r-* 'to plait' | See also H dial *verecs* [vereč], *verecsű* [verečǖ], *verecsen* [verečen] 'a device for plaiting'.

Of debated T origin.

OT *ȫr-*: *ol sač ȫrdi* ‘he plaited the hair (or other)’ (AK); **MT** *örmäk* ‘a woolen material thinner than wool’ (ABF), *ör-* ‘to braid’ (AGul), *örül-* ‘örülmek’ (AHMA), *örmiš sač* ‘örülmüş saç’ (AIM, AIMI), *örül-* ‘zapletaťʼ (ANehF), *ör-* ‘to weave, plait’, *örgän* ‘rope’, *örüm* ‘plait, spider’ (ARbg), *ör-* ‘tresser, natter’ (AChag), *ör-* ‘plesti, zapletaťʼ (AChagBud), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (AChagR), *ör-* ‘to twist two things together, to plait’ (AChagSC), *ör-* ‘nesǰ etmek’ (AChagŠS), *örmek* ‘Stoff aus Kamelhaar gewoben’ (AChagŠSK), *ör-* ‘flechten (das Haar), knüpfen, stricken (ein Netz)’ (AChagZ), *örken* ‘Seil, Tau’ (LCCG), *ör-* ‘örmäk’ (AAH), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (AHou), *örmäč*, *örük* ‘kosa, volosy (zapletennye)’ (ATuh), *örmeč*, *örük* ‘kıl ve saç gibi şeylerin örülmüşüʼ (ATuhA), *or-* ‘tresser, entrelacer, filer’ (AmTr); **NT** ***Chuv*** *věren* ‘verevka, kanat, verevočnyj, kanatnyj’ (Chuv), *věren* ‘bolee ili menee tolstaja verevka’ (ChuvA), *věren* ‘kötél; Seil, Tau’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ür-* ‘plesti, spletaťʼ, splesti, vitʹ, svivaťʼ, svitʹ, tkaťʼ (Tat), *örlök* ‘kiemnärne élep kuya torgan bau; verevka, protjagnutaja čerez komnatu, na kotoruju vešajut odeždu’, *ürmä* ‘ozïn čïbïk; dlinnyj prut’ (TatD1), *ėr-* ‘ürü; zapletaťʼ kosy’, *ėrem* ‘čäč üreme; kosa – volosy’, *ür-* ‘bäyläü; vjazaťʼ’, *ürmä* ‘čitän; pleten′, izgorod′; čäčkap; ženskoe ukrašenie dlja volos’ (TatD2), *ür-* ‘fonni; spinnen, flechten’, *örmä* ‘fonat, fonadék; Flechte’, *ürem* ‘hajfonat; Haarflechte’ (TatB), *ür-* ‘flechten; auskeimen (von Kartoffeln, Zwiebeln und anderen Wurzeln, die im Keller aufbewahrt werden)’ (TatKR), *ür-* ‘plesti, spletaťʼ čto, (peren.) soedinjaťʼ, svjazyvaťʼ’ (Bashk), *ur-* ‘fonni [to weave, to plait]’ (BashkP), *ür-* ‘ürü, išü, bäyläü; plesti, svivaťʼ, svjazaťʼ’, *ȫrem* ‘ürem, tolïm; kosa; ürü; pletenie’, *ȫrmȫ* ‘ürmä, čitän; pleten′; ürelgän; pletenyj’, *ȭer-* ‘ėrläü; prjasťʼ (SibTat), *öräm* ‘kosa ženskaja’ (SibTatBD), *ür-* ‘flechten; auskeimen (von Kartoffeln, Zwiebeln und anderen Wurzeln, die im Keller aufbewahrt werden)’ (SibTatTR), *ör-* ‘vitʹ, plesti’ (Kirg), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (KirgR), *ör-* ‘to plait, to weave, to braid’ (Kaz), *ör-* ‘plesti, napravitʹsja na vypas (o skote)’ (KazB), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (KazR), *ör-* ‘vitʹ, plesti, zapletaťʼ (napr. kosu), klasťʼ (Kklp), *ör-* ‘vitʹ, plesti (napr. verevki), zapletaťʼ (napr. kosu)’ (Nog), *ör-* ‘plesti, vjazaťʼ, zapletaťʼ (CrTat), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (CrTatR), *ör-* ‘plesti, zapletaťʼ, prjasťʼ (KarT, KarC), *ėr-* ‘plesti, vitʹ, motaťʼ (KarH), *örüm* ‘(dial) venok, vjazanka (pletennaja iz steblej luka, česnoka i t. p.)’ (Kum), *örme*: *örme qayïš* ‘remen′ iz tolstoj syromjatnoj koži’ (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ȫr-* ‘vjazaťʼ, plesti, klasťʼ, ukladyvaťʼ (Tkm), *hör-* ‘plesti, vjazaťʼ, svivaťʼ, klasťʼ (stenu), zamurovaťʼ (Az), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (AzR), *hör-* ‘plesti’ (RAz), *ör-* ‘to plait, to knit, to darn, to interlace, to interweave, to build (a wall), to lay bricks or stones in a building’ (Tt), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (TtR), *ör-* ‘vjazaťʼ, plesti, zapletaťʼ (Gag), *yör-* id. (Gag, Tenišev 2001: 394), *ọ̈r-* ‘flechten’ (Khor), *ör-* ‘flechten, knüpfen, stricken’ (SOg); ***Kh*** *hiri-* ‘flechten’ (Kh), *hör-* ‘flechten’ (KhT); ***SE*** *ŭr-* ‘plesti, zapletaťʼ (Uzb), *ör-*, *hör-* id. (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 394), *ör-*, *öy-* ‘to plait, to braid’ (TurkiJ), *ör-* ‘to braid the hair’ (TurkiSh), *öî-* ‘zapletaťʼ, plesti’ (TurkiL), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (TurkiTR), *ör-*, *örü-* ‘vitʹ, svivaťʼ, plesti, spletaťʼ, zapletaťʼ, perepletaťʼ (MUyg), *örme* ‘kosička’, *yörme* id. (YUyg), *yürme* ‘kosa’ (ženščiny),

örme ‘nebol′šaja kosica’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ör-* ‘vit′, plesti’ (Alt), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (AltR, AltLR, AltTelR), *ör-* ‘plesti, zapletat′’ (AltL), *ür-* ‘plesti’ (AltQK), *ür-* ‘plesti, zapletat′ čto-l.’ (Khak), *ör-* ‘flechten’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *örü-* ‘plesti, zapletat′ (kosu), nabirat′ (tekst)’ (Tuv), *örü-* ‘plesti, zapletat′ (volosy), vit′ (verevku), plesti (korzinu)’ (Tof); ***Y*** *ör-* ‘plesti, plest′ (grivu lošadjam), spletat′, zapletat′, vpletat′, tkat′, vit′ (verevki), svivat′, prjast′ čto iz čego’, *örgön* ‘pletenyj remen′, verevka, arkan, dlinnaja remennaja verevka’ (Y), *ör-* ‘plesti, spletat′, zapletat′’ (YS), *örǖ*, *örü* ‘Zopf’ (Dlg), *ör-* ‘flechten, zusammenbinden, winden’, *örū̄* ‘Zopf, geflochten’ (DlgS).

Mo MMo *öre-*: *örebe üsüni* ‘ördi sačnï; zapletat′ volosy’ (MA, Poppe 1938–1939: 277; Ščerbak 1997: 197), *örmüge*, *ermüge* ‘coarse fabric made of camel hair or sheep’s wool, bast mat’ (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H verb *ver-*[1] ‘to plait’ may be T *ör-* < PT **hō̄r-* id. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1059) reconstructed PT **ō̄r-*, not taking into account the Khal *h-*. On the T verb, see Clauson (1972: 195) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 544–546). On the different ders of OT *ör-*, see Erdal 1991: 42–43 (*ör-üm*, *ör-üm+či+k* ‘spider’), 294 (*ör-üm* ‘something knitted’) and 317–318 (*ör-mä sač* ‘plaited hair’)). A der fr the T verb, *örmäk* ‘grobes Tuch aus Kamelhaar’, is present in Mo, and was also discussed by Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 46–47). According to Tenišev (2001: 394–395), the word-initial *h-* in Kh, Az and UzbD may be primary. The word-final vowel in Khal and Tuv may be either secondary or a preserved arch feature. Räsänen (1969: 373–374) and Fedotov’s (1996/1: 117) opinion on the interrelation of the T verb with Tu *pori-* is unacceptable. The Chuv word *věren* was copied into the Cher dials.

E/H In the phrases *kötelet ver-* or *zsinórt ver-*, the H word *ver-*[1] has long been the object of debate. Budenz (1873–1881: 566–567) claimed that the H verb in the phrase *kötelet ver-* ‘Tau schlagen’ could originally have meant ‘to make something’ and he thought, erroneously, that it may be identical with the H verb *varr-* ‘to sew’. According to Munkácsi (1906d: 371–372), H *ver-*[1] in *kötelet ver-* ‘ein Seil anfertigen, drehen’ may be interrelated with T *ör-*, *ür-* ‘flechten’. Horger (1924: 112) pointed out that two homophonous verbal forms, *ver-*[2] ‘to beat’ and *ver-*[1] ‘to spin’, could have existed side by side in the OH lg. The latter comes up in the phrase *kötelet ver-* ‘Tau schlagen’. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 116), H *ver-*[1] ‘drehen, flechten, seilen’ is of debated origin: (1) it may be identical with *ver-*[2] ‘to beat’, if its starting point carried the meaning ‘to produce something that beats, knocks’ (cf. Grm *Fäden*, *Maschen*, *ein Tau schlagen*); (2) H *ver-*[1] may also have been copied fr a T lg of the Chuv type. Benkő believed that the first explanation seems more plausible. Palló (1969a: 284–285) accepted Munkácsi’s rationale (1906d: 371–372). She maintained that the T form that corresponds to H *ver-*[1] may be OChuv *vär-* < T *ör-* ‘to spin’. According to Kiss (1970: 41), H *ver-*[1] in the phrase *kötelet ver-* should not be separated fr H *ver-*[1] ‘to beat’. He argued that the same term is well-known in some Germanic lgs. See Dutch

touwslager 'Seiler' (*touw* 'Seile' + *slaan* 'to beat') as well as Danish *rebslager* id. and other related lgs. According to Palló (1974a: 236–238), H *ver-*[1] may also denote 'to bind, tie up'. This sense comes up in the phrase *szemmel ver-* 'to bewitch, enchant', i.e. 'to tie up with eyes'. Palló remarked, significantly, that one can see an important lexical-semantic difference between Chuv and CT. In the CT lgs, *ba-* was used to signify 'to bind, tie up', but the same meaning was covered by another verb in OChuv, *ör-*. Kakuk (1982: 95) supported the OChuv etymology for H *ver-*. Ligeti (1986: 41) rejected the T starting point for H *ver-*[1] and suggested that in the H phrase (*kötelet*) *ver-* this verb seems to be a calque fr Grm (*Tau*) *schlagen*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1620) treated all variants under one heading, and contended that the verb *ver-*[1] in *kötelet ver-* developed under the influence of Grm. The earliest known item for the sense 'drehen, flechten, seilen' is fr 1426. The verb *ver-*[2] 'to beat' is, according to Benkő, of unknown origin (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1620). There is no way to decide the question, but I am inclined to suppose that H *ver-*[1] 'to plait' results fr a secondary split in the semantics. On **ver**[2] see pp. 1237–1238.

◆ Budenz 1873–1881: 566–567; Munkácsi 1906d: 371–372; Fokos 1909: 248–249; Horger 1924: 112; Poppe 1938–1939: 277; Palló 1961a: 42; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 46–47; Egorov 1964: 52; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 116; Palló 1969a: 282–285; Räsänen 1969: 373–374; Kiss 1970: 41; Clauson 1972: 195; Palló 1974a: 236–238; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 544–546; Kakuk 1982: 95; Ligeti 1986: 41; Erdal 1991: 42–43, 294, 317–318; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1620; Fedotov 1996/1: 117; Ščerbak 1997: 197; Tenišev 2001: 394–395; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1059.

VÉRTELEK [vērtelek] *arch*, *dial* 'gable, frontispiece' | 1654 *verteleti* (r: vertelek) [vērteleti], a1781/1786 *vértelek* [vērtelek] 'frons domus inter pauimentum superius, et latera tecti intercepta', dial *virtelek* [virtelek] (Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 2532) | *vērtelek* < **vertelük* ← WOT **vertülük* < **örtülük* < **örtüγlük* < **ört-* {with suffs *-(X)g* and *+lXk*} | EOT *ört-* 'to cover', *örtmän* 'roof'.

OT *örtüglüg* 'concealed' (UXuanzangIndex), *örtüglüg* 'eingehüllt' (UTTIV B:65), *ürtā̆r* <uyu-rtyā-r> 'bedeckt' (BTTVIII:93, G69), *ört-* 'cover': *ol örtti nāŋni* 'he covered the thing', *örtmā̆n* 'roof', *örtgū̆n* 'stack of harvested grain', *örtüg* 'the covering' over anything, such as a saddle cover, or the brocade used to cover the graves of nobles, also 'the cover' of anything (AK), *ätöz örtgü* '(if he has one garment) to cover his shoulders' (AQB); **MT** *örtün-* 'se couvrir' (UHy), *ört-* 'to cover, wrap, to dress', *örtügli* 'hidden' (AGul), *ört-* 'örtmek, kapamak', *örtülü*, *örtülüg* 'örtülü, kapalı' (AHMA), *ört-* 'ukrywać, chować, pokrywać', *örtüklüg* 'ukryty' (AHŠ), *örtüklük* 'skrytyj, tajnyj, tajna' (AHŠF), *ört-* 'pokryvatʹ' (AIM), *ört-* 'to cover' (AKD), *ört-* 'to cover, to overcome, to cover oneself, hide oneself, to cover, copulate with, to conceal, hide, inhume, bury, to forgive, pardon', *örtük* 'covering, cover, pall, garment' (AKor), *ört-* 'örtmek, gizlemek, saklamak' (ANeh), *örtüklük* 'skrytyj, tajnyj, tajna' (ANehF), *ört-* 'to cover' (ARbg), *ört-* 'nakryvatʹ, pokryvatʹ, ukryvatʹ', *örtmän* 'naves, krovlja, podporka' (ATef), *örtüg*, *örtü* 'couverture, surtout, caché, cou-

vert' (AChag), *örtüklük* 'örtülmüş' (AChagAbA), *örtük* 'rejtett, befödött [hidden, covered over]', *örtüklük* 'ami befödetett [that which somebody has had covered over]' (AChagAbV), *ört-* 'bedecken, verdecken, zudecken' (AChagZ), *ört-* 'örtmek' (AAH), *ört-* (*-är*) 'pokrywać' (ABul), *ört-* 'verbergen' (AHou), *ört-* 'to cover' (AMGh), *örüt-* 'pokryvaťˊ, ukutyvaťˊ, skryvaťˊ' (ATuh), *ört-* 'gizlemek' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *vit-* 'kryťˊ, pokryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ, prikryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ, odevaťˊ čem-l., oberegaťˊ, spasaťˊ', *viteľěk* '(to, čem pokryvajut[sja], odevajut[sja]) pokryvalo, odejalo, kryša, krovlja', *vitě* 'kryša, krovlja, to, čem pokryvajut, čto postilajut: pokryvalo, skaterťˊ, dorožka i t.d., kryška, pokrov, oboločka, pokrytie', *vitľěx* = *vitkěč* 'kryša, krovlja, kryška, pokryvalo, (peren.) pokrov, (peren.) opora, zaščita, zastupnik' (Chuv), *vit-* 'kryťˊ, pokryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ', *viteľěk* 'kryša' (ChuvA), *vit-* Szp. id. 'befedni, fedezni; decken', *viteľěk* 'háztető; Hausdach' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ört-* pokryvaťˊ, pokryťˊ, okutyvaťˊ, okutaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ, nakryťˊ, zakryvaťˊ, zakryťˊ (napr. lico, telo)', *örtüle* 'pokrytyj čem-l.' (Tat), *ürtük* 'dorogaja popona s ukrašenijami' (Kirg), *ört-* 'to cover' (Kaz), *ört-* 'pokryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ' (CrTat), *ört-* 'pokryvaťˊ, ukryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ' (KarSh); ***SW*** *ört-* 'pokryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ, zaslonjaťˊ, zavolakivaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ, (peren.) skryvaťˊ, taiťˊ, utaivaťˊ', *örtgi* 'pokryvalo, pokrov, verhnij sloj', *örtük* 'pokrov, verhnij sloj' (Tkm), *örtmen* 'pokryvalo pokojnogo' (TkmD), *ört-* 'pokryvaťˊ, prikryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ', *örtülü* 'krytyj, pokrytyj, zakrytyj' (Az), *ört-* 'zudecken, verdecken, zumachen, schliessen' (AzR), *ört-* 'to cover, to wrap, to veil', *örtü* 'cover, wrap, blanket, roof', *örtülü* 'covered, wrapped up, concealed, shut, closed (of a door, etc.)' (Tt), *örtmen* 'satıh, yüz' (TtD), *ört-* 'zudecken, verdecken, zumachen, schliessen' (TtR), *ört-* 'kryťˊ, pokryvaťˊ, ukryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ', *örtü* 'kryša' (Gag), *ẹrt-*, *ọ̈rtˊ-*, *ọ̈rt-* 'bedecken', *ọ̈rti*, *ọ̈ˊrti* 'Decke' (Khor), *ürt-* 'bedecken, zudecken' (SOg); ***Kh*** *irt-* 'zuschließen (z.B. Haustür)' (T *ürt-*) (Kh), *ürt-* 'bedecken' (KhT); ***SE*** *urt-* 'pokryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ, zakryvaťˊ (napr. lico, telo), zavertyvaťˊ, zakutyvaťˊ', *ŭrtik*, *urtuk* '(ust. knižn.) pokryvalo' (Uzb) *ört-* 'zudecken, verdecken, zumachen, schliessen' (TurkiTR), *ürt-* '(knižn.) pokryvaťˊ čem (telo, lico)' (MUyg), *öt-* 'pokryvaťˊ, nakryvaťˊ', *ūtil-* 'ukryvaťˊsja, pokryvaťˊsja, odevaťˊsja' (Sal); ***NE*** *ürt-* 'zudecken, verdecken, zumachen, schliessen' (KhakSR); ***Y*** –.

E/T Clauson (1972: 202) thought that the word-initial *ü-* in the source written in Brahmi script may represent the original pronunciation. Doerfer–Hesche (1993: 651) provided the EOT form with an initial *ü-* as in *ürt-* 'bedecken'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1061) compared T *ört-* with Mo *erüke*, *örke* 'smoke hole in the roof of a yurt (which is covered with a square felt flap in bad weather, flap covering a smoke hole)' and *örüme* 'scum on boiled milk'. The comparison is not impossible, but morphologically unclear. The loss of /t/ in Chuv is regular.

E/H According to Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 959), the arch, dial H word may share the same origin with H *vért* 'shield'. Bátky (1937: 82) pointed out that the primary meaning of the H word *vértelek* could be 'shield'. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1124;

1993–1997/2: 1625) considered the H word to be of unknown der. Its connection with the H word *vért*, which is originally Al (see § 8.9), is hardly possible for morphological reasons. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *vértelek* among the T lws in H. The word was familiar in many parts of Hungary; in most places it denoted the triangular, vertical part of the roof at the front and back of the house. The early history of the H word is as yet unknown. Berta suggested a T starting point for the word. However, its first documented appearance is fr the mid-17th c. – certainly a weak point in a T etymology.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 959; Pápai 1893: 17; Szinnyei 1893–1901/2: 2532; Bátky 1937: 82; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1124, Clauson 1972: 202; Doerfer–Hesche 1993: 651; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1625; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1061.

VISSZATART 'to hold back' see **tart**.

Z

ZERGE [zerge] 'chamois, *Rupicapra rupicapra*' | 1722 *zerge* [zerge], 1801 'Antilope' (Földi, apud Gombocz 1912b: 137) | *zerge* < **serge* ← WOT **särgä* | MT *serkä* 'goat'.

Of possible T origin

OT –; **MT** *särkä* 'bélier qui marche en tête du troupeau' (AChag), *serge* 'herélt kecske, mely a nyáj élén jár [castrated goat which goes on ahead of the flock]' (AChagBL), *sirkä* 'a male mountain goat' (AChagSC); **NT** ***Chuv*** –; ***NW*** *sirkä* 'kastrirovannyj kozel' (TatD, Blagova in Dybo 2003: 245), *sirkä* 'kozel' (BashkD3), *serke* 'kastrirovannyj kozel (on vedet stado ovec), (peren.) vožak' (Kirg), *serke* 'castrated goat, a leader he-goat' (Kaz), *serke* 'kozovaluh, vožak otary' (KazB), *serkä* 'ein zweijähriger Bock' (KazR), *serke* 'kastrirovannyj kozel (ot odnogo goda)' (Kklp), *serke* 'kastrirovannyj kozel' (Nog), *serke* 'koza' (CrTat); ***SW*** *serke* 'hološčenyj kozel (starše treh let)' (Tkm), *serke* 'kozel-predvoditeľ (vožak), na šeju kotorogo vešajut kolokoľčik, kastrirovannyj zdorovyj kozel' (TkmD, Blagova in Dybo 2003: 245); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *serka* 'kozel (čašče hološčenyj, v otličie ot *taka*), (peren.) vožak, predvoditeľ' (Uzb), *sälkä* 'kozel' (UzbD, Blagova in Dybo 2003: 245), *särkä* 'kastrirovannyj, hološčenyj kozel' (MUyg), *sēkä* 'kozel' (MUygD, Blagova in Dybo 2003: 245); ***NE*** *serke* 'kozel po vtoromu godu' (Alt), *särkä* 'ein Ziegenbock im dritten Jahre, ein kastrierter Bock' (AltTelR), *sïleke* 'hološčennyj baran' (Khak), *serge* 'kozel (kastrirovannyj)' (Tuv); ***Y*** *hīrkä* 'nedoholščennyj olen'' (YD).

Mo *serke* 'castrated goat' (L).

E/T The T etymon for the H word may be T *serkä* 'castrated goat', which is absent in EOT. With the exception of some Chag sources, it is only attested in a limited number of the NT lgs. According to Budagov (1869–1871/1: 626), Ramstedt (1935: 325), Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 341) and Räsänen (1969: 412), the T word was borrowed fr Mo; both Clauson (1972: 850, see under the entry *sirkā̄* 'vinegar') and Blagova (Dybo 2003: 246) agreed with this position. Tenišev (2001: 429) correctly refuted Ščerbak's (1961: 118) explanation that *särkä* and *ärkäč* – which both mean 'hološčennyj kozel' – might have developed fr the same base, however the internal Mo etymology of the word proposed by Tenišev which assumes that Mo *serke* was perhaps derived fr a Mo verb that denoted 'to ascend' (see Khal *seriy-* 'to stand up, stay out', Kalm *serkė-* 'aufrechtstehen, emporragen', etc.) is unacceptable for semantic and morphological reasons.

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1283), PMo **serke* 'gelded goat' has the A parallels PTu **surki* 'pregnant female animal' and PT **sarïk* 'sheep, a kind of tailless sheep'. This relationship discussed under the PA entry **s̲i̲orek'V* 'female or gelded ungulate animal' proves unsatisfactory on semantic and phonetic grounds.

Mo *serke* appears in the pl in the SH as *serkes* (*olon serkes-i* 'many gelded billy goats', see de Rachewiltz 2004: 195). This is homophonous but not identical with the Mo name for the Circassians, as de Rachewiltz proposed (2004: 965).

E/H Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874/6: 1212) compared the H word with the Mo forms *zegere*, *zegeren*, *dzegere*, *dzegeren* (*Capra rubicapra*), which do not belong here. Budenz (1886–1887a: 149–150) accepted the comparison of the H word with the Mo forms as proposed by Czuczor–Fogarasi and erroneously thought that the Mo words may be interrelated with Mo *sira* ~ T *sarï* ~ H **sárga**. Later, he (1886–1887b: 160) added some corresponding T data to his etymological proposal. Gombocz (1907a: 369; 1912b: 137) suggested a T starting point **serge*, **serke* for the H word. Vámbéry (1914: 222) mentioned H *zerge* as a word of T origin. According to Németh (1915a: 316–317), the T forms with which H *zerge* was matched in the earlier literature might have come fr Mo origin. The original meaning of the Mo word was 'castrated goat'. This word could perhaps have been borrowed into H via T mediation, and H *zerge* may have a secondary phonetic shape. Beke (1936: 30–31) accepted Németh's opinion that the source of the H word cannot have been a T form first. Bárczi (1941: 344; 1957: 68) pointed out that the T word *serkä* may be linked to H *zerge* in a special way. The H word may represent the Grm pronunciation of *serge*. According to him, the form that was in fact borrowed might well have been *zerge*. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/1: 341), it is dubious whether the H word belongs with the T and Mo forms. Zsoldos (1964: 59) observed that this word occurred in H somewhat earlier (1722) than had been thought in the earlier literature. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1192–1193) considered it to be a lw fr an unidentified Western lg, where it is a T borrowing. The T word might, however, have derived fr Mo. Ligeti (1986: 194, 305) maintained that the H word, which is documented relatively late (first only in the 18th c.), cannot be an immediate lw fr the T lgs. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1663), it is unknown which lg mediated the T word.

The T word pertains to the hunting terminology of Eastern Europe, but because of its late appearance it is impossible to decide whether it came into H through mediation or was written down as <zerge>, which was the normal orthography for **serge* until the 16th c. After sinking into oblivion, it might have been revived later by the hunting aristocracy. The Cum origin of the word cannot be substantiated. Since the word does not have an established etymology, we cannot decide its origin. The chamois is a typically European animal, exists also in Anatolia. The semantic change 'castrated billy goat' > 'chamois' might have taken place in a European mediating lg.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 1212; Budagov 1869–1871/1: 626; Budenz 1886–1887a: 149–150; Budenz 1886–1887b: 160; Szily 1902–1908/1: 385; Gombocz 1907a: 369; Gombocz 1912b: 137; Vámbéry 1914: 222; Németh 1915a: 316–317; Ramstedt 1935: 325; Beke 1936: 30–31; Bárczi 1941: 344; Bárczi 1957: 68;

Ščerbak 1961: 118; Doerfer 1963–1975/1: 341; Zsoldos 1964: 59; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1192–1193; Räsänen 1969: 412; Clauson 1972: 850; Ligeti 1986: 194, 305; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1663; Tenišev 2001: 429; Dybo 2003: 245–247; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1283; de Rachewiltz 2004: 195, 965.

Conclusions

Chapter Five

A historical phonology of Hungarian

5.1 From Proto-Ugric to Early Ancient Hungarian

In this chapter we follow the changes from Proto-Ugric (PUgr), through Early Ancient Hungarian (EAH), Late Ancient Hungarian (LAH), Old Hungarian (OH) and present Hungarian (H). I focus on the changes which preceded the copying of the Turkic loanwords, towards a reconstruction of the processes undergone by these words once taken over by Hungarian. The history of the Hungarian language can be presented here only cursorily.

5.2 General considerations

Hungarian is a member of the Uralic language family. As it is generally accepted, the Uralic language family split into two groups: the Samoyedic and the Finno-Ugric languages. The Finno-Ugric languages separated later into the Finnic and the Ugric languages. Hungarian pertains to the Ugric branch. The Ugric branch consists of three languages in two branches, one branch with Hungarian, and the other with Vogul (Mansi) and Ostyak (Khanty). The Proto-Voguls and the Proto-Ostyaks lived together for a long time and separated around the 3rd–5th centuries. Their languages are called the Ob-Ugric languages after the name of the river Ob in West Siberia.

Here a short remark on the name *Ugric* is appropriate. In all textbooks and monographs the origin of the name Ugric is connected with the Turkic tribal name *Onogur*. The idea came from Munkácsi (1895c), was accepted by Gombocz (1912b), treated in detail by Németh (1921–1925d) and canonized by Zsirai (1930) and Moravcsik (1930). According to this claim we should accept the following changes: Turkic **onogur* (the *Ten Ogurs*) > **onugur* > **ongur* ⟶ Slavic **ongur* > **ungr-in* (with the Old Russian suffix *-in*) > *ungrě* (plural) ⟶ Old High German *Ungar* by German secondary change

to German singular > late German *Ungar*, *Hungar*. Later Old Russian *ungrě* became *ugrě* by Slavic denasalisation. From the stem *ugr-* we had the geographical name *Ugria*, *Ugra* which later became *Yugria* through Slavic (or Zyrian) prejotization. The names *Ugria*, *Ugra* and *Yugria* occur in the Old Russian Chronicles and the maps of the late Middle Ages, denoting a great territory around the Middle Volga River and the Uralic mountains. It was supposed (with reason) that the Proto-Vogul and the Proto-Ostyak speakers moved from the western side of the Urals to their eastern side, and later to the sources of the river Ob. The names *Ugrian*, *Proto-Ugric*, *ugor*, *ugrisch*, *ugrilainen*, *ougrienne* were found adequate for naming a language group, to which Vogul, Ostyak and Hungarian belong. In a paper (Róna-Tas 1996) I have shown that there exist serious chronological, linguistic and historical problems caused by this hypothesis. The ethnic name which entered the languages of the Urals, as well as Russian, was *Ugur*, well documented in Chinese and Byzantine sources. *Ugur* is a Turkic form changed from the original *Ogur*, a perfect West Old Turkic match to the well known East Old Turkic ethnic name *Oguz*. From *Ugur*, its individual form in Russian *ugrin*, its plural *ugrě* and the geographical names *Ugria*, *Ugra*, *Yugria*, etc., were formed, and thus they have as much connection with the name of the Hungarians as *Ogur* and *Onogur* have with each other. But in scholarly literature the names *Ugrian* and *Finno-Ugrian* should not be changed; the correct etymology of an ethnic name should not influence the general scholarly use of a term.

Returning to the speakers of the Hungarian language: they were geographically separated from the other Proto-Ugric people (Voguls and Ostyaks) in a time when the common Proto-Ugric unity had already dissolved. Within the Proto-Ugric unity Hungarian formed a dialect with many isoglosses in common with the other Proto-Ugric dialects, but, at least in the latest phase of the Proto-Ugric unity, it had also special traits not shared by the other Proto-Ugric dialects. The other Proto-Ugric dialects (the Proto-Ob-Ugric ones) lived together for many centuries more, and the separation of the Proto-Vogul and Proto-Ostyak languages occurred much later than the Hungarian separation. Common Proto-Ob-Ugric is a reconstructed language which is nearer to Proto-Vogul and Proto-Ostyak (which separated later) than to the common Proto-Ugric reconstructed language. The Proto-Ob-Ugric languages, that is, Proto-Vogul and Proto-Ostyak, broke off into dialects, which, due to geographic barriers, are now also linguistically far from each other. Some preserved archaic traits that others did not. The reconstruction of a common Proto-Ob-Ugric language system is not easy, and the reconstruction of a Proto-Ugric one, the common ancestor of Hungarian and Proto-Ob-Ugric, is even more difficult.

In what follows, I shall describe the changes which led to the formation of Proto-Ugric and then those changes which occurred in the history of the Proto-Ugric language on its way to Early Ancient Hungarian and later to Hungarian. In many cases

this can be done only tentatively. Therefore I must rely on the help of the reconstructed Finno-Ugric protolanguage.

5.3 The corpus

The corpus consists of those words present in Hungarian that are of Proto-Finno-Ugric or Proto-Ugric origin. My selection was based on the four relevant etymological dictionaries (Benkő 1967–1984; Benkő 1993–1997; Lakó 1967–1978 and Rédei 1986–1991). The aim of the selection was to build a solid basis for the reconstruction of Proto-Ugric and Ancient Hungarian. Therefore I have excluded:

1. all words which pertain or may pertain to baby-language,
2. words which preserved their onomatopoeic character,
3. most words which took on grammatical functions early,
4. words of Finno-Ugric origin which were labeled by Lakó (1967–1978) and Rédei (1986–1991) as uncertain or dubious,
5. words which are not present in any Ob-Ugric language and have only one parallel in a non-Ugric Uralic language,
6. words which have corresponding forms only in the Samoyedic languages and/or in Saami (Lapponian),
7. about 50 words (see the special list, § 8.7), where either the semantic or the phonological background was not convincing to me.

I do not claim that all words omitted here are not of Finno-Ugric origin! I have followed the methodological principle of proceeding from the certain towards the less certain.

The corpus includes:

1. words which have a clear Proto-Finno-Ugric etymology. Such words are included even if they are not present in Ostyak or in Vogul or are absent from both. I did not go beyond Proto-Finno-Ugric. (Words which are present in Hungarian and only in the Samoyedic languages may be of Finno-Ugric origin, but cannot be used for our reconstruction purposes),
2. words which have parallels only in the Ob-Ugric languages (or in at least one of them).

In reconstructing the Proto-Ob-Ugric, Proto-Vogul and Proto-Ostyak forms, where possible I have followed Honti (1982) or some later etymological publications, mainly those of Honti and Rédei.

In all cases I have reconstructed a Proto-Ugric form. This form has to meet three conditions:

1. it has to be in regular correspondence with Proto-Finno-Ugric if it is present there,
2. it has to be in regular correspondence with Proto-Ob-Ugric or in regular correspondence with words in one of the Ob-Ugric languages, if existing there,
3. it has to be in regular correspondence with its Hungarian equivalent.

The reconstruction may be valid even if I have only one or two examples if, and only if, it fits into a greater scheme. For instance I found only two cases where /k/ disappeared before /ś/, but because /k/ disappeared before all other oral consonants, this fits into a more general scheme. On the other hand, unique representations may be the first target for refinement in the next phase of work.

The corpus consists of about 465 Hungarian words. Of 465 etymologies, 342 have Finno-Ugric and 123 only Ugric origin. This means that we can follow 74% of the treated words up to the Proto-Finno-Ugric form and 26% only to the Ugric protoform. In what follows I always give the number of the relevant etymologies, adding how many of them have FUgr and how many only Ugric protoforms. Normally their proportion should be about 7.4 to 2.6.

This includes several references to other words with which they have an identical origin. In the work I have highlighted the quantitative and the proportional distribution of the various representations of the phonemes. These proportions are of major importance even if a handful of examples may have escaped my attention, or can be put in another category. See the corpus in § 8.5 and § 8.6.

5.4 The structure of the Ugric protolanguage. Phonotactics

The Finno-Ugric protolanguage (Proto-Finno-Ugric) had the following word stem types: V, VCV, VCCV, CV, CVCV, CVCCV; that is, the last syllable was always open, always ending with a vowel. Stems received suffixes which consisted either of one consonant or a consonant and a vowel. In the former case, secondary closed syllables appeared in the coda. There were no consonant clusters in word-initial position. Consonant clusters were possible only in postvocalic position. Two types of consonant clusters existed: identical (i.e. long) consonants, and clusters consisting of different consonants. It is highly probable that the word stress was originally on the penultimate syllable of the stem, which was in practice the first syllable.

The main structure of the Finno-Ugric protolanguage was preserved in Proto-Ugric. However the last vowel became very short or reduced. It was later lost both in Proto-Ob-Ugric and in Hungarian. I mark the reduced vowel with the *shwa* sign.

5.5 The reconstruction of the Ugric protolanguage

We can reconstruct the Ugric protolanguage with the help of Proto-Finno-Ugric, Proto-Ob-Ugric, and Hungarian. In some cases Proto-Ob-Ugric provides better information, while in others Hungarian gives more help. We have concentrated on those features which can be reconstructed with the help of Hungarian and through the common traits of Hungarian and Proto-Ob-Ugric. Those traits which can be reconstructed only through Proto-Ob-Ugric are beyond the scope of this work. The work is based on the results published by Lakó, Hajdú, Honti, Rédei, Bakró-Nagy, Janhunen, Sammalahti and others. The Proto-Ob-Ugric reconstructions are based mainly on Honti (1982 and 1999) and Rédei (1986–1991). Of course the excellent, fundamental works of Itkonen, Kannisto, Karjalainen, Katz, Paasonen, Rombandeeva, Steinitz, Toivonen and others have not lost their importance.

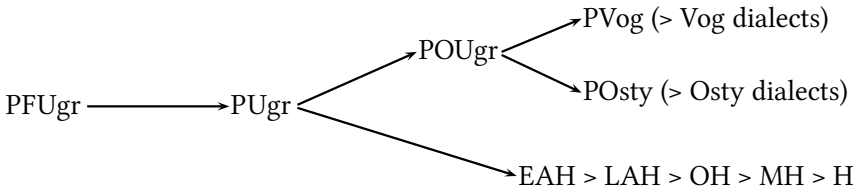


Figure 5.1: The place of Hungarian

Abbreviations: Proto-Finno-Ugric (PFUgr), Proto-Ugric (PUgr), Proto-Ob-Ugric (POUgr), Proto-Vogul (PVog), Proto-Ostyak (POsty), Vogul (Vog), Ostyak (Osty), Early Ancient Hungarian (EAH), Late Ancient Hungarian (LAH), Old Hungarian (OH), Middle Hungarian (MH) and present Hungarian (H).

5.6 The origin and the history of the Proto-Ugric consonants

Proto-Ugric had the following consonants:

p	m			r		w
t	n	č	(*s, *š >) s	l	δ	
	ń	ć	ś	l′	δ′	y
k	ŋ				ɣ	

Table 5.1: The Proto-Ugric consonants

5.6.1 Oral stops

From here on N denotes a nasal and C a non-nasal consonant.

/p/

PFUgr /p/ was preserved in PUgr as /p/ in initial position and became /φ/ in EAH and /f/ in H in 56 cases (39 PFUgr + 17 PUgr).

> PFUgr **pal′a*(-) > PUgr **pal′ə*- (> POUgr **pol′* > PVog **pāl′*-, POsty **poy*) > EAH **φal′ə*(-) > **faǰə*(-) > H *fagy*(-) 'to freeze, frost'.

It has been suggested that initial /p/ in a few cases changed into /b/ in H. According to most scholars in FUgr studies this occurred before voiced consonants at the onset of the second syllable. I have serious doubts.

> PFUgr **pola* > PUgr **polə* (> PVog **pal′*) > H *bogyó* 'berry'. The final *-ó* should be a dim suff, but the /l/ > /l′/ > /y/ > /j/ is unmotivated,
> PFUgr **pʁŋkɜ* > PUgr **pūŋkə-l* (> Vog **pūklĕp*, Osty **puŋkel′*) > H *bog* 'knot', but see H **bog** in the Lexicon, and also PFUgr **piŋke* > PUgr **piŋkə* (> POUgr **pēŋkɜ* > PVog **pă̄ŋkɜ*, POsty **pöŋk*) > EAH **φuŋgə* > **φugə* > H *fog* 'tooth',
> PFUgr **pälɜ* > PUgr **pälə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **pälə* (?) > H *bél* 'intestines'. This is the only possible candidate in this category, but see PFUgr **pele*- > EAH **φelə*- > H *fél*- 'to be afraid', PFUgr **pele* > EAH **φelə* > H *fél*[1] (in *ajtófélfa*, *félszer* > *fészer*, etc.) '(door)post, pillar'.

PFUgr intervocalic /p/ remained /p/ in PUgr and changed in EAH to /w/ and relatively late to /v/ in H in 5 cases (2 PFUgr + 3 PUgr).

> PFUgr **čupa* > PUgr **čopə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **čowə* > **šowə* > H *sovány* 'lean, thin' (*-ány* is a H suff).

/pp/ in intervocalic position remained /pp/ in PUgr, became /p/ in EAH and /p/ in H in 16 cases (13 PFUgr + 3 PUgr).

> PFUgr **appe* > PUgr *uppə*/*ïppə* (> POUgr **up* > Vog *up*, Osty *up*) > EAH **ipə* > H *ipa* 'father-in-law' (+*a* is a petrified H poss suff).

PFUgr /mp/ remained /mp/ in PUgr (> POUgr /mp/), became /mb/ in EAH and /b/ in H in 3 cases (1 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

> PFUgr **kumpa* > PUgr **kumpə* (> POUgr **kŭmp* > PVog **kŭmp*, POsty **kump*) > EAH **χombə* > H *hab* 'foam, wave'.

In the cluster /pC/ the /p/ disappeared through EAH /φ/ before voiceless consonants in H in 3 cases (2 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PFUgr *ipse > PUgr *epsə (> POUgr *ēpĕθ > PVog *ăt, POsty *epĕʌ) > EAH *eφsə > *isə > H (*is >) íz 'taste'.

After consonants /p/ changed to /w/ in EAH and to /v/in H in 3 cases (3 PFUgr).

PFUgr *orpa (← IE) > PUgr *orpə (> POsty *urwi) > EAH *orwə > H árva 'orphan' (+*a* is a petrified H poss suff).

/t/

In initial position it was preserved in PUgr, in EAH and in H (22 PFUgr + 10 PUgr).

PFUgr *towɜ > PUgr *toɣə (> POUgr *tŏɣ > PVog *tɔw, Osty *tŏɣ) > EAH *tow > H tó (*tav*-).

In initial position, according to some scholars, /t/ became /d/ before voiced consonants at the onset of the following syllable (see /p/ > /b/ above).

PFUgr *tarkɜ > PUgr *taryə (> POUgr *tī̯rɣɜ > PVog *tī̯rəɣ, POsty *tarəɣ) > EAH *tarəɣ > H *daru* 'crane',
PFUgr *tuŋke- > PUgr *tuŋkə- (not in POUgr) > H *dug*- 'to stick (into)', but see **dug**.

In intervocalic position it became /δ/ in EAH and /z/ in H in 13 cases (9 PFUgr + 4 PUgr).

PFUgr *kota > PUgr *katə (> POUgr *kat- > POsty *kat) > EAH *χaδə > H *ház* 'house'.

In intervocalic position /tt/ is preserved as (final) /t/ in 6 cases (4 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

PUgr *čettə (> POUgr *čĕt/čăt > PVog *šătɜp-, POsty *četimə-) > EAH *šetə > H *sötét*, *sötét* 'dark' (*-ét* is a H suff).

The clusters /Nt/ changed to /nd/ in EAH and to /d/ in H in 15 cases (9 PFUgr + 6 PUgr).

PFUgr *kunta > PUgr *kontə (> POUgr *kont > PVog *kont, POsty *χant) > EAH *χondə > OH *hodu* [hådŭ] > H *had* 'clan, army'.

/Ct/ and /tC/ clusters became /tt/ before and after /k/ and thus they are represented in EAH and in H by /tt/ > /t/ in 3 cases (3 PFUgr).

PFUgr *utka > PUgr *utkə > *uktə (> POUgr ī̯ktɜ > PVog ī̯kət, POsty ɔɣət) > EAH *uɣtə > *uttə > OH *utu* [utŭ] > H *út* 'road'.

/k/

In the PUgr lg the phoneme /k/ had two allophones: a more backwards formed (velar) [k̟] which occurred before back vowels, and a more forwards formed (palatal) [k̠] which occurred before front vowels. This situation was preserved even after the separation of H fr the OUgr lgs. The velar [k̟] became /χ/ in some POsty and PVog dials after the separation of the PVog and POsty lgs. In a few dials one also finds /h/ (see Honti 1999: 38–42, 73).

In EAH the velar allophone gradually received phonological status and became /χ/ which later changed in H to a laryngeal /h/.

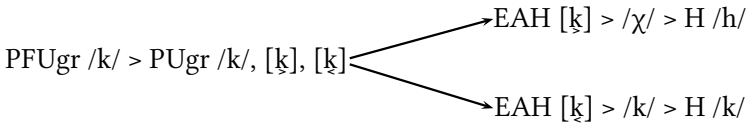


Figure 5.2: The split of PFUgr /k/ in PUgr and EAH

PFUgr initial /k/ in back-vocalic words became /χ/ in EAH and later /h/ in H in 74 cases (58 PFUgr + 16 PUgr).

> PFUgr **kola-* > PUgr **kolə-* (> POUgr **kōl-* > PVog **kāl-*, POsty **kăla-* ~ **kol-*) > EAH **χalə-* > H *hal-* 'to die'.

PFUgr /k/ in front-vocalic words was preserved in 35 cases (24 PFUgr + 11 PUgr).

> PFUgr **küńĕ* > PUgr **küńĕ* (> POUgr **kŭn* > PVog **kŭnɣĕl*, POsty **köŋŋey*) > EAH *küńə* > H *könyök* 'elbow' (the *-k* is a H dim suff).

PUgr initial /k/ became /χ/ in EAH and /h/ in H, even in those words in which the vocalism later changed to front.

> PFUgr **koya-ra* > PUgr **koyarə* (> POUgr **kŭrɜ* > PVog **kŭr*, POsty **kar*) > EAH **χoyrə* > **χayrə* > **χērə* > H *here* 'testicle'.

OH also had a voiced /g/ in initial position. This phoneme appeared partly by assimilation of /k/ to a following voiced consonant (itself also secondary), and partly later under the influence of foreign lgs (Al, T and Sl). According to Honti the voicing of initial *k-* occurred only through the influence of internal /ŋk/ >> /g/. However the problem of initial /g/ has to be examined together with the other voiced initials, i.e. /b/ and /d/. There are no acceptable etymologies for PFUgr /k/ >> H /g/.

PFUgr /k/ in intervocalic position became voiced early and was spirantized in most PFUgr lgs. For the PUgr unity we can already posit a voiced fricative /ɣ/ which changed through /w/ to /v/ in most OUgr dials.

In H /ɣ/ became /w/ which had a strong tendency to disappear in simple stems, but surfaces in extended and formed stems in 11 cases (11 PFUgr).

PFUgr **yoke* > PUgr **yoɣə* (> POUgr **yɨ̄ɣ(ɜ)* > PVog **yɨ̄* , POsty **yɨ̄ɣ*, **yaɣ*) > EAH **yoɣə* > **yō* > H *jó*[1] 'river (*arch*; today only in river names as *Sajó*, *Hejő*, etc.)',

PFUgr **śukɜ* > PUgr **śuɣə* (> POUgr ? **suɣ* > PVog **sou*, POsty **saɣ*) > EAH **śuwə* > H *szú* 'wood worm', see *szuvas* 'decayed, carious'.

In secondary preconsonantal position:

PFUgr **reke-* > PUgr **reɣə-* (> POUgr **rV̄ɣ-*, PVog **rīɣ-*, POsty **rō̄ɣ-*) > EAH **reɣə-* > **reɣə-tə-* > **reɣtə* > H *rejt-* 'to hide' (*-t* is a H suff).

See further /ɣ/ in intervocalic position below on page 1033.

PFUgr had long /kk/ in intervocalic position. This /kk/ was simplified to /k/ and became /ɣ/ in the POUgr lgs, but not in H. In EAH /kk/ was simplified to /k/ and preserved as such in H in 14 cases (7 PFUgr + 7 PUgr).

PFUgr **pukkɜ* > PUgr **pukkə* (> POUgr **pŭɣ-* > PVog **pŭp*, POsty **pŏɣ*) > EAH **φukə* > OH *fuk* > H *fok* 'cap, eye of a needle'.

In certain cases H restored /kk/, as before the momentaneous suff *-Vn*.

PFUgr /k/ in the nasal+stop clusters was preserved and became voiced. In EAH the cluster was denasalized: PFUgr /ŋk/ > PUgr /ŋk/ > EAH /ŋg/ > H /g/ in 18 cases (13 PFUgr + 5 PUgr). In a few cases PFUgr /ŋ/ changed to PUgr /ŋk/. These are included here.

PFUgr **śäŋkɜ-* 'to break' > PUgr **śäŋkə-* (> POUgr **sēŋk-* > PVog **sā̄ŋk-*, Osty *söŋk-*) > EAH **śäŋgə-* > **sägə-* > H *szeg-* 'to break (bread, neck), hem',

PFUgr **puŋɜ-* > PUgr **puŋkə* (> PVog **puɣ-*) > EAH **φuŋge-* > **φugə-* > H *fog-* 'to hold, catch'.

In some cases the later changes show that the PFUgr had /ŋ/ and not /ŋk/ as in:

PFUgr (**soŋkɜ*[1]) ~ **soŋɜ* > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoɣə-* > **hawə-* > H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff).

PFUgr (**soŋkɜ*[2]) ~ **soŋɜ* > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old',

but: PFUgr (**soŋɜ*) ~ **soŋkɜ*[3] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > *hagə* > H *agg* 'old', see also *avul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old',

or: PFUgr (**yoŋksɜ*) ~ **yoŋsɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ*) > EAH **yīwəh*, **yıyəh* > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*).

In all possible clusters with /k/ in the first position, as in /kt/, /ks/, /ś/, /kl/, /ky/ the /k/ disappeared in various ways in 8 cases (7 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PFUgr **käktä* > PUgr **käktə* (> POUgr **kīt(ĕ)* > PVog **kĭtɜ*, POsty **kit ~ kät*) > EAH **kättə* > H *két* (> *kettő*) 'two',
PFUgr *sükśe* > PUgr **sükśə* (> POUgr **θŭɣĕs* > PVog *tŭkəs*, POsty *söɣəs*) > EAH **hüśə* > H *ősz* 'autumn, fall',
PFUgr **maksa* > PUgr **maɣəs* (> POUgr **mŭɣĕθ* > PVog **mŭĕt ~ măyt*, POsty **muɣĕʌ*) > EAH **maɣ* > **mā* > H *máj* 'liver' (the final *-y* is a petrified remnant of the poss suff),
PFUgr **reke-* > PUgr **reɣə-* (> POUgr **rV̄γ* > PVog **rīɣ-*, POsty **rő̆ɣ-*) > EAH **reɣə-* > **reɣə-tə-* > **reɣtə* > H *rejt-* 'to hide' (*-t* is a H suff).

/k/ disappeared in all attested clusters /ćk/, /tk/, /śk/ and /lk/, /rk/ in 16 cases (16 PFUgr) through /χ/ or /ɣ/ depending on the voicing of the preceding consonant.

PFUgr **kütke-* > PUgr *kütkə* (> PVog **köt-*) > EAH **kötχə-* > OH *ket-* > H *köt-* 'to bind',
PFUgr **waśke* > PUgr **waśkə* (> POUgr ? **vokś* > **voks* > POsty **vŏχ*, PVog **wəs*) > EAH **wašχə* > H *vas* 'iron' (originally a kind of metal),
PFUgr **tulka* > PUgr **tulkə* (> POUgr **tuɣl* > **tăɣăl*) > EAH **tolɣə* > H *toll* 'feather',
PFUgr **poyka* > PUgr **poykə* (> POUgr **pŏyɣ* > PVog **pŏyɣ* > **püw*, POsty **pŏɣ*) > EAH **φoyɣə* > **φiyə* > H *fi*, see *fi* in *baromfi* 'poultry', H *fiú* 'boy, son' (the *-ú* is a H suff, see PUgr *pal′ə* > H *faggyú*).

5.6.2 Nasals

/m/

In intial position it has been preserved in 34 cases (23 PFUgr + 11 PUgr).

PFUgr **maksa* > PUgr **maɣəs* (> POUgr **mīɣĕθ* > PVog **mi̯ĕt ~ măjt*, Osty **muɣĕʌ*) > EAH **maɣə* > **mā* > H *máj* 'liver' (the final *-y* is a petrified remnant of the poss suff).

In initial position it changed to /n/ because of partial dissimilation in 16th c. H lg.

PUgr **mäɣə-* (> PVog **mīɣə-*) > EAH **mewə-* > OH, MH *mevet-* > H *nevet-* 'to laugh'.

In intervocalic position it has a) been preserved as /m/ in 9 cases (9 PFUgr), or b) became through /w/ > /v/ in 10 cases.

a) With 2 exceptions (PFUgr **kuma*[1], PFUgr **kama*) all words with preserved H /m/ are missing fr the OUgr lgs. Because the cause of this split is yet unclear I cite all examples.

In 1 word /m/ appears in Vog alternating with /ŋk/: see PFUgr **kama* below.

Examples for preserved /m/:

PFUgr **kuma*[1] > PUgr **komə* (> POUgr **kōm(t)ɜγ* > PVog **kɔměγ*, POsty **komtaγ*) > EAH **χomə* > H *homlok* 'forehead' (*-l-ok* are suffs, see *homorú* 'concave', *homorít-* 'to make concave'),

PFUgr **kama* > **kamə* (> PVog **kam*, only as second part of compositions and alternating with *-ŋk-*) > EAH **χamə* > H *hámlik-* 'to peel (intr)' (*-l* is a den, *-ik* is a H dev suff), *hámoz-* 'to peel (tr)' (*-z* is a den suff), H *hám* 'scarfskin, epithelium' is a late neologism.

PFUgr **emä* > PUgr **emə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə* > H *eme* 'sow', cf. *emse* (*-e*, and *-se* are H suffs),

PFUgr **ime-* > PUgr **imə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə-* > H *emik-* 'to suck' (*-ik* is a H suff, see *emlő* 'mamma, teats'),

PFUgr **kämä* > PUgr *kämə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kämə* > H *kemény* 'hard, stiff' (*-ény* is a H suff),

PFUgr **kumaɜ* > PUgr *komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χomə* > H *homály* 'obscurity, fog' (*-ály* is a H suff, but see below *hó*),

PFUgr **śomɜ* > PUgr **śomə* (not in POUgr) > EAH *śomə* > H *szom* in *szomjú* 'thirsty' (*-jú* goes back to OH *jonh* 'inner part of the body),

PFUgr **śomɜ-rɜ* > PUgr **śomərə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śomərə* > H *szomorú* 'sad' (*-ú* is a H suff),

PFUgr **temɜ-* > PUgr **temə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH *tema* > H (*tem-*) > *töm-* 'to stuff', see *temet-* 'to bury'.

b) Examples for /v/ (6 PFUgr + 4 PUgr):

PFUgr **nime* > PUgr **nemə* (> POUgr **nēm* > PVog **nʲīmɜ*, POsty **nem*) > EAH **newə* > H *név* 'name',

PFUgr **kuma*[2] > PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χowə* > **χawə* > H (**hav* >), *hó*, *hav-* 'snow',

PFUgr **leme* > PUgr **lämə* (> PVog **lā̈m*) > EAH **läwə* > H *lé*, *lev-* 'juice',

PFUgr **ńoma-le* > PUgr **ńuməl* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ńuwul* > H *nyúl* 'rabbit',

PFUgr **śiδmä* > PUgr **śiδmə* (> POUgr **sĭm* > PVog *šĭm*, POsty **sĕm*) > EAH **śilwə* > **śīwə* > H *szív* 'heart' (the *-v* is the continuation of *-m-*),

PFUgr **täye* > PUgr **täyə* > **täyĕ-ktɜmə* (> POUgr **tēk(t)əmɜ* > PVog **tākmɜ*, POsty **töγtəm*) > EAH **tātwə* > **tätwĕ* > H *tetű*, (acc) *tetvet* 'louse',
PUgr **äδ´ämə* (> POUgr **īδ´me* > PVog **īl´ĕm*, Osty *äyĕm*) > EAH **eywə* > **eńwə* > H *enyv* 'glue',
PUgr **pimə* (> POUgr **pūmɜ* > PVog **pŭmɜ*, POsty **pam* ~ **pɔm*) > EAH **φiwə* > **φiü* > H *fű*, (acc) *füvet* 'grass',
PUgr **yomə* (> POUgr **yōm* (?) > PVog **yomās*, Osty **yăm*) > EAH **yowə* > **yawə* > H *jó*[2] (with poss suff: *java*) 'good',
PFUgr **wiδɜmɜ* > PUgr **weδəmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wāləm*, POsty **weləm*) > EAH **weləwə* > H *velő* 'marrow'.

In clusters with consonants after /m/, the stops became homorganic voiced stops. PFUgr /mt/ > /nt/ > EAH /nd/ > H /d/, PFUgr /mp/ > EAH /mb/ > H /b/ in 9 cases (6 PFUgr + 3 PUgr).

PFUgr **kumpa* > PUgr **kumpə* (> POUgr **kŭmp* > Vog **kŭmp*, Osty **kump*) > EAH **χombə* > H *hab* 'foam, wave'.

In clusters with consonants before /m/ the /m/ a) is preserved in 4 cases (all PFUgr), or b) became /v/ in 1 case (PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **kolmɜ* > PUgr **kormə* ~ kolmə (> POUgr *kūrmɜ* ~ *kulmɜ* > PVog **kūräm*, Osty **kɔläm*) > EAH **χormə* > **χorəm* > H *három* 'three', (acc) *hármat*,
b) PFUgr **ńälmä* > PUgr **ńälmə* (> POUgr **ńīlmɜ* > PVog **ńīlmɜ*, Osty **ńälĕm*) > EAH **ńälwə* > H *nyelv* 'tongue'.

In 1 case we find /mw/ in H:

PFUgr **kuδ´mɜ* > PUgr **kuδ´mə* (> POUgr *kūδ´mɜ* > PVog **kul´mɜ*, Osty **kayəm*) > EAH **χomə*, **χomwə* > OH *homoų* > H *hamu*, 'ash', see (acc) *hamvat*, *hamvaz-* (the *-u/v* may be a H suff as in *szaru*, (acc) *szarvat*, etc., or a remnant of a *-mv-*.

/n/

In initial position it was a) preserved in 3 cases (3 PFUgr), or b) palatalized in 3 cases (2 PFUgr + 1 PUgr) in H and in some other FUgr lgs as well.

a) PFUgr **nime* > PUgr **nemə* (> POUgr **nēm* > PVog **nă̆mɜ*, Osty **nem*) > EAH **newə* > H *név* 'name'.
b) PFUgr **nüδe* ~ **niδe* > PUgr **näδĕ* (> POUgr **nă̆δ*, **nĕδ*, **nŏ̆δ* > PVog **nŏ̆δ*, POsty **nŏ̆l*) > EAH **ńälə* > H *nyél* 'handle'.

In intervocalic position it was a) preserved in 14 cases (13 PFUgr + 1 PUgr) b) or was palatalized in 5 cases (3 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

a) PFUgr **mänɜ-* > PUgr **mänə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mänə-* > H **men-* in *ment-* 'to rescue', *menekül-* 'to rescue him/her/itself', (*-t* and *-kül* are H suffs),

b) PFUgr **muna* > PUgr **monə* (> POUgr **mōn* > PVog **măn*, POsty **moṇ*) > EAH **monə* > H *mony* 'egg, testicle'.

In the consonant cluster /nt/ the /n/ disappeared and the /t/ became through EAH /nd/ /d/ in 11 cases (6 PFUgr + 5 PUgr).

PFUgr **kunta* 'clan' > PUgr **kontə* 'army' (> POUgr **kont* > PVog **kānt*, ? Osty *χanti*) > EAH **χondə* > OH *hodu* [hådŭ] > H *had* 'army, *arch* clan'.

The /n/ was preserved after /l/. The only example is:

PFUgr **wolnɜ* > PUgr **wolnə* > (POUgr **ōlnɜ* > PVog **ălnɜ*, POsty **olna*) > EAH **olnə* > H *ón* 'tin'.

/ń/

In initial position it is preserved (orthographically <ny>) in 18 cases (13 PFUgr + 5 PUgr).

PFUgr **ńälmä* > PUgr **ńälmə* (> POUgr **ńīlmɜ* > PVog **ńīlmɜ*, POsty **ńälĕm*) > EAH **ńälwə* > H *nyelv* 'tongue'.

In initial position it lost its palatalisation in 1 case (PFUgr). This occurred perhaps through dissimilation.

PFUgr **ńelyä* > PUgr **ńelyə* (> POUgr **ńilɜ* > PVog **ńĭlɜ*, POsty **ńĕlä*) > EAH **ńelyə* > **ńejə* > H *négy* 'four'.

In intervocalic position it is preserved in 4 cases (4 PFUgr).

PFUgr **kuńa-* > PUgr **kuńə-* (> POUgr **kŏń-* > PVog *kɔń-*, POsty **kŏń-*) > EAH **χuńə-* > H *huny-* 'to close the eyes'.

/ń/ disappeared before consonants after having voiced the following consonant in 7 cases (6 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PFUgr **kuńće*[1] > PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kŭńć* > PVog **kŭńć-*, POsty **kŏs-*) > EAH **χunǰə* > **χuǰə* > H *húgy*[1] 'urine', (the same history applies to the homophonous *arch húgy*[2] 'star' << PFUgr **kuńće*).

The palatal nasal occurs in 1 case after consonants and here it remains preserved:

PFUgr **kurńa* > PUgr *kurńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χorńə* > H *horony* 'groove, slot'.

/ŋ/

The phoneme /ŋ/ did not occur in PFUgr and in PUgr in word-initial position.

In intervocalic position it was denasalized and is reflected in three ways: a) it disappeared through /g/ > /ɣ/ > /w/ > /ø/ in 16 cases (12 PFUgr + 4 PUgr), b) it became /g/ through /ŋk/ in 5 cases where PUgr already had /ŋk/ (5 PFUgr), or c) H preserved both forms in some cases.

a) PFUgr **soŋɜ-* > PUgr **soŋə-* (> POUgr **θV̄ŋ-* > PVog **tŭw-*, POsty **ʌ̆ŋa-*) > EAH **hoɣa-* > **howə-* > H *avat-* 'to pre-shrink (textile), initiate' (*v* is secondary, *-at* is a H suff).

A special case is: PUgr **kottəŋ* (> POUgr **kŏtɜŋ* > PVog **kŏtāŋ*, POsty **kŏtəŋ*) > EAH **χottəɣ* > H *hattyú* 'swan'. The palatalisation of the /t/ in the H word is a H development, as is the *-əŋ* > *-əɣ* > *-ú*. The word is not a T lw but a Nordic "Wanderwort", see **gödény**, **károkatona**.

Another special case is that the sequence *-ŋat-* became through /ŋt/ > /ɣt/ > /yt/:

PFUgr **aŋa-t-* > PUgr **aŋtə-* (> POUgr **ūŋkət-* > PVog **īk$_o$t-*, POsty **aŋət-*) > EAH **aɣtə-* > H **aj-t-* 'to open' in *ajtó* 'door' (the *-t* is a H suff; cf. H *aj* 'opening').

b) PFUgr **äŋɜ-* > PUgr **äŋkə-* (> POsty *yäŋlĕl-*) > EAH **äŋgə-* > **ägə-* > H *ég-* 'to burn',

c) PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[1] > PUgr **soŋə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoɣə-* > **hawə* > H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff), see also *agg* and *ó*,

PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[2] > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋə* > **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old', see also *agg*, *avul-*,

PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[3] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > **hagə* > H *agg* 'old', see also *avul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old'.

/ŋk/ became /g/ in 19 cases (12 PFUgr + 7 PUgr).

PFUgr **muŋkɜ* > PUgr **moŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mongə* > **mogə* > H *mag* 'grain, seed, semen, kernel'.

/ŋ/ disappeared before /ć/ in 1 case:

PFUgr **wäŋćɜ-* > PUgr **wäŋćə-* (> POsty **wäŋć-* > **wänt´-*) > EAH **weɣčə-* > **wešə-* > H *vés-* 'to engrave'.

/ŋt/ became /ŋd/ in EAH and /d/ in H (1 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PUgr **oŋtə* (> POUgr **V̄ŋt-* > PVog **āŋtəl*, POsty **ăŋtį*) > EAH **oŋdə* > **oɣdə* > **ōd* > H (*ōdal* >) *oldal* 'side' (the final *-l* is a H suff).

/Cŋ/ is very rare, I found 1 example:

PFUgr *pilŋe* ~ **pilwe* > PUgr **pilŋə* (> Osty *pələŋ*) > EAH **φelŋə* > **φelɣə* > H *fëlhő*, *fëlleg* 'cloud'.

5.6.3 Affricates

The PFUgr protolg had two affricates: the non palatalized, cacuminal /č/ and the palatalized /ć/. Three phonetical features distinguished the two sounds: the place of their formation, the position of the tip of the tongue, and the presence or absence of the palatal component. This opposition persisted in the OUgr lgs: POUgr /č/ > PVog /č/ > /š/, POsty /č/: POUgr /ć/ > PVog /ć/, POsty /ć/ (see Honti 1999), but changed in H.

/č/

In initial position it became /š/ in H in 8 cases (5 PFUgr + 3 PUgr).

PFUgr **čawɜ* > PUgr **čawə* (> POUgr ? **čaw* > PVog **šaɣ*, POsty **čuw*) > EAH **čawə* > H *savanyú* 'sour', (*-ny* and *-ú* are H suffs), see also *só* 'salt'.

In intervocalic position it became /š/ in all 3 cases (2 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PFUgr **kečɜ* > PUgr **kečə* (> POUgr **kēčěɣ* > PVog **kăškāy*, POsty **köčěɣ*) > EAH **kečə* > **kešə* > H *kés* 'knife'.

Exceptional or a wrong etymology: PFUgr **küče* > PUgr **küćə* (> POUgr **kŭčəm* > PVog **kŭšəm*, POsty **kŏčəm*) > H *kögcsög* 'jug, jar' (*-g* would be a H suff).

/nč/ remained /nč/ in the PUgr lg.

PFUgr **pančе-* > PUgr **pančə-* 'to open' (> POUgr **pūnč-* > PVog **pūnš-*, POsty *puṇč-*). No H examples.

/ć/

The palatalized voiceless affricate in initial position is represented in H as a) /č/, orthographically <cs> in 8 cases (6 PFUgr + 2 PUgr). The words b) with H *š-* are all problematic (3 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **ćɜlkɜ-* > PUgr **ćilkə-* (> POUgr **ćī̮l-* > PVog **ćī̮l-*, POsty **ćăl-*) > EAH *čilkə-* > **čillə-* > H *csillog-* 'to glitter', *csillag* 'star', an onomatopoeic word,

b) PFUgr **ćüklä* > PUgr **ćüklə* > (not in POUgr) > H *süly* 'scurvy' (the palatalization of /l/ in H is secondary), The word is of T origin, see **süly** in the Lexicon,

PFUgr *ćiŋkä > PUgr *ćiŋkə (> POUgr *ćŭŋk > PVog *ćŭŋk, POsty *ćõŋk) > H *seg* 'foot of the hill' (*arch*, now only in GNs, special problems in H),
PFUgr *ćärke > PUgr *ćärkə- (> POUgr *ćārəγ- > PVog *ćārəγ-, POsty *ćārəγ-) > H *sért-* 'to injure, cut, offend', *sérül-* 'to become injured, cut, etc.', *sérv* 'hernia' (*-t* is a H suff). The word is of T origin, see **sért** in the Lexicon.

In intervocalic position it is represented a) by /č/ in 5 cases (5 PFUgr), b) by /š/ in 9 cases (3 PFUgr + 6 PUgr), and c) by /s/ in 7 cases (7 PFUgr). In some special cases we find d) a secondary H /z/ (1 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

a) PFUgr *ećɜ > PUgr *ećə (> POUgr *ić > PVog *ić(ɜ), POsty *ić-) > EAH *ečə > H (eč >) *öcs* 'younger brother',
b) PFUgr *ićä > PUgr *ićə (> POUgr *ā́ć > PVog *ā́ć(ɜ), POsty *ä́ći) > EAH *ičə > *išə > OH *īs* > H *ős* 'ancestor',
c) PFUgr *kećä > PUgr *kećə-g (> POUgr *kūsəγ > PVog *kāsěγ, POsty *kŏ̄sěγ) > EAH *keśəg > H *keszeg* 'bream' (→ Os *kæsag* 'fish'; no convincing Ir etymology),
d) PFUgr *süćɜ > PUgr *śüćě (PFUgr *s through the influence of *-ć-* > PUgr *ś*) (> PVog *śšś) > EAH *süsə > *süzə > H *szűz* 'virgin', the T origin is less probable,
PUgr *saćə- ~ *saśə- (> POUgr *θaθ- > PVog *tăt-, POsty *ʌăl-) > EAH *hasə > *hazə > H *ázik-* 'to become wet' (*-ik* is a H suff),
PUgr *kućə (> POsty *kuś) > OH *-huz* > H *hozzá* 'to him/her/it, see the suff *-hoz*.

The cluster nasal+/ć/ became /nǰ/ in EAH and /dʹ/ in H in 11 cases (9 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

PFUgr *kuńće[1] > PUgr *kuńćə (> POUgr *kŭńć > PVog *kŭńć-, POsty *kŏs-) > EAH *χunǰə > *χuǰə > H *húgy*[1] 'urine'.

In the cluster /ć/+nasal the affricate became voiced:

PFUgr *koćmɜ > PUgr *koćmə (> Vog *kośəm*) > EAH *χoǰmə > H *hagyma* 'onion' (*-a* is a H suff).

The cluster /ćk/ changed to a) /č/ in 1 case /šk/ > /čk/ (PFUgr) and b) to /š/ in 3 cases (2 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

a) PFUgr *päćkɜ > PUgr *päćkě (not in POUgr) > EAH *φäšə > H *fëcske, dial fëske* 'swallow' (*-ke* is a H suff),
b) PFUgr *pućka- > PUgr *poćkə(-) (> POUgr *pŏć > PVog *pŏć, POsty *pŏć) > H *fos*(-) *vulg* 'to have diarrhea'.

/yć/ became /č/ in H (1 PFUgr):

PFUgr **wayće* > PUgr **wäyćə* (> POUgr **wäs* > PVog **wā̈sɜ*, POsty **wäsəγ*) > EAH **wäyčə* > **wečə* > H *vöcsök*, *dial vecsek* 'grebe' (a kind of water bird) (*-k* is a H suff).

5.6.4 Sibilants

The PFUgr protolg had three sibilants: /s/, /š/ and /ś/. In the PUgr lgs there existed only two, /s/ and /š/; however, the history of the three PFUgr sibilants is somewhat complicated. In what follows I concentrate only on H.

/s/

In word-initial position PFUgr /s/ was preserved in PUgr, becoming voiceless interdental /θ/ in POUgr, and disappearing in H in 29 cases (21 PFUgr + 8 PUgr). For general phonological reasons I have to suppose that PUgr had /s/ and not /θ/. /s/ changes frequently to /h/, while this is not the case with /θ/.

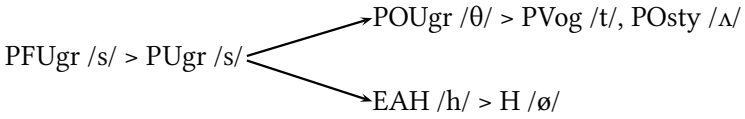


Figure 5.3: The split of PFUgr and PUgr /s/

PFUgr **särɜ* > PUgr **särə* (> POUgr **θēr* > PVog **tā̈r*, POsty **ʌer*) > EAH **härə* > H *ér* 'vein, artery'.

Secondary palatalization, /s/ > /ś/ occurred in:

PFUgr **süćɜ* > PUgr *śüćĕ* (PFUgr /s/ under the influence of /ć/ > PUgr /ś/) (> PVog **śäś*) > EAH **süsə* > **süzə* > H *szűz* 'virgin'.

In intervocalic position it is rare, but in 1 example the /s/ was preserved through the influence of the preceding /φ/.

PFUgr **pesä* > PUgr *päsə* (> POUgr **pīθ* > PVog **pīt*, POsty *piʌ*) > EAH **φäsə* > H *fészek* 'nest' (*-ek* is a H suff, see Honti 1983: 113, after early /p/ > /f/).

Clusters with /s/ are very rare (2 PFUgr):

PFUgr **maksa* > PUgr **maγəs* (> POUgr **mīγĕθ* > PVog **mi̯ĕt ~ măjt*, POsty **muγĕʌ*) > EAH **maγ* > **mā* > H *máj* 'liver' (the final *-y* is a petrified remnant of the poss suff),

PFUgr **ipse* > PUgr **epsə* (> POUgr **ēpəθ* > PVog **ăt*, POsty **epəʌ*) > EAH **eφsə* > **isə* > **izə* (fr the same base *édes* 'sweet' ~ *ízes* 'tasty', MH *ézes*, see T *tat-* 'to taste' > T *tatlïġ* 'sweet') > H *íz* 'taste').

/š/

In initial position it fell together with PFUgr /s/ and disappeared through PUgr /s/ > EAH /h/ in H to /ø/, in 6 cases (6 PFUgr).

PFUgr **šärɜ-* > PUgr **särĕ-* (> POUgr **θēr-* > PVog **tā̆rĕt-*, POsty **ʌerĕmt-*) > EAH **härə-* > H *ér-* 'to reach, touch, be worth', *ért-* 'to understand', *ered-* 'to rise from, take its origin' (*-t*, *-d* are H suffs).

In intervocalic position it does not occur in H.

PFUgr ** pišä-* 'to cook' > PUgr **pisə-* (> POUgr *pīθ-* > PVog *pīt-*, POsty **päʌ-*) not in H.

/šC/ is preserved in H in 1 case:

PUgr **oštərə* (← MIr, see Pahl *aštar*) (> PVog **ośtər*) > EAH **oštarə* > OH *ustor* > H *ostor* 'whip'.

See also PFUgr **aškɜ* 'sleigh' > PUgr **askə* (> POsty **aɣă̆θ*), not in H.
/š/ disappeared after a consonant through /h/ in 1 case:

PFUgr **mekše* > PUgr **meksə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mehə* > **mē* > H *méh* 'bee' (the *-h* in *méh* is secondary).

/ś/

In initial position it lost its palatalisation during the EAH period and changed in H a) to /s/, orthographically <sz>, in 37 cases (26 PFUgr + 11 PUgr), or b) in a few cases to /š/, orthographically <s>. The latter is the result of a late H secondary change.

In such cases, where for PFUgr an alternation /ć/ ~ /ś/ has been reconstructed, the data of the Ugr lgs point to an /ś/.

a) PFUgr **śalkɜ* > PUgr **śalkə* (> POUgr **sɨ̄ɣlɜ* > PVog **sɨ̄ɣlā*, POsty **saɣəl*) > EAH **śalə* > H *szál*(*fa*) 'timber', *szálka* 'splinter', to be separated fr H **szál** 'raft' (see Lexicon),
b) PFUgr **śiyele* > PUgr **śiyelə* (> *śiyĕl* (> PVog **suole*) > EAH **siwelə* > OH *siül* > H *szül* (14th c.) > *sün* 'hedgehog'; the /š/ is secondary,
PUgr **śäɣərə* (> POUgr **sēɣər* (?) > PVog **säɣər*) > EAH **sewərə*, **sewrə* > H *szőr* 'bristle, hair', (see Honti 1999: 128) and not **säɣɜrɜ* or **säkrɜ*

(Rédei 1986–1988/2: 886) (the /š/ in *sörény* ‘mane’ is a H secondary development),
PFUgr **śäŋe-* > PUgr **śäŋə-* (> POUgr **sēγ-*, **sə̆̄γ-* > PVog **sə̆̄γ-*, POsty **söγ-*) > EAH **säγə-* > **śäwə-* > H *sző-* ‘to weave’ (the /š/ in H *sövény* ‘hedge’ is the result of a secondary development (if the two words pertain together at all),
PFUgr **śeŋkɜ* > PUgr **śeŋkə* (> PVog **sə̄ŋk*) > H *segg* ‘bottom’ (the initial consonant is irregular, perhaps **seg* > *šegg*, the final long /gg/ is secondary).
Secondary PUgr /ś/ in PFUgr **süćɜ* > PUgr *śüćĕ* (PFUgr /s/ through the influence of /ć/ > PUgr /ś/) (> PVog **śšś*) > EAH **süsə* > **süzə* > H *szűz* ‘virgin’.

In intervocalic position it became depalatalized in H and was preserved in 8 cases (3 PFUgr + 5 PUgr).

PFUgr **kuśɜ* > PUgr **kuśă* (> POUgr **kūsɜ* > PVog **kŭs*, POsty **kɔs*) > EAH *χusə* > H *húsz* ‘twenty’.

In the cluster /śk/ /ś/ became /š/ and /k/ disappeared in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

PFUgr **waśke* > PUgr **waśkə* (> POUgr ? **wokś* > **woks* > POsty **wŏχ*, PVog **wəs*) > EAH **waśkə* > **waškə* > **wašə* > H *vas* ‘iron’ (originally any kind of metal).

In the cluster /kś/ the /ś/ became /s/ in 2 cases (both PFUgr).

PFUgr **ńukśe* > PUgr **ńukśĕ* (> POUgr **ńŏkəs* > PVog **ńŏ̆kəs*, POsty **ńŏγəs*) > EAH **ńuśə* > H *nyuszt* ‘pine-marten’ (*-t* is a H suff).

5.6.5 Liquids

/r/

The FUgr protolg had one type of /r/.
In initial position it has been preserved in all 9 cases (7 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

PFUgr **rakka* > PUgr **rokkə* (> POUgr **rōγ-* > PVog **rāw-*, Osty **răγ-*) > EAH **rokə-* > H *rokon* ‘relative, kin’ (*-on* is a H suff).

In intervocalic position it has been preserved in all 42 cases (28 PFUgr + 14 PUgr).

PFUgr **śerɜ ~ *ćerə* > PUgr **śerə* (> POUgr **ćer* > PVog **sir*) > EAH **śerə* > H *szürke* ‘gray’ (*-ke* is a H suff).

Before consonants /r/ remains preserved in 9 cases (8 PFUgr + 1 PUgr).

PFUgr **perke* > PUgr **perkə* (> PVog **pērk*) > EAH **φerə* > H *férëg*, (acc) *férgët* 'maggot' (the H *-g* is a H suff).

After consonants /r/ is preserved in 1 case:

PUgr **poγrə-* (> PVog *powre-*) EAH **φorə-* > H (**fár-*) > *fárad-* 'get tired', *fáraszt-* 'to tire' (tr) (*-ad* and *-aszt* are H suffs).

/l/

In initial position it is preserved in H in 21 cases (17 PFUgr + 4 PUgr).

PFUgr **läppɜ-* > PUgr **läppə-* (> POUgr **lēp-* > PVog **lēp-*, POsty **tep-*) > EAH **läpə* > H *lep-* 'to cover', cf. *lepel*, *meglep-*, etc.

In intervocalic position it was preserved in 40 cases (26 PFUgr + 14 PUgr).

PFUgr **kala* > PUgr *kalə* (> POUgr **kūl* > PVog **kūl*, POsty **kūl*) > EAH **χalə* > H *hal* 'fish'.

/l/ before nasals a) was preserved in H in 3 cases (all PFUgr), b) disappeared in H early in 2 cases (1 PFUgr + 1PUgr), or c) disappeared relatively late, d) in 1 case /l/ changed to /r/.

a) PFUgr **ńälmä* > PUgr **ńälmə* (> POUgr **ńīlmɜ* > PVog **ńīlmɜ*, POsty **ńälĕm*) > EAH **ńälwə* > H *nyelv* 'tongue',
b) PFUgr **śilmä* > PUgr **śelmə* (> POUgr **sēm* > PVog **šăm*, POsty **sem*) > EAH **śemə* > H *szëm* 'eye',
c) PFUgr **wolnɜ* > PUgr **wolnə* > (POUgr **ōlnɜ* > PVog **ălnɜ*, POsty **olna*) > EAH **olnə* > H *ón* 'tin' (the *-l-* disappeared in H, causing lengthening of the vowel).
d) PFUgr **kolme* > PUgr **kormə ~ *kolmə* (> POUgr **kūrmɜ ~ *kulmɜ* > PVog **kūrəm*, POsty **kɔləm*) > EAH **χorəm* > H *három* 'three', (acc) *hármat*, *harminc* 'thirty'.

In clusters *l*+velar stop, the /l/ a) became long and the velar disappeared (or the /k/ assimilated to /l/) in 13 cases (13 PFUgr), b) in 8 of these cases metathesis occurred in the OUgr lgs, and the velar disappeared in H.

a) PFUgr **ćəlkɜ-* > PUgr **ćilkə-* (> POUgr **ćī̮l-* > PVog **ćī̮l-*, POsty **ćăl-*) > EAH *čilkə-* > **čillə-* > H *csillog-* 'to glitter', *csillag* 'star', an onomatopoeic word,
b) PFUgr **tälkɜ* > PUgr **täklə* > *täγlə* (> POUgr **tēγəl* > PVog **tā̄γəl*, POsty **tel*) > EAH **täγlə* > **tälə* > H *tele*, *teli* 'full' (*-e* and *-i* are H suffs).

The /l/ was preserved after consonants in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

PFUgr **kupla* > PUgr **kuplə* (no certain equivalent in POUgr) > H *hólyag* 'bladder, blister' (*-g* is a H suff).

/l/ is preserved in the cluster /ly/ in 3 cases (1 PFUgr + 2 PUgr).

PFUgr **pelyä* > PUgr **pelə ~ *pelyə* (> POUgr **pǎl ~ *pěl* > PVog **pǎl*, POsty **pěl*) > EAH **φelə ~* φelyə- > OH *fil* > H *fül* 'ear', *figyel-* 'to listen'.

In 1 case /l/ became /r/ in PVog and in H:

PFUgr **kolme* > PUgr **kormə ~ *kolmə* (> POUgr **kūrmɜ ~ *kulmɜ* > PVog **kūrəm*, POsty **kɔləm*) > EAH **χorəm* > H *három* 'three', (acc) *hármat*, *harminc* 'thirty'.

/wl/ and /lw/ preserved their /l/ in 3 cases (PFUgr):

PFUgr **lewlɜ* > PUgr **lelə* (> POUgr **līl* > PVog **lil*, **lāl*, POsty **lil*, **läl*) > EAH **lelə* > H *lélek* 'soul' (originally 'breath', see *lélekzet* 'breath'),
PFUgr **tälwä* > PUgr **tälə* (> POUgr **tāl* > PVog **tāl*, POsty **těləɣ*) > EAH **tälə* > H *tél* 'winter',
PFUgr **pilwe ~ *pilŋe* see above under /ŋ/.

/l′/

The FUgr protolg had a palatalized /l′/ phoneme.

In initial position there are no established examples in H. The phoneme /l′/ is also rare in PUgr. It was either preserved in POUgr, or the consonant lost its palatalization.

PFUgr **l′ekkɜ* 'tight' > PUgr **l′ekkə* (> POUgr *l′ŭk* > PVog *lŭk*, POsty *lŏk*), not in H.

In intervocalic position it became a) /j̃/ in EAH and LAH, /d′/ (orthographically <gy>) in OH and later in H in 2 cases (1 PFUgr + 1 PUgr), or b) lost its palatal component in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **pal′a* > PUgr **pal′ə* (> POUgr **pal′-* > PVog ** pal′-*) > **φajə-* > H *fagy*(-) 'to freeze, frost',
b) PFUgr **śal′ɜ* > PUgr **śal′ə* (> PVog **sal′t′*) > EAH **sal′ə* > **salə* > H *száldok* '*dial* lime, linden-tree', *száldob arch* id. (*-dok*, *-dob* are complex H suffs).

/w/ disappeared in /l′w/ and the palatalized /l′/ remained preserved in 1 case:

PFUgr **kal′wɜ* > PUgr **kal′wə* (> POUgr **kăl′ĕp* > PVog **kăl′ĕp*, POsty **kăl′i̯-*) > EAH **χal′əw* > H *hályog* 'cataract' (*-g* is a H suff).

5.6.6 Spirants

/δ/

The PFUgr phoneme /δ/ does not occur in word-initial position. In non-initial position it is realised in Mord by /d/ or /t/, while in all other PFUgr lgs, including PUgr, it merged with /l/. Therefore Honti (1992; 2001) and Bakró-Nagy (2001: 80–86) reconstruct a lateral fricative, and denote it with the truncated lambda <ʌ>.

In intervocalic position it became /l/ which a) either remained in 11 cases (11 PFUgr) or b) disappeared in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **piδe* > PUgr **piδə* (> POUgr**pǎl* > PVog **pǎl*, POsty **pěl*) > EAH * *φelə* > H *fël*, *föl* 'up(wards)',
b) PFUgr **śiδämä* > PUgr **śiδmə* (> POUgr **sǐm* > PVog *šǐm*, POsty **sěm*) > EAH **śilmə* > **śiwə* > H *szív* 'heart' (the /v/ is the continuation of /m/).

/δ′/

The PFUgr phoneme /δ′/ was preserved in PUgr, became a palatalised lateral in POUgr /ʌ′/ and was later in some cases depalatalized to /l/. The phoneme /δ′/ became /y/ in H, and may have changed later to /d′/. Some scholars reconstruct /ʌ′/ for PUgr.

In word-initial position this segment occurred in 3–4 words in PFUgr, but none of them is present in H.

In intervocalic position *-δ′-* became a) /y/ (orthographically <j>) in 4 cases (4 PFUgr), or b) /d′/ (orthographically <gy>) in 4 cases (4 PFUgr), and c) in 2 cases (1 PFUgr + 1 PUgr) secondary changes occurred.

a) PFUgr **suδ′ɜ* > PUgr **suδ′ə* (> POUgr **θūʌ′(ɜ)* > PVog **tŭl′ā*, POsty **ʌuy*) > EAH **huyə* > H *ujj*[1] 'finger' (the length of the consonant is the result of a secondary H development),
b) PFUgr **kaδ′a-* > PUgr **kaδ′ə-* (> POUgr **kūδ′* ~ **kʲūδ′* > PVog **kūl* ~ *kŭl′t*, POsty **kʲūy*) > EAH **χad′ə-* > H *hagy-* 'to leave (something somewhere)',
c) PUgr **iδ′əmə* (> POUgr **īδ′me* > PVog **īl′ĕm*, POsty *äyĕm*) > EAH **eywə* > **eńwə* > H *enyv* 'glue'.

The /δ′/ disappeared before nasals (1 PFUgr).

PFUgr **kuδ′mɜ* > PUgr **kuδ′mə* (> POUgr *kūδ′mɜ* > PVog **kul′mɜ*, POsty **kayəm*) > EAH **χomə*, **χomwə* > OH *homou̯* > H *hamu* 'ash', see (acc) *hamvat*, *hamvaz-* (the *-u*/*v* may be a H suff, or a remnant of the /mv/).

Before C /δ′/ became either a) /y/ in 2 cases (2 PFUgr), or b) /d′/ in 3 cases (3 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **paδ´tɜ* > PUgr **paδ´tə* (> PVog *pol´tə*) > EAH **φaytə* > H *fajd* 'black grouse, capercaillie',
b) PFUgr **kaδ´wa* > PUgr **kaδ´wə* (> POUgr **kēδ* > PVog **kāl*, POsty **köyəɣ*) > EAH **χöd´ə* > H *hölgy* 'lady, woman' (the /l/ is secondary in H).

/ɣ/

In the PFUgr protolg the phoneme /ɣ/ existed only in non-initial position. The intervocalic PUgr /ɣ/ developed fr PFUgr /ɣ/ and PFUgr /k/, and both became /w/, /ɣ/ or /y/ in POUgr. See the examples under /k/, /Ck/, /kC/ and below.

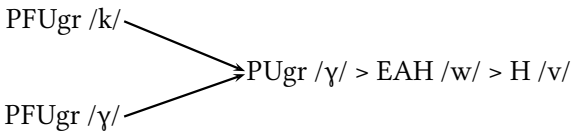


Figure 5.4: The history of PUgr /ɣ/

In intervocalic position /ɣ/ a) disappeared in 3 cases (1 PFUgr + 2 PUgr), and b) changed into *w* > *v* in 1 case (PUgr).

a) The only PFUgr word is: **wiɣe-* > PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə* (> POUgr ? **weɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) > EAH **wewə-* > H *vësz-* 'to take away, buy', *visz-* 'to take, carry (away)' (*-sz* is a H suff, see *vett*, *vevő*, *vitt*, *vivő*),
b) PUgr **mäɣə-* (> PVog **mă̆ɣə-*) > EAH **mewə-* > OH, MH *mevet-* > H *nevet-* 'to laugh'.

/ɣC/ became /w/ > /v/ and labialized the preceding vowel in 2 cases (2 PUgr).

PUgr **täɣtə* (> POUgr **tə̄ɣət* > PVog **tə̄̆wət*, POsty **tə̆ɣət*) > EAH **täwδə* > H *tűz*, *dial tíz* 'fire'.

/ɣ/ in postconsonantal position became /v/ (1 PUgr).

PUgr **palɣə* (> POUgr **pūɣəl* > PVog **pi̯wəl ~ pă̆yl*, POsty **puɣəl*) > EAH **φalwə* > H *falu*, (acc) *falvat* 'village'.

5.6.7 The semivowels /y/ and /w/

/y/

The phoneme /y/ is transcribed by most authors as /j/. In the H orthography <j> is used.

In initial position it a) is preserved in 7 cases (3 PFUgr + 4 PUgr), b) disappeared before original or secondary /i/ in 5 cases (4 PFUgr + 1 PUgr), and c) in a two cases the reconstruction of the initial /y/ is uncertain (2 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **yäŋe* > PUgr **yäŋkə* (> POUgr **yēŋk* > PVog **yə̄ŋkɜ*, POsty **yöŋk*) > EAH **yäŋgə* > **yägə* > H *jég* 'ice',
b) PFUgr **yoŋksɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ*) > EAH **yīwə* > **īwə* > H *ív* '*arch* 'bow' (see also *íj*),
c) PFUgr **yeye* ~ **eye* > PUgr **yiyə* (> POUgr **yĭy* > PVog **yī*, POsty **yĕy*) > EAH **eyə* > H *éj*, *é* 'night'.

In intervocalic position it was a) preserved and alternates with /d′/ in 11 cases (8 PFUgr + 3 PUgr) or b) became /w/ > /v/ in 4 cases (4 PFUgr), or c) disappeared in 6 cases (6 PFUgr).

a) PUgr **keyə* (> POUgr **kēy*/**kə̄y* > PVog **kə̆y*, POsty **köy*) > EAH **keyə* > H *kéj* 'lust, pleasure',
PFUgr **kiye* > PUgr **kiyə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kiyə* > H *kígyó, arch kíjó* 'snake' (*-ó* is a H suff).
b) PFUgr **keye-* > PUgr *keyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **köwə-* > H **köv-* in *dial köved-* 'to become cooked, boiled', *köveszt-* 'to boil',
c) PFUgr **ńsyɜ-* > PUgr **ńuyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ńuyə-* > **ńū-* > H *nyújt-* 'to stretch, provide' (*-t* is a H suff, but see *nyúl-* 'to put one's hand out, reach', *nyúlik-* 'to stretch, extend', both with an *-l-* suff).

Before a C /y/ changes and disappears but influences the preceding vowel in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

PFUgr **poyka* > PUgr **poykə* (> POUgr **pŏyɣ* > PVog **pŏyɣ* > **püw*, POsty **pŏɣ*) > EAH **φoyə* > **φiyə* > H *fiú* 'boy, son' (the *-u* is a H suff, see H *faggyú* < PUgr *pal′ă*).

/Cy/ occurs in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

PFUgr **ńelyä* > PUgr **ńelyə* (> POUgr **ńilɜ* > PVog **ńĭlɜ*, POsty **ńĕlä*) > EAH **ńeĭə* > **neĭə* > H *négy* 'four',
PFUgr **pelyä* > PUgr **pelə* ~ **pelyə* (> POUgr **păl* ~ **pĕl* > PVog **păl*, POsty **pĕl*) > EAH **φelə* ~ *φelyə-* > OH *fil* > H *fül* 'ear', *figyel-* 'to listen'.

/w/

The phoneme /w/ was a bilabial fricative also noted as <β> which has changed into a dentilabial /v/ in most PFUgr lgs, but has been retained in the OUgr lgs.

In word-initial position it was in most cases preserved in POUgr. (On its later history see Honti 1999: 118). In H /w/ became a) /v/ in 26 cases (23 PFUgr + 3 PUgr) or b) before primary or secondary labial vowels changed to /ø/ in 7 cases (7 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **waćɜ* > PUgr **waćə* (> POUgr **wasə* > PVog **wošə*, POsty **wăs*) > EAH **waśə* > H *vessző* 'twig' (the final *ő* and the front vocalism are secondary H developments),
b) PFUgr **wolnɜ* > PUgr **wolnə* > (POUgr **ōlnɜ* > PVog **ălnɜ*, POsty **olna*) > EAH **wolnə* > H *ón* 'tin' (the /l/ disappeared in H, causing lengthening of the vowel).

In intervocalic position it tended to disappear, doing so in 9 cases (9 PFUgr), but is preserved in some words extended by derivation or declination/conjugation. PUgr /w/ in intervocalic position changed in POUgr to /ɣ/.

PFUgr **lewe-* > PUgr **lewə-* (> PVog **läɣ-*) > EAH **lewə-* > OH *lev-* > H *lő-* 'to shoot', see *lövök* (Px2.sg),
PFUgr **towɜ* > PUgr **towə* (> POUgr **tŏɣ* > PVog **tɔw*, POsty **tŏɣ*) > EAH **tawə* > H *tó*, (acc) *tavat* 'lake',
PFUgr **puwɜ-* > PUgr **puwə-* (> POUgr **pūɣ-* (?), PVog **pŭv-*, POsty *pŏɣ-*) > EAH **φuwə-* > LAH **φou̯-* or **fū* > H *fú-*, *fúvott* (past tense Px3.sg), *fúj-* 'to blow'.

This means, that in all cases where we have only the PUgr form, we have had to reconstruct /ɣ/. Some of these words may go back to PFUgr /w/.

PUgr **loɣə* (> POUgr **lōɣ* > PVog **lŭw*, POsty **loɣ*) > EAH **low* > H *ló*, (acc) *lovat*, *dial lú* 'horse' (the connection with OT *ulaġ* 'post horse, transport animal' is very uncertain, see § 8.1),
PUgr **mäɣə-* (> PVog **mɪ̄ɣə-*) > EAH **mewə-* > OH, MH *mevet-* > H *nevet-* 'to laugh',
PUgr **yüɣə-* (> POUgr **yŭ̆-*, **yŭ̆ɣ-*, PVog **yĭ-*, **yĭw-*, POsty **yĕ-*/**yŏ-*) > EAH **yüvə-* > OH *yev-* > H *jön-* 'to come' (*-n* is a H suff), cf. *jő* 'he/she comes', *jössz* 'you (sg) come', *jövő* 'coming, who comes'.

It disappeared before a nasal, but influenced the vocalism in 1 case (1 PFUgr):

PFUgr **säwnä* > PUgr **säwnə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **heu̯nə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)'.

Before consonants it a) remains preserved in 1 case (1 PFUgr) or b) disappeared in 2 cases (2 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **towkɜ* > PUgr **towkə* (> POUgr **tōw* > PVog **tūyā*, POsty **toɣ*) > EAH **taw-* > *tavasz* 'spring' (H *-asz* is a suff).

b) PFUgr **lowkkɜ* > PUgr *lowkkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lūkə* > **lïukə* > OH *liku* ~ *luk* > *l′uk* > *lyuk* ‘hole’.

After consonants it a) is preserved in 2 cases (2 PFUgr) or b) disappeared in 3 cases (3 PFUgr).

a) PFUgr **orpa* ~ **orwa* (← IE) > PUgr **orpə* (> POsty **urwi*) > EAH **orwə* > H *árva* ‘orphan’ (*-a* is a H suff),
b) PFUgr **kal′wɜ* > PUgr **kal′wə* > **kal′əw* (> POUgr **kăl′ĕp* > PVog **kă-l′ĕp*, POsty **kăl′i̯-*) > EAH **χal′əw* > H *hályog* ‘cataract’ (*-g* is a H suff).

5.7 The changes of the Proto-Ugric consonantal phonemes in Early Ancient Hungarian and Old Hungarian

5.7.1 The main tendencies of the consonant changes

I distinguish between *strong* and *weak tendencies*. We are confronted with strong tendencies where the phonological or morpho-phonological changes can be described through simple rules, and exceptions are very rare or nonexistent. Weak tendencies are followed by changes appearing in a considerable number of the relevant cases, but not in all. The cause of the limited force of a tendency may vary widely; generally this perception is result of our inadequate knowledge.

5.7.2 Strong tendencies

We can observe the following strong tendencies:

1. voicing of the voiceless oral stops and affricates after nasals, then denasalisation of the nasal+oral stop and nasal+affricate clusters (/mp/ > /mb/ > /b/, /nt/ > /nd/ > /d/, /ŋt/ > /ŋd/ > /d/, /ŋk/ > /ŋg/ > /g/, /ńć/ > /ńǰ/ > /ǰ/ > /ď/),
2. the voicing and spirantisation of stops in intervocalic position (/p/ > /w/ > /v/, /t/ > /δ/ >/z/, /k/ > /ɣ/ > /ø/),
3. the loss of palatalisation of affricates and sibilants (/ć/ > /č/, /ś/ > /s/),
4. the dentilabialization of bilabials (/φ/ > /f/, /w/ > /v/, also /m/ > /w/ > /v/, /ɣ/ > /w/ > /v/),
5. the disappearance of the simple sibilant through a laryngeal (/s/ > /h/ > /ø/),
6. the simplification of long consonants (/pp/ > /p/, /tt/ > /t/, /kk/ > /k/),
7. consonants+oral stops change to long consonants and then are simplified (e.g. /tk/ > /tt/ > /t/, /lk/ > /ll/ > /l/),
8. the loss of the stop element of the cacuminal affricate (/č/ > /š/),
9. the disappearance of the initial /y/ before /i/.

5.7.3 Weak tendencies

These are:

1. the denasalisation of the bilabial nasal (/m/ > /w/ > /v/) and the velar nasal (/ŋ/ > /w/ > /v/),
2. the appearance of a homorganic oral stop after a nasal velar (/ŋ/ > /ŋk/ > /ŋg/ > /g/),
3. the loss of the stop element of the palatal affricate /ć/ in non initial positions (/ć/ > /š/).

PUgr	X-		-X-		-XX-		-NX-		XC-		-CX	
	EAH	OH	EAH	OH	EAH	OH	EAH	OH	EAH	OH	EAH	OH
p	φ	f	w	v	p	p	mb	b	φ	ø	w	v
t	t	t	δ	z	t	t	nd	d	tt	t	tt	t
k_1	χ	h	ɣ	ø	k	k	ŋ, g	g	ɣ, χ	ø	ɣ, χ	ø
k_2	k	k										
m	m	m	m, w	m, v	–	–	–	–	m	ø	m	m
ŋ(k)	–	–	ɣ, ŋg	w > ø, g	–	–	–	–	ø	ø	ɣ	h, ø
n	n	n	n	n, (ń)	–	–	–	–	n	ø	n	n
ń	ń	ń	ń	ń	–	–	–	–	ń	ø	ń	ń
č	č	š	š	š	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ć	ć	č	ć	č, š, s	–	–	ć	ǰ > ď	č, š	č, š	–	–
s (< s, š)	h	ø	s	s	–	–	–	–	–	–	s	ø
ś	ś	s	ś	s	–	–	–	–	ś	š	ś	s
r	r	r	r	r	–	–	–	–	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l	–	–	l	l, ø	l	ø	l	l
ľ	–	–	ľ	ǰ > ď	–	–	–	–	ľ	ľ	–	–
δ	–	–	l	l	–	–	l	l	–	–	–	–
δ′	–	–	ǰ, y	ǰ > ď, y	–	–	δ′	ø	δ′	ď, y	–	–
ɣ	–	–	w	v, ø	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
w	w	v	w	v, ø	–	–	w	ø	w	w, ø	–	–
y	y	y	y	y	–	–	–	–	y	ø	y	ø

Table 5.2: The history of the PUgr consonantal phonemes in EAH and OH

5.7.4 Chronological remarks on consonant changes

As we saw in table 5.2, PUgr /p/ became a bilabial voiceless fricative /φ/ in word-initial position. This is in line with the change of the voiceless oral stop /k/ in back-vocalic words to /χ/. PUgr /k/ in front-vocalic words and *t-* /t/ preserved their stop character. H is the only FUgr lg in which earlier /p/ changed first to bilabial /φ/ and later to the labiodental spirant /f/. In intervocalic position /p/ was voiced, becoming /b/ and subsequently /w/. Later /w/ changed to the dentolabial /v/. PUgr /p/ has been preserved in EAH as /b/ after a homorganic nasal /mp/ > /mb/. These changes have parallels in Os (see Thordarson 1989: 464). OIr **pāda-* > Os *fad* 'foot', OIr **xšapan-* > Os Iron *æsæv*, Digor *æhsæve* 'night', OIr **hām-puta* > Os Iron *æmbid*, Digor *æmbud* 'rotten'. According to Bielmeier (1989: 240) one can observe the *p* > *f* change in the Sarmato-Alan material after the 2nd–3rd c.s and only in the eastern territories of the Sarmato-Alan peoples. The /p/ > /f/ change is peculiar to Os and therefore it is possible that one lg influenced the other. The /p/ > /φ/ change may have occurred in EAH.

PUgr /t/ is preserved in initial position in EAH. It became a voiced fricative /δ/ in intervocalic position, which later changed in H to /z/. This change may have had a /d/ phase, that is /t/ > /d/ > /δ/ > /z/. In Os *-t-* became *-d-* as OIr **vāta-* > Os Iron *uad*, Digor *uadæ* 'storm'. The /d/ is preserved in EAH after a homorganic nasal /nt/ > /nd/ > H /d/. This is also the case in Os: OIr **zarānt-* > Os Iron, Digor *zaerond* 'old.' However the change *nt* > *nd* is a typical contact assimilation and is present in many lgs.

In certain Al words, /d/ was copied and then changed to /δ/ and later to /z/: *bűz*, *fizet-*, *nemez*, *özvegy*, *réz* (see § 8.9). Two words were copied later: *híd* and *nád*. In *gazdag*, *kard*, and *zöld*, /d/ was preserved in clusters.

PUgr /k/ changed to /χ/ in initial position if the word was back-vocalic. The *k-* was preserved in the same position in Os; see OIr **karta-* > Os Iron, Digor *kard* 'sword' (see H *kard*). EAH /χ/ was in opposition with the laryngeal /h/, a result of the change of PUgr /s/. PUgr *k-* was preserved in front-vocalic words. In intervocalic position /k/ became /ɣ/ in both front and back-vocalic words. The spirantisation occured also before and after oral consonants. After the homorganic nasal /ŋ/, /k/ became a voiced stop /g/ – that is, /ŋk/ > /ŋg/ – and in H the nasal was lost.

Al **χīdə* ⟶ H *híd* was copied in a time when the /s/ > /h/ : /χ/ < /k/ opposition still existed. H words of Al origin (*kincs*, **kert**) were adapted with fronted /k/.

PUgr /m/ was preserved in EAH and LAH in initial position. In intervocalic position in half of the relevant cases the /m/ was preserved; in the other half it became /w/. This may have occurred through a denasalisation of /m/ to /b/ and further its

spirantisation to /w/. Al /m/ is represented in H *méreg* 'poison' ← Al **märg*, H *mű* 'work' ← Al *mīwa*.

PUgr /ŋ/ was denasalised in EAH in intervocalic position, but in some cases /ŋ/ changed to /ŋg/. In the first case /ŋ/ became first /g/ and later /ɣ/, which disappeared through /w/ in H, as other /ɣ/ sounds did. In the second case the stop /g/ remained as such in H.

> PFUgr **śäŋkɜ-* ~ **ćäŋkɜ-* > PUgr **śäŋkə-* (> POUgr **śēŋk-* > PVog **sə̄ŋk-*, POsty **söŋk-*) > EAH **śäŋgə-* > LAH **śägə-* > H *szeg-* 'to break (bread), cut, hem',
> PFUgr **piŋke* > PUgr **piŋkə* (> POUgr **pēŋkɜ* > PVog **pə̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **pöŋk*) > EAH **φugə* > H *fog* 'tooth',
> but: PFUgr **puŋɜ-* > PUgr **puŋkə-* (> PVog **puɣ-*) > EAH **φugə-* > OH *fug-* > H *fog-* 'to hold, catch',
> PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[2] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > LAH **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old', see also *agg*, *avul-*,
> but also: PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[3] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > LAH **hogə* > *hagə* > H *agg* 'old', see also *avul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old'.

If the above can be corroborated by further material, then we can reconstruct the following system of changes of the PUgr oral stops in EAH in intervocalic position:

> /t/ > /d/ > /δ/
> /p/ > /b/ > /w/
> /m[1]/> /b/ > /w/
> /k/ > /g/ > /ɣ/ > /w/
> /ŋ/ > /g/ > /ɣ/> /w/
> /ŋk/ > /ŋg/ > /g/.

PUgr /n/ remained as such in all positions in EAH, and the same is the case with the palatalized /ń/. Al **nämet* ⟶ H *nemez*.

PUgr /č/ was preserved in EAH in all positions. It later changed to /š/, most probably in LAH. Khwar **čïgt* became in LAH *šaχt* > H **sajt** 'cheese', Al **wačar* became in LAH or early OH *vásár*.

PUgr /ć/ lost its palatal component in EAH. In initial position it became *č-*, in intervocalic position it became /č/ or /š/ or /s/. This also happened in clusters before other oral consonants. After a nasal it changed to /ǰ/.

The PUgr phonemes /r/, /l/ and /l′/ are preserved in EAH. Al *rowasa* ⟶ H *ravasz* 'cunning, fox', Al *lekwen* ⟶ H *legény* 'lad'.

PUgr /δ/ became /l/ in EAH in all positions. The rare PUgr phoneme /δ́/ became either /ǰ/ or /y/ in intervocalic position but was preserved as /δ́/ before nasal and oral stops.

PUgr /γ/ occurred only in intervocalic position and there it changed to /w/. PUgr /w/ was preserved in EAH in all positions. The same was the case with /y/.

Summing up: we find spirantisation and denasalisation as the most important changes in the consonantal system fr EAH to H.

Consonants at the end of Early Ancient Hungarian

unvoiced oral stops	/p/, /t/, /k/
voiced oral stops	/b/, /d/, /g/
nasal stops	/m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ń/
unvoiced spirants	/χ/, /φ/
voiced spirants	/w/,* /δ/, /γ/
affricates	/ć/, /č/, /ǰ/
sibilants	/ś/, /š/
laryngeal	/h/
liquids	/l/, /r/
semivowel	/y/

*may be rendered also by /β/

The relative chronology of some changes:

PUgr		EAH		H
k̯-	>	*χ-*	>	*h-*
s-	>	*h-*	>	*ø*
ś-	>	*s-*	>	*s-*

5.8 The origin and the history of the Proto-Ugric vowels

5.8.1 Syllabic structure

The great majority of the PUgr word stems were bisyllabic. The second syllables were open syllables, i.e. ended in a vowel. The open second syllables may have become closed by suffs. One type of suff consisted of a single consonant, while others consisted of a consonant and a vowel.

The first syllables were either closed (i.e. followed by a consonant cluster) or open, (i.e. followed by a single consonant).

The stock of first-syllable vowels was different fr their second-syllable counterparts. In words of three and more syllables, the vowels of the third and further syllables were most probably the same as those of the second.

5.8.2 Word stress

The word stress of PUgr word stems fell on the first syllable. The vowels of the second syllable were unstressed.

5.8.3 Quantitative opposition

There is no difference, structurally speaking, whether we suppose an opposition of Long/Normal (full) or Normal/Reduced vowels. In none of the known lgs is there a triple quantitative opposition of Long/Normal/Reduced. The search for such systems in Est or in the T Khalaj turned out to be untenable. It remains an open question whether diphthongs may figure as a third group beyond the twofold opposition. In PUgr reconstructions I do not posit diphthongs in word stems.

Honti (1982) reconstructed the POUgr vowel system with long and reduced vowels; Sammalahti (1988) added diphthongs to these. The differences between the two reconstructions have no fundamental consequences for PUgr reconstruction. Sammallahti (1988) reconstructed normal or full vowels and reduced vowels in the first syllable of the PUgr lg. This is typologically improbable. In a word of two syllables where the first has a reduced vowel and the second a full one, the stress has to be on the second syllable, otherwise the reduced vowel under stress becomes a full vowel. This means that either the stress was movable or there were no reduced vowels in the first syllable. Since no trace of a movable stress has been hitherto detected I opt for the second possibility.

I reconstruct only one quantity in the first syllable. This has changed both in the OUgr and in the H lgs: in all three we find long/short or short/reduced vowels, that is, quantitative opposition. This change occurred independently in OUgr and H.

Consistent with the above, the vowels in PUgr in the second syllable were in an unstressed position. Fr a general phonetic point of view they had to be shorter than the vowels in the first syllable. This means that in the second syllable there were either unstressed full or unstressed reduced vowels. I phonologically reconstruct a *shwa* /ə/ for the second syllables in PUgr. This vowel disappeared in POUgr and later also in H. In one case the original word final vowel did not disappear in POUgr dials. In the case of metathesis of the type CCV > CVC, the V is realised in POUgr as *shwa* (e.g. PFUgr **waδ́kɜ* > PUgr **waδ́kə* (> POUgr **wăɣəĺ* > PVog **wāl*, POsty **wăɣəĺ*) > EAH **woɣəδ́* > **võd́ə* > H *völgy* ‘valley’; /l/ is secondary in H).

As we shall see, in H the final vowels which continue the /ə/ appear as reduced, high vowels, synharmonic with the first syllable. They can be also reinterpreted as one phonemic *shwa* /ə/.

5.8.4 The back / front opposition or vowel harmony

The PUgr lg had front and back vowels. In a word stem, only either front or back vowels were possible. The vowel /i/ was an exception: it was also possible in certain cases in back-vocalic words. The neutralisation of the opposition /ï/ : /i/ may go back to PFUgr. The /i/ after /k/ preserved the /k/. There are no /ki/ > /χi/ > /hi/ initials. H *kígyó* 'snake' became back-vocalic in H, but dial forms like *kégyó*, *kíjó* (< PUgr **kiyĕ* < PFUgr **kiye*) preserved the front-vocalism. This means that in the phonological system of PUgr we have only /i/ as a high, unrounded vowel, and [ï] had only an allophonic value.

5.8.5 The rounded / unrounded opposition

PUgr had the following rounded vowels: the mid closed back /o/, the closed back /u/ and front /ü/. In certain cases [ö] seems to appear as an allophone. According to some scholars (Janhunen, Sammallahti) the low, back vowel was rounded /å/. This is improbable according to Honti (1982). As we shall see below, the rounded /å/ evolved not in PUgr but later. In opposition to the rounded vowels, PUgr had four unrounded vowels: the low back /a/, the low front /ä/, the mid closed /e/ and the closed /i/.

5.8.6 The Proto-Ugric first-syllable vowels, their origin and changes

The system of the the vowels in PUgr was the following:

First syllable			Second syllable
/u/	(/ï/) /i/	/ü/	
/o/	/e/		/ə/
/a/	/ä/		

Table 5.3: Proto-Ugric vowels in the first and second syllable

5.8.7 The tendencies of the changes I. Preservation or change

/a/

PUgr /a/ goes back in 55 cases to PFUgr /a/. I found 2 cases where PUgr /a/ is a continuation of PFUgr /o/.

PFUgr **kota* > PUgr **katə* (> POUgr **kat* > POsty **kat*) > EAH **χaδə* > H *ház* 'house',
PFUgr **ńorɜ* > PUgr **ńarə* (> PVog **ńār* 'marsh') > EAH **ńarə* > H *nyár*(*fa*) 'poplar ("marsh-tree")'.

In 2 cases PFUgr /u/ appeared as /a/ in PUgr.

PFUgr **puwe* > PUgr **pawə* (> PVog **-pa*) > EAH **φawə* > **φā* > H *fa* 'tree, wood',
PFUgr **šurɜ* > PUgr **sar-t-* (> POUgr **θart-* > POsty *ʌart-*) > EAH **hirtə-* > H *irt-*, (*irtok-*) 'to extirpate', *arch*, *dial ort-* id.

In addition 30 words with PUgr /a/ do not have PFUgr etymology. In total there are 89 PUgr words with /a/ in the first syllable.

PUgr /a/ was preserved in 78 cases in EAH and in H. In the remaining 11 cases I can attribute the change to:

1. rounding

a) influenced by a labial consonant

PFUgr **kaδ´wa* > PUgr **kaδ´wə* (> POUgr **kēδ* > PVog **kāl*, POsty **köyəγ*) > EAH **χawəd´ə* > **χ̄ōd´ə* > H *hölgy* 'lady, woman' (the *-l-* is secondary in H),
PFUgr **waδ´kɜ* > PUgr **waδ´kə* (> POUgr **wăγəl´* > PVog **wāl*, POsty **wăγəl´*) > EAH **woγəδ´* > **w̄ōd´ə* > H *völgy* 'valley' (*l* is secondary in H),
PUgr **aktə-* (> POUgr **ɟ̄γtɛ-*,**ɟ̄γət-* > PVog **ɟ̄yət-*, **ăyt-*, POsty **aγət-*) > EAH **awtə-* > **o̯utə-* > H *utál-* 'to detest' (*-l* is a H suff),

b) influenced by /l/

PUgr **alə-ttə-* (> POUgr **ālt-* > PVog **ālt-*, POsty **alt-*) > EAH **olətə-* > H *olt-* 'to graft, bud',
PUgr **ńalə* (> POUgr **ńɟ̄ləγ* > PVog **ńăləγ/l*, POsty **ńɟ̄ləγ*) > EAH **ńalə-c* > H *nyolc* 'eight' (*-c* appeared in analogy with *kilenc* 'nine').

2. /a/ > /i/, all back-vocalic after or before palatalized consonants in 3 cases:

PFUgr **śala* > PUgr **śalə* (not in POUgr ?) > EAH **salə* > **silə* > H *szil* 'elm', (originally back, see *szilas*, *Szilágy*),

PUgr *śarə > EAH *śarə > *śirə > H *szirony* 'rime, hoar-frost, granular snow, etc.' (*-ony* is a H suff),
PFUgr *wal′e > PUgr *wal′ə (> POUgr *wal′əɣ > PVog *wal′əɣ, POsty *wal′əɣ / *wŏl′əɣ) > EAH *walə > *wïlə > H *világ* 'world', *világos* 'bright'.

In 1 case we find PFUgr /u/ > PUgr /a/ > H /i/:

PFUgr *šurɜ > PUgr *sar-t- (> POUgr *θart- > POsty ʌart-) > EAH *hirtə- > H *irt-*, (*irtok-*) 'to extirpate', *arch*, *dial ort-* id.

To this we can add those words which had in PUgr /o/, then in EAH /a/ : this changed to /i/, in the vicinity of /y/ as evident in the words:

PFUgr *koye-mɜ > PUgr *koyəmə > *koymə (> PVog *kom) > EAH *χaymə > *χīmə > H *hím* 'male',
PFUgr *poyka > PUgr *poykə (> POUgr *pŏyɣ > PVog *pŏyɣ > *püw, POsty *pŏɣ) > EAH *φayə > *φiyə > H *fi*, see *fi* in *baromfi* 'poultry', H *fiú* 'boy, son' (the *-u* is a H suff, see PUgr *pal′ă* > H *faggyú*), but H *faj* 'species, breed, race (human)' < EAH *φayə* < PUgr *poykə < PFUgr *poyka,
PFUgr *woye- > PUgr *woyə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *woyə- > *wayə- > H *ví-*, *vív-* 'to fight',
PFUgr *yoŋksɜ > PUgr *yoɣəs (> POUgr *yōɣəθ > PVog *yaɣət, POsty *yaɣəʌ) > EAH *yawəh > *yīwəh, *yiyəh > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*),
PUgr *tontəɣ (> POUgr *tōnt > PVog *tānt, POsty *tontəɣ) > EAH *tandəɣ > *tadəɣ > H *tidó dial* 'birch bark' (no /y/).

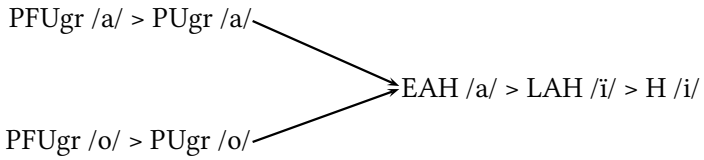


Figure 5.5: The history of PUgr /a/ and /o/

3. Fronting by a following palatal consonant

PFUgr *raćɜ > PUgr *raćə (not in POUgr) > EAH *račə > *rešə > H *rés* 'rift, split' (the vocalism is irregular),
PFUgr *waćɜ > PUgr *waćə (> POUgr *wasə > PVog *wošə, POsty *wăs) > EAH *vasə > H *vessző* 'twig' (the final *ő* and the front-vocalism are secondary H developments).

On the lengthening of /a/ see below.

/o/

PUgr /o/ is in 61 cases the continuation of PFUgr /o/. In the following 23 cases PFUgr /u/ became PUgr /o/. In all cases where the word is present in POUgr (with one exception PFUgr **puna* > PUgr **ponə* (> POUgr **pūn* > PVog **pŭn*, POsty **pun*) > EAH **φonə* > H *fan* 'pubis, thicket'), we find POUgr /o/ or /ŏ/.

PFUgr **čupa* > PUgr **čopə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **šowə* > H *sovány* 'lean, thin' (*-ány* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kulkɜ-* > PUgr **kolkə-* (> POsty **koγăl*) > EAH **χolə-* > H *halad-* 'to go ahead, progress' (*-ad* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kuma*[1] > PUgr **komə* (> POUgr **kōm(t)ɜγ* > PVog **kɔměγ*, POsty **komtaγ*) > EAH **χomə* > H *homlok* 'forehead' (*-l-ok* are suffs; see *homorú* 'concave', *homorít-* 'to make concave'),
PFUgr **kuma*[2] > PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χowə* > H *hó*, (acc) *havat* 'snow',
PFUgr **kuma*[3] > PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χomə* > H *homály* 'obscurity, fog' (*-ály* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kuńća* > PUgr **końćə* (the POUgr equivalents are dubious) > EAH **χanǰə* > H *hangya* 'ant' (*-a* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kunta* 'clan' > PUgr *kontə* 'army' (> POUgr **kont* > PVog **kānt*, ? Osty *χanti*) > EAH **χandə* > **χadə* > OH *hadu* > H *had* 'army, *arch* clan',
PFUgr **kuŋe* > PUgr **koŋə* (> POsty *χăw*, *χuw*) > EAH **χoγə* > **χawə* > **χō* > H *hó*, 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon',
PFUgr **kurɜ* > PUgr **korə* (> POsty **kor*) > EAH **χorə-γə* > H *horhó* 'track through a gully',
PFUgr **kurńa* > PUgr **korńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH *χorońə* > H *horony* 'groove, notch',
PFUgr **kutte* > PUgr **kottə* (> POUgr **kVt* > Vog **kāt*, Osty **kut*) > EAH **χotə* > H *hat* 'six',
PFUgr **kuye* > PUgr **koyə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χayə* > H *háj* 'fat',
PFUgr **kuδɜ* > PUgr **koδə* (> POUgr **kŏl* > PVog **kŏl*, POsty **kŏltəŋ*) > EAH **χol* > H *hol-* in *holnap* 'tomorrow',
PFUgr **lume* > PUgr **lomə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lomə* > H *lam*, *lom* '*dial* dew, sludge, slime',
PFUgr **pućɜ-rɜ-* > PUgr **poćarə-* (> PVog **poćăr-*) > EAH **φočarə-* > H *facsar-* 'to wring',
PFUgr **pućka-* > PUgr **poćkə(-)* (> POUgr **pŏć* > PVog **pŏć*, POsty **pŏć*) > EAH **φočə(-)* > **φošə(-)* > H *fos(-)* 'to have diarrhoea (*vulg*)',

PFUgr **puna-* > PUgr **ponə-* (> POUgr **pōn-* > PVog **pŏn-*, POsty **pon-*) > EAH **φonə-* > H *fon-* 'to spin',
PFUgr **puna* > PUgr **ponə* (> POUgr **pūn* > PVog **pŭn*, POsty **pun*) > EAH **φonə* > H *fan* 'pubis, thicket',
PFUgr **sula* > PUgr *solə-* (> POUgr **ʌŏl-ā-* > PVog **tăl-ā*, POsty **ʌŏl-a-*) > EAH **holə-* > H *olvad-* 'to melt (intr)' (*-v-* and *-ad* are H suffs),
PFUgr **tuktɜ* > PUgr **toktə* (> POUgr **tŏkĕt* > PVog **tŏkĕt*, Osty **tŏɣĕt*) > EAH **tottə* > H *tat* 'stern, crossbeam',
PFUgr **tule-* > PUgr **tolə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH ** tolə-* > H *talál-* 'to find', *kitalál-* 'to guess' (*-l* is a H suff), the semantic change PFUgr 'to come' > H 'to find' is the same as in H *jön-* 'to come' > H *rájön-* 'to find out, realize' or Eng *to come upon* 'to find',
PFUgr **tuna-* > PUgr **tonə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tonə-* > H *tanul-* 'to learn', *tanít-* 'to teach' (*-ul* and *-ít* are H suffs),
PFUgr **turya* > PUgr **toryə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **torə* > H *tarja* 'spare rib' (*-ja* is a H Px3.sg poss suff, for the base **tar* see also *tarkó* 'nape'). The word is only present in Finn and Est; the PFUgr *ry* > H *-r-* is problematic, and this is the only case for PFUgr *-ry-*.

In 2 cases PFUgr /a/ changed to /o/.

PFUgr **kaća* > PUgr **koćə* (> PVog **kuś*) > EAH **χočə* > **χöšə* > H *hős* 'hero, young unmarried man',
PFUgr **rakka* > PUgr **rokkə* (> POUgr **rōɣ-* > PVog **rāw-*, Osty **răɣ-*) > EAH **rokə-* > H *rokon* 'relative, kin' (*-on* is a H suff).

To this I have to add 21 cases in which I found PUgr /o/ in the first syllable but which lack a PFUgr etymology. Thus there exist 107 PUgr words with /o/ (61 + 23 + 2 + 21 = 107).

Of the 107 words with PUgr /o/, 60 changed their /o/ to /a/ in H and 32 preserved it. This points to a clear split of PUgr /o/.

First we have to examine those 15 special cases where PUgr /o/ changed to a vowel other than H /o/ or /a/.

These are:

1) Under the influence of /y/, /o/ became /ē/, /e/ through /a/ in 2 cases.

PFUgr **koya* > PUgr **koyə* (> POsty **koy*) > EAH **χoyə* > **χayə* > **χeyə* > H *héj* 'skin, peel, husk', see *héja* 'its peel',
PFUgr **koye-rɜ* > PUgr **koyərə* (> POUgr **kə̮irɜ* > PVog **kə̮ir*, POsty **kar*) > EAH **χoyrə* > **χayrə* > **χērə* > H *here*, *dial hőrő*, *hörö* 'testicle' (the final *-e* is a petrified poss suff),

2) also under the influence of /y/, PUgr /o/ became /i/, /ī/ through /a/ in 5 cases (see above p. 1044).

PFUgr *koye-mɜ > PUgr *koyəmə > *koymə (> PVog *kom) > EAH *χaymə > *χīmə > H *hím* 'male',
PFUgr *poyka > PUgr *poykə (> POUgr *pŏyγ > PVog *pŏyγ > *püw, POsty *pŏγ) > EAH *φayə > *φiyə > H *fi*, see *fi* in *baromfi* 'poultry', H *fiú* 'boy, son' (the *-u* is a H suff, see PUgr *pal′ă* > H *faggyú*), see H *faj* 'species, breed, race (human)' < EAH *φayə* < PUgr *poykə* < PFUgr *poyka*,
PFUgr *woye- > PUgr *woyə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *woyə- > *wayə- > H *ví-*, *vív-* 'to fight',
PFUgr *yoŋksɜ > PUgr *yoγəs (> POUgr *yōγəθ > PVog *yaγət, POsty *yaγəʌ) > EAH *yawəh > *yīwəh, *yiyəh > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*),
PUgr *tontəγ (> POUgr *tōnt > PVog *tānt, POsty *tontəγ) > EAH *tandəγ > *tadəγ > H *tidó* '*dial* birch bark'.

3) In 4 cases /o/ became a) /u/ under the influence of a /w/ (3 cases) and was b) further unrounded (1 case).

a) PFUgr *lowkkɜ > PUgr *lowkkə (not in POUgr) > EAH *lūkə > *lïukə > OH *liku ~ luk* > *l′uk* > H *lyuk* 'hole',
PFUgr *ńoma-le > PUgr *ńoməl (not in POUgr) > EAH *ńuwəl > H *nyúl* 'rabbit',
PUgr *poyə (> PVog *pay) > EAH *φow > OH (acc) *fuat*, *fuvat* > H *fú* '*arch*, *dial* a kind of duck', the word is onomatopoeic and came under the influence of H *fú-*,
b) PFUgr *korpe- > PUgr *korpə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *χarwə > *χirwə- > H *hërvad*, *dial hirva-* 'to fade, wither' (*-d* is a H suff).

4) The change is the result of a late H split.

PUgr *orə (> POUgr *(w)ūr > PVog *ŭr, POsty *wur) > EAH *arə > H *iránt*, *dial aránt* 'towards, in the direction of' (*-n* and *-t* are H suffs, *aránt* is the more conservative form).

5) In 2 cases the /o/ was palatalized under the influence of the following palatal consonant.

PFUgr *kaća > PUgr *koćə (> PVog *kuś) > EAH *χočə > *χöšə > H *hős* 'hero, young unmarried man',
PFUgr *mol′ɜ (? *moδ′ɜ) > PUgr *mol′ə (> POsty *moʌ′) > EAH *meǰə > H *mëggy* 'sour cherry' (the length of the second consonant is a secondary H development).

6) In 1 case the cause of the change is yet unclear to me:

PFUgr **soya* > PUgr **suyə* (> POUgr *θīyət* > PVog **tīyət* ~ **tăyt*, POsty **ʌi̯t*) > EAH **huyə* > H *ujj*[2] 'sleeve'.

The preservation of PUgr /o/ in H is in fact a restitution in many cases, the result of a secondary development: PUgr /o/ > EAH /a/ > H /o/ under the influence of /w/ as in:

Type I: /a/ is preserved in the H polysyllabic ders.

PFUgr **kuŋe* > PUgr **koŋə* (> POsty *χăw*, *χuw*) > EAH **χoγə* > **χawə* > **χō* > H *hó* 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon',
PFUgr **rokɜ-* > PUgr **roγə-* (> POsty **roγ-*) > EAH **rowə-* > **rawə* > H *ró-* 'to carve', *rov-ok* 'I carve', OH *rav-* see *ravatal* 'catafalque',
PFUgr **towɜ* > PUgr **towə* (> POUgr **tŏγ* > PVog **tɔw*, POsty **tŏγ*) > EAH **tawə* > H *tó*, (acc) *tavat* 'lake',
PUgr **yomə* (> POUgr **yōm* (?) > PVog **yomās*, POsty **yăm*) > EAH **yawə* > H *jó*[2] (with poss suff: *java*) 'good'.

Type II: /aw/ ~ /ag/.

PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[1] > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoγə-* > **hawə-* > H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff), see also *agg* and *ó*,
PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[2] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hoγə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old', see also *agg*, *avul-*,
PFUgr **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[3] > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > **hagə* > H *agg* 'old', see also *avul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old'.

In some cases /a/ ~ /o/ is preserved in the dials as in:

PFUgr **lume* > PUgr **lomə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lomə* > H *lam*, *lom* '*dial* dew, sludge, slime'.

In conclusion we can state that as a rule PUgr /o/ became /å/ in H, written for the case of simplicity here as H /a/. In some cases /a/ is present in a variant (*fiú*, *faj*, *aránt*, *iránt*, *ó*, *avul-*), in other cases it is preseved in the oblique stem (*tó*, *tavat*; *hó*, *havat*; *jó*[2], *javat*; *ró-*, *ravatal*).

It was long debated how and when the H rounded /å/ evolved. We can observe the following:

Hence the H rounded /å/ is the result of the merging of a great number of PUgr words in which /a/ and /o/ occurred in the first syllable. For the 9 cases where PUgr /u/ changed through EAH /o/ to H /a/, see under PUgr /u/.

The merger of 69 [+rounded] and 78 [-rounded] vowels resulted in a new rounded vowel /å/.

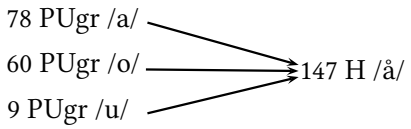


Figure 5.6: The formation of H rounded /å/

/u/

Of the 54 PUgr words which have /u/ in the first syllable, 39 have a PFUgr etymology, while 13 are present only in PUgr. In 1 case PFUgr /o/ changed in PUgr to /u/:

PFUgr **soya* > PUgr **suyə* (> POUgr *θīyət* > PVog **tīyət* ~ **tăyt*, POsty **ʌi̯t*) > EAH **huyə* > H *ujj*[2] 'sleeve' (see above).

PUgr /u/ was preserved in H in 31 cases. In 8 cases it became /o/. In many of these cases we can see that this change is late, and OH still preserved /u/, or we can observe a split into /u/ and /o/.

Example for PUgr /u/ preserved:

PFUgr **kulɜ*-[1] > PUgr **kulə*- (> POUgr **kŏlā*- > PVog **kɔl-a*-, POsty **kŏla*-) > EAH **χulə*- > H *hull*- 'to fall (off)', (the long -*ll*- is a H secondary development).

PUgr /u/ > H /o/:

PFUgr **kupla* > PUgr **kuplə* (> POUgr **kăl′əp* > PVog *kăl′əp*, POsty **kal′əp*) > EAH **χowlə* > H *hólyag* 'bladder, blister' (-*g* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kulɜ*[3] > PUgr **kulə-kə* (> POUgr **kūlkɜ* > PVog **kŭlāk*, POsty **kɔlək*) > EAH **χoləɣə* > H *holló* 'raven' (the gemination and the suff -*ó* are H developments),
PFUgr **muśke*- > PUgr **muśkə*- (not in POUgr) > EAH **mušə*- > H *mos*- 'to wash',
PFUgr **pukkɜ* > PUgr **pukkə* (> POUgr **pŭγ*- > PVog**pŭp*, POsty **pŏγ*) > EAH **φukə* > OH *fuk* > H *fok* 'cap, eye of a needle',
PFUgr **puŋɜ*- > PUgr **puŋkə*- (> PVog **puγ*-) > EAH **φugə*- > OH *fug*- > H *fog*- 'to hold, catch',
PFUgr **tulka* > PUgr **tulkə* (> POUgr **tuγl* > **tŏγĕl*) > EAH **tullə* > H *toll* 'feather',
PUgr **kupətə* (> ? POUgr **kupăt*- / **kapăt*- > PVog *kapt*-, POsty **kăpət*-) > EAH **χuwδə*- > **χūδə*- > H *hoz*- 'to bring', H *húz*- 'to pull, pull here, drag' (the two H words are the result of a split),

PUgr *turə (> POUgr *tūr > PVog *tŭr, POsty *tur) > EAH *turə > OH *turuk* > H *torok* 'throat', (*-k* is a H suff).

In 1 case we find a palatalization /o/ > /ö/ as the result of the influence of the following palatal consonant:

PFUgr *tuδ′ka > PUgr *tuδ′kə (> POUgr *tŏʌ′ etc. > PVog *tăl′ək, POsty *tŏy, *tŏy) > EAH *töd′ə > H *tőgy* 'udder'.

PUgr /u/ changed through EAH /o/ to H /a/ in 8 cases.

PFUgr *kulɜ-[2] > PUgr *kulə- (> POUgr *kūl- > PVog *kūl-, POsty *kɔl-) > EAH *χolə- > H *hall-*[2] 'to hear, listen', perhaps through contamination with PUgr *kuntələ-,

PUgr *kuntələ- (> POUgr *kuntɜ(γ)*l* > PVog *k_oāntɜl-, Osty *kuntəγl-) > EAH *χondələ- > *χadlə- > OH *hadl-* > H *hall-*[1] 'to hear', late contamination with PFUgr *kulɜ[2],

PFUgr *kumpa > PUgr *kumpə (> POUgr *kŭmp > PVog *kŭmp, POsty *kump) > EAH *χombə > *χabə > H *hab* 'foam, wave',

PFUgr *kuttɜ > PUgr *kuttə (> POUgr *kūt > PVog *kūtɜγ, POsty *kutəl) > EAH *χotə > H *hát* 'back',

PFUgr *kuδ′mɜ > PUgr *kuδ′mə (> POUgr kūδ′mɜ > PVog *kul′mɜ, POsty *kayəm) > EAH *χomə, *χomwə > OH *homoų̂* > H *hamu* 'ash', see (acc) *hamvat, hamvaz-* (the *-u* / *v* may be a H suff, or a remnant of the /mv/),

PFUgr *mura- > PUgr *murə- (> POUgr *mūr- > PVog *mŭr-, POsty *mɔrəy-) > EAH *morə- > H *mar-* 'to bite, fret',

PFUgr *śuwe > PUgr śuwə (> PVog *sū in *sūnt, sūp*) > EAH *śō > *śā > H *száj, szám, szád*, etc. 'mouth, my mouth, your mouth' (the H base is *sā*),

PUgr *murə (> POUgr *mūrəs > POsty *mūrəs) > EAH *morə > H *marok*, (acc) *markot* 'the hollow of the hand, handful' (the *-k* is a H suff, *tantum singulare*), see also *marék* id.

In 3 cases PUgr /u/ changed to H /i/.

PFUgr *yuke > PUgr *yukə- (> ? PVog *ay-) > EAH *yuγə- > *yī- > *ī- > H *iszik-* 'to drink', *ivott* 'drank' (the H base is *i-*),

PUgr *kutə (> POUgr *kūt- > PVog *kūt-, POsty *kat-) > EAH *χiδə- > H *híz-* 'to become fat/corpulent',

PUgr *tuyə-ttə (> POUgr *tuytə- > PVog *tūyt-) > EAH *titə- > H *titok* 'secret' (*-ok* is a H suff).

In 1 case we can observe a late /i/ > /ü/ rounding.

PUgr **pućə* (> POUgr **pōs* > PVog **păšĕm*, POsty **pɔšĕŋ*/*pošĕŋ*) > EAH **φič-t* > **φišt* > OH *fišt* (*-t* is a H suff) > H *füst* 'smoke'.

/i/

Of the 31 words with PUgr /i/ in the first syllable, 8 lack a PFUgr etymology. In 1 case PUgr /i/ goes back to PFUgr /e/:

PFUgr **sẹ̑ne* > PUgr **sinə* (> POUgr **θī̮nɜ* > PVog **tī̮n*, POsty **ʌan*) > EAH **hinə* > H *ín* 'sinew', (acc) *inat*,

and in 1 case to /a/:

PFUgr **appe* > PUgr (**uppə*) **ippə* (> POUgr **up* > Vog *up*, Osty *up*) > EAH **ipə* > H *ipa* 'father-in-law' (*-a* is a H petrified poss suff).

In 13 cases PUgr /i/ was preserved in H.

PFUgr **ike-ńe* > PUgr **ikeńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **iɣeńə* > **īńə* > H *íny* 'gum'.

In 5 cases PUgr /i/ is represented in H by a) closed /ë/, b) open /ä/ or c) long /ē/.

a) PFUgr **wiɣe-* > PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə* (> POUgr ? **weɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) > EAH **wewə-* > **wē-* > H *vësz-* 'to take away, buy' (*-sz* is a H suff, see *vett* (past tense) or see *vevő* (participle),
PFUgr **pilwe* ~ **pilŋe* > PUgr **pilŋə* (> Osty *pələŋ*) > EAH **pelɣə* > **φelhə* > H *fëlleg*, *fëlhő* 'cloud' (*-g* and *-ő* are H suffs),
b) PFUgr **ime-* > PUgr **imə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə-* > H *emik-* 'to suck' (*-ik* is a H suff, see *emlő* 'mamma, teat'),
c) PFUgr **(y)ikä* > PUgr **iɣə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **evə* > H *év* 'year',
PFUgr **nime* > PUgr **nemə* (> POUgr **nēm* > PVog **nă̈mɜ*, POsty **nem*) > EAH **newə* > H *név* 'name'.

In the remaining 11 cases PUgr /i/ was rounded, but /i/ was still present in OH and in many cases it is preserved in the H dials.

PUgr /i/ changed to /ë/ ~ /ü/.

PFUgr **śińćä* ~ *śićä* > PUgr **śińćə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śinǰə* > **śeǰə* > H *szëgy*, *szegy* 'breast, chest (of animals)', *szügy* id.

PUgr /i/ changed to /ë/ ~ /ö/.

PFUgr **piδe* > PUgr **piδə* (> POUgr **pă̈l* > PVog **pă̈l*, POsty **pël*) > EAH **φelə* > H *fël*, *föl* 'up(wards)'.

PUgr /i/ changed in H to /ö/.

PFUgr **kintɜ* > PUgr **kintə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kində* > **kidə* > H *köd* 'fog',
PFUgr **kiwe* > PUgr **kiwə* (> POUgr **kə̄γ* (?) > PVog **kə̄w*, POsty **köγ*) > EAH **kewə* > H *kő*, (acc) *követ* 'stone', *dial keve*.

PUgr /i/ changed to /ü/ but /i/ is present in most cases in OH and/or the dials.

PFUgr **kiśkɜ* > PUgr **kiskə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kisə* > H *küsz*, *kisz*, 'a small fish, blake, ablen (*Alburnus alburnus*)',
PFUgr **śiyele* > PUgr **śiyelə* (> PVog **suole* > Vog *suole* (Pallas), r: *suolə* ?) > EAH **śīlə* > H *szül* (14th c.) > *sün* 'hedgehog',
PFUgr **pitɜ-* > PUgr **pitə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φiδə-* > **φizə-* > H *fűz-*, *dial fíz-* 'to string',
PUgr **čittə-* (> PVog **šit-*) > EAH **šitə-* > OH *sit-* > H *süt-* 'to bake (tr)' (*-t* is not a suff, *-l* in *sül-* 'to bake (intr)' is the result of an analogy process),
PUgr **ikkə* (> POUgr **V̌kɜ* > PVog **ăkī*, POsty **iki*) > EAH **ikə* > OH *ik* > H *ük* 'great-great grandfather/mother',
PUgr **iśə* (> POsty **ə̄s*) > EAH **isə-γ* > OH *isző* > H *üsző* 'heifer',
PUgr **ńiŋə* (> POUgr **ńīŋk* ~ **ńuŋk* > PVog **ńĭŋ$_o$k$_o$*, POsty **ńiŋk*) > EAH **ńiγə* > **ńiwə* > H *nyű* 'maggot, worm' see (acc) *nyüvet*, *dial nyiv*, *nyűv*.

PUgr /i/ changed to EAH /u/ > /o/.

PFUgr **piŋke* > PUgr **piŋkə* (> POUgr **pēŋkɜ* > PVog **pă̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **pöŋk*) > EAH **fuŋgă* > **φugə* > H *fog* 'tooth'.

/ä/

I found 43 PFUgr words with /ä/ in the first syllable. In all cases /ä/ was preserved in PUgr. We must also add 25 cases where PUgr /ä/ occurs in words which have no PFUgr etymology.

To this 2 words can be added in which PFUgr closed /e/ changed to PUgr open /ä/:

PFUgr **ńele-* > PUgr **ńälə-* (> POUgr **ńäl-* > PVog **ńel-*, POsty *ńäl-*) > EAH **ńälə* > H *nyel-* 'to swallow',
PFUgr **leme* > PUgr **lämə* (> PVog **lə̄m*) > EAH **läwə* > H *lé*, *lev-* 'juice', see *leves* 'soup'.

In the first case we can suppose that the word had originally had an open /ä/ and became closed only through the influence of the palatal /ń/ in the Finn-Permic lgs, and PUgr preserved /ä/ after /ń/. In the second case it is of interest that in Mord and Zyr we find /ľ/.

In 1 case PFUgr /a/ changed to /ä/ under the influence of a following palatal consonant:

PFUgr **wayće* > PUgr **wäyćə* (> POUgr **wäs* > PVog **wā̆sɜ*, POsty **wäsəɣ*) > EAH **wäyčə* > **wečə* > H *vöcsök*, *dial vecsek* 'grebe (a kind of water bird)' (*-k* is a H suff).

Of the 71 PUgr words with /ä/ in the first syllable, 41 preserved the /ä/ in H while 19 others were lengthened to /ē/.

Only in 2 cases did the PUgr open /ä/ change to H closed /ë/:

PFUgr **päćkɜ* > PUgr **päćkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φečə* > H *fëcske* 'swallow' (*-ke* is a H suff), the Mord, the Perm and the H words point to a PFUgr /e/, thus perhaps PUgr /e/ is the correct reconstruction and the Finnic /ä/ remains to be accounted for,

PUgr **täŋkətə* (> POUgr **tū̆ɣət* > PVog **tă̄wət*, Osty **tüɣət*) > EAH **täŋgəδə* > **tägəδə* > H *tegëz*, *tëgëz* 'quiver', the first syllable was originally an open /ä/ and became closed under the influence of the second vowel.

In 7 words I have found a rounded vowel in place of PUgr /ä/. In 6 of them the labialisation is the result of the influence of the following /w/:

PFUgr **säwnä* > PUgr **säwnə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **heü̯nə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)',

PFUgr **śäŋe-* > PUgr **śäŋə-* (> POUgr **sēɣ-*, **sō̆ɣ-* > PVog **să̄ɣ-*, POsty **söɣ-*) > EAH **säɣə-* > **śäwə-*> H *sző-* 'to weave', the /š/ in H *sövény* 'hedge' is the result of a secondary development (if in fact the two words belong together at all),

PFUgr **wäŋɜ* > PUgr **wäŋə* (> POsty **wäŋ*) > EAH **weɣə* > **wewə- ~ weyə-* > H *vő* 'son-in-law', see *veje* 'his son-in-law',

PUgr **śäŋə* (> POsty **säŋkɜ*) > EAH **śeɣə* > **śewə* > H *szőke* 'blond' (*-ke* is a H suff, see *szürke*),

PUgr **śäɣərə* (> PVog **säɣər*) > EAH **śewərə* > **śewrə* > H *szőr* 'bristle, hair' (the /š/ in *sörény* 'mane' is a H secondary development, see Honti (1999: 128) and not PUgr **säɣɜrɜ* or **säkrɜ* Rédei (1986–1991/2: 886)),

PUgr **täɣtə* (> POUgr **tō̆ɣət* > PVog **tā̆wət*, POsty **tŏɣət*) > EAH **täwδə* > H *tűz*, *dial tíz* 'fire'.

In 1 case the labialisation may result fr the influence of the preceding /w/, but dials have preserved the nonlabial form:

PFUgr **wayće* > PUgr **wäyćə* (> POUgr **wäs* > PVog **wə̄sɜ*, POsty **wäsəɣ*) > EAH **wäyčə* > **wečə* > H *vöcsök*, *dial vecsek* 'grebe (a kind of water bird)' (*-k* is a H suff).

In 1 case the open /ä/ changed to /i/ fr the influence of the preceding /y/:

PFUgr **yänte* > PUgr **yäntə* (> POUgr **yV̄ntəɣ* > PVog **yăntəɣ*, POsty **yŏntəɣ*) > EAH **yində* > **idə* > H *ideg* 'nerve, bowstring' (*-g* is a H suff).

/e/

I have found 83 PUgr words with closed /e/ in the first syllable. Of these 59 have a PFUgr etymology; 52 preserved their PFUgr /e/ in PUgr and 7 PUgr words with /e/ go back to PFUgr words with /i/ in the first syllable.

Of the 83 PUgr cases with /e/ in the first syllable, 32 are represented in H with long /ē/ in the first syllable and 14 with short, closed /ë/.

15 of the PUgr cases with /e/ in the first syllable have that vowel rounded in H. In 4 cases the following primary or secondary /w/ influenced the labialisation:

PFUgr **peye-* > PUgr **peyə-* (> POUgr **päy-* > PVog **pay-*) > EAH **φewə-* > H *fő-* 'to boil (intr), *főz-* 'to cook', see *fővök* (Px2.sg),

PFUgr **keye-* > PUgr *keyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **köwə-* > H *köved-* 'to become cooked, boiled', *köveszt-* 'to boil',

PFUgr **lewe-* > PUgr **lewə-* (> PVog **läɣ-*) > EAH **lewə-* > OH *lev-* > H *lő-* 'to shoot', see *lövök* (Px2.sg),

PFUgr **tekɜ-* > PUgr **teɣə-* (> POUgr **tēk-*, **tō̄k-* > PVog *tă̄ɣ-*, POsty **tök-*) > EAH **tëwə-* > H *tűz-* 'to stich', MH **tövik-* 'id., now obsolete' (*-z* and *-ik* are H suffs, see also *tövis* 'thorn', *tű* 'needle').

In the remaining cases the labialisation is a H development. In most cases I have encountered data with the non-labial sound in OH or in the dials.

PUgr **čeppə-* (> PVog *šēp-*) > EAH **šepə-* > OH *šepped-* > H *süpped-* 'to sink' (*-d* is a H suff, the *-pp-* is secondary),

PUgr **keśĕ-* [written with *ś* and misprinted with *-s-* [**kësɜ*] in Rédei 1986–1991/2: 862] (> ? PVog **kes-*) > EAH **kesereɣ* > OH *kwzereu*, *kezerew* > H *köszörül-* 'to grind, sharpen' (*-ör*, *-ül* are H suffs),

PUgr **śeŋkə* (> PVog **seŋk*) > EAH **śeŋgə-* > **śegə-* > H *szög*, *szëg* 'nail, pin',

PFUgr **keśɜ-* > PUgr **keśə-* (> POsty **kŏ̄s-*) > EAH **kesə* > H *köszvény* 'gout', *dial këszvény* (*-vény* is a H suff),

PFUgr **temɜ-* > PUgr **temə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **temə-* > H *töm-* 'to stuff', see *temet-* 'to bury'.

In the remaining cases no evident cause has yet been established:

PFUgr **kere* > PUgr **kerə* (not in POUgr, but see **kīr-* 'umgehen') > EAH **kerə* > H *köré* 'around', *körül* 'around' (H *-é* and *-ül* are local suffs),
PFUgr **śerɜ*[2] ~ **ćerɜ* > PUgr **śerə* (> PVog *śir*) > EAH **śirə* > H *szürke* 'gray' (*-ke* is a H suff; in OH *szür* existed separately),
PFUgr **teppɜ* > PUgr **teppə* > EAH **tepə* > H **tëp-b* > *többe* 'more' (*-b* is a H comparative suff, cf. **szép** 'beautiful' > *szebb* 'more beautiful'),
PFUgr **terä* > PUgr **terə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **terə* > H *tőr* 'dagger',
PFUgr **weće* > PUgr **weća* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wösə* > OH *öszve* > H *össze* 'together' (the stem is **ös*; the gemination is secondary and *-ve* is the H lative suff),
PFUgr **weδɜ-* > PUgr **weδə-* (> POUgr **wēl-* / **wə̄l-* > PVog **ăl-*, POsty **wel-*) > EAH **ü̯ölə-* > H *öl-* 'to kill'.

In 5 cases PUgr /e/ became H /i/:

PFUgr **mɜ* > PUgr **me* (> POUgr **mă*, **mĕ* > PVog *mănā*, POsty **mĕ*) > EAH **mi* > H *mi*[1] 'what, a thing', cf. *valami* 'something', *semmi* 'nothing',
PFUgr **wete* > PUgr **wetə* (> PVog *wit, wüt´*) > EAH **wiδə* > H *víz* 'water',
PUgr **keća-* (> ? POsty **kŏć-*) > EAH **kešə-* > H *kísér-* 'to escort', cf. H *kísért-*, *dial késér-* (*-r* is a H suff),
PFUgr **ipse* > PUgr **epsə* (> POUgr **ēpəθ* > Vog **ăt*, Osty **epəʌ*) > EAH **iwsə* > **isə* > **izə* (fr the same base *édes* 'sweet' ~ *ízes* 'tasty') > H *íz* 'taste', (see T *tat-* 'to taste' > T *tatlïġ* 'sweet'),
PFUgr **ńe̯le* > PUgr **ńelə* (> POUgr **ńī̯lɜ* > PVog **ńī̯lɜ*, POsty **ńal*) > EAH **ńelə* > H *nyíl* 'arrow'.

Most interesting are those 19 cases in which PUgr /e/ became open /ä/ in H:

PFUgr **ećɜ-* > PUgr **eća-* (> POUgr **is-* ~ **es-* > PVog **ĭs-*, POsty **esĕl-*) > EAH **ečə-* > **ešə* > H *esik* 'to fall' (*-ik* is a H suff), cf. *eső* 'rain, falling',
PFUgr **emä* > PUgr **emə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə* > H *eme* 'sow', also *emse* (*-e*, and *-se* are H suffs),
PFUgr **kećä* > PUgr **kećə* (> POsty **kŏ̄s*) > EAH **kečə* > H *kecs* in *isten kecskéje* 'rainbow', *këgy* in *këgyelet* id.,
PFUgr **kećä* > PUgr **kećə-g* (> POUgr **kū̄səγ* > PVog **kā̄sĕγ*, POsty **kŏ̄sĕγ*) > EAH **keśəg* > H *keszeg* 'bream' (→ Os *kæsag* 'fish'; no convincing Ir etymology),
PFUgr **eδe* > PUgr **eδə* (> POUgr **yīl* > PVog **yīl*, POsty **yil*) > EAH **elə* > H *elő* 'forwards', *első* 'first' (*-ő, -ső* are H suffs),

PFUgr **lempe-* > PUgr **lempə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lebə-* > H *lebëg-* 'to float' (*-g* is a H suff),
PFUgr **mećä* > PUgr **meće̮* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mesə* > H *messze* 'far' (the length of *ssz* is secondary and the *-ë* is a H suff; cf. *messzi*),
PFUgr **nečɜ-* > PUgr **ńečə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ńešə-* > H *nyes-* 'to prune, cut off, shear',
PFUgr **reke-* > PUgr **reɣĕ-* (> POUgr **rV̄γ-* > PVog **rīγ-*, POsty **rə̋γ-*) > EAH **reɣə-* > **reɣə-tə-* > **reɣtə* > H *rejt-* 'to hide' (*-t* is a H suff),
PFUgr **sente-* > PUgr **sentə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hendə-* > **hedə-* > **hedə-lə-* > H *ell-*[2] 'to bear, bring forth (of animals)',
PFUgr **wetä-* > PUgr **wetə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **weδə-* > H *vezet-* 'to lead', *vezér* 'leader' (*-t* and *-r* are H suffs),
PFUgr **sewe-* > PUgr **sewə-* (> POUgr **θə̄-* > PVog **tə̄n-*, POsty **ʌĕγ-*) > EAH **hewə-* > H *eszik-* 'to eat' (*-ik* is a H suff, cf. *evett*, *evő*),
PFUgr **šiŋere* > PUgr **seŋkerə* (> POUgr **θēŋkər* > PVog *tă̄ŋkər*, POsty **ʌöŋkər*) > EAH **hegerə* > H *egér* 'mouse',
PFUgr **wiδɜmɜ* > PUgr **weδəmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wə̄ləm*, POsty **weləm*) > EAH **weləwə* > H *velő* 'marrow',
PUgr **keća-rə* (> PVog ? **kwaś*) > EAH **kešerə-γ* > OH *kešeröy̮* > H *keserű* 'bitter' (*-ű* is a H suff; cf. *kesered-* 'to become embittered'),
PUgr **lepə* (> POUgr **lüpe* > PVog **lupta*, POsty **lipət*) > EAH **lewə* > H *levél* 'leaf' (*-l* is a H suff),
PUgr **meśə-* (> PVog **mes-*) > EAH **mesə-* > *mesəγ* > H *meztelen*, *mezítelen* 'naked' (*-telen* is a privative suff, *-z-* is the result of secondary voicing). H *mez* 'sport uniform' is a neologism, first recorded in 1770. The word was originally a verb, with the meaning 'to dress'; fr this was formed **meseɣ* 'dress' and *meseytelen* > *mezítelen* > *meztelen* 'without dress, naked' with all stages documented,
PUgr **ńerə-* (> POUgr **ńĭr-* > PVog **ńĭr-*, POsty **ńĕr-*) > EAH **ńerə-* > H *nyer-* 'to gain, win',
PUgr **peyə-* (> PVog **päy-*) > EAH **φeyə-* > H *fejt-* 'to undo, unbaste' (*-t* is a H suff).

Among the above I have found only a few words providing evidence of vowels in the OUgr lgs which may point to a PUgr /ä/:

PFUgr **sewe-* > PUgr **sewə-* (> POUgr **θə̄-* > PVog **tə̄n-*, POsty **ʌĕγ-*) > EAH **hewə-* > H *eszik-* 'to eat' (*-ik* is a H suff, cf. *evett*, *evő*),

PUgr **peyə-* (> PVog **päy-*) > EAH **φeyə-* > H *fejt-* 'to undo, unbaste' (*-t* is a H suff).

Perhaps also:

PFUgr **šiŋere* > PUgr **seŋkerə* (> POUgr **θēŋkər* > PVog *tă̆ŋkər*, POsty *ʌöŋkər*) > EAH **hegerə* > H *egér* 'mouse',
PFUgr **wiδɜmɜ* > PUgr **weδəmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wā̆ləm*, POsty **weləm*) > EAH **weləwə* > H *velő* 'marrow'.

/ü/

We found /ü/ in the first syllable in 23 PUgr words. 16 have a PFUgr etymology, and, with one exception, all of these have /ü/ in the PFUgr protoform.

The exception has /i/ in PFUgr:

PFUgr **witte* > PUgr **wüttə* (> POUgr **wə̄t* > PVog **ă̆t*, POsty **wet*) > EAH **ü̯ötə* > H *öt* 'five'.

Of the 23 PUgr words with /ü/, 8 preserve this vowel in H; 14 show a change to /ö/, but in many cases we can determine that the word was pronunced in OH with /ü/.

PFUgr **küńä*[1] > PUgr **küńə* (> POUgr **kŭ̆n* > PVog **kŭ̆nγĕ̆l*, POsty **köṇŋey* (the POUgr nasal is depalatalized) > EAH **küńə* > H *könyök* 'elbow' (*-k* is a H dim suff),
PFUgr **küńe*[2] > PUgr **küńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **küńə* > OH *kun*, *kewn* [read both as *küń*] > H *könny* 'tear' (the length of the second consonant is a H development),
PFUgr **kütɜ* > PUgr **kütə* (> POUgr **kŭ̆t* > PVog **kŭ̆t´əl´*, POsty **kŏ̆t*) > EAH **küδə* > OH *küzü* > H *köz* 'interval, space between',
PFUgr **kütke-* > PUgr **kütkə-* (> PVog **köt-*) > EAH **küttə-* > OH *ket-* > H *köt-*, *dial ket-* 'to bind',
PFUgr **küye-* > PUgr **köyə-* (> POUgr **köy-* > PVog **köy-*, POsty **köy-*) > EAH **köwə-* > H *követ-* 'to follow',
PFUgr **lükkɜ-* > PUgr **lükkə-* (> POUgr **lŭ̆k-* > PVog **lŭ̆k-*, POsty **lŏ̆kəmə-*) > EAH **lükə-* > OH *lük-* > H *lök-* 'to push',
PFUgr **müŋke* > PUgr **müŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **müŋgə* > **mügə* > H *mög*, *meg* 'what is behind', cf. *mögött* 'behind', etc.,
PFUgr **sükśe* > PUgr **sükśə* (> POUgr **θŭ̆γĕ̆s* > PVog *tŭ̆kəs*, POsty *söγəs*) > EAH **hüsə* > H *ősz* 'autumn, fall',
PFUgr **süle* > PUgr **sülə* (> POUgr **θŏ̆l* > PVog **tă̆l*, POsty *ʌŏ̆l*) > EAH **hülə* > OH *ül* > H *öl* 'lap, fathom',

PFUgr **tüŋe* > PUgr **tüŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tüɣə* > **tüwə* > H *tő* 'stem', cf. (acc) *tövet*,
PFUgr **wüŋä* > PUgr **wüŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wüɣə* > H *öv* 'girdle',
PUgr **künə* (> POUgr ? **kŏn* > PVog **kün*, POsty **kŏn*) > EAH **künə* > OH *kenyid* > H *könnyed*, *könnyű* 'light, easy' (*-d* and *-ű* are H suffs),
PUgr **kütəppə* (> POUgr **kŭtəp* > POsty *kütəp*) > EAH **küδəpə* > H *közép* 'the middle' (the *-p* is of PUgr origin, see PFUgr **küt3*),
PUgr **yüɣə-* (> POUgr **yŭ-*, **yŭɣ-*, PVog **yĭ-*, **yĭw-*, POsty **yĕ-* / **yŏ-*) > EAH **yüvə-* > OH *yev-* > H *jön-* 'to come', cf. *jő* 'he/she comes', *jössz* 'you (sg) come', *jövő* 'coming, who comes'.

In 1 case I found /o/.

PFUgr **püŋe* > PUgr **püŋkə* (> PVog *pĕŋk*) > EAH **φuŋgə* > **φugə* > H *fogoly* 'partridge' (*-ly* is a H suff).

/ö/

In some cases it was difficult to decide whether we have to reconstruct /ü/ or /ö/ in PUgr, as in:

PFUgr **kütke-* > PUgr *kütkə-* (> PVog **köt-*) > EAH **küttə-* > OH *ket-* > H *köt-* 'to bind',
PFUgr **küye-* > PUgr **küyə-* (> POUgr **köy-* > PVog **köy-*, POsty **köy-*) > EAH **köwə-* > H *követ-* 'to follow'.

In both cases we found /ö/ in the POUgr or PVog and in H. But in all such cases in OH we have /ü/ or/and /e/ in the first syllable. It is difficult (but not impossible) to suppose that PUgr /ö/ changed to another sound and then back to /ö/.

A very difficult case:

PUgr **sä* (> POUgr $\theta\bar{\tilde{V}}$ > PVog **tā̆n*, POsty **ʌĕɣ*) > EAH **hö* > H *ő* 'he, she', *övé* 'his, hers'.

I reconstructed /ä/ because of the OUgr data. Honti (1982: 134) reconstructed only an uncertain long, front vowel for POUgr; this might also have been /ō/. This would suggest an /ö/ for PUgr, but looking to other pronouns the only sure thing is that the vowel was a front one.

Since words established as having PUgr /ü/ show the same changes, we have decided, for the time being, to reconstruct /ü/ in all cases where POUgr and H have /ö/. This may be supported by the fact that we find PFUgr /ü/ in all cases.

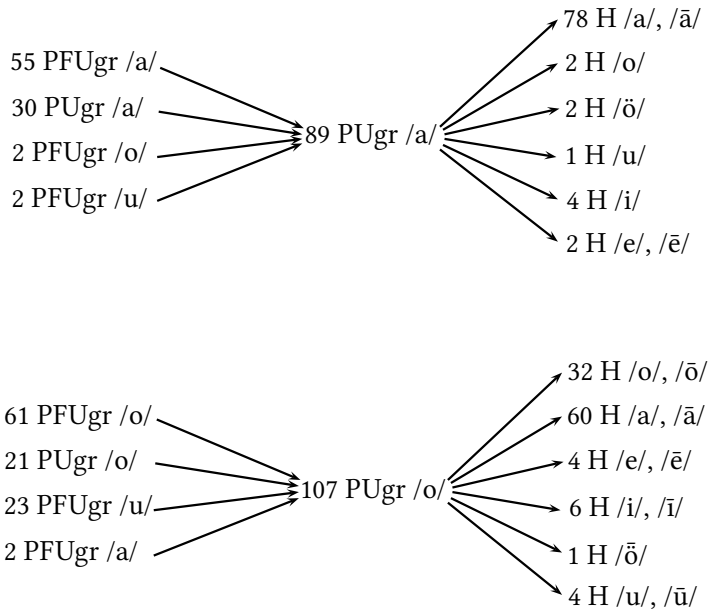
5.8.8 The percentage distribution of the Proto-Ugric vowels of the first syllable

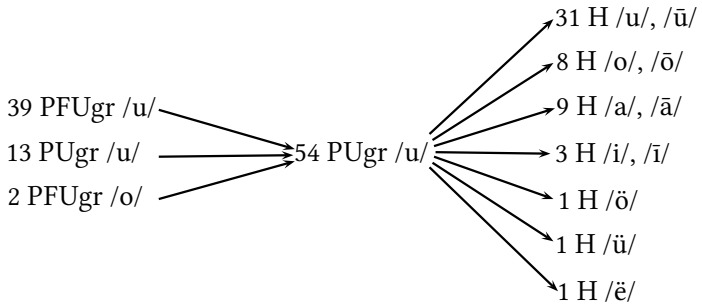
/a/	90	19%
/o/	107	21%
/u/	51	12%
/i/	32	7%
/ä/	71	15%
/e/	85	18%
/ü/	23	5%

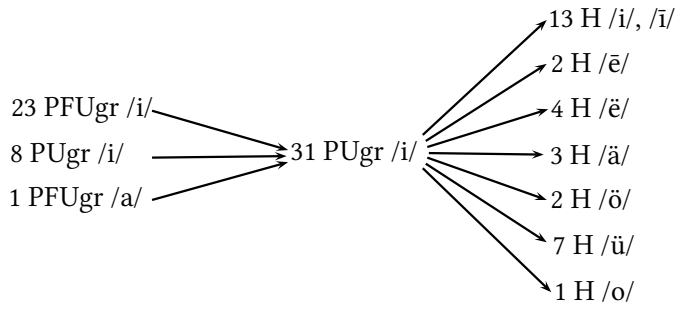
Table 5.4: The percentage distribution of the PUgr vowels in the first syllable

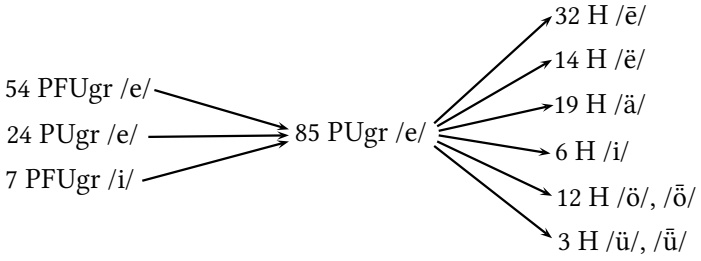
The back vowels total 55% of all vowels, while the front vowels are 45%. Both /ü/ and /i/ figure with low percentages.

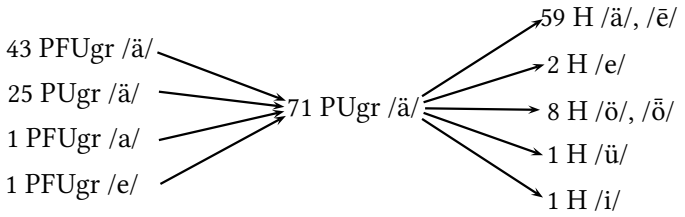
5.8.9 The origin and the continuation of Proto-Ugric vocalism




39 PFUgr /u/
13 PUgr /u/
2 PFUgr /o/
54 PUgr /u/
31 H /u/, /ū/
8 H /o/, /ō/
9 H /a/, /ā/
3 H /i/, /ī/
1 H /ö/
1 H /ü/
1 H /ë/


23 PFUgr /i/
8 PUgr /i/
1 PFUgr /a/
31 PUgr /i/
13 H /i/, /ī/
2 H /ē/
4 H /ë/
3 H /ä/
2 H /ö/
7 H /ü/
1 H /o/


54 PFUgr /e/
24 PUgr /e/
7 PFUgr /i/
85 PUgr /e/
32 H /ē/
14 H /ë/
19 H /ä/
6 H /i/
12 H /ö/, /ō̄/
3 H /ü/, /ū̄/


43 PFUgr /ä/
25 PUgr /ä/
1 PFUgr /a/
1 PFUgr /e/
71 PUgr /ä/
59 H /ä/, /ē/
2 H /e/
8 H /ö/, /ō̄/
1 H /ü/
1 H /i/

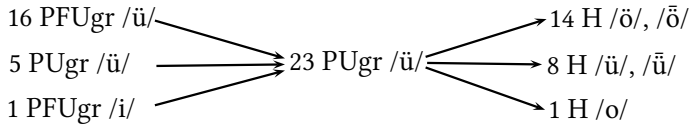


Figure 5.7: The changes in the vowel system of the first syllable

5.8.10 The tendencies of the changes II. Lengthening of Proto-Ugric first-syllable vowels

As we have seen, PUgr had only one quantity in the first syllable. This changed in POUgr and in H. The lengthening of the vowels of the first syllable in H had several causes.

5.8.11 Compensatory lengthening

One of the causes of lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable was a compensatory change. Loss of the last, already reduced vowel caused a secondary lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable, as also occurred in POUgr, PVog, and POsty, e.g.:

PFUgr **kere* > PUgr **kerə* (> POUgr **kīr* > PVog **kīr*, POsty **kir* ~ **kär*) > EAH **kerə* > H *kéreg* 'bark (of a tree)' (*-g* is a H suff),
PFUgr **kaδ´wa* > PUgr **kaδ´wə* (> POUgr **kēδ* > PVog **kāl*, POsty **köyəγ*) > EAH **χawəd´ə* > **χōd´ə* > H *hölgy* 'lady, woman' (the *-l-* is secondary in H),
PFUgr **wačɜ-* > PUgr **wačə-* (> POUgr **wōč-* > PVog **ăšə-*, POsty **woč-*) > EAH **wašə-* > H *vásik-* 'to wear away (intr), wear off (intr), grow blunt' (*-ik* is a H suff).

Examples for compensatory lengthening in H:

PFUgr **lunta* > PUgr **luntə* > EAH **lundə* > **ludə* > H *lúd* 'goose',
PFUgr **elä-* > PUgr **elə-* (> POUgr **yăl-* > PVog **yălt-*, POsty **yĕlpäγlĕ-*) > H *él-* 'to live',
PFUgr **äŋe* > PUgr **äŋkə-* > EAH **äŋgə* > **ägə* > H *ég-* 'to burn',
PFUgr **keye* > PUgr **keyə* > EAH **keyə* > H *kéj* 'lust, pleasure',
PFUgr **kuttɜ* > PUgr **kuttə* > EAH **χotə* > H *hát* 'back',
PUgr **kuntə* (> PVog **kunt-ĕl*) > EAH **χundə* > **χudə* > OH *hud* > H *hód* 'beaver',
PUgr **läppə* > EAH **läpə* > H *lép* 'spleen',
PUgr *metə* > EAH **meδə* > H *méz* 'honey',

PUgr *poδ′ə- > EAH *φoyə- > H *fáj-* ‘to hurt, ache’,
PFUgr *pura- > PUgr *purə- > EAH *φurə- > H *fúr-* ‘to bore’,
PUgr *śelə > EAH *śelə > H *szél* ‘edge’,
PUgr *warə- > EAH *warə- > H *vár-* ‘to wait’,
PFUgr *were > PUgr *werə > EAH *werə > H *vér* ‘blood’, *veres, vörös* ‘red’,
PUgr *waŋkə > EAH *waŋgə > *wagə > H *vág-* ‘to cut’,
PUgr *θarə > EAH *harə > H *ár* ‘flood’,
PUgr *serə > EAH *herə > H *ér* ‘rivulet’,
PUgr *sinə > EAH *hinə > H *ín* ‘sinew’, etc.

5.8.12 Lengthening before the clusters /δC/ and /δ′C/

PUgr *śiδmə > EAH *śilmə > *śiwə > H *szív* ‘heart’,
FUgr *kaδ′wa > PUgr *kaδ′wə (> POUgr *kēδ > PVog *kāl, POsty *köyəγ) > EAH *χawəd′ə > LAH *χ̄öd′ə > H *hölgy* ‘lady, woman’ (the *-l-* is secondary in H),
PFUgr *waδ′kɜ > PUgr *waδ′kə (> POUgr *wăγəl′ > PVog *wāl, POsty *wăγəl′) > EAH *woγəδ′ > LAH *v̄öd′ə > H *völgy* ‘valley’ (the *-l-* is secondary in H),
PFUgr *tuδ′ka > PUgr *tuδ′kə (> POUgr *tŏʌ′, etc. > PVog *tăl′ək, POsty *tŏy, *tŏy) > EAH *tuδ′əγ > *tuγeδ′ > H *tőgy* ‘udder’.

It is possible that in such cases the front quality of /ō/ appeared as an allophonic variant, hence we must posit a change:

EAH *χawəd′ə > LAH *χ̄öd′ə [~ *χ̄ȫd′ə] > H *hȫj̆ > hölgy*,
EAH *woγəδ′ > LAH *w̄öd′ə [~ *w̄ȫd′ə] > H *vȫj̆ > völgy*,
EAH *tuγeδ′ > LAH *t̄öd′ə [~ *t̄ȫd′ə] > H *tő̄j̆ > tőgy*.

In any case the progression diphthong > long vowel change occurred in LAH, after copying of the WOT words began.

5.8.13 Lengthening before the clusters /lC/ and primary and secondary /wC/

FUgr *wolnɜ > PUgr *wolnə (> POUgr *ōlnɜ > PVog *ălnɜ, POsty *olna) > EAH *olnə > H *ón* ‘tin’ (the *-l-* disappeared in H, causing lengthening of the vowel),
PUgr *śurwə- > EAH *suwrə- > H *szúr-* ‘to prick’,

PUgr **säwnə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hewnə* > **heu̯nə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)',
PUgr **śäɣärə* > EAH **sewər* > OH *sewr ~ ser* > H *szőr* 'bristle, hair',
PUgr **poɣrə-* > EAH **φawrə-* > H *fár-ad-*,
PUgr **täɣtə* > EAH **tewzə* > H *tűz* 'fire'.

5.8.14 Lengthening by contraction of primary /Vwə/- and secondary /Vwə/ syllables

Examples for primary /w/:

PUgr **kiwə* > OH *kevə* > H *kő* 'stone',
PUgr **lewə-* > H *lő-* 'to shoot',
PUgr **puwə-* > EAH **φuwə-* > H *fú-* 'to blow',
PUgr **puwə-* > EAH **φuwə-* > H *fúl-* 'to be choked', *fujt-*, *fojt-* 'to choke' (*-l* and *-t* are H suffs),
PUgr *śuwə* (> PVog **sū* in *sūnt*, *sūp*) > EAH **śō* > **śā* > H *száj* 'mouth' *szám* 'my mouth', *szád* 'your mouth' etc. (the H base is *sā*).

Examples for secondary /w/ < /m/:

PUgr **komə* > EAH **χawə* > H *hó* 'snow',
PUgr **lämə* > EAH **lewə* > H **lev- ~ lé* 'juice',
PUgr **nemə* > EAH **newə* > H *név* 'name',
PUgr **ńumul* > EAH **ńuwul* > H *nyúl* 'hare',
PFUgr **täye* > PUgr **täyə-ktəm* (> POUgr **tēk*(*t*)*əmɜ* > PVog **tā̆kmɜ*, POsty **töɣtəm*) > EAH **tā̆tmə* > **tā̆twə* > **tät*(*ə*)*wə* > H *tetű*, (acc) *tetvet* 'louse',
PFUgr **wiδɜmɜ* > PUgr **weδəmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wā̆ləm*, POsty **weləm*) > EAH **weləwə* > H *velő* 'marrow',
PUgr **pimə* (> POUgr **pūmɜ* > PVog **pŭmɜ*, POsty **pam ~ *pɔm*) > EAH **φiwĕ* > **φiü* > H *fű* 'grass',
PUgr **yomə* (> POUgr **yōm* (?) > PVog **yomās*, POsty **yăm*) > EAH **yawə* > H *jó*[2], (with poss suff: *java*) 'good'.

Examples for secondary /w/ < /ɣ/ < /ŋ/:

PUgr **aŋə-* > EAH **aɣə-* > **awə-* > **ō* > OH *ov-d-* > *ōd-* > H *old-* 'to untie, dissolve',
PUgr **tüŋə* > EAH **tüɣə* > **tüwə* > OH *tüv* > H *tő* 'stem',
PUgr **wäŋə* > EAH **veɣə* > **vewə* > H *vő* 'son-in-law',

PUgr *śäŋə > EAH *sewə-kə > H *sző-ke* 'blond',
PUgr *koŋə > EAH *χoɣə > *χawə > H *hó* 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon',
PUgr *niŋə > EAH *neɣə > *newə > *ne ~ nö > H *nő* 'woman', cf. *neje* 'his wife',
PUgr *ńiŋə > EAH *ńiɣə > *ńiwə > H *nyű* 'maggot, worm', see (acc) *nyüvet*, *dial nyiv*, *nyűv*,
PUgr *raŋə (> PVog *raŋ) > EAH *raɣə > *rā > H *rá* 'upon', *rajta* 'atop', (*-rA* is a H suff), etc.

Examples for secondary /w/ < /ɣ/ < (/k/):

PUgr *loɣə > EAH *lowə > H *lov* ~ ló 'horse',
PUgr *yoɣə > EAH *yoɣə > *yowə > H *jó*[1] 'river',
PUgr *toɣə > EAH *towə > H *tó* 'lake',
PUgr *tekə- > EAH *teɣə > *tewə- > H *tű-z-* 'to sting',
PUgr *yükə- > EAH *yüɣə- > *yüwə- > H *jő-* 'to come',
PFUgr *kulɜ[3] > PUgr *kulə-kə (> POUgr *kūlkɜ > PVog *kŭlāk, POsty *kɔlək) > EAH *χuləɣə > OH *hollo̯u* > H *holló* 'raven',
PUgr *yüɣə- (> POUgr *yŭ̆-, *yŭ̆ɣ-, PVog *yĭ-, *yĭw-, POsty *yĕ- / *yŏ̆-) > EAH *yüwə- > OH *yev-* > H *jön-* 'to come' (*-n* is a H suff, cf. *jő* 'he/she comes', *jössz* 'you (sg) come', *jövő* 'coming, who comes').

5.8.15 Lengthening by contraction of /Vyə/ syllables

PUgr *ńuyə- (> POUgr *ńuy- > PVog *ńuy- ~ *nuy-) > EAH *ńuw- > *ńū- > H *nyúz-* 'to skin' (*-z* is a H suff, see *tűz-*),
PUgr *śeyə- > EAH *seyə- > H *szé-dül-* 'to feel faint',
PUgr *uyə- > EAH *uyə- > H *ú-szik-* 'to swim',
PUgr *yoɣəs > EAH (*yīwəh), *yıyəh > H *íj* 'bow',
PFUgr *woye- > PUgr *woyə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *woyə- > *wayə- > H *ví-*, *vív-* 'to fight'.

5.8.16 Lengthening by contraction of /Vɣə/ syllables

PFUgr *ike-ńe > PUgr *iɣəńə (not in POUgr) > EAH *iɣəńə > *īńə > H *íny* 'gum',
PFUgr *śaka ~ *ćaka > PUgr *śaɣə (> POUgr *say > PVog *sai*, POsty *toɣ*) > EAH *śaɣə > *sā > H *zaj*[1], *szaj* in *zajlik-* 'to break up (of ice)' (the *z-* is the result of a late voicing, the final /y/ is secondary),

PFUgr *teke- > PUgr *teγə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *të > *té- > H *tész-*, *tësz-*, *tëtt-*, *tenni-* 'to make, place',
PFUgr *wiγe- > PUgr *wiγə- / *weγə (> POUgr ? *weγ- > PVog *wĕγ-, POsty *wĕy-) > EAH *weγə- > *wē- > H *vësz-* 'to take away, buy' (*-sz* is a H suff; cf. *vett* past tense, *vevő* participle), and also:
PFUgr *wiγe- > PUgr *wiγə- / *weγə (> POUgr ? *weγ- > PVog *wĕγ-, POsty *wĕy-) > EAH *wiγə- > *wī- > H *visz-* 'to take, carry (away)' (*-sz* is a H suff; cf. *vitt* past tense, *vivő* participle).

5.8.17 Secondary shortening

After the formation of the long vowel a secondary shortening occurred, mainly before an inserted, secondary /l/.

PUgr *aŋə- > EAH *aγə- > *awə- > (*ō) > OH *ov-d-* > H *ōd-* > *old-* 'to untie, dissolve',
PUgr *kaδ´wə > EAH *χawəd´ə > *χo͞d´ə > H *hölgy* 'lady, woman',
PUgr *waδ´kə > EAH *woγəδ´ > *vo͞d´ə > H *völgy* 'valley'.

5.8.18 The formation of diphthongs in Late Ancient Hungarian

It remains an open question whether the bisyllables VCV̆ changed directly to a long vowel, or via an intermediary diphthong, though the second is more probable:

PFUgr *peye- > PUgr *peyə- (> POUgr *päy- > PVog *pay-) > EAH *φewə- > LAH *feu̯- or *fo͞ > H *fő-* 'to boil (intr)', *fővök* 'I boil (intr)', *főz-* 'to cook',
PFUgr *puwɜ- > PUgr *puwə- (> POUgr *pūγ- (?), PVog *pŭv-, POsty *pŏγ-) > EAH *φuwə- > LAH *fou̯- or *fū > H *fú-*, *fúvott* (past tense Px3.sg), *fúj-* 'to blow',
PFUgr *kuma[2] > PUgr *komə (not in POUgr) > EAH *χowə > LAH *χou̯ or *χō > H *hó*, (acc) *havat* 'snow',
PFUgr *kuŋe > PUgr *koŋə (> POsty *χăw*, *χŭw*) > EAH *χoγə > LAH *χawə > *χou̯ or *χō > H *hó* 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon',
see further H *fej*, (acc) *fejet*, *fő* 'head', H *ív* 'arch, bow', H *jó*[1] 'river', H *jó*[2] (with poss suff *java*) 'good', H *kő*, (acc) *követ* 'stone', H *lé*, (acc) *levet* 'juice', see *leves* 'soup', H *lő-* (*lövök* present tense Px1.sg) 'to shoot', H *nő* (*neje*, Px3.sg poss) 'woman', H *nyű*, (acc) *nyüvet* 'maggot, worm', see *dial nyiv*, *nyűv*, H *ló*, (acc) *lovat* 'horse', H *tetű*, *tetvet* 'louse', H *tő*, (acc) *tövet* 'stem', H *tó*, (acc) *tavat* 'lake', H *velő* (*veleje* Px3.sg poss) 'marrow', H *vő*, (*veje* Px3.sg poss) 'son-in-law'.

Special cases are:
Preservation of the full vowel:

PFUgr **mɜ* > PUgr **mi* (> POUgr **mṼŋ*, **mṼn* > PVog **mā̃n*, POsty **mĕŋ*) > EAH **mi* > H *mi*[2] 'we'.

Secondary lengthening of the full vowel:

PUgr **sä* (> POUgr **θV̈* > PVog **tā̃n*, POsty **ʌĕɣ*) > EAH **hö* > H *ő* 'he, she', but *övé* 'his, hers'.

In second syllable final position:

PFUgr **śorwa* > PUgr **śorwə* (> POUgr **śor* (?) > PVog *šorp*, POsty *śărp*) > EAH **śorwə* > H *szarv* 'horn', *szaru* 'horny', *szarvas* 'deer'. On the possible IE connections see p. 698,
PUgr **śalɣə* (> POUgr **sV̄ɣəl* > PVog **sīɣlā*, POsty **saɣəl*) > EAH **śaləɣə* > LAH **śaləwə* > H *szalu* 'plane'.

As we can see, almost all words are now monosyllabic. The bisyllabic character of *szalu* is the result of a metathetic change, while *tetű* and *velő* have old suffs. All words (with the exception of *av-ul-*, *fej*, *ív* ~ *íj* and *lé*) now end in a long labial vowel. *avul-* has its labial pair in *ó* 'old, ancient', and *fej* is a late variant fr *fő* (> *feje*). All have a /v/ in some suffixed forms. This points to the fact that in all cases we have to reconstruct a diphthong the second component of which was a labial: with the exception of *fú-* and *nyű-* all labial endings of monosyllabic stems are long mid-open /ō/, /ȫ/ vowels. These suggest a diphthong closed by -*u̯*, going back to an earlier /w/. In this sound two fricatives merged in EAH: /w/ and /ɣ/. The latter had more sources /k/, /ɣ/, /ŋ/ > /w/ > /u̯/.

5.8.19 Historical changes in the vowel system of non-first syllables in Proto-Ugric

PUgr had only one phonemic vowel in non-first syllables: *shwa*/ə/. This was continued by EAH, but in some cases new, full vowels emerged as a result of phonological, morpho-phonological, and other processes.

Some of them go back to petrified poss suffs, e.g.:

PFUgr **appe* > PUgr **uppə* / **ïppə* (> POUgr **up* > Vog *up*, Osty *up*) > EAH **ipə* > H *ipa* 'father-in-law' (*-a* is a H petrified poss suff),
PFUgr **koye-rɜ* > PUgr **koyərə* (> POUgr **kī̯rɜ* > PVog **kī̯r*, POsty **kar*) > EAH **χoyrə* > **χayrə* > **χērə* > H *here*, *dial hőrő*, *hörö* 'testicle' (the final *-e* is a petrified poss suff),

PFUgr **säppä* > PUgr **säppə* (> POUgr **θäppĕ* > Vog **tā̆p*) > EAH **häpə* > H *epe* 'bile' (the H *-e* is a petrified poss suff),
PUgr **arə* (> POUgr **ar* > PVog **or*, POsty **or*) > EAH **arə* > H *ara* 'betrothed, fiancée, *arch* 'brother of the mother or the sister' (the *-a* is a H petrified poss suff).

In other cases we find old dim suffs, as in:

PFUgr **koćma* > PUgr **koćmə* (> PVog **kośĕm*) > EAH **χoǰmə* > H *hagyma* 'onion' (*-a* is an old H dim suff),
PFUgr **orpa* ~ **orwa* (← IE) > PUgr **orpə* (> POsty **urwi*) > EAH **orwə* > H *árva* 'orphan' (*-a* is an old H dim suff),
PFUgr **kiye* ~ **küye* > PUgr **kiyə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kiyə* > H *kígyó*, *arch kíjó* 'snake' (*-ó* is an old H dim suff),
PFUgr **pɜnɜ-* > PUgr **pänə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φänə* > H *fenyő* 'pine tree' (the *n* > *ń* is secondary; the *-ő* is an old H dim suff),
PFUgr **päćkɜ* > PUgr **päćkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φečə* > H *fëcske*, *dial fëske* 'swallow' (*-ke* is a H dim suff),
PFUgr **pilwe* ~ **pilŋe* > PUgr **pilŋə* (> Osty *pələŋ*) > EAH **pelγə* > **φelhə* > H *fëlhő* 'cloud' (*-ő* is an old H dim suff),
PFUgr **waćɜ* > PUgr **waćə* (> POUgr **wasə* > PVog **wošə*, POsty **wăs*) > EAH **väsə* > H *vessző* 'twig' (the final *-ő* is an old H dim suff).

Suffixes forming adjectives:

PFUgr **śomɜ-rɜ* > PUgr **śomərə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śomərə* > H *szomorú* 'sad' (*-ú* is a H suff),
PUgr **künə* (> POUgr ? **kŏ̃n* > PVog **kün*, POsty **kŏ̃n*) > EAH **künə* > (OH *kenyid*) > H *könnyű* 'light, easy' (*-ű* is a H suff), *könnyed*.

A larger group of words formed final vowels fr diphthongs which later became monophthongs (see above):

PUgr **iśə* (> POsty **ā̆s*) > EAH **isə-γ* > LAH **iseü̯* > OH *isző* > H *üsző* 'heifer',
PUgr **kećə-rə* (> PVog ? **kwaś*) > EAH **kešerə-γ* > OH *kešeröü̯* > H *keserű* 'bitter',
PUgr **keśĕ-* (> ? PVog **kes-*) > EAH **kesere-γ* > OH *kwzereu̯*, *kezerew* > H *köszörű* 'grinder',
PFUgr **kalɜ* > PUgr **kalə-p* (> POUgr **kūlăp* > PVog **kūləp*, POsty **kaləp*) > EAH **χaləw* > LAH **χalau̯* > H *háló* 'net',

PUgr **tontəγ* (> POUgr **tōnt* > PVog **tānt*, POsty **tontəγ*) > EAH **tandəγ* > **tadəγ* > LAH **tadəü̯* > H *tidó dial* 'birch bark'.

AH had suffixes, and in cases where the suff consisted of /w/ or /ɣ/, there appeared ders which changed their word-ends to different diphthongs:

H *aszik-* 'to become dry' (*-ik* is a H suff) < PUgr **θośə-* (> POUgr **θōs-* > PVog **tāš-*, POsty **săsa-*) > 1055 *asaγ* <azah> > 1211 *asou* <ozou> > 1418 *assō* <asso> > H *aszó* 'dry, small valley'. In another case we can only reconstruct the form: *lát-* 'to see' (only Sam cognates) > **lataγ* > OH 1211 *latou* 'who sees, prophet, controller' > H *látó*. In this and similar cases, the change runs: /aw/ or /aɣ/ > /au̯/ > /ō/, /äw/ or /äɣ/ > /äü̯/ > /ō/.

The first part of the diphthong was (or became) an open vowel. Thus AH had the diphthongs /au̯/ and /äü̯/. The diphthong /åu̯/ became /ou̯/ and later /ō/ by assimilation; the same happened with the front-vocalic pair. Into this system were adapted the WOT words.

AH had also diphthongs with /i̯/. Different suffs (past tense marker, 1p.sg poss, lative, etc.) appeared as /i/ which changed to /ai̯/ and /ei̯/ after vocalic word-ends. These diphthongs then changed to a long low, open vowel, and finally to a short one:

PFUgr **kala* 'fish' > PUgr *kală* (> POUgr **kūl* > PVog **kūl*, POsty **kūl*) > EAH **χală* > **χală-i* 'his/her/its fish' > **χalai̯* > **halā* > H *hala* 'his/her/its fish', (acc) *halát* [halāt]. All diphthongs whith /i̯/ changed to monophthongs and in suffixed forms preserved their former length.

In addition to the above, several derivational, inflectional and conjugational suffs ended with a full vowel. (This cannot be dealt with here.) As a result, the structure of the EAH words changed. In the second syllable we find long, normal vowels and one reduced vowel which slowly disappeared.

Besides the full vowels in final position mentioned above, in OH there existed the reduced sounds [ŭ], [ǔ], and [ĭ]. These occur in such data as:

PUgr **kütə* > EAH **küzə* > OH *küzü* (more precisely *küzŭ*, c950) > H *köz* 'interval, space between',

PUgr **χontə* 'army' > OH *hadu* (more precisely *hådŭ*, 1055) > H *had* 'army, *arch* clan',

PUgr **utkə* > **uktə* > EAH **uγtə* > **uwtə* > OH *utu* (more precisely *utŭ*, 1055) > *út* 'road', (acc) *utat*,

PFUgr **śala* > PUgr **śalə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śalə* > **śilə* > OH *silu* (more precisely *silŭ*, 1055) > H *szil* 'elm', (originally back-vocalic; cf. *szilas*, *Szilágy*),

PFUgr *šerɜ > PUgr *serə (not in POUgr) > EAH *herə > OH *eri* (more precisely *erĭ*, 1055) > *ér* 'creek, rivulet'.

The rule of open-syllabic codas slowly disappeared, and words with consonant finals appeared. Nevertheless, many basic words preserved their final open syllable. In this period foreign words were adapted to the open-syllabic system. Sl *χlъmъ* > *χlomъ* ⟶ OH *holmu* (more precisely *holmŭ*, 1075) > H *halom* 'hill', even in the chronicle of Anonymous (c1200), Grm *Burg* 'castle' occurs as *burgu* in the GN *Ecilburgu* and the T PN *Taš* (see T *taš* 'stone') as *Tošu* and *Thošu* (more precisely *tåšŭ*).

Earlier scholarship termed these sounds "wasting" (*sorvadó*) vowels. In fact all these reduced vowels disappeared. Most were continuations of PUgr /ə/. In some cases similar vowels evolved by analogy, mainly after monosyllabic words. The quality of the reduced vowels depended upon the preceding full vowel. After back-rounded vowels (including /å/) we find [ŭ], while after front-rounded [ŭ̈] and unrounded vowels we see [ĭ]. Since these are conditioned by the preceding vowel, they do not have a phonological status. All three are allophones of a *shwa*/ə/.

Summing up: PUgr *shwa* is preserved in the earliest OH sources and disappeared during the OH period. The full vowels in final position are the result of several morphological processes. None of the full vowels goes back to a full PUgr vowel.

5.9 The vowel system at the end of Early Ancient Hungarian

Though there occurred major changes during the long period of EAH, the stock of vowels at the beginning and end of the EAH period was basically the same, although the functional load of the vowels changed. The vowels in the first syllable were:

Back vowels: /a/, /ā/, /o/, /ō/, /u/, ū/

Front vowels: /i/, /ī/, /e/, /ē/, /ä/, /ǟ/, /ü/, /ǖ/

Diphthongs: /au̯/, /eü̯/, /ai̯/, /äi̯/, /ei̯/

The phoneme /o/ must have been more open than the usual /o/, see PUgr *oštərə (← MIr, see Pehl *aštar*) (> PVog *ośtă) > EAH *oštarə > OH *ustor* > H *ostor* 'whip'; the rounded /å/ emerged only in LAH. The back /ï/ also appeared in LAH, while in EAH it was only an allophone of /i/. Diphthongs appeared. The second-syllable *shwa* of PUgr persisted in EAH.

Chapter Six

West Old Turkic and Hungarian

6.1 The phonology of West Old Turkic

6.1.1 General considerations

West Old Turkic includes those Turkic languages spoken west of the Ural Mountains and the Ural River from the 5th century A.D. on. There was a more or less continous migration of Turkic speaking people from East to West in this period (see pp. 19–24). The Old Turkic period ended with the Mongolian invasion of this part of Eurasia. Linguistically speaking the most important group pertained to the Oguric branch, of which only Chuvash is now spoken. We cannot exclude the presence of non-Oguric languages. Beginning in the 9th century, the written sources mention the Pecheneg, and later the Oguz (Uz) and Cuman peoples. We have to distinguish between a people and its language. In this chapter I shall attempt to reconstruct the phonological system of the West Old Turkic group of languages. This reconstruction will be helped by East Old Turkic, the language of the Volga Bulgars and by the history of Chuvash on the one hand, and by the Hungarian words copied from West Old Turkic on the other. I shall also provide pertinent data from the phonological history of the Proto-Ugric stock, from Proto-Ugric (and if necessary, from Proto-Finno-Ugric) to Hungarian, and make use of the testimony of the history of the Hungarian, Iranian, and (mostly) Alan and the Slavic languages where possible.

I divide the history of Hungarian to Ancient, Old, Middle and Contemporary Hungarian periods. Ancient Hungarian began after its separation from the other two Ugric languages, Vogul (Manysi) and Ostyak (Hanti), together called Ob-Ugric. The *Ancient Hungarian* (AH) period lasted until the very first written sources of the Hungarian language in the 10th century. *Early Ancient Hungarian* (EAH) is the period lasting until the beginning of the contacts between the Hungarians and the Western Turks, which may have happened in the 5th–6th centuries. *Late Ancient Hun-*

garian (LAH) denotes the period between the 6th and the 10th centuries, the age of intensive Hungarian–Turkic cohabitation. *Old Hungarian* (OH) lasted until the end of the rule of the Árpád dynasty (1301) or, according to others, until the middle of the 14th century. We include within *Middle Hungarian* (MH) the period lasting until the middle of the 16th century. The intensive contact with the Ottoman language began in the first decades of the 16th century, reaching its peak around 1526 (the battle of Mohács) and lasting 150 years until its intensity rapidly diminished. Since Ottoman loanwords in Hungarian are dealt with by Kakuk (1973; 1977), our corpus excludes all words of Ottoman origin.

6.2 The consonants

The behavior and changes in the WOT consonant phonemes will be dealt with in five categories: 1) word initial (*x*-), 2) intervocalic (V*x*V), 3) preconsonantal (*x*C), 4) postconsonantal (C*x*) and 5) final (-*x*). In relevant cases I will distinguish between nasal (N) and oral (C) consonants.

6.2.1 Unvoiced oral stops

/p/

p-: **WOT** most probably did not have /p/ in initial position. Transcriptions as the name of the Pechenegs: Geor *pačinak-i*; Arm *Pacinnak*; Lat *Pizenaci* reflect a Byzantine Gr *Patzinakitai*, *Patzinakoi*. The MGr could not use *beta* for rendering a bilabial voiced stop /b/, because <β> denoted a voiced spirant /w/, thus it used *pi* <π>. In sources independent fr Gr, where /b/ was part of the system, we find /b/ in this name; cf. **besenyő**. In H common words no trace of a WOT /p/ is present. The etymology of the only possible candidate, H **por** 'dust,' is very problematic, and would be isolated; see § 8.1. **EOT** did not have /p/ in word-initial position (on the details see Erdal 2004: 65). On the question on a possible AT or PT /p/ (> /h/) see below under WOT /h/. **VBulg** did not have /p/ in word-initial position in genuine T words. **Chuv** changed /b/ in word-initial position late to /p/, more precisely to an unvoiced medial /в/. **PUgr** /p/ in word-initial position became /φ/ in EAH. On a possible change /p/ > /b/, see p. 1016. **Al** /f/ in word-initial position was copied in **pati-dā-* > **fida-* ⟶ EAH **fiδə-* > **fizet-* 'to pay'.

VpV: **WOT** /p/ occurred in intervocalic position. It was copied and preserved in H: **áporodik**, **csepű**, **csipa**, **gyapot**, **gyepű**, **gyopár**, **kapu**, ? **kepe**, **koporsó**, ? **köpec**, **köpönyeg**, **köpű**, **seper**, **seprő**[1]. It became /b/ in later Cum lws: **csabak**, ? **kebel**, **kobak**, **koboz**. Some of the H words may be of early Kip origin. **EOT** /p/ was

preserved in intervocalic position. In **VBulg** no established examples. The reading of the name *Apa* is uncertain, but see Chuv *upa* 'medved'. **Chuv** preserved WOT /p/ in intervocalic position and later changed it to unvoiced medial /в/ or preserved the unvoiced /p/, which orthography handles as a double /p/: *šapăr*, *šappar* 'metla' < WOT **sïpïr*, cf. H **seprő**[1], **seper**. **PUgr** /p/ in intervocalic position changed in EAH to /w/ and later to /v/. Long /pp/ changed to /p/.

pC: **WOT** /p/ occurred before consonants. It was copied and preserved in H **apró**, **gyapjú** (< **ǰapγu*), **gyeplő**, **kaptány** (< **kapkan*), **köpcös** (< **köpčeg*), **seprő**[2], **szeplő**, **táplál**, **tapló**. **EOT** /p/ occurred before consonants. **VBulg** has no examples. **Chuv** preserved preconsonantal /p/ *šĕpre* 'drožži' < WOT **čüprek*. **PUgr** /p/ before consonants disappeared through EAH /φ/ > /w/ in H: PUgr **kuplə* > EAH **χowlə* > H *hólyag* 'bladder'.

Cp: **WOT** /p/ occurred in postconsonantal position. It was copied and preserved in H **árpa**, **gyarapodik** (< **ǰarpa-*). After nasals it changed to /b/ and is reflected as such in H in Cum lws as **karambél**. **EOT** /p/ ocurred after consonants, mostly after /r/. **VBulg** has no examples. **Chuv** preserved postconsonantal /p/: *urpa* 'jačmen'' < WOT **arpa*. **PUgr** /p/ in postconsonantal position became H /v/ through EAH /w/.

-p: **WOT** /p/ occurred in word-final position. It was copied and preserved in H **ápol**, **kép** (? < **keb*), **kerep**, **szép**. **EOT** had /p/ in final position. **VBulg** preserved /p/ in word-final position as in the name *Alïp*; cf. Chuv *ulăp* 'ispolin'. **Chuv** preserved /p/ in final position: *tup-* 'nahodit'' < WOT **tap-*. **PUgr** originally had no /p/ in final position. H words with final /p/ go back to /pp/ > /p/+reduced vowel.

/t/

t-: **WOT** /t/ ocurred in word-intial position. It was preserved in H in 47 cases. We find a voiced /d/ in place of /t/ in the following words: **dara**, **dél**, **dől**, **dug**. /t/ before /i/ was preserved in WOT, no sign of /t/ > /č/ in H, see **telek**[1], **telek**[2], **tik** ~ **tyúk**. **EOT** had /t/ in initial position, but it did not have /d/. **VBulg** preserved /t/ in initial position: *temirči* 'smith', *toχur* 'nine', *tüwet* 'four', no example for word-initial /ti/ > /či/, see *tïwuχčï*. **Chuv** preserved /t/ and later changed /t/ to /č/ before /i/ and /ĭ/: Chuv *čĕlχe* 'jazyk' < **tilaχ* < WOT **tïlak* < PT **til*, *čăχ*(*ă*) 'kurica' < **tīχ* < VBulg *tïwuχ* < WOT **tïguk* < PT **takïga* > EOT *takïgu*, *čĕrĕ* 'živoj' < WOT **tiriγ*. **PUgr** /t/ in initial position was preserved in H. **Al** /t/ in initial position was preserved in *tölgy*, /ti/ > /č/ in initial position occurred also in Os.

VtV: **WOT** /t/ occurred in intervocalic position. It was preserved in H **bátor**, **betű**, **bütü**, **csatol**, ? **csata**, **katáng**, **sátor**, **szatócs**, **tatár**, **tátorján**. It changed to /d/ in **gödény**. **EOT** had /t/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** preserved /t/ in intervocalic position: *wotur* '30'. Before /i/ the change to /či/ began: as in *ǰiyeti* 'seven', also *ǰieči*,

erti* > *eti* and *eči*, as well as *ziyaret-i* and *ziyareči*. The suggestion that the intervocalic /ti/ and /či/ data would pertain to two different dials cannot be substantiated. This change is just beginning in the time of the inscriptions. **Chuv preserved /t/ as /ɒ/. In a few cases we find intervocalic /t/ which is rendered in the modern Chuv orthography by <tt>. **PUgr** intervocalic /t/ changed through /δ/ to /z/ in H. PUgr intervocalic /tt/ is preserved in H as /t/. **EAH** had /t/ in intervocalic position as a result of the change of PUgr /tt/ to /t/.

tC: **WOT** had /t/ before consonants. It is preserved in H **cötkény** (Cum). **EOT** had /t/ in preconsonantal position. **VBulg** had /t/ before consonants, see the name *Emetči*. **Chuv** preserved WOT /t/ in preconsonantal position: Chuv *śitměl* 'sem′des′at' < WOT **ǰetmil* < PT **yetmiš*, Chuv *utlan-* 'sest′ verhom' < WOT **atlan-* < PT **atlan-*. **PUgr** had /t/ before consonants. In most cases the second consonant was assimilated: PUgr **kütkə-* > EAH **kütte-* > OH *ket-* > H *köt-* 'to bind'.

Ct: **WOT** had /t/ after consonants. It was preserved in H **ártány**, **balta**, **bertű**, **bojt**, **bojtorján**, ? **böjt**, **börtön**, **gyárt**, **kajtár**, **kantár**, **kentreg** (see **kömődörög**), **kert**, **körte**, **körtvély**, **ontok**, **serte**, **szirt**, **táltos**, **tart**, **torontál** (*turumtay*), **vértelek**. In a few cases /t/ was palatalized in H: **gyertya**, **gyertyán**. According to Erdal (2004: 114) the /t/ in EOT *koltguči* 'beggar' (see **koldus**) is a parasitic alveolar. In any case this is then preserved as /d/ in H, as in **ondó**, **szándok** (Cum), **szenderedik**. **EOT** had /t/ after consonants. **VBulg** had /t/ after consonants, cf. *altï* 'six' < WOT **altï*, *velti* 'died' < WOT **öldi* or the name *Sübeyte*. **Chuv** /t/ in postconsonantal position was preserved as /ɒ/: Chuv *χurt* 'nasekomoe' < WOT **kurt*. **PUgr** /Ct/ clusters changed to /tt/ in intervocalic position and later were simplified to /t/: PUgr **käktə* > EAH **kettə* > *ketə* > H *két*, *kettő* 'two', after nasals, /t/ became /d/: PUgr **antə-* > EAH **andə-* > **adə-* > H *ad-* 'to give'. EAH had /t/ after consonants by syncope, and H suffixation.

-t: **WOT** /t/ ocurred in word-final position. Cf. H **csalit**, **gyapot**, **gyárt**, **sajt**, **tót**. In words like **bojt**, **gyarmat**, **kert**, **szirt**, **tart**, etc. the /t/ is now in final position, but this is the result of a H change /tə/ > /t/. In such cases as **arat**, **árt** (see **árik**), **borít**, **gyárt**, **gyűjt** (see **gyűlik**), **ijeszt** /t/ is a suff, and in most cases a H one. **EOT** had /t/ in final position. **VBulg** had /t/ in final position: *tüwet* 'four', *hiǰrat* 'Hijra', *ziyarat* 'tomb'. **Chuv** preserved /t/ in final position: Chuv *śit-* 'dostat′' < WOT **ǰet-* < PT **yet-*. **PUgr** had no final /t/. **Al** final /t/ became secondary /δ/: **nämet* ⟶ EAH *nämetə* > *nämeδə* > *nemez* 'felt' and is an earlier loan than Al **nada* ⟶ LAH **nadə* > H *nád* 'reed'.

/k/

k-: **WOT** /k/ occurred in word-initial position in front- and back-vocalic words. In a small group of back-vocalic words we can observe the change /k/ > /χ/. This

sound is represented in the sources written in Ar script by چ. WOT /k/ in initial position is represented altogether in 76 cases in H. Fr these before /a/ and /ā/ in 23 cases, before /e/ and /ē/ in 16 cases, before /i/ and /ī/ in 5 cases, before /o/ and /ō/ in 16 cases, before /ö/ and /ő̄/ in 20 cases, before /u/ in 3 cases and before /ü/ in 3 cases. WOT /χ/ in initial position is represented in AH by /χ/ > H /h/ which developed after the Ugr /s/ became /h/ and then disappeared. This category is represented by 4 etymologies (**hajó**, **harang**, **herjó** and **homok**). 3 other etymologies are uncertain for different reasons: **hám** (see § 8.1), **horó** (see § 8.1), **hurok**. WOT /k/ in initial position is represented by /g/ in 4 words: ? **gaz**, **gödény**, **gügyű**, **güzü** and in a variant of a word with /k/ **görhö** (see **kőrő**). **EOT** had /k/ in initial position in both front- and back-vocalic words. **VBulg** changed WOT initial /k/ to /χ/ in back-vocalic and preserved /k/ in front-vocalic words: *χïrχ* 'forty' < WOT **kïrk*, *küwen* 'day' < WOT **kūn*. There is 1 orthographical exception: VBulg *hïr* 'girl, daughter' written with Ar ء, but this has no special phonetic value, cf. Chuv *χĕr* 'devuška' < WOT **kïr* < PT **kïz*. **Chuv** changed WOT initial /k/ to /χ/ in back-vocalic words: *χuran* 'kotel' < WOT **karan* < PT **kazan*. In front-vocalic words /k/ is preserved Chuv: *kĕmĕl* 'serebro' < WOT **kümül* < PT **kümüš*. **PUgr** initial /k/ became /h/ through /χ/ in H in back-vocalic words. PUgr initial /k/ is preserved in H in front-vocalic words. **Al** initial /k/ was preserved in the back-vocalic word **kardə* ⟶ *kartə* > H *kard*, and in the front-vocalic word **kert**. The H word *híd* was copied fr Al before the change /χ/ > /h/, during the same period as **hajó**, etc.

VkV: **WOT** had /k/ in intervocalic position. This was 1) preserved in H **ákos**, **béka**, **bika**, **boka**, **csákány**, **csökönyös**, **daku**, **gyékény**, **iker**, **kalokány**, **karakán**, **kikerics**, **kökörcsin**, **kökény**, **sárkány** < (*šarakan*), **szaka**, **szakáll**, **teknő** (< *tekenő*), **teker**, **tok**[1] (< *toku*), **tökél**, **tulok** (< *tukol*), **vék** (< *vekü*), or 2) changed to intervocalic /g/ in H **agos** (see **ákos** a Cum word) or 3) changed to /g/ > /ɣ/ > /ø/ in H **bán**[2], **szán**[1]. **EOT** had /k/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** changed /k/ to /χ/ in intervocalic position in back-vocalic words: *toχur* '9', *Buχa*, but is preserved as /k/ in front-vocalic words: *eki* 'two' < WOT **eki*, *sekir* 'eight'< WOT **sekir* < PT **sekiz*. **Chuv** changed WOT intervocalic /k/ in originally back-vocalic words to /χ/, which is pronounced as an unvoiced guttural fricative, and in originally front-vocalic words to an unvoiced guttural lax /ɢ/. **PUgr** changed PFUgr intervocalic /k/ into /ɣ/ which then disappeared: PFUgr **ikeńe* > PUgr *iɣeńə* > EAH *iɣeńə* > *īńə* > H *íny* 'gum'. PFUgr intervocalic /kk/ was preserved as such in Ugr and changed to /k/ in OH: PUgr **lükkə-* > EAH **lükkə-* > H *lök-* 'to push'.

kC: **WOT** preconsonantal /k/ is preserved or assimilated: **béklyó**, **csekle** (cf. **cigle**), **daksi**, **köpec** (< *köpekče*). **EOT** had /k/ in preconsonantal position. **VBulg** had /k/ in preconsonantal position, cf. *Türükmen* in front-vocalic words; /k/ was changed to /χ/ in back-vocalic words, as in *tïwuχči* 'hen dealer'. **Chuv** changed pre-

consonantal /k/ into /χ/ in back-vocalic words: Chuv *tăχta-* 'ždatʹ' < WOT **tokta-*, and preserved /k/ in front-vocalic ones: Chuv *śĕkle-* 'podnimatʹ' < WOT **jükle-* < PT **yükle-*. **PUgr** had /k/ in preconsonantal position, see PUgr **käktə* above. /k/ disappeared before stop consonants. Before sibilants it was spirantized: PFUgr **maksa* > PUgr **maɣəs* > EAH **maɣ* > **mā* > *máj* 'liver' (/y/ is a petrified remnant of the poss suff; cf. *mája* 'his liver').

Ck: **WOT** /k/ occurred after consonants. This is 1) preserved in H by /k/: **árkány**, **balkány**, **bicska**, **boszorkány**, **cötkény** (Cum), **erkölcs**, **kapkány** (see **kaptány**), **kecske**, **szongor** (< *sonkor*), **török** (< *türkü*), **ürge** (< *ürke*), **zerge** (<< *serke*), 2) disappeared under special circumstances: **tiló** (< *talkïɣ*). **VBulg** preserved /k/: *ečke* 'a title' perhaps **ečike*. **Chuv** preserved /k/ in originally front-vocalic words. Postconsonantal /k/ is preserved after oral, unvoiced consonants. After voiced ones, including nasals, it changed to /ɢ/. In back-vocalic words WOT /k/ disappeared after oral stops: *pătă* < WOT **botka* 'porridge' (cf. Bashk *botka*), Chuv *tïlă* < WOT **talkï* 'hemp breaker, scraper, an instrument used for working with leather', see EOT *talku*, but Tat *talkï*, H **tiló**. Following a strongly voiced sonant like /l/, it became /ɣ/ as in *čĕlχe* [lɣ] 'jazyk' (< **tïlka* < WOT **tïlak* < PT *tïl* > EOT *tïl*. Chuv *χulkan* 'ščit' seems to be a lw, cf. EOT *kalkan*. **PUgr** clusters with nasal stop+/k/ became /g/ in H through /ŋg/: PUgr **moŋkə* > EAH **mongə* > **mogə* > H *mag* 'grain, seed'. After oral consonants the cluster changed to a long one: PUgr **kelkə* > EAH **kellə* > H *kell* 'must, to be necessary'.

-k: **WOT** /k/ occurred in word-final position. In H this is 1) preserved: **árok**, **bicsak**, **bükk**, **csanak**, **csolák**, **csomak**, **csökik**, **csök**[1], **csök**[2], **ék**, ? **gyermek**, **homok**, **hurok**, **kék**, **kobak**, **köldök**, **kölyök**, **ok**, **ontok**, **örök**, **sík**, **sok**, **szándok** (Cum), **szökik**, **telek**[1], **telek**[2], **török**, **túzok**, **vértelek**, 2) became final /g/: **általag**, **barág**, ? **bélyeg**, **kömődörög**, **köpönyeg**, **sőreg**, **szúnyog**, **tőzeg**, or 3) disappeared (through spirantization /g/ > /ɣ/): **bertű**, **besenyő**, **bot**, **bölcső**, **csepű**, **csipa**, **csúnya**, **gyűrű**[1], **gyűrű**[2], **gyűszű**, **hajó**, **kanyaró**, **karó**, **kelengye**, **keselyű**, **komló**, **koporsó**, **köpű**, **kőrő**, **ocsú**, **olcsó**, **olló**, **ondó**, **orsó**, **saru**, **seprő**[2], **szeplő**, **szőlő**, **tanú**, **ünő**, **ürü**, 4) disappeared as a result of false der **csécs** (if < **čeček*), **bögöly** (< **bögölök*), **szűz** (< **süzök*), 5) disappeared for special reasons: **os** (< *očk* < *alčuk*). **EOT** /k/ occurred in word-final position. **VBulg** final /k/ changed to /g/ > /ɣ/ and later to /w/ *belüw-i* 'his/her monument' (not *belü-i* < *belgü-i* see **bélyeg**). In back-vocalic words it changed to /χ/: *ayχi* 'its month' < **ayaχ*, *waχi-* 'to recite' < **akï-* < WOT **okï-* < PT **okï-* > EOT **okï-* > T → Chuv *uχ-* 'čitatʹ musulmanskie molitvy'. In **Chuv** the WOT suff in final position became /χ/ in back-vocalic words, and was preserved as /k/ in front-vocalic words (see *uyăχ* 'moon' < WOT **ayïk* < PT **āy*, *pilĕk* 'five' < WOT **belik* < PT **beš*, *ulăχ* 'luga po beregam rek' < WOT **otlïk*, *χĕlĕχ* 'volos konskij' < WOT **kïlïk* < PT **kïl*). In most other cases /k/ disappeared through /g/ > /ɣ/. See

e.g. *pušana* 'brother-in-law' < WOT **bačanaɣ*, see **besenyő**, *χămla* 'χmelʹ' < WOT **kumlaɣ*, see **komló**, etc. **PUgr** did not have /k/ in final position. Long /kk/ became /k/ and was preserved before a final vowel, then later lost in OH: PUgr **lakkə*(-) > EAH **lakkə*- > H *lak*(-) 'home, to have one's home'.

6.2.2 Voiced oral stops

/b/

b-: **WOT** /b/ occurred in word-initial position. In H, T /b/ in initial position was preserved in 74 words (see the Lexicon). **EOT** had /b/ in initial position. **VBulg** had /b/ in initial position: *bal*- 'to become', *biyel* 'five' < WOT **bēl* < PT **bēš*. **Chuv** changed initial /b/ to /p/: *pilĕk* 'five' < WOT **bēlik* < PT **bēš*. **PUgr** did not have /b/ in initial position; as we have seen above (p. 1016) it became /f/ in H. According to some H scholars, the initial labial stop of such H words as *bél* 'the intestines, insides', *bőr* 'skin, leather', *bogyó* 'berry' and a few others point to a PUgr /p/. According to this view the voicing of the unvoiced /p/ occurred by partial assimilation to the following voiced consonant. However these examples must be either unmotivated exceptions or false etymologies; cf. the regular correspondence in *fél* 'half', *fel* 'up', *fél*- 'to be afraid', *fér*- 'to go into, have place', *féreg* 'worm', *forr*- 'to boil', *fúr*- 'to bore', *fagyal* 'privet, *Ligustrum vulgare*', *fogy*- 'to diminish, lessen', etc. see p. 1016. **Al** **būda* → H *bűz* 'stink, foul smell'.

VbV: **WOT** /b/ has been attested in intervocalic position only as the result of secondary changes in Cum words. Secondary /b/ was preserved in H **csabak** (Cum *čabak* < **čapak*), **kobak** (< *kabak* < *kapak*), ? **kebel** (? *kebel* < *kepel*), **koboz** (< *kobuz* < *kopuz*). **EOT** /b/ occurred in intervocalic position; cf. the opposition *abït*- 'to hide' / *avït*- 'to amuse or distract', or *tapïg* 'service' / *tobïk* 'ball'. **VBulg** has no examples. **Chuv** changed WOT intervocalic /b/ after long vowel to /p/ = [в]: *kăvapa* 'pup, pupok' < WOT **kōbäg* < PT **kōpäk*, where *-ăva-* is a continuation of a long *ō*. **PUgr** did not have /b/ in intervocalic position. The /mp/ cluster changed to /b/ in EAH.

bC: **WOT** had no examples for /b/ before consonants. **EOT** had /b/ before consonants. In **VBulg** and **Chuv** we have no examples. **PUgr** had no /b/ in preconsonantal position.

Cb: **WOT** had no examples for postconsonantal /b/. **EOT** had /b/ after consonants. Fr **VBulg** and **Chuv** we have no examples. **PUgr** did not have /b/ in postconsonantal position. On /mp/ > /mb/ > /b/, see p. 1016.

-b: **WOT** did not have /b/ in final position, see EOT *keb*, WOT **kēp* → H **kép**. There developed an opposition /b/ : /p/ in final position in late OH, see PUgr **ämpə* (> POUgr **ämpɜ* > PVog **ämpɜ*, POsty **ämp*) > EAH **ämbə* > **äbə* > H *eb* 'dog' : OH

ép 'intact' (of unknown origin). In **VBulg** no examples. In **Chuv** no examples. In the word *kap* 'vešnij vid, figura' the final represents a WOT /p/: WOT **käp*, cf. DBulg **kapište*, H **kép**.

/d/

d-: **WOT** There are very few and dubious examples in WOT. H has /d/ in place of WOT /j̆/ before /i/: **dió**, **disznó**; problematic is **daksi**, even more ? **dúl** (see § 8.1). In place of EOT /t/ in initial position we find /d/ in **dara**, **dél**, **dől**, **dug**. **dara** has to be a relatively late, maybe Cum lw. The vocalism of *dél* (cf. EOT *tüš*) is possible but not certain; the labialization in *dug-* (cf. EOT *tïk-*) is possible, while the voiced final is not without problems, and the word has a possible but also uncertain Ugr etymology (< **tuŋke*, cf. Vog *toχr-* < ? **toŋχ-*, Finn *tunkea-*). **EOT** had no /d/ in initial position. **VBulg** had /d/ only in a foreign word: *dunya* 'world'. **Chuv** has only /t/ in initial position. Thus it is mute in this respect. **PUgr** had no /d/ in initial position. There exist a few H words of PUgr origin which show a voiced /d/, while PUgr had /t/: *daru* 'crane', *dob-* 'to cast, throw', *dug-*, see p. 1017. The general opinion is that in these words voicing occurred in H as the result of partial assimilation to the following voiced consonant. We have also to consider that *daru* (< ? PUgr **tarə-γ*) and *dob-* (not in Osty, only in Vog **tåmp-*) are of onomatopoeic origin. This is why they do not occur in § 8.5, 8.6. **Al** **däy* → AH **täy* > H *tej* 'milk', Al **däyin* → AH **täyinə* > *tehén* 'cow', Al **des* → AH **tisə* > H *tíz* 'ten'.

VdV: **WOT** might have had /d/ in intervocalic position, but there is no representative word in H with the exception of **idő** 'time'. WOT intervocalic /d/ changed early into /δ/; this changed to /r/ with the exception of those words in which /r/ followed /δ/: cf. H **író** 'buttermilk' (← **ayrag* < **adrag* < **adïrag* < *adïr-*). /d/ got into intervocalic position in WOT **edγü* > **edü* → H *ed′ə* > **egy**, *üd-*, *id-* (**egyház**, **ünnep**, **üdül**). A late Cum lw is **kajtár** ← **kaytar-* < *kayt-* < *kadït-*. **EOT** had /d/ in intervocalic position, which changed early to the interdental voiced fricative /δ/, later to /t/, /z/ or /y/ in some T lgs. **VBulg** already had /r/; cf. *erne* 'week' < **äδinä* ← Pe *adina*. This change can be dated. In the Chronicle of Troick we find, under the year 1230, the word *trunove* with the meaning 'nobleman of the Volga Bulgars'. This is, as already pointed out by Samojlovič and Shachmatov in 1918, the EOT title *tudun* > **turun* > pl *turunove* > *trunove* (Róna-Tas 1982b: 158). **Chuv** has /r/ in place of WOT /d/ in intervocalic position, with the exception of words in which /r/ follows the original /d/ (cf. *χuyar* < *kadïr* < *kadïz* 'bark'). Important is the name of the pine: *χïră* (< WOT **kadï*) which is an early Sam word in the T lgs, see Tuv *χadï* (← Sam *kadï* < **kåət* 'spruce') (Janhunen 1977: 61; Róna-Tas 1982b: 160–161). A lw is Chuv *χuń*(*ă*) 'test′; wife's father' (see *χuneśe* 'svekor', etc.) < **kayïn* ← **kayïn* <

PT **kadïn* > EOT *kadïn* 'related by marriage'. Another early lw is *pïsăk* 'bol'šoj' < *pisěk* < **bezük* ← *beδük* < EOT *bedük*. **PUgr** had no /d/ in intervocalic position. The PUgr cluster /nt/ changed to /d/ in EAH. **Al** **nada* → AH **nadə* > H *nád* 'reed', but Al **fida-* → AH **fiδə-* > H *fizet*, Al **redV* → AH **reδə* > H *réz* 'copper'. It is in such cases also possible that Al /d/ was replaced by H /t/ > /δ/ > /z/.

dC: **WOT** had /d/ before consonants. This is reflected in H in **ködmön**. In WOT /d/ did not become /r/ before /r/. We know of one such example copied to H: **író** 'buttermilk' (← **ayrag* < **adrag* < **adïrag* < *adïr-*). A late Cum lw is **kajtár** ← **kaytar* < *kayt-* < *kadït-*. **EOT** had /d/ before consonants. Fr **VBulg** we have no examples. **Chuv** changed /d/ to /y/ before /r/ (*sayra* 'thin, rare' < **sädrăk*, *χüre*, *χĕvre* < **χuyruγ* < *kudruk* 'tail', *uyrăχ* < *adruk* 'other', *uyran* 'buttermilk' < *ayran* < **adran* < **adïran*, etc., see Clark 1978). **PUgr** did not have /d/ in preconsonantal position. **Al** **idweǰ* → AH **eδwed'* > H *özvegy* 'widow'.

Cd: **WOT** had /d/ in postconsonantal position, and it is reflected in H by /d/ in: **bóda**, **csődör**, **érdem**, **ildom**, **kender**, **koldul**, **komondor**, **köldök**, **kömődörög** (but *kentreg*), **szándok**, **vendég**. After /ġ/ > /γ/ it changed to /z/: **búza**, **túzok**. **EOT** had /d/ in postconsonantal position. **VBulg** /d/ after /l/ and /r/ changed to /t/: *baltuwi* < **baltuβi* < **bolduγi* < WOT **bolduk-i*, *erti* ~ *erči* < WOT **erdi* (but *tanruwi* < **taŋruβi* < **taŋruγi* < WOT **taŋduk-i*). **Chuv** preserved postconsonantal /d/ as /t/, or more precisely as /ɒ/ after sonants, even in suff-initial position, see the abl **+dAn* in *śïran-tan* < *śïran* 'bank, shore', *kilten* < *kil* 'house', but *yatran* < *yat* 'name', *alăkran* < *alăk* 'door'. **PUgr** had no /d/; the cluster /nt/ changed into /d/ in EAH. **Al** *gazdïg* → H *gazdag* 'rich', Al **zäldä* → AH **zeldə* > H *zöld* 'green'.

-d: **WOT** may have had /d/ in final position, but no reflection of this in H can be found. The only example ? **győz** 'to gain victory' (? < T *yeged-* 'to get better, succeed') is highly problematic. **EOT** had /d/ in final position. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** changed final /d/ to /r/: *šăr-* 'močit'sja' < WOT **šïδ-* < PT **sïd-* > EOT *sid-*. **PUgr** did not have /d/ in word-final position, nor did EAH. H /d/ in final position appeared only in LAH: /ntə/ > /d/. **Al** **χīd* → H **χidə* > *híd* 'bridge'.

/g/

g-: **WOT** There are a few cases where H has /g/ in place of EOT /k/ in initial position: ? **gaz**, **görhö** (see **kőrő**), ? **gödény**, **görény**, **gügyü**, **güzü**. All of these are problematic to some extent. It is possible that in case of /k/ > /g/ in initial position we have to do with a partial assimilation, but more probable is that a WOT dial is behind this phenomenon, see § 7.1. **EOT** has no examples only the SW T lgs. Neither **VBulg** nor **Chuv** has examples. **PUgr** had no /g/ in initial position. There is no H example where PUgr initial /k/ became /g/ in H. **Al** *gazdïg* → AH **gazdagə* > H *gazdag* 'rich', but Al or MIr **genč* → AH **kenčə* > H *kincs* 'treasure'.

VgV: **WOT** had /g/ in intervocalic position. The stop changed to a spirant /ɣ/. The spirant /ɣ/ disappeared in H in **ács**, **bátor**, **boly**, **bölcs**, **bű**(**v**)(**báj**), **csiga** (? < **čigiya*), **dió** (< *ǰïɣak*), **güzü** (< **güzü* < *küseɣü*), **gyertyán** (< *ǰartaɣan*), ? **győz**, **gyúr**, **gyűlik**, **gyűlöl**, **küllő**[3], (< *küvő* ⟵ *küvey* < *küɣey*) 'spoke', **olló**, *őrém* (see **örvény**[2]), **örül**, **tör**, **tyúk**. On the spirantization, see pp. 1039–1040. It was preserved in **ágos**, **boglya** (~ *bugolya*), **buga**, **buzogány**, **csiger**, **igen**, **nyögér**, ? **ugu**. **EOT** had /g/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** changed /g/ to /y/ after non-labial vowels: *ǰïyirem* < **ǰïyirmi* < WOT **ǰigirmi* < PT **ikirmi* > EOT *yigirmi*. After labial vowels /ɣ/ changed to /β/ written with *waw*: *awli* < **åwul* < (**ūl*) < WOT **oɣul*. For the case of secondary /g/ < /k/, cf. *-dUk-i* on p. 1079. **Chuv** changed WOT /g/ in intervocalic position through /ɣ/ to /β/ which is rendered by <v>. This disappeared in some cases, mainly depending on the vowels, cf. *pu-* 'to bind' > *păvăn-* 'to strangle her/himself' (*bog-* > *bogun-*), but *ogul* > *ūl* > *ïvăl*, *tăvăr* 'tesnyj' < WOT **tïwïr* < PT **tïgïz* > EOT **tïgïz* > T *tïgïz* ⟶ Chuv *tăkăs* 'plotnyj'. **PUgr** had no /g/ in intervocalic position, but /ŋk/ changed in EAH to /g/. This got moved into word-final position and was preserved. In rare cases all or more forms appear (cf. PFUgr **soŋkɜ* > PUgr **soŋkə* > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > **howə* > H *ó*, *av-ul-*, *agg*, PFUgr (**yoŋksɜ*) ~ **yoŋsɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ* > EAH **yīwəh*, **yıyəh* > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*). **Al** ? **andagan* ⟶ EAH **endegen* > H *idegen* 'alien'.

gC: **WOT** /g/ changed to /ɣ/ and was preserved as such before /t/. There it changed through /χ/ to /y/: **bojt**, ? **böjt**, **sajt**. It disappeared before /d/ which itself went through fricatization: **búza** (< **buɣδa* < PT **bugda*), **túzok** (< **toɣδak* < PT **togdak*). After the disappearance of the preconsonantal /g/, the preceding vowel is lengthened, see **szűcs**, **turul** (< *tūrul*). See also **gaz** (< *gāz* < *kaɣdu*). **EOT** had /g/ in preconsonantal position. No examples in **VBulg**. In **Chuv** it disappeared as in *püre* 'počka' < **bűreg* < WOT **bügreg*, *śumăr* 'dožd'' < **čawmur* < WOT **ǰaɣmur* < PT **yagmur*, *śurăm* 'spina' < **čawrïn* < WOT **ǰaɣrïn* < PT *yagrïn*. **PUgr** had no /g/ in preconsonantal position. **Al** or **Khwar** **čïgt* ⟶ (T) ⟶ AH **čiɣtə* > H **sajt** 'cheese'.

Cg: WOT had /g/ in postconsonantal position. It is reflected in H in various ways: a) /y/: **béklyó**, **borjú**, **gyapjú**, **herjó**, b) /v/: **karvaly**, **könyv**, **orv**, c) /h/: **korhány**. It disappeared in the ethnic name **bular**, in **gyapot**, and in words that changed to monosyllabic forms: **bér**, **es** (see **eskü**), **egy** (in **egyház**) 'holy'. It occurred with devoicing and metathesis: **ászok** (*asgï*). It was preserved in some other cases: **buzogány** (Cum), **cserge** (see § 8.1). **EOT** had /g/ in postconsonantal position. **VBulg** in one dial of VBulg it disappeared; cf. the place names *Bulgar* (now Bulgary) and *Bular* (now Biljarsk). **Chuv** changed postconsonantal /g/ to /ø/: *ăyăr* < **ayɣïr* < WOT **adɣïr* 'stallion' (not a lw), *ala* < WOT **älɣäk* 'sieve', *śumăr* < WOT **ǰaɣmur*, EOT *yagmur* 'rain'. **PUgr** had no /g/ in postconsonantal position, but after the nasal /ŋ/, /k/

changed to /g/ and the nasal disappeared; see above about /k/ > /g/ in intervocalic position. **Al** **märg* ⟶ AH **mergə* > H *méreg* 'poison'.

-g: **WOT** had, according to their origin, two kinds of /g/ in final position. One is the original PT final /g/, and the second was an earlier final /k/ that changed to /g/ in WOT. Later /g/ became a spirant /ɣ/. Words with original /g/ and secondary /g/ in final position are realised in H in 4 different ways: a) closed labial vowel, b) half-open labial vowel, c) non-labial open vowel and d) hiatus-filler *-v*: **süv**, *-y*: **tojik**. Words with secondary /g/ in final position have the same manifestations in H. The new vowels emerged through diphthongs.

Long *Ū*: Short finals in words as **bütü**, **güzü**, **kapu**, **saru** are due to secondary shortening and orthographic tradition. In a few cases we can reconstruct the original vowel before WOT final /g/, because it is preserved in H ders: WOT **bosuɣ* (< **busa-*) ⟶ H **bosaɣ* > **bosaų̈* > **bosszú** (> *bosszant*), WOT **ǰonaɣ* (**ǰona-* < **ǰoŋa* < *ǰoŋ*) ⟶ H **ǰonaɣ* > **ǰanaų̈* > **gyanú** (> *gyanakodik-*), WOT **učaɣ* (< **uč-*) ⟶ H **učaɣ* > **očaų̈* > **ocsú**, **olcsó** (> *ócsárol-*). In other cases we can reconstruct the vowel with the help of WOT: WOT **aldaɣ* (< **alda-* < **al*) ⟶ H **aldaɣ* > **ald´aų̈* > **ágyú**, WOT **valaɣ* (< **olak*) ⟶ H **valaɣ* > **vālū* > **vályú**. In 22 cases we find a closed labial or illabial vowel before /ɣ/: WOT **bitiɣ* (< **biti-*) ⟶ H *bitiɣ* > **biteų̈* > **betű**, WOT **bolčuɣ* (< **bolču-*) ⟶ H **bulčuɣ* > **bulčū* > **búcsú**, WOT **bürtiɣ* (< **bürt*) ⟶ H **bürtiɣ* > **börteų̈* > **börtű**, **bertű**, *börtő*, WOT **bütüɣ* (< **büt-*) ⟶ H **bütüɣ* > **bütü** (< **bütū*), WOT **čöpüɣ* (< **čöp*) ⟶ H **čöpüɣ* > *čöpű*, **csepű**, WOT **kapuɣ* (< **kap-*) ⟶ H **kapuɣ* > **kapu** (< **kapū*), WOT **keliɣ* (< *kel-*) ⟶ H **keliɣ* > **keleų̈* > **kölyű**, WOT **künüɣ* ⟶ H **künüɣ* > *könü* ~ **könyv**, WOT **küčeleɣ* (< **küčel-*) ⟶ H **küčeleɣ* > *kešeleų̈* > **keselyű**, WOT **küpüɣ* (< **küp*) ⟶ H **küpüɣ* > **köpű**, WOT **ǰapaɣu* (< **ǰap*) ⟶ H **ǰapaɣu* > **ǰapɣu* > **gyapjú** (secondary lengthening), WOT **ǰäpïɣ* (< **ǰäp*) ⟶ H **ǰepiɣ* > **ǰepeų̈* > **gyepű**, WOT **ǰereɣ* ⟶ H **ǰereɣ* > **ǰereų̈* > **gyűrű**[1], WOT **ǰüreɣ* ⟶ H *ǰüreɣ* > **ǰüreų̈* > **gyűrű**[2], WOT **ǰüɣsüɣ* (< **ǰüg*) ⟶ H **ǰüɣsüɣ* > **ǰüsū* > **gyűszű**, WOT **čaruɣ* ⟶ H *čaruɣ* > **saru** (< **šarū*), WOT **šipiriɣ* ⟶ H **šipiriɣ* > **šepreų̈* > **seprő**[1], WOT **čöpreɣ* ⟶ H **čöpreɣ* > **seprő**[2], WOT **čireɣ* ⟶ H **čireɣ* > **šireų̈* > **sűrű**, WOT **ć́ürüɣ* ⟶ H **śürüɣ* > **sürü* > **szérű**, WOT **tanuɣ* ⟶ H **tanuɣ* > **tanú**, WOT **iriɣ* ⟶ H **iriɣ* > **ireų̈* > **ürü** (< **ürū*).

Long *Ō*: In 19 cases we can reconstruct a low, open (/a/, /ä/), in 3 cases a low-middle labial vowel (/o/, /ö/) before the guttural consonant: WOT **bäɣ* ⟶ H **beɣ* > **beų̈* > **bő**, WOT **bäčänäɣ* ⟶ H **bečeneɣ* > **bešeneų̈* > **besenyő**, WOT **burčaɣ* (< **bur*) ⟶ H **burčaɣ* > **burčaų̈* > **borsó**, WOT **ǰasnaɣ* (< **ǰasna-*) ⟶ H **ǰasnaɣ* > **ǰisnaų̈* > **disznó** (*disznaja*), WOT **ǰiɣaɣ* ⟶ H **ǰiɣaɣ* > **ǰiwaų̈* > **dió**, WOT **iraɣ* ⟶ H **iraɣ* > **iraų̈* > **író**, WOT **kapurčaɣ* (< **kapur*) ⟶ H **kapurčaɣ* > *kopuršaɣ* > **kopuršaų̈* > **koporsó**, WOT **karoɣ* (< **kargok*) ⟶ H **karoɣ* > **kåroų̈* > **karó**, WOT **kumlaɣ* ⟶ H **kumlaɣ* > **kumlaų̈* > **komló**, WOT **käwräɣ* (< **käwir-*) ⟶ H **kewreɣ*

> *keu̯reu̯ > **kőrő**, WOT *käwiräγ (< *käwir-) ⟶ H *keverеγ > *kewreu̯ > **kérő**(**dzik**), WOT *külüläγ (< *külgü) ⟶ H *külüleγ > *külleu̯ > **küllő**[1] (*külleje*), WOT *oγlaγ (< *oγul) ⟶ H *oγlaγ > *oγlau̯ > **olló**, WOT *undaγ (< *un) ⟶ H *undaγ > *undau̯ > **ondó**, WOT *čarlaγ (< *čarla-) ⟶ H *čarlaγ > *šarlau̯ > **sarló**, WOT *čöpreγ (< *čöpör-) ⟶ H *čöpröγ > *šepreu̯ > **seprő**[2], WOT *čeleγ (< *ǰelek) ⟶ H *śeleγ > *seleu̯ > **szőlő**, WOT *tarlaγ (< *tarï-) ⟶ H *tarlaγ > *tarlau̯ > **tarló**, WOT *täkänäγ (< *täkänä) ⟶ H *tekneγ > *tekneu̯ > **teknő**, WOT *toraγ ⟶ H *toraγ > *turau̯ > **túró**, WOT *üdäγ (< *üd) ⟶ H *üdeγ > *üdeu̯ > üdő > **idő** (*ideje*).

In 15 cases I found non-labial or labial closed vowel preceding the guttural consonant: WOT *opuruγ ⟶ H *opuruγ > *åprau̯ > **apró** (*apraja*), WOT *belčiγ ⟶ H *belčeγ > *belčeu̯ > **bölcső**, WOT *büruγ ⟶ H *biruγ > *birau̯ > **bíró** (*bírák*), WOT *iniγ ⟶ H *iniγ > *eneu̯ > **enő**, WOT *äriγ (< *erk) ⟶ H *eriγ > *ereu̯ > **erő** (*ereje*), WOT *ǰipliγ (< *ǰip) ⟶ H *ǰipliγ > ǰepleu̯ > **gyeplő**, WOT *χayïγ (< *kaygak) ⟶ H *χayiγ > *hayiγ > *hayau̯ > **hajó**, WOT *karamuγ (< *kara) ⟶ H *karamuγ > *karamó > **kanyaró**, WOT *köligäliγ ⟶ H *kölig(*e*)liγ > *külliγ > *külleu̯ > **küllő**[2], WOT *určuγ (< ? *agïrčak*) ⟶ H *určuγ > *oršau̯ > **orsó**, WOT *šilliγ (< *tišlig) ⟶ H *šilleγ > *šülleu̯ > **süllő**, WOT *satïγči (< *satïγ) ⟶ H *satiγči > *satau̯či > **szatócs**, WOT *säpliγ (< *säp) ⟶ H *sepliγ > *sepleu̯ > **szeplő**, WOT *topluγ / toplaγ ⟶ H *topluγ > *tåplou̯ > **tapló**, WOT *talkïγ (< *talk-) ⟶ H *talkiγ > *tillou̯ > **tiló**.

In 7 cases I found non-labial open vowels before the guttural: Cum *baldaγ > *baldaw (⟵ Mo) ⟶ H *baldaw > **bóda**, WOT *čapaγ ⟶ H *čapa > **csipa**, WOT *čunaγ ⟶ H *čunaγ > **csúnya**, WOT *äkäγ ⟶ H *ekeγ > **eke**, WOT *käpäγ ⟶ H *kepeγ > **kepe**, WOT *kälinčäγ ⟶ H *kelinǰeγ > **kelengye**, WOT *kasmaγ ⟶ H *kasmaγ > **kozma**. The H final non-labial open vowels may be secondary as *ekő* (1395 *ekew* [ekō]) > *eké-je* (with poss suff) > *eke*.

A special case is WOT *kičiγ ⟶ H *kičiγ > *kiši > *kis ~ kicsi*, see **kicsiny**. In 2 cases a hiatus filler emerged: WOT *siγ ⟶ H *siγ > *šiv > *süv(*e*), WOT *toγ ⟶ H *tuγ > **tojik**, *tojás*.

Final /g/ is preserved in: **általag**, **barág**, **bélyeg**, **bog**, ? **dug**, **sereg**, **szúnyog**, etc. see § 7.2. **EOT** had /g/ in final position. **VBulg** changed final /g/ to /β/ > /ø/: Ibn Fadlan *süčü* 'mead' < *süčüγ < WOT *süčüg < PT *süčig*, VBulg *elü* 'fifty' < *eliβ < WOT *elig < PT *elig*, *elüwi* 'his/her hand' < *eliβi < WOT *elig-i < PT *elig*. After labial vowel, see *belüg-i* and *-*duk-i* on p. 1079. **Chuv** changed primary final or secondary final /g/ through /γ/ into zero: *šăla* 'sudak' < *šilä < šiläγ < šilčeg < *čilček < WOT *tilček < PT *tišek*, cf. Chuv *šăl* 'zub' << PT *tiš*, *pallă* 'znak' < *bällüβ < WOT *belüg < PT *belgü*, **belüg*, *ĭră* 'dobryj, svjatoj, nazvanie duhov' < *ïδïγ < *ïdïk < WOT *ïdïk < PT *ïduk*. **PUgr** had no primary guttural in final position; neither did EAH. However, secondary /g/ after the loss of the final reduced vowel may have disappeared or been preserved, e.g.: PFUgr *soŋɜ ~ *soŋkɜ[3] > PUgr *soŋkə (not in

POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > *hagə* >> H *agg* 'old', PFUgr **soŋkɜ*[1] ~ **soŋɜ* > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff), PFUgr **soŋkɜ*[2] ~ **soŋɜ* ~ > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old'. **Al** **räg* ⟶ AH *regə* > H *rég* 'long ago', Al **äväg* ⟶ AH **evegə* > H *üveg* 'glass', Al **gazdïg* ⟶ AH **gazdagə* > *gazdag* 'rich', Al ? *räsïg* ⟶ EAH **resegə* > H *részeg*.

6.2.3 Nasals

/n/

n-: WOT had no nasal /n/ in genuine T word-initial position The same situation existed in EOT, with the exception of the interrogative particle *ne* and a few ders of this particle. It was rare, even in words of foreign origin, as e.g. in EOT *nom* 'law, doctrine' (⟵ Sogd *nom* 'law, canon' ⟵ Gr *nomós*). There exist a few MT, mainly Cum words copied into H, such as Mo *nöker* ⟶ Cum *nöker* > *nöger* ⟶ H **nyögér**, in such cases /n/ > /ń/ is a secondary H change. See below under /ń/. **VBulg** had no examples for /n/ in initial position. **Chuv** had no /n/ in initial position in original WOT words. In a few cases initial /n/ occurs as the result of metathesis, as in Chuv dial *nime* < *mine* < **beni* < *beŋi* 'brain'. It occurs in words of foreign origin. **PUgr** had /n/ in initial position, both in words of PFUgr origin and in lws. This initial /n/ has been preserved in H or changed into /ń/: PUgr *näδə* > *nälə* > *ńälə* > H *nyél* 'handle'. **Al** **nada* ⟶ AH **nadə* > H *nád* 'reed', Al **nämet* ⟶ AH **nämetə* > **nämedə* > *nemez* 'felt'.

VnV: WOT had nasal /n/ in intervocalic position. It is represented in H by /n/ or /ń/: **besenyő**, **csanak** (< *čan+Ak*), **csúnya**, **gyanú**, **kéneső**, **köpönyeg** (< *köpeneg*), **mónár** (**köd**), **örmény**[1] (< *örmeni*), **tanács**, **tanú**, **teknő** (< *tekenő*), **tinó**, **ünő**. **EOT** had /n/ in intervocalic position. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** preserved /n/ as /n/. The palatalization of /n/ in front-vocalic words is a late development, and not marked by the orthography: Chuv *śunat* 'krylo, krylja' < **čunat* < **ǰanat* < **yanat* < **χ΄anat* < WOT **χyanat* < PT **kānat*, Chuv *χăna* 'gost΄' < **konaɣ* < WOT **konag* < PT **konak*, Chuv *ĕnen-* [ěńen] 'verit΄' < WOT **ïnan-*. **PUgr** had /n/ in intervocalic position. EAH preserved it, or it became /ń/ in some cases such as: PUgr **kanə-* > EAH **χańə-* > H *hány-* 'to throw, vomit', PUgr **künə+g* > H *könnyű* 'light, easy'.

nC: WOT had /n/ before consonants; this is reflected by H /n/: **gyöngy**, **kangyík**, **kantár**, **kender**, **kelengye**, **komondor**, **ondó**, **ontok**, **szándok**, **torontál**, **vendég**. In 1 case it changed to /l/: WOT **kindik* ⟶ H **kindik* > **köldök** 'navel'. **EOT** had /n/ in preconsonantal position. **VBulg** *tanruwi* and *tanduwi* 'to put an end to' (< ? **taŋ-*), see Chuv *tun-*, see also on p. 1085. **Chuv** /nt/ was preserved as [nɒ]: Chuv *kantăr*

'konopel'' < WOT **kändir* < PT **käntir* > EOT *käntir*, Chuv *χăntăr* 'bober' < WOT **kuntur* < PT **kuntuz* > EOT **kuntuz* > *kunduz*. **PUgr** had /n/ in preconsonantal position. Before consonants it disappeared: PUgr **kontə* > H *had* 'army', PUgr *luntə* > H *lúd* 'goose', PUgr **kuntə* > H *hód* 'beaver'. **Al** or **MIr** **genč* → AH **kenčə* > H *kincs* ' treasure'.

Cn: WOT had /n/ in some postconsonantal positions, which is reflected in H **disznó**, and in secondary clusters **ernyed** (< *erń-ed* < *erin-*), **teknő** (< *tekenő*). **EOT** had /n/ in postconsonantal position mainly in secondary stems such as *kalïn* > *kalnad-* 'to become thick', etc. **VBulg** had postconsonantal /n/ *erne* (← Pe *adina*), in suffixed forms: *šiwne* 'into the water', *išne* 'in', *bačne*, 'at the beginning', *alarnï* 'them'. **Chuv** in suffixed forms, and late secondary examples *kĕrneker* (< *kerü* < *küdegü* + Mo *nöker*), *kĕśner* 'četverg' < *kĕsĕn* (< WOT **kičin*) + *erne* (< **äδinä* ← Pe *adina*), *kin* 'snoha' < **kilne* < WOT **kilen*. **PUgr** had /n/ in postconsonantal position: PUgr **säwnə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)'. In H we find an "anorganic" /n/ in a few T lws, as in **bilincs**, **bakancs** (see **boka**); this is a H phenomenon. For details, see Nyirkos (1983; 1994; 2005).

-n: WOT had /n/ in final position. This was preserved in H, either as 1) /n/ or 2) becoming /ń/: 1) **bocsánik**, **bojtorján**, **bosszant**, **bűn**, **csalán**, **karakán**, **kárókatona** (< **karakotan*), **kín**, **komócsin**, **ködmön**, **köszön**, **oroszlán**, **önik**, **özön**, **szán**[1], **szán**[2], **szenderedik** (< *sen-*), **szűnik**, 2) **ártány**, **bálvány**, **bölény**, **cötkény** (Cum), **boszorkány**, **csákány**, **gödény**, **gyertyán**, **gyümölcsény**, **kalokány**, **kapkány**, **kaptány**, **kicsiny**, **kökény**, **szárny**, **tömény**. (In the case of H **szám** /m/ we are dealing with another suff: (*sā-*(*X*)*m*), not derived fr **sān*.) **EOT** had /n/ in final position. **VBulg** /n/ is preserved in *küwen* 'day', *kičin* 'small', *χyan* 'blood', *wanim* 'tenth'. **Chuv** either preserved /n/ in final position, or changed it to /m/. The debate on a possible PT phoneme /m$_2$/, allegedly preserved in Chuv but merged with /n/ in all other lgs, has not been substantiated. On the debate, see Levitskaja (1966); Hovdhaugen (1972); Doerfer (1973; 1975–1976); Erdal (1993) and Kakuk (1976). The alternation *n* ~ *m* is partly a Chuv dial phenomenon: cf. Chuv *tum* 'odežda' < WOT **tom* < **tōn* ← Khot *thauna* < **tāfna* < PIr *tāp-* 'to twist, wind' (Cheung 2007: 389, cf. Os *tyn*, *tunæ*) > EOT *tōn*, *tĕm* 'night' in *tĕm χură* 'very black, night-black' < WOT **tüm* < PT *tün*, *tĕtĕm* 'dym' < **tütüm* < WOT **tütün*, but *čĕm* 'dyhanie, žizn'' < WOT **tin* < PT **tïn*, *śum* 'bok' < **čān* < WOT **jān* < PT **yān*, *χărχăm*, *χărχăn* 'rabinja' (Ašmarin 1928–1950/16: 361, 364–365) < WOT **kïrkum*, **kïrkïn* < PT **kïrkïn*. **PUgr** originally had no /n/ in final position, but after the disappearance of the final vowel it did appear in final position: PUgr **sinə* > EAH **hinə* > *ín* 'sinew'. **Al** **deyin* → AH **teyinə* > H *tehén* 'cow', Al ? **andagan* → EAH **endegen* > H *idegen* 'alien'.

/ŋ/

ŋ-: WOT, **EOT**, **VBulg**, **Chuv** and **PUgr** did not have /ŋ/ in initial position.

VŋV: **WOT** had /ŋ/ in intervocalic position. This was either 1) preserved: H **tengely** 'axle' ← WOT **teŋel* > Chuv *těněl*, **tenger**, or 2) denasalized, see **dió** < **ǰiwo* ← WOT **ǰïγaγ* < **ǰïgak* < PT **yaŋak* > EOT *yaŋak*, *yagak*, or 3) develarized: **szúnyog** < **sunog* ← WOT **sunog* < **sïŋuk* < **siŋek* > Chuv *šăna*, or 4) changed to /m/: **komor** 'gloomy' ← WOT **koŋur*. **EOT** had /ŋ/ in intervocalic position, which was very unstable and alternated with /g/. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** changed it to /n/ in the vicinity of illabial vowels and to /m/ in the vicinity of labial ones: Chuv *šănăr* 'suhožilie' < WOT **šïŋïr*, *śěně* 'novyj' < **čani* < WOT **ǰaŋï* < PT **yaŋï*, /m/ in Chuv *kămăl* 'serdce' < WOT **kömül* < PT **köŋül*, *šămă*, *šănă* 'kost'' < WOT **siŋük* ~ **siŋek* < PT **siŋük* > EOT *süŋük*. In lws original /ŋ/ changed to /n/: Chuv *tiněs* 'more' < **teŋiz* ← *teŋiz* < PT **teŋiz* > WOT **täŋir* → H **tenger**. **PUgr** had /ŋ/ in intervocalic position. It was denasalized and is reflected in three ways: a) it disappeared through /g/ > /ɣ/> /w/ > /ø/ in 16 cases (12 PFUgr + 4 PUgr), b) it became /g/ through /ŋk/ in 5 cases (5 PFUgr). In these cases PUgr already had /ŋk/, c) H preserved both forms in some cases (*agg* ~ *ó* 'old').

ŋC: **WOT** had no examples for preconsonantal /ŋ/. **EOT** did not have /ŋ/ before consonants. It is uncertain that the cluster /ŋg/ existed in PT, where we find *ingek* and not **iŋgek* 'cow', cf. H **ünő** < **ineɣ* (← WOT **ineɣ* < *inek*), Chuv *ěne*, *inĕ*. **VBulg** *taŋruwi*, *taŋduwi* written as <ṬNRWI> and <ṬNDWI>; more probably WOT **tan-*, and less probably **taŋ-* > Chuv *tu-* (Meyer 1988: 93–110), where the change **taŋ-* > **taɣ-* > Chuv *tu-* 'to make' is supposed. **Chuv** changed /ŋ/ to /n/: *tănla-* 'slušat' < WOT **tïŋla-*. **PUgr** had /ŋ/ before primary or secondary /k/. The /k/ became /g/ and the nasal element disappeared; /ŋk/ > /g/.

Cŋ: /ŋ/ did not occur in postconsonantal position in **WOT**, **EOT**, **VBulg**, **Chuv** and **PUgr**.

-ŋ: **WOT** final /ŋ/ is preserved as /ng/, cf. **teng**, it became /m/ when surrounded by labials, and otherwise changed to /n/ in final position. The first is represented by H **gyom**. It may have been denasalized; its subsequent history is the same as that of *-g*: H **bú** < **buɣ* ← WOT **buɣ* < PT **buŋ*. **EOT** had /ŋ/ in final position. **VBulg** /ŋ/ changed to /n/ or was recorded by <n> if we accept the etymology of Meyer (1988: 93–110): VBulg <tan> *taŋ-* < WOT **taŋ-* 'to make, do' > **taɣ-* > Chuv *tu-*. **Chuv** changed /ŋ/ to /m/ in the vicinity of labial vowels: *śum* 'weed' < **čum* < WOT **ǰum* < PT **yuŋ*, **yüŋ*, Chuv *um* 'pered' < WOT **öm* < PT **öŋ* > EOT *öŋ*, Chuv *śăm*, *śěm* 'šerst'' < WOT **ǰum*, **ǰüm* < **ǰuŋ*, **ǰüŋ* < PT **yuŋ*, **yüŋ*, see also Mo *nogosun* < **nuŋasun* < **yuŋa-sun* > *uŋgasun* 'wool'. Further /n/ Chuv *śan* 'rukava' < WOT **ǰän*

< PT **yäŋ* > EOT *yäŋ*, *yeŋ*, Chuv *min* 'krasnoe pjatno na lice' < WOT **beŋ* ~ EOT *beŋ*, ? Chuv *tu-* 'to make, do' < **taγ-* < VBulg *tan-* < WOT **taŋ-* (see above).

In Räsänen's view we must also reconstruct in PT a palatalized naso-velar /ŋ′/. This phoneme appears in cases where Chuv has /y/ and EOT /ŋ/, MT and NT lgs mostly /y/ or /g/, as in PT **büŋüz* 'horn' > *müŋür* > Chuv *măyra*(*ka*) (see Räsänen 1949: 201–202). This may be plausible. In Róna-Tas (2005c: 209) I suggested an etymology of the H word *mogyoró* 'hazelnut' which may go back to the same word, being a 'bony fruit.' The earlier H form was *monyoró*, reflecting a WOT **muńaraγ* which is present in Chuv *măyăr*(*ă*) 'hazel'. The WOT word corresponds to EOT *buŋuz+*(*A*)*k*. So far the semantic side is not quite clear, and we have only one case; thus I have excluded this etymology fr the Lexicon (see § 8.1).

/ń/

ń-: **PT** had /ń/ in initial position. Its reconstruction is possible only in a few cases if in Mo we find /ni/ initials. The phoneme /ń/ became /y/ in initial position, and later in other positions. All H words which may point to an early WOT /ń/ in initial position are either debated or wrong etymologies, (see § 8.1: ? *nyak*, ? *nyár*, ? *nyargal*, ? *nyereg*, ? *nyűg*). H /ń/ < /n/ in H **nyögér**, Chuv *nüker* is of ultimate Mo origin. **EOT** did not have /ń/ in initial position. In **VBulg** I found no examples. **PUgr** had /ń/ in initial position, preserved in H.

VńV: **PT** had /ń/ in intervocalic position. This was preserved in some EOT dials but later became /y/. Only Y preserved the nasal element, it is reflected in a few cases in Chuv. WOT had /ń/ which later became denasalized, but we have no H examples. **EOT** had /ń/ in intervocalic position, which began to disappear and changed to /y/ in the period of the EOT monuments, cf. Chuv *măyăχ* 'usy' < WOT **müńük* < PT **büńük* 'moustache' > EOT **büyük* written by AK *büδüq*, cf. AKav *müyüq* 'moustache'. In **VBulg** there are no examples. In **Chuv** there are a few possible examples: *χĕvĕl* 'solnce' < **χuyal* < WOT **kuyal* ~ **kuńal* < PT **küńeš* ~ **kuńaš* > EOT *küneš*, *kuyaš*, see Chuv *χĕv* below at /ń/ finals. **PUgr** had /ń/ in intervocalic position; this was preserved in H.

Neither of the configurations *ńC* and *Cń* existed in **PT**, **WOT**, **EOT**, **VBulg** or **Chuv**. **PUgr** had /ń/ before /ć/; disappearance of /ń/ resulted in the depalatization of /ć/, subsequently changing to /ǰ/ and later to /d′/, see PUgr homophones: **kuńćə*[1], **kuńćə*[2] > EAH **χunǰə* > **χuǰə* > H *húgy*[1] 'urine', *húgy*[2] 'star'.

-ń: **WOT** had /ń/ in final position. It became /y/ as a rule, but before this change, it partly assimilated the oral labial stop as in Chuv: Chuv *χĕv*, *χü* 'pazuha' < *χoy* < WOT **koń* < PT *koń* > EOT *koń* > *koyun*, Chuv *măy*, *muy* 'šeja' < **moy* < WOT **moń* < PT **boń* > EOT *boyun*. No H examples. **EOT** did have /ń/ in final position. In **VBulg** no examples. In **Chuv** no examples. **PUgr** had no /ń/ in final position.

/m/

m-: **WOT** may have had /m/ in word-initial position. The only possible candidate **mónár** (**köd**) is Cum (< *bun-*). It is debated whether PT /m/ is preserved in EOT only before nasal onsets of the second syllable, or whether all cases known with /m/ initial are secondary, the result of a /b/ > /m/ change before the following nasal. Skrt *marīca* is represented in OT as *murč* and *burč* and the latter was copied by H and adapted as *borš* 'pepper' (see **bors**). See also EOT *mūn* < *būn* ~ WOT **būn* ⟶ H **bűn** 'sin'. This suggests that WOT did not have original /m/ as initial; if so it was secondary, or occurred in lws. **EOT** had /m/ before nasal consonants in the second syllable. **VBulg** had /m/ in initial position: *muχarram* 'name of a month' ⟵ Ar. **Chuv** has /m/ in initial position in a) early lws such as Chuv *măn* 'bol′šoj' < *mon*, cf. *Man Kermen* 'Velikij Gorod, Kijev', ⟵ Ch 万, EMCh *muan* > LMCh *vjyan*, *vān* > **wan* ⟶ EOT *ban* 'ten thousand' (see Róna-Tas 1994b: 178), Chuv *mulča* 'banja' < **monǰa* < **banǰa* ⟵ ORus *banya*, Chuv *milĕk* 'venik' < *menik* < (*velik* <) *venik* ⟵ ORus *věnik*, Chuv *muχta-* 'hvalit′' ⟵ Tat ⟵ Mo *makta-*, in later lws: Chuv *muχmar* 'p′anyj' ⟵ Ar, *mïskara* 'šutka, komedija' ⟵ Ar, etc., b) onomatopoeic words (e.g. *makăr-* 'plakat′, rydat′, revet′' < *vöker-* < *üker-*), c) we find secondary /m/ changed fr earlier /b/, before the palatal nasal /ń/ (*măy*, *muy*, *mïy* 'šeja' < WOT **moń* < PT **boń* > EOT *boyun*, Chuv *măyăχ* 'usy' < WOT **mïńïk* ~ EOT *bïńïk* written in AK as *bïδïk* > MT *bïyïk*, *mīk*, Chuv *mime*, *mine*, *nime*, *vime* 'mozg' < WOT **beńi*/*beŋi* ~ EOT *beńi*/*beŋi*, etc.), before /ŋ/ *măyraka*, *mïyraka* 'rog' < WOT **büńür-kä* ~ PT **büńüz* > EOT *büŋüz*, Chuv *min* 'krasnoe pjatno na lice' < WOT **beŋ* ~ EOT *beŋ*, and /n/ *epĕ* 'ja' (< WOT **bi*) > *man*(-) in all cases, d) finally, by loss of the vowel before /m/: *man-* 'zabyvat′' < *man-* < WOT **uman-* < PT **um-*, cf. EOT *unït-*, Mo *umarta-* > *marta-* 'to forget'. **PUgr** had /m/ in word-initial position. In most cases it was preserved, we find /v/ in secondary non-initial position: PUgr *monə* > H *-van* 'ten' in *negyven* 'forty'. **Al** **mīwa* ⟶ EAH **mīwə* > H *mű*, (acc) *művet* 'work'.

VmV: **WOT** had /m/ in intervocalic position. In H it is represented by /m/: **csomak**, **gyomor**, **gyümölcs**, **gyümölcsény**, **homok**, **komócsin**, **komondor**, **komor**, **kömődörög**, **sima**, **tömény**. Words like **teve** 'camel' are present with /v/ though in PT they may have had /m/; cf. Mo *temegen*. In 1 case we found the H dial change /v/ > /m/: H **kuvasz** (~ dial *kumasz*) ⟵ **kuvas* < *kuvaz*, this is a late change within H. **EOT** had /m/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** had /m/ in intervocalic position: *temirči* 'smith' < WOT **temirči*. **Chuv** preserved WOT /m/: *kĕmĕl* 'serebro' < WOT **kümül* ~ EOT *kümüš*. **PUgr** had /m/ in intervocalic position. About a half of the examples were preserved in EAH; the other half changed to /w/ > /v/, see on pp. 1034–1035. **Al** **nämet* ⟶ AH **nämeδə* > H *nemez* 'felt'.

mC: **WOT** had /m/ in preconsonantal position: **komló**, **kamcsi**, **karambél** (Cum ← Pe), **somló** (see **som)**. **EOT** had /m/ in preconsonantal position. Fr **VBulg** we have no examples. **Chuv** preserved /m/ in preconsonantal position: *χămla* 'hmel' < WOT **kumlaγ*. **PUgr** /m/ disappeared before consonants. The following strong stop consonant became weak: PUgr **kumpa* > H *hab* 'foam'.

Cm: **WOT** had /m/ in postconsonantal position, preserved in H: **alma**, **böszörmény**, **gyarmat**, **gyermek**, **kozma**, **ködmön**, **örmény**[1], **tolmács**, **torma**, **sárma**. **EOT** had /m/ in postconsonantal position. **VBulg** had /m/ in postconsonantal position: *ǰiyermi* 'twenty' < WOT **ǰigirmi*, *Türkmen*. **Chuv** had /m/ in postconsonantal position: *śitměl* '70' < WOT **ǰetmil* < PT **yetmiš*. **PUgr** had /m/ in postconsonantal position as the result of secondary changes: PUgr **koyəmə* > **koymə* >> H *hím* 'male'.

-m: **WOT** had /m/ in final position. This was preserved in **érdem**, **gyalom**, ? **hám** (see § 8.1), **ildom**, **korom**, ? **sólyom**, **som**, **szágom** (Cum), **szám**, **terem**, **üröm**. **EOT** had /m/ in final position. **VBulg** had /m/ in final position: *kem* 'who' < WOT **kem* < PT **kem* > EOT *kim*, *kem* 'who'. **Chuv** preserved WOT /m/ in final position: *săχăm* 'staraja lošad', kljača, životnoe prednaznačennoe na kolku' < WOT **sokum*. **PUgr** did not have /m/ in word- or syllable-final position, but it did appear in OH after the loss of the final vowel. **Al** or **Pe** **wām* ⟶ AH **wāmə* > H *vám* 'customs'.

6.2.4 Affricates

Introductory remarks: the WOT and EOT lgs had only two affricates. EOT had [ǰ] only as an allophone of /č/. In the MT sources, /ǰ/ appeared in place of /y/ in many T sources. The change /y/ > /ǰ/ occurred in various T lgs at different times. In WOT /ǰ/ was present in word-initial position in place of EOT /y/. In the PFUgr lgs there were two kinds of unvoiced alveolar affricates. One of them was palatal and will be noted as /ć/ the other was non-palatal and will be noted as /č/.

/č/

č-: **WOT** had /č/ in word-initial position. We will not deal with the question of how old this T phoneme may be. In some cases it may be the result of the merger of /t/ and /š/ when the vowel between them became reduced and disappeared. WOT /č/ changed to /ś/ in Chuv. Here the interesting thing is not the loss of the stop element of the affricate, but the appearance of the palatalization. Chuv /ś/ is in phonological opposition to the non-palatal dorsal sibilant /š/, on which see below. WOT /č/ in initial position has two reflexes in the words copied to H: /š/ and /č/. This fact has often been discussed. Before we go into the details, let us review the material: WOT /č/ in initial position is represented by /š/: **sajt** (← Ir), **sarló**, **saru**, **sátor**, **sekély** (~ **csekély**), **sereg**, **seprő**[2], **sok**, ? **sólyom**, **som**, **sűrű**. WOT /č/ is represented by /č/ in

the following words: **csabak** (Cum), **csákány**, **csalán**, **csalit**, **csanak**, **csatol**, **csata**, **csűr**[1] (~ **csavar** ~ **csór**), **csécs**, **csepű**, **csiga** (~ **csigolya**[1], **csigolya**[2]), **csiger**, **csipa**, **csolák** (Cum), **csomak**, **csődör** (Cum), **csökik**, **csekél**, **csök**[1], **csök**[2], **csökönyös**, **csősz**, **csúnya**. **EOT** had /č/ in initial position. **VBulg** The name of the river *Čeremšan* (Chuv *Śarămsan*, *Śarămsam*) is written by Ibn Fadlan as جرمسان <ǰrms'n> which has to be read as *Čäremsan* or *Čäremšan*. In the VBulg inscription of 1307 the same river name is written in the same way, but with *kesra* beneath the *rā*, and *fatha* above the *sīn*. This is <ǰerimsen>, which has to be read as *Čärimsan* or *Čäremsan*, practically the same as in Ibn Fadlan. Important is the bilingual inscription of Tatar Šapkino (Hakimzjanov 1978: 158–161). In the Ar inscription containing VBulg words, the name of the deceased lady is written as *J̌eker*, and should be read as /čeker/, while on other side of the same stone the same name is written as *Šeker*. What was perceived as /č/ by the Volga Bulgars was heard by the Kipchak Tatars as /š/. The VBulg /č/ (more precisely a strongly palatalised /č́/) is also reflected in VBulg lws: see Tat *šüre* ← VBulg **čevre*, see **gyűrű**[2] and **csűr**[1]. The fact is that a type of a palatalized affricate, perhaps /č́/, was perceived as, or substituted with /š/, as in the above cases where H has /š/ in place of T /č/. For H we have to reckon with two chronologically different possibilities: a) H first substituted the WOT /č/ sound with /č/ which later changed in H to /š/ together with PUgr /č/. This means that all words with initial /š/ are earlier lws than those with /č/, b) later the WOT palatalized /č́/ was substituted by H palatalised /ć/, which became /č/ in H:

a) WOT /č/ ⟶ H /č/ > /š/,
b) WOT /č́/ ⟶ H /ć/ > /č/.

PT /č/ changed to /ś/ in **Chuv**. This change also occurred in some Tat dials, as Paasonen remarked (1902a: 24). The change, as we have seen above, went through palatalisation and then the loss of the occlusive element: /č/ > /č́/ > /ś/. The medial member of the chain is reflected by PPerm /ć/; cf. VBulg **čårla* 'sickle' ⟶ PZyr *ćarla*. In PVoty it was already realised as /ś/: PVoty **śarla* > *śurlo* (Rédei–Róna-Tas 1972: 282–283; Csúcs 2005: 118). By Early Cher the phoneme /č/ was realised as /ś/ > /s/, see Mo *ǰauči* 'go-between' ⟶ VBulg ⟶ Cher *saus*, *śäüś* (see Róna-Tas 1974: 230–234). By the Tat speakers /č́/ was realized as /š/: Chuv *śĕrĕ* 'ring' < **śürü* < *čürü* (< WOT **ǰürüg*) ⟶ Tat *šürü* (see **gyűrű**[2], **szérű**), but Voty *śerį*. Chuv *śara* 'golyj' (< **čärä* < WOT **čärä*) ⟶ Tat, Bashk *šärä* id. In any case the loss of the occlusive element of the affricate ocurred in some VBulg dials after their first contacts with the PPerm speaking people, that is, fr the second half of the 7th c. to the first half of the 9th. In the second half of the period of PPerm–VBulg contact, the occlusive element had already disappeared: PPerm *śir* 'lead' ← VBulg **čer* < *ǰer*, PPerm *śį̄l*

'wind' ← WOT **čel* < **jel*; cf. H **szél**. This ended in the middle of the 9th c., when the PZyr speakers moved to the North and the contacts with the VBulg were cut (on the details see Rédei–Róna-Tas 1972: 282–283; Csúcs 2005: 17). **PUgr** /č/ became /š/ in H in all cases with reliable etymologies. PUgr /ć/ was depalatalized and is preserved as /č/ in H. The 3 cases where PUgr /ć/ allegedly became /š/ in H are all unacceptable etymologies (see on pp. 1025–1026). **Al** **wačar* ⟶ AH **wačarə* > **wašarə* > H *vásár* 'market'.

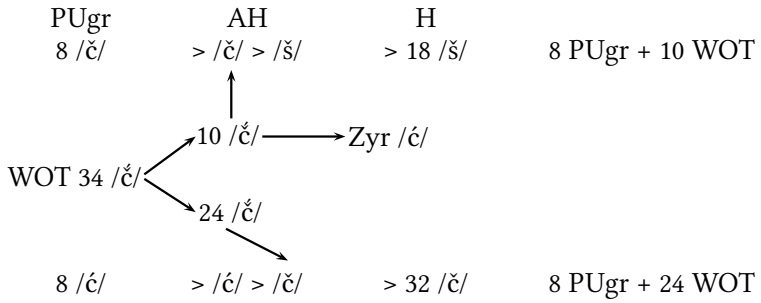
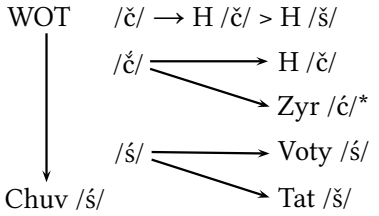


Figure 6.1: The split of WOT /č/ in initial position



*Zyr /ć/ is a palatalised affricate, phonetically the same as Voty /č/; see Csúcs (2005: 127) and VBulg /č/.

Figure 6.2: The chronology of the changes of WOT /č/

VčV: **WOT** had /č/ in intervocalic position. This is represented in H by /č/ and by /š/. We find /č/ in **ács**, **becsül**, **bicsak**, **bilincs** (< *bileček*), **bölcs** (← *bügüči*), **kicsiny**, **komócsin**, **ocsú**, **olcsó**. We find /š/ in **besenyő**, ? **gyilkos**, **keselyű**, **kis** (**kicsiny**), **koldus**, **orvos**, **táltos**. **EOT** had /č/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** had /č/ in intervocalic position, it was rendered by *ǰim*: Ibn Fadlan *süčü* 'a kind of sweet drink' < WOT **süčüg* < PT **süčig* < *sütsig*, see on p. 1082. VBulg *kičin* 'small' < WOT **kičin*, *wečim* 'third' < WOT **üčüm*, cf. EOT *üč*. **Chuv** /č/ became /ś/ in intervocalic position

(cf. *kěšěn* 'malyj' < WOT **kičin* (→ H **kicsiny**), *pušana* 'svojak' < WOT **bäčänäγ* → H **besenyő**), Chuv *χăšan* 'kogda' < WOT **kačan*. In secondary cases: *pěšě* 'bedro, ljažka' < **püči* < **butsi* < **but*, see **bot**, in early lws: *χušа* 'hozjajin' < **χoča* < **χoǰa* ← Pe *χwaǰa*. It became /š/ in the case of the *-šăn* / *-šěn* suff of the so-called purposive < WOT **üčün*. /č/ remained preserved in later lws: Chuv *χačă*, *χayčă* 'nožnicy' ← Tat *kayči* ← Mo *kayiči*. In the case of Chuv *păši* 'los′' the Chuv /š/ is of FUgr origin, see PFUgr **poča* 'Rentier(kalb)' > Vog *pāši*, Osty *peši* (→ Zyr *pež*), Voty *pužej*, Cher *pučə̑*. The word can be found in other Sib lgs, as in Y *bičän*, *büčän* 'kabarga muskusnaja'. **PUgr** /ć/ in intervocalic position is represented in H a) by /č/ in 3 cases (3 PFUgr): *facsar*, *kecs*, *öcs*, b) by /š/ in 11 cases (4 PFUgr + 7 PUgr): *esik*, *hős*, *ős*, *rés*; *ásít-*, *füst*, *hasít-*, *kísér-*, *keserű*, *keshed-*, *les-*, and c) by /s/ in 8 cases (7 PFUgr + 1 PUgr): *hosszú*, *keszeg*, *messze*, *össze*, *rész*, *rossz*, *vessző*; *köszörű*. In some special cases we find d) a secondary H /z/: ? *ázik-*, **szűz**. **Al** **wačar* → AH **wačar* > H *vásár* 'market'.

	EAH	LAH	H
11 PUgr /č/	> /č/	> /š/	> 17 H /š/
6 WOT /ć/	→ /č/		
3 PUgr /ć/	> /č/	> /č/	> 12 H /č/
9 WOT /č/	→ /ć/		
13 PUgr /ć/	> /ć/	> /š/	> 13 H /š/
7 PUgr /ć/	> /ć/	> /s/ ~ /ss/	> 7 H /s/ ~ /ss/
49 words			49 words

Table 6.1: The split of WOT /č/ in word internal positions

čC: **WOT** had /č/ in preconsonantal position. It is present in few cases in H: **eskü** (see **es**), **kecske**, **os** (< *očk*). **EOT** had /č/ in preconsonantal position. **VBulg** *ečke* 'a title' < WOT **ečike*, cf. EOT *eči* ' paternal uncle', but *išne* 'in, in the inside of, middle of' < **ične* < WOT **ičine*. **Chuv** changed /č/ before consonants to /š/ in some cases; cf. also the so-called purposive suff: *-šĂn* < *üšnĂ* < WOT *üčün* < PT *üčün*. Interesting is the case of the Chuv equivalent of EOT *bučgak*, *bučak* 'corner': Chuv *pěšek*, *pěčeχ*, *pěšmeχ* 'ugol'. These forms go back to **bučgak*, **bučmak*, see below *pušaχ*, *pučaχ* < **bačak* < **bašak*. **PUgr** had /ć/ before consonants; cf. PUgr **päćkə* > H *fëcske*, dial *fëske* 'swallow (bird)' (*-ke* is a H suff), PUgr **poćkə-* > H *fos-* 'to shit'.

Cč: **WOT** had /č/ in postconsonantal position. It is represented by /š/: **bársony**, **bors**, **borsó**, **koporsó**, **orsó** (all examples after /r/), and by /č/: **kamcsi**, **kökörcsin**,

kölcsön, **olcsó**, **szatócs**, or by secondary /ts/: **köpcös**, **köpec**. **EOT** had /č/ in postconsonantal position: *elči* 'ambassador', *alčï* 'crafty'. In some cases the cluster /Cč/ changes to /Cš/. The *Divan* of Kashgari has *tutšï* 'something adjoining': *anïg yēri mäninig* (*yēr*)*kä tutšï ol* 'His land is adjacent to mine', the *šin* is here related to *ǰim*; one may also say *tutči* (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/1: 320–321). **VBulg** had postconsonantal /č/: *temirči* 'smith' < WOT **temirči*, *tïwuχčï* 'pulterer' < WOT **tïwïkčï* < **tïgakči*, but after /n/ it already became /š/; cf. the ordinal suff *-miš* in *ekiš* 'second' < WOT **ekinč*, *ǰiyetiš* 'seventh' < WOT **ǰetinč*, *ǰiyermiš* 'the 20th' < **ǰigirminč*. **Chuv** changed WOT /č/ to /ś/ in postconsonantal position: *păršă* 'bloha' < WOT **bürče* < PT **bürče ~ bürge* > EOT *bürge*, MT *bürče*, etc., see also Chuv *šănkărčă*, *šăkărś* 'skvorec' < *siŋirći*, *ukśa* 'dengi' < WOT **akča*, *śulśă* 'list rastenija' < **čūlča* < **ǰawulča* < WOT **ǰabulčag* < PT **yapul*, see MT *yabuldrak*, T *yapurgak*, *yaprak*, Chuv *χurśă*, *χurăś* 'stal'' < WOT **kurč*, but Chuv *piśen* 'osot, bodjak polevoj' < **belčen*, *viś-* 'vesit', merit'' < WOT **ölč-* < PT *ölče-*, Chuv *kivśĕn* (→ Cher *küsïn*) 'v dolg' < WOT **kölčen*. Phonetically all /č/ sounds weaken after a weak or sonorant consonant also in the following, secondary cases: Chuv *tĕnče* 'mir' < *dünǰe* < *dünye* ← Ar *dunya*, *munča* 'banja' < *banǰa* < *banya* ← ORus *bańya*, *ĕnčĕ*, *ĕnće* 'žemčug' < WOT **inǰü* ← Ch; cf. H **gyöngy**, in late lws /č/ persisted: Chuv *χălčak* 'ost' klebnaja'< *kïlčïk* ← Tat *kïlčik*. A late contraction is Chuv *mučča* 'brat moego otca' < *monča* < *mun eči* 'great/elder brother'. We find /š/ in the ordinal suff WOT **+minč* > VBulg **+miš* > Chuv **+měš*. On the special WOT cluster /lč/ see on pp. 1104–1107. **PUgr** had /ć/ in postconsonantal position, after a nasal: PFUgr **kuńća* > PUgr **końćə* (the POUgr equivalents are dubious) > EAH **χanǰə* > H *hangya* 'ant' (*-a* is a H suff), PFUgr **kuńće*[1] > PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kŭńć* > PVog **kŭńć-*, POsty **kŏs-*) > EAH **χunǰə* > **χuǰə* > H *húgy*[1] 'urine', etc. **Al** or **MIr** **genč* → AH **kenčə* > H *kincs* 'treasure'.

-č: **WOT** had /č/ in final position which is reflected in H by /š/: **es**, **kos**, **kőris** and /č/ **kikerics**, **tolmács**, **üvecs**. **EOT** had /č/ in final position. **VBulg** had /č/ in final position: *weč* 'three' < WOT **üč*, *köč-*, *köwelč-* 'to go away, change place, wander' < WOT **kölč-* < PT **köč-*, see also on p. 1105. **Chuv** changed /č/ in final position to /ś/: *věś* 'konec' < WOT *üč*, *yăvăś*, *yïvaś* 'derevo' < WOT **āgač*, *kuś-* 'peredvigatsja' < WOT *küč-* (see VBulg), *uś-* 'otkryvat'' < WOT **ač-*. This change also occurred in early lws: Chuv *χïraś*, *χïrśă* 'podušnaja podat'' < **χarač* ← Ar *χarāǰ* → Ott → H *harács*. **PUgr** did not have /č/ in final position.

/ǰ/

ǰ-: **WOT** had the phoneme /ǰ/ in word-initial position. It replaced PT /y/. This WOT phoneme is represented in H by /d'/ and before /i/ by /d/. All H initials go back to a LAH /ǰ/: **dió** (< **ǰiwo*), **disznó** (< **ǰisnaų*), and 34 H words written with <gy> in

current orthography: **gyaláz**, **gyalom**, etc.; see the Lexicon. There are a few H words in which /s/ appears in place of WOT /ǰ/ ? **szárny**, **szél**, **szer**, **szérű**, **szőlő**, **szűcs**. These initials reflect a WOT phoneme /č́/ and were adapted because of their palatal component into the change chain PUgr /ś/ > H /s/. On the 3 WOT periods, see § 7.1.

WOT 1–2 /ǰ/ ⟶ H /ǰ/ >/ď/, /di/
WOT 3 /č́/ ⟶ H /ś/ > /s/
WOT 1-3 /ǰ/, /č/ > Chuv /ś/

This means that the words with initial /s/ in H reflect a later period, but are not (or not necessarily) a dial feature. The <ǰim> transcription in the VBulg inscription misled us. The affricate was already unvoiced and palatalized. The same happened in the transcription of early Pe. Later Pe used three dots to distinguish <ǰim> ⟨ǰ⟩ fr <čim> ⟨č⟩, but the dots were omitted in many cases. It is difficult to determine whether unvoicing and palatalization occurred contemporaneously or at different times. For a long time it was claimed that the initial cluster *yi-* / *yï-* lost *y-* before it became /ǰ/, and that this initial group is represented in H by /ø/ (see Ligeti 1986: 24–25). But such words as **ír** 'to write' and **író** 'buttermilk' turned out to be of other origins. Thus this category must be cancelled. **EOT** had /y/ in all sources in genuine T words, but it is certain that the initial /ǰ/ existed in some EOT dials as well. A few words are noted in AK. **VBulg** had /ǰ/ in initial position: *ǰāl* 'year' < WOT **ǰāl* < PT **yaš* > EOT **yaš*, *ǰirem* < WOT **ǰigirmi*, *ǰieti* < WOT **ǰēti*, *ǰür* < WOT **ǰür* < PT **yüz*. It must be supposed that the unvoicing had already begun, that is, the letter <ǰim> was used to fix /č/. Since the same letter with or without three dots was used to fix /č/ this caused no problems. In fact we should read *č́āl*, *č́irem*, *č́ieti*, *č́ür*, etc. **Chuv** changed WOT /ǰ/ in initial position through /č́/ to /ś/: *śută* 'svet' < **č́atï* < WOT **ǰagtï* < PT **yaktï*. **PUgr** did not have /ǰ/ in initial position. In EAH /ǰ/ appeared under T influence as a new phonemic unit. This served to adapt WOT /ǰ/. It is possible, but cannot be proven, that this voiced affricate was palatalized /ǰ́/ = /dž́/. The change to a palatalized /ď/ (H orthographic <gy>) occurred during the OH period.

VǰV, *Cǰ*, *ǰC*, *-ǰ*: /ǰ/ in non-initial position did not exist in genuine T words in **WOT** and **EOT**. It existed as the allophone of /č/ after sonorants as /nč/ ~ [nǰ]. **PUgr** did not have /ǰ/, but fr the cluster /ńć/ developed, e.g., PUgr **läńćə* > **läǰə* > H *légy* 'fly' through /ǰ/ > /ď/. **Al** **tulǰĕ* ⟶ AH **tülǰə* > H *tölgy* 'oak'.

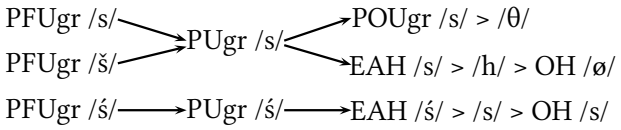
Summary of the history of the affricates

The adaptation of the WOT affricates runs as follows: WOT /č/ was first adapted to the change of PUgr /č/ and became the H phoneme /š/. Later, after the depalatalization of PUgr /ć/ > /č/ the WOT phoneme /č/ entered the history of the H /ć/ > /č/ change and was realised as /č/. The voiced /ǰ/ was adapted into the H phonemic system, causing the emergence of a new phoneme /ǰ/, which was also the result of PUgr

/Nč/ clusters; see on p. 1025–1026. After the unvoicing and palatalisation of the affricate /j/ > /ć/ the palatal component was the marked constituent in the system and was adapted into the H system by the only palatalised consonant, the palatalised sibilant. Later it lost its palatal component like the other, originally palatal consonants: WOT /ć/ ⟶ H /ś/ > /s/.

6.2.5 Sibilants

Introductory remarks: in PFUgr there existed three types of sibilants: /s/, /š/ and /ś/. In PUgr /s/ and /š/ converged. According to Honti (1982; 1999) and Bakró-Nagy (2001) this was an interdental unvoiced spirant /θ/; in my view the change /s/ > /θ/ occurred only in POUgr. In EAH, PUgr /s/ became a laryngeal /h/ and later disappeared.



In EAH, one of the two PUgr affricates – the non-palatal one – changed to /š/:

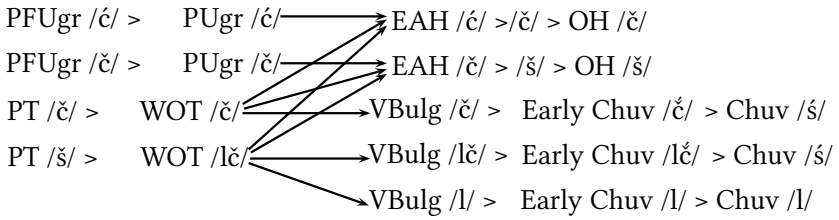


Figure 6.3: Affricates and sibilants in EAH and OH, POUgr and Chuv

/s/

s-: **WOT** had /s/ in initial position with the exception of positions before PT /i/ (< /ĭ/) and long /ā/. WOT /s/ is reflected in H by /s/ (orthographically <sz>): ? **ságom**, **szaka**, **szakáll**, **szál**, **szám**, **szán**[1], **szán**[2], **szándok (láda** ⟵ T ⟵ Ar), **szár**, **szatócs**, **szék**, **szenderedik**, **szép**, **szeplő**, ? **szer**, **szérű**, **szesz**, **szó**, **szongor**, **szór**, **szöcske**, **szökik**, **szűnik**, **szűr**, **szűz**. There are some words which had /i/ or /ĭ/ as the vowel following the initial /s/ but preserved /s/: **szép** (Chuv *šep*), **szín** (Chuv *săn*), **szirony** (cf. Chuv *šăyăr-*), **szirt** (Chuv *šărt*, *sărt*), **szúnyog** (see Chuv *šăna*), **szongor** (Cum, see Chuv *šankkar* ⟵ Mo). We find /š/ in **sár**[1], **sár**[2], **sárga**, **sárkány**, **sárma**

(secondary /š/), **sebes**, **sík**, **sió**, **seper**, **seprő**[1], **serke**, **serleg**, **serte**, **sima**, **sió**, **sör**, **sőreg**, ? **süv**, **-ső** in **kéneső** (< **kene-siu*). In 1 case we find a secondary /c/: **cötkény**, and similarly a /z/: **zerge**. **EOT** had /s/ in genuine T words. **VBulg** had /s/ in initial position: *sekir* 'eight' < WOT **sekir* < PT **sekiz* and /š/ before /i/: *šïw* 'water' < WOT **šïv* < PT **sïv* > EOT *suv*. **Chuv** has /s/ *sĕr-* 'cedit'' < WOT **sür-* < PT **süz-*, while /š/ occurs before original /i/ (< /ï/), Chuv *šăyăr-* 'carapat', sodrat'' < WOT **sïdïr-* ~ EOT *sïdïr-* (/d/ > /y/ because of the following /r/), *šăklă*, *šĕkĕlĕ* 'borodavka' < WOT **sigil*. **PUgr** /s/ disappeared through EAH /h/ to /ø/: PUgr **säppə* > EAH **häpə* > H *epe* 'bile', but PUgr /ś/ changed to /s/ in EAH after the change of PUgr /s/ to /h/. PFUgr **śata* (← Ir) > PUgr **śatə* > EAH **saδə* > H *száz* 'hundred'.

VsV: **WOT** had /s/ in intervocalic position. This was preserved in H **boszorkány**, **bosszant**, **bosszú**, **böszörmény**, **köszön**, **üszök**; we find secondary /z/ in **güzü** (← **küsägü* < *küskü*), **izzik** (← **ïsï-*). **EOT** had /s/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** no examples except for *Yusuf*. **Chuv** had /s/ in intervocalic position (Chuv *usă* 'pol'za' < WOT **asuɣ*), but before /i/ it changed to /š/: *amăšĕ* 'ego mat'' < WOT **ämesi*, but the privative suff is *-săr* < WOT **-sIr* < PT **-sIz* > EOT *-sIz*, cf. EOT *kagansïra-* 'to become kingless' (RKT). **PUgr** had /s/ in intervocalic position, which was preserved only under special conditions: PFUgr **pesä* > PUgr **pesə* > EAH **φesə* > H *fészek* 'nest' under the influence of the spirant /φ/. PUgr /ś/ was preserved in H as /s/: PUgr **iśə* > EAH **isəɣ* > H *üsző* 'heifer', or became voiced as in PUgr **saśə-* > H *ázik-* 'to become wet'. **Al** **rowasa* → AH **rowasə* > H *ravasz* ' cunning, fox'.

sC: **WOT** had /s/ in preconsonantal position. This is reflected in H by /z/ or /s/ depending on the quality of the following consonant: **disznó**, **kozma** (< *kosma*). **EOT** had /s/ in preconsonantal position which may have been primary or secondary, as in *basruk* 'cover' < *basuruk*, etc. **VBulg** no examples; ? *Aslan* < WOT **aslan* < PT **arslan*, cf. Chuv *uslan* 'lev'. **Chuv** had /s/ before consonants *sïsna* 'svinja' < **śïsna* < **čïsna* < WOT **ǰasnaɣ*. **PUgr** did not have /s/ in preconsonantal position.

Cs: **WOT** had /s/ in postconsonantal position. It is represented in H by /s/ or /z/ depending on the quality of the preceding consonant: **borz** (← **borsi*), **gyűszű** (← **ǰüɣsüɣ*), ? **vejsze**. **EOT** had /s/ in postconsonantal position. **VBulg** had /s/ after consonants: *barsa* 'going' < WOT **barsa* ~ EOT *barïp*. **Chuv** had /s/ in postconsonantal position: *iksĕl-* 'umen'šat'sja' < WOT **eksül-* < PT **egsül-*, **eksil-*. It changed to /š/ before /i/: Chuv *purăš* 'barsuk' < **puršă* < **borsi* < WOT **borsïɣ* < PT **borsuk* ~ **borsmuk* > EOT *borsmuk*, *borsuk*. **PFUgr** had /s/ in postconsonantal postion, which disappeared after metathesis: PFUgr **maksa* > PUgr **maɣəs* > EAH **maɣə* > **mā* > H *máj* 'liver', PFUgr **yoŋksɜ* ~ **yoŋsɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* > EAH **yīwəh*, **yiyəh* > H *ív* 'arch', *íj* 'bow'. The same applies to secondary PUgr /s/: PFUgr **mekše* > PUgr **meksə* > EAH **mehə* > H *méh* 'bee'. **Al** **aχsïna* → AH *aχsïnə* > H *asszony* 'lady, dame'.

-s: **WOT** had /s/ in final position. H preserved it: **baszik**, **búsz**, **ész**, **gyász**, **jász**, **szesz**. **EOT** had /s/ in final position. **VBulg** recorded it only in names: *Elyās*. **Chuv** preserved WOT final /s/: *üs-* 'rasti' < WOT **ös-*, *yus* 'gornostaj' < WOT **yās* < PT **ās* > EOT *ās*. **PUgr** did not have /s/ in final position. **Al** *des* → AH *tisə* > H *tíz* 'ten', Al **eges* → EAH **egesə* > H *egész* 'whole, entire'.

/z/

z-: None of the investigated lgs has /z/ in initial position. It appeared in AH and is present in modern H, as well as in Os lws (e.g. H *zöld* 'green', OH also *zeld* < EAH **zeldə* ← Al **zäldä* 'yellow, green', cf. Os *dial zældæ* 'molodaja trava'). We find it in Sl lws (e.g *zab* 'oat' ← Sl **zob*), in words of Grm origin (e.g. *zeller* 'celery' ← Bavarian-Austrian *Zeller*), in international words of various origin (e.g. *zefír* 'a kind of wind' ← Grm ← Lat ← Gr). It may be a neologism such as *zene* 'music' (first noted in 1831 fr the onomatopoeic *zenebona* 'hullabaloo'). In some cases it is the result of secondary development: H *zsák* 'sack' (← OGrm *Sack*) > *zsákcsó* > *zacskó* 'small bag'. H **zerge** 'chamois' is either a learned reading of an earlier *serge* or came through Grm, but it is in any case of T origin. **VBulg** had /z/ in initial position in foreign words: *ziyaret* 'tomb' and names: *Zahraš*. **Chuv** has /z/ in initial position in recent lws: Chuv *zavod* ← Rus *zavod*, Chuv *zefir* ← Rus *zefir* ← Grm ← Lat ← Gr.

VzV: **WOT** dials did not have the /z/ in intervocalic position. EOT /z/ did appear later in the lws fr Cum. See **boza**, **buzogány**, **özön**, **szűz** (but see **szűr**), **tőzeg**. **EOT** had /z/ in intervocalic position. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** had intervocalic /z/ only in lws, where it is represented by <s>, pronounced in this position as [z]; cf. *pïsăk* 'boľšoj' < *pisĕk* < **bezük* ← *beδük*, *Xusan* 'name of Kazan′' ← Tat *Kazan*. **PUgr** did not have /z/ at all, but in H /z/ developed in intervocalic position fr PUgr /t/: PUgr **kütä* > EAH **küδü* > OH *küzü* > H *köz* 'place in between'. For H /z/ in intervocalic position as a result of secondary changes, cf. **búza**, **túzok**. **Al** **äzärä* → AH **ezerə* > H *ezer* 'thousand'.

zC: **WOT** did not have /z/ in preconsonantal position. **EOT** did have /z/ in preconsonantal position. PT /z/ changed to /r/ in many cases before consonants, such as Chuv *pïr* 'gorlo' < **bār* < WOT **boγar* < PT **bogaz* > EOT *bogaz*, but Og *bogurdak* → Os *boğurdaq* 'glotka', etc. See below on pp. 1109–1110. **VBulg** Chuv *χĕr* 'girl' < WOT **kïr* < PT **kïz* > EOT *kïz*, but Chuv *χărχăm* 'girl slave' < WOT **kïrkum*, cf. PT **kïzkïn* > EOT *kïrkïn*, Erdal (1993: 47–50) deals with the VBulg passage that has been read as *χïrχum* and identified with EOT *kïrkïn* < **kïzgïn*, Chuv *χărχăm*. The sequence *χum* may be an independent word, but I do not consider this to be an abbreviation of *marḥūm* 'deceased'. More probably it is the same word as Chuv *χăm*

'plod, foal' < *χum < *kulm < *kulum < *kulun. It is used as an expression of endearment: TatD1 *kolom*, *kolomčak* 'žerebenok do odnogo goda', TatD *kolom*, *kolkay* 'žerebenok'; cf. Bashk *kolonsak* 'žerebenoček, *s affiksom prinadležnosti 1-go l. lask.* žerebenoček moj (po otnošeniju k rebenku)', also for females: *beye kolon* 'žerebenok-samka'. **PUgr** did not have /z/ in preconsonantal position. In H we find it as the result of secondary developments or in lws; cf. **kozma**. **Al** **gazdïg* ⟶ AH **gazdagə* > H *gazdag* 'rich', Al **äzvist* ⟶ AH **ezvist* > H *ezüst* 'silver'.

Cz: /z/ did not occur in postconsonantal position in the lgs investigated. In H it occurs as the result of secondary change.

-z: **WOT** dials did not have /z/ in final position. PT /z/ changed to /r/. Later in Kip especially in Cum, we find /z/ in final position, which is reflected in H as /z/: **kalauz**, **káliz**. **EOT** had /z/ in final position. **VBulg** no examples. In lws of **Chuv** it appears as /s/: *pis-* 'ohladet, čuždat'sja' ⟵ EOT **bez-* > Bashk *beδ-*, *yus-* 'lišit'sja, otbit'sja' ⟵ TatD *yaz-*, *tiněs* 'more' ⟵ Tat *teŋiz*. **PUgr** did not have /z/ in final position. H has /z/ as a result of secondary changes: PUgr **katə* > EAH **kaδə* > H *ház*.

/š/

Introductory remarks: there existed two types of /š/ in the early period of the history of the T lgs. One kind of /š/ changed to /lč/ in WOT, but was preserved in EOT and in the non-Chuv lgs. After this change ended, a secondary /š/ appeared fr /s/ before /i/ in WOT. We shall deal with both of these here. Lws with /š/ fr non-T lgs also appear.

š-: **WOT** had /š/ in initial position as the result of secondary changes of /s/ before /i/ and /ï/, and also before originally long /ā/ > /ia/. This is reflected in H in the following words: a) before long /ā/: **sár**[1], **sár**[2], **sárga**, b) before /i/ **sebes**, **seper**, **seprő**[1], **serleg**, **serke**, **serte**, **sért**, **sík**, **sima**, **sió**, **sör**, **sőreg**, **süllő**, **süly** ? **süv**. In the word corresponding to EOT *suv* 'water' we find WOT *šiu* ⟶ **šiu* > *šiō* in **sió** (**séd**) and **kéneső**; cf. Chuv *šïv*, *šu*. In this case we also have historical data: 8th c. *χαρα σιου* which may be transcribed as *χara siu* or *χara šiu*. In a VBulg inscription dated 1307 we read شِوِنَ <šiwne> 'to the water (of the river Cherimsen)'. It is very likely that we have to reconstruct a PT **sïw* > EOT *suv* diphthong, also preserved in Bashk **hïu* < *sïu*. This means that PT **sïv* > WOT **šiu* (⟶ H *šiu*) > Chuv *šïv*, *šu* changes occurred and /s/ became /š/ before /ï/ here also. In the following cases we find /s/ before original T /i/: a) H /s/ ~ Chuv /š/: **szirony** (cf. Chuv *šăyăr-* < *sidir-*), **szúnyog** (Chuv *šăna* < **siŋek*), b) H /s/ ~ Chuv /s/: H **szín** (Chuv *săn* ⟵ *sin*), **szirt** (Chuv *sărt* ⟵ *sïrt*), c) H /š/ ~ Chuv /s/: Chuv *săr* 'kraska' ⟵ *sïr* > WOT **šir* ⟶ H **serleg**, Chuv *săra* 'pivo' ⟵ *sïra*, WOT **šire* ⟶ H **sör**. **EOT** did not have /š/ in initial position in genuine T words, but only in lws such as *šadapït* 'a title', *šïmnu* 'evil spirit'. **VBulg**

see *šiw* above. **Chuv** preserved WOT /š/ in *šur*(*ă*) 'boloto' < WOT **šār* (< PT **sāz* > EOT *saz*) ⟶ H **sár**, etc. **PUgr** only had /s/ in word-initial position (< /ś/, /š/).

VšV: **WOT** had /š/ in intervocalic position. This occurred in slots where PT had /Vsi/. In place of PT /š/, WOT had /lč/. In this cluster /l/ was unstable. In some cases /l/ disappeared; in others /č/ did. Later /č/ was palatalized and became /ć̆/ and finally (in Chuv) /ś/. (For details, see on pp. 1104–1107.) WOT /lč/ > /l/ is represented in H by /l/: **kölyök** (~ *kölök*, the palatalization is a secondary H feature), **süllő**. We find /lč/ in **bocsánik**, **bocsát**, **búcsú** (in OH with /lč/), **bölcső**, **gyümölcsény**, and no sign of /lč/ in: **komócsin**. In a later period we encounter /š/: **bese** (T ⟵ Pe), and by dissimilation /s/ in **csősz** (< **čäviš*). In place of EOT /Vsi/ we find /s/ > /z/ in H **izzik** ⟵ **ïsï-*. There is a similar change in PUgr: H *ázik-* 'to become wet' (*-ik* is a H suff) < EAH **has-* < PUgr **saćă-* ~ **saśă-* (> POUgr **θăθ-* > PVog **tăt-*, POsty **ʌăl-*). **EOT** had /š/ in intervocalic position in genuine T words: *bašak* 'ear of corn', *bešik* 'cradle', *kašuk* 'spoon', *košul-* 'to be joined', etc. **VBulg** had /l/ in *biyelim* 'fifth' < **bēlimš* < WOT **bēliminč* < PT **bešiminč* > ~ **bešinč*. The cluster /lč/ is preserved in *balčï* 'first (day)' < WOT **balčï* < PT **baš*. Interesting is the appearance of /l/ in some instances of the word *köwelč-*, otherwise rendered as *köweč-*. This is WOT *kə̄č-* 'to migrate, wander, die', see EOT *köč-* id. MT AKav and ATuh have *köš-* but this is the result of a later development. In **Chuv** in most cases we find /ś/ in place of /š/: Chuv *χïś-* 'česať' < **χïč̆* < **χač̆-* < WOT **kačï-* < **kalči-* ~ EOT *kašï-*. In some cases Chuv dials preserved the WOT /č/ as an alternant of /ś/, as in *puśaχ* ~ *pučaχ* 'kolos' (Ašmarin 1928–1950/10: 34) < WOT **balčak* < PT **bašak*. Chuv has /š/ where WOT /s/ was followed by /i/: *ăšă* 'teplo' < WOT **isiγ* < PT **isig*. In cases such as *usă* 'pol′za' < WOT **asuγ* < PT **asug* > EOT *asïg* we have to suppose the vowel /u/ in the second syllable. In lws /š/ was preserved by Chuv: cf. *χašan* 'lentjaj' ⟵ Tat ⟵ Mo *kašan* < *kasïn*. **PUgr** had /s/ in intervocalic position, but rarely: the only example is irregular PFUgr **pesä* > PUgr *päsə* (> POUgr **pīθ* > PVog **pīt*, POsty *pi*) > EAH **φäsə* > H *fészek* 'nest' (*-ek* is a H suff), where /s/ was preserved through influence of the initial. PUgr /ś/ was preserved as /s/.

šC: **WOT** /č/ replaces PT /š/ in preconsonantal position. No representation in H. **EOT** had /š/ in preconsonantal position, as in *kïšlag*, *kïšlïk*, *ešgek*, *bašmak*, etc. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** changed PT /š/ > WOT /č/ before consonants to /ś/: cf. Chuv *piśter-* 'obvariť' < WOT **bičter-* < PT **bištur-*.

Cš: **WOT** had /č/ in place of PT /Cš/ which is attested only in some Chuv words. If an original /s/ after a consonant was followed by /i/, we find /s/ preserved in H: cf. H **borz** < AH *borsi*. Later this became /š/: Chuv *purăš* 'barsuk' < **puršă* < **borsi* < WOT **borsïγ* (< PT **borsuk* < PT **borsmuk* > EOT *borsmuk*, *borsuk*). In later copies we find /š/ in H, as in **daksi** (Cum). **EOT** had /š/ after consonants, mainly after /r/. In **VBulg** no examples. **Chuv** has /ś/ as in Chuv *χirěś* 'protiv' < *χireč̆* < WOT **χïrčă* <

PT *karšï, *vărś- 'voevatʹ' < WOT *urč- < PT *uruš-, and similarly *χuršă, *χurăś 'stalʹ' < WOT *kurč < PT *kurč. In late lws /š/ is preserved, as in Chuv *kürěš*, *küršĕ* 'sosed' ← Bashk *kürše* < EOT *körüš*.

-š: **WOT** had /lč/ in place of PT /š/ in final position which as a rule changed in H to /č/: ? **erkölcs**, **gyümölcs**, **gyümölcsény**, **tanács**, or to /l/: **dél**, **dől**. **VBulg** see *balči* 'first' on p. 1098, *biyel* 'five' on p. 1098, *ekil* 'many' < WOT *ekil < PT *üküš. **EOT** had /š/ in final position. It also occurred in some word formative suffs as *+Xš*, *+dAš*, *-Xš*, *-(X)š-*. **Chuv** has /ś/ in place of WOT /č/ > /ĕ/: *puś* 'golova' < WOT *balč < PT *baš, Chuv *χïś-* 'česatʹ' < *kač- < WOT *kalč(ï)- < PT *kašï-, Chuv *śiměś* 'plod' < WOT *ǰemilč (⟶ H *ǰemilč* > **gyümölcs**) < PT *yemiš, Chuv *vărś-* 'voevatʹ' < WOT *urč- < PT *uruš-, Chuv *vărśă* 'vojna' < WOT *urulč < PT *uruš, Chuv *ĕś* 'delo' < WOT *ilč < PT *iš, Chuv *pĕšer-* 'pečʹ' < WOT *bilčir- < PT *bišir-, Chuv *śiśĕm* 'molnija' < WOT *ǰalčïm < PT *yašïm, Chuv *tiveś* 'dolžno, sleduet' < WOT *tēgilč < PT *tēgiš, Chuv *χïś-* 'česatʹ' < WOT *kalč- < PT *kaš-, Chuv *śiś-* < WOT *šilč- < PT *šiš-, *čiš-*. Where other T lgs also have /lč/ the case is the same: *piśen*, dial *pičen* 'osot, tamarnik (*Cirsium arvense*, Ašmarin 1928–1950/9: 246, 230)' < WOT *belčen; cf. Tat *bilčän*, Bashk *bilsän*, Voty *bälʹčan*, Cher *pelčän* (Dmitrieva 2000: 57, may be an old local lw). In lws: Chuv *χuš* 'dobro' < T *χoš ← Pe *χoš*, Chuv *puš* 'pustoj' ← *buš*, but WOT *bolč ⟶ H **bocsát**, **búcsú**. **PUgr** did not have /š/ in final position.

6.2.6 Laryngeal, guttural and labial spirants

/h/

h-: **EOT** had /h/ in word-initial position. This is reflected in the OTib script (see Maue–Röhrborn 1984; 1985). It is debated whether **WOT** had /h/ in word-initial position; H does not reflect this. There are some traces of /h/ in WOT. The title *ilteber ~ elteber*, used by the Old Turks, existed among the Volga Bulgars in the form written in 922 by Ibn Fadlan as *yiltewer* (not *yiltawar*). This may have gone back to **hiltever* which is fixed in Bact as <υιλιτοβηρο> and has to be read as *hilitber*. PT **el* 'country, etc.' (which has nothing to do with *ilteber*) is *yal* 'selenie, obšestvo' < **yäl* < VBulg *yel* < **hel* > EOT *el*, to this may pertain the H name recorded about AD 950 *Ιελεχ* (Constantine VII) which may reflect a form like *yeleχ* < *yelliɣ* (← WOT **yellig*) < PT **hellig* > EOT *ellig* (see also Golden 1980: 184), Chuv *yăvăś*, *yïvaś* 'derevo' < WOT **yïgač*, **āgač* < **hïgač* < PT **hïgač ~ *hagač* > Kh *hagač*. Perhaps Chuv *vătăr* 'tridcatʹ' < WOT *(*h*)*otur*; cf. Kh *ho̱ttuz*, Chuv *vĕlĕr-* 'ubitʹ' < WOT **hölür-*, cf. Kh *hilā̆r-*, Chuv *vilĕm* 'smertʹ' < WOT **hölüm* < PT **hölü* > EOT *ölüm*, cf. Kh *hil-*, Chuv *yĕnĕ* I 'berloga' < WOT **hine*, cf. Kh *hīʲn*. Chuv *yĕnĕ* II 'nožny' is a different word < *kyīn* < WOT **kïyïn*). But the correspondence is not consistent, which may be the

result of the fact that the disappearance of the initial /h/ had already begun when WOT was formed. Chuv *yătă*, *yïtă* 'sobaka' < **hït*, where Kh has *i·t*, and *išt*, etc. in the lgs of Turkestan. Chuv *ar* 'mužčina' < WOT **är*, cf. Kh *här*, Chuv *viśĕ* 'tri' < WOT **üč* < **uɻč* < **ūč*, cf. Kh *ūč*, etc. WOT initial /h/ is preserved in one East Sl word *horuga* < **horõga* < *horunga*; cf. T *orungga*, *oruŋu* 'flag, standard'. The word is of T and not Mo origin (see Ligeti 1949; Menges 1951; Menges 1979: 157; Róna-Tas 1991: 110). I shall not deal here with the origin of the initial /h/, which may be in various words of different origin. As we have seen above (pp. 433–435), the only candidate for a preserved initial /h/ is H **hurok**. However this form has two alternant forms: PT **kuruk* and **uruk*, and there is a great probability that the H /h/ is secondary. In the H sources otherwise we have not found traces of an initial T /h/. Transcriptions such as the GN fr 1326/1428 <Hwkurithou> (Benkő 1967–1984/3: 23) for modern *Ököritó* [today it would be *Ökörítató* 'waterplace for oxen'] are pecularities of the local Lat chancellary practice and have no historical value; see the earlier data under **ökör**, all without initial /h/. **EAH** had a /h/ in initial position. This we can find in place of PUgr /s/, itself a product of the merging of PFUgr /s/ and /š/; see on p. 1027–1028. This EAH /h/ disappeared in OH, yielding to the continuation of PUgr /k/ in back-vocalic words. If H copied a T word with initial /h/, this would have disappeared in LAH; if it were copied in LAH / EOH it would have been preserved as /h/.

	EAH	LAH/EOH
PUgr /s/	/h/	/ø/
PUgr /k/	/χ/	/h/

hC, *Ch*, *-h*: /h/ in other slots is unknown in the **WOT**, **EOT**, and **PUgr** sources. On /h/ in **VBulg**, see *hïr* on p. 1075 and below.

/χ/

χ-: **WOT** had initial /χ/ in place of /k/ in back-vocalic words in some of its chronological or local varieties. This is rendered by the Ar sources with ح̣, in many cases written without the dot. It appears in H in the following words: **hajó**, **harang**, **herjó**, **homok**, **hurok**. All these initial /h/ sounds go back to EAH /χ/. Other words with back-vocalism and /k/ may be earlier, later or fr another dial. However in the VBulg inscriptions we find the same Ar notation as in those of the 9th–10th c.s: all words with back-vocalic vowels show /χ/, with the graphic exception of *hïr* 'girl, daughter' (WOT **kïr* < PT **kïz*), which is written with the Ar <he> ه, but Chuv shows no difference. **EOT** did not have /χ/ in genuine T words, but in several transcriptions the /k/ in initial position was transcribed with means having the value /χ/. See the different transcriptions of *Khazar*, *kagan*, *kan*, etc. **VBulg** had already /χ/ in initial position

in back-vocalic words: *χïrχ* 'fourty' < WOT **kïrk*, *χïr* 'girl' < **kïr* < WOT **kïr*, EOT *kïz*, *χyan* 'blood' < **χi̯an* < WOT **kān*. **Chuv** has in all original T words /χ/ in all positions in back-vocalic words. It has /χ/ even in early Tat lws and in lws of Pe or Ar origin, see Chuv *χun´*, *χun´a* 'test´ ← Tat *kayïn* < EOT *kadïn*, Chuv *χula* 'gorod' ← Tat, Bashk *kala* ← Ar, Chuv *χural* 'ohrana' ← Tat ← Mo *karagul*. **PUgr** did not have /χ/. The fact that in some Vog and Osty dials we find /χ/ in back-vocalic words of PUgr origin is the result of a later change in PVog and POsty (see on p. 1018). As we have seen, EAH had /χ/, which later changed to /h/. **Al** **χīd* ⟶ AH **χidə* > H *híd* 'bridge'.

VχV: In **WOT** I found no example for /χ/ in intervocalic position, see on p. 1075. In **EOT** there are no examples, but it appears in MT, see **bátor**. In **VBulg** already had /χ/: *waχï-* 'to recite' < WOT **okï-*, *toχur* 'nine' < WOT **tokur* < PT **tokuz*. **Chuv** always has /χ/ in back-vocalic words: *păχăr* 'krasnaja med'' < WOT **bakïr*, in front of Chuv *pĕvĕr* 'pečen'' < **bagir* < WOT **bagïr*. **PUgr** did not have /χ/ in intervocalic position. The phoneme /k/ in intervocalic position disappeared through /ɣ/ both in back- and front-vocalic words: PUgr **śakə* > EAH **śaɣə* > **sā* > H *szaj*, *zaj* in *zajlik-* 'to break up (of ice)', PUgr **yukə-* > EAH *yuɣə-* > **yī* > **ī-* > H *iszik-* 'to drink' (the base is *i-*; cf. *ital* 'drink'), PUgr **ikeńə* > EAH **iɣeńə* > *īńə* > H *íny* 'gum'.

/ɣ/

Introductory remarks: /ɣ/ is a voiced guttural spirant, though some authors use the sign <ɣ> for the deep velar voiced stop. In the T lgs it appears mostly in intervocalic position, but may occur in other positions as well. It may change to a voiced bilabial spirant /β/, rendered also by /w/. The change /ɣ/ > /β/ occurs in the vicinity of labial vowels. In another course of changes, long vowels change to diphthongs. The labial element of diphthongs appears as (and is written as) <w>. In case of WOT *ogul-i* 'his son' we find *awlī* أولى in VBulg. In Chuv this is *ïvălĕ*, going back to *awul+i*. We have two possibilities: in the first, *awul* goes back to *owul* < *oɣul* < *ogul*; in this case /a/ < /o/ is not motivated. In the second case we have to suppose *ogul* > *oɣul* > *oβul* > *ūl* > *aul* > *awul* > *ïvăl*. In the lg of the VBulg inscriptions *awul* (or more precisely *awŭl+i*) became *awli*. I note <w> in all cases and use <β> only in special cases.

ɣ-: There was no /ɣ/ in absolute word-initial position in the lgs surveyed here. It may have occurred in sandhi position, but so far we have no data.

For /ɣ/ in other positions, see above under /g/, /k/ on pp. 1075, 1080.

6.2.7 Dentilabial fricative and palatal approximant, semivowels

Introductory remarks: it is very difficult in historical phonology to distinguish between consonants and semivowels. It seems, to be sure, that the labial vowels in initial position changed to diphthongs with a labial semivowel at the onset. They are treated by the present Chuv phonotactics as consonants. In case of Chuv *uyar* 'jasnaja pogoda' < WOT **ayar* < PT **ayaz* we have to analyze the intervocalic slot as filled by the consonant /y/. VBulg *ayχi* 'its month' may contain a diphthong with the semivowel /i̯/ [ai̯χi], but its basic form *ayaχ* had consonantal features.

/v/

v-: **WOT** had /v/ in initial position. This appeared before labial vowels in a later phase of WOT. It may be a result of a WOT /h/ before labial vowels, or simply a prosthetic /v/ before a labial consonant. It is present in H: **váj**, **vályú**, ? **vejsze**, **vék**, **vendég**, **ver**[1], **vértelek**; see however the H words which were copied with initial labial vowel in the Lexicon, and on pp. 1120–1121. The phoneme /v/ in H goes back to PUgr /w/, thus it is possible that H copied a bilabial fricative /w/ which later became dentilabial /v/. **EOT** did not have /v/ in initial position. A slight prosthetic u̯ can be observed in some Kip lgs, not fixed in their dicts but described in studies on their phonetics. **VBulg** has prosthetic /v/ in all words which had a labial vowel as initial in early WOT: *wal* 'he, she' < WOT **ol*, *wān* 'ten' < WOT **ōn*, *weč* 'three' < WOT **üč*, *wel-* 'to die' < WOT **öl-*, *wotur* '30' < WOT **otur* < PT **otuz*, *waχï-* 'to read aloud, recite' < WOT **okï-*. In foreign words it is non-protethic: *wafāt* 'death' ← Ar, etc. **Chuv** has /v/ in all words of this category. The following vowel depends on the quality and quantity of the original labial: /ō/ > /vu/: WOT **ōt* > Chuv *vut* 'fire', /õ/ > /va/: WOT **õr* > Chuv *var* 'middle', /ū/ > /vĕ/: WOT **ūč* > **uiḉ* > Chuv *vĕś* 'the end of something', /ū̃/ > /vĕ/: WOT **ū̃r-* > **üir-* > Chuv *vĕr-* 'to bark (of a dog)', /o/ > /vă/: WOT **ol* > Chuv *văl* 'he, she, it', /ö/ > /vĕ/, /vi-/: WOT **ölür-* > Chuv *vĕler-* 'to kill', WOT **öl-* > Chuv *vil-* 'to die', /u/ > /vă/: WOT **urun* > **urum* > Chuv *vărăm* 'long', /ü/ > /vĕ/: WOT **üč-* > *veḉ-* > Chuv *vĕś-* 'to fly'. The original length was preserved only in the case of labials with middle opening /ō/, /ō̃/. VBulg *waχï-* 'to recite' is in Chuv *uχ-* 'čitatʹ musulmanʹskie molitvy', which points to the fact that it is an early lw. Chuv *vakă* 'melkij' comes fr WOT **üväk*. An earlier lw is *vïrăs* 'Russian' < WOT **urus* ← *Rus.* **PUgr** had /w/ in word-initial position which changed to /v/ in LAH or OH. **Al** **wām* → AH **wāmə* > H *vám* 'customs', Al **wara* → AH **warə* > *vár* 'castle', Al **wačar* → AH **wačarə* > H *vásár* 'market', Al **wärmä* → AH **wermə* > H *verëm* 'pit, hole', Al **wärt* → AH **wärtə* > H *vért* 'armor, cuirasse'.

VvV: **WOT** had /v/ in intervocalic position, which was preserved by H **teve** and **üvecs**. It disappeared, leaving a long vowel behind: **csűr**[1], **csősz**, **őr**[1], **őrül**, **szór**. **EOT**

had /v/ in intervocalic position. **VBulg** had /w/ in intervocalic position, but no actual example (see *sew-*, *šïw-*). **Chuv** preserved /v/ in intervocalic position: Chuv *avăr-* 'molot'' < WOT **ävir-*, *săvăr-* 'vejat' < WOT **savur-*. **PUgr** had /w/ in intervocalic position: PUgr **lewə-* > EAH **lewə-* > OH *lev-*, H *lő-* 'to shoot', PUgr **puwə-* > EAH **φuwə-* > *ful-* 'to be choked', *fujt-*, etc. (the base is *fu-*), PUgr **pawe* > EAH **φawə* > **φā* > H *fa* 'tree'.

vC: **WOT** had preconsonantal /v/. It disappeared in H **sólyom**, **sőreg**. H **csődör** seems to be a late lw. **EOT** had preconsonantal /v/ as *tevlig* 'deceitful'. In **VBulg** we find *šïvne* 'into its water' < WOT *sïv-i-nA*. In **Chuv** we find preconsonantal /v/ in secondary and primary clusters: *savni* 'milyj' < WOT **sävin-I*, Chuv *savtar-* 'to make somebody love' < WOT **sävtär-* , EOT **sävtür-*. **PUgr** **säwnə* > EAH **heü̯nə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)', PUgr **lowkkə* > **lūkə* > **liukə* > H *lyuk*, *luk* 'hole'.

Cv: **WOT**, **EOT**, **VBulg**, **Chuv** there are no examples for postconsonantal /v/. **PUgr** had /v/ after sonants: **śurwə-* > EAH **surə-* > H *szúr-* 'to prick'. **Al** **äzvist* → AH **ezvist* > H *ezüst* 'silver'.

-v: **WOT** /v/ in final position is reflected in H **szó** (with poss suff: *szava*). **EOT** had /v/ in final position. **VBulg** had /v/ in final position: *šïw* < WOT *sïv*. **Chuv** had /v/ in final positon: *săvă* 'stih, tekst pesni' < WOT **sav*. **PUgr** did not have /v/ in final position, but this developed in EAH and became a monophthong through a diphthong: PUgr **kal′wə* > EAH **χal′əw* > H *hályog* (*-g* is a H suff).

/y/

y-: **WOT** did not have /y/ in original words in word-initial position; PT /y/ changed to /j/. The question is whether WOT had secondary /y/, either prosthetic or the result of a change of WOT /h/ to /y/ before illabials. There is one candidate in H, the ethnonym **jász**, which may be a direct lw fr a T lg, or may have been copied fr Rus. Two other data are of interest: the PN *Ieleχ* (< ? *elliγ*) and the tribe name *Jenő* preserved in the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine VII (c950: *Γέναχ*, read *Yenaγ*) and present in many GNs in Hungary. According to Németh and others (1991: 206–209) it would be the title EOT *ïnag* 'a title' fr **ïna-* 'to trust' (see *ïnan-* 'to trust in'). To this we have to add that H has practically no /yi/ in word-initial position (H *jiddis* 'yiddish') is a new lw. See the PUgr developments on pp. 1033–1034. **EOT** had /y/, but a thorough investigation of the initial cluster /yi/ remains to be done. In *yïpar* 'fragrance', /y/ seems to be original, because H has **gyopár** which reflects a WOT **jïpar*. In the case of *yïgač*, /y/ is secondary and *ïgač* is the original (cf. **ács**). **VBulg** had /y/ before /e/ and /i/: see *yiltewer* on p. 1099, and also *yel* 'people' < WOT **yel* < PT **el*. **Chuv** has two types of /y/ in initial position in genuine Chuv words. Before original /e/ and /i/: *yal* 'selenie, obšestvo' < **yäl* < WOT **yel* < PT **el* and as

a result of the diphthongization of the long /ā/ in initial position: *yus* 'laska, gornostaj' < **yas* < WOT **ās*, *yuś-* 'kisnut'' < **yač-* < WOT **āčï-*, *yuχ-* 'teč'' < **yaχ* < WOT **āk*, after initial /k/ > /χ/: *yun* 'krov'' < VBulg **χyan* < WOT **kān*, *yul-* 'ostavat'sja' < **χyal-* < WOT **kāl-*, *yur* 'sneg' < **χyur* < WOT **kār*; irregular is *yat* 'imja' < WOT **yat* < *āt*. It occurs in lws: *yïš* 'sem'ja, ženih, muž' ← *eš* 'companion, spouse', *yeyěl-* 'rasplyvat'sja' < Tat *yäyil-*, *yam* 'jamščina' ← Rus (← T ← Mo).

VyV: **WOT** had /y/ in intervocalic position. This is reflected by H in: **ajnároz** (< *ayan-*), **hajó**, **ijeszt** (< *äyi-*). **EOT** had intervocalic /y/. **VBulg** attested is only *ayχï* 'its month', but this supposes an **ayaχ* 'month'. In a foreign word: *'ayāl* 'wife'. **Chuv** had /y/ in intervocalic position. It occurred in cases when the vocals were not labial: *uyăχ* 'luna' < WOT **ayïk* < PT **āy*, in case of an original labial vowel we find /v/: *χěvěl* 'sol'nce' < WOT **kuyal* < PT **kuńaš* > *küneš*. **PUgr** had /y/ in intervocalic position, which was preserved in H: PUgr **kayə-* > EAH **χayə-* > H *hajít-* 'to throw (away)', PUgr **čiyə-* > EAH **šiyə-* > H *siet-* 'to hurry, hasten'.

yC: **WOT** had /y/ in preconsonantal position: **kőris** 'ash tree' (**küyrič* < **kevrič*). A late secondary /y/ in a Cum lw: *kajtár madár* 'bird which turns back' ← Cum **kaytar-* < EOT *kadït-* or secondary changes as in **bárca** < *basa* ← MT **baiza* ← Mo ← Ch. **EOT** had /y/ in preconsonantal position. **VBulg** in *ayχï* 'its month'; see also *Sübeyte*. **Chuv** has this in lws: *χuyχă* 'gore, pečal' ← *kaygu* < **kadgu*. **PUgr** did not have /y/ in preconsonantal position.

Cy: I found no examples for /y/ in postconsonantal position in the lgs investigated.

-y: **WOT** had /y/ in final position, which changed to /l'/ in **karvaly** (← *kïrguy*); it became /l/ < /l'/ in **torontál** (← *turuntay*). The final /y/ was lost in **búza** (← *bugday*), **herjó** (← *kïrguy*), and **küllő**[3] (< **küvő* < **küväy* ← *küγäy*). **EOT** had /y/ in final position. **Chuv** had /y/ in final position: *puy-* 'bogatet'' < WOT **bay-*, *χuy-* 'bojatsja, pugatsja' < WOT **kuy-*. **PUgr** had no /y/ in final position.

6.2.8 /l/ and the question of lambdacism

WOT had /l/. Chuv *χul* 'plečo, ruka' < WOT **kol* < PT **kol* > EOT *kol*, *tula-* 'terzat', rvat', grabit', siloj brat', otnimat' < WOT **tala-* < PT **tala-* > EOT **tala-*, *śulăm* 'plamja' < **ǰalim* < WOT **ǰalïn* < PT **yalïn*. This /l/ became unstable and changed to /v/ and/or disappeared before consonants: *ïvtăn*, *ïltăn*, *ïltăm* 'zoloto' < WOT **altan*, *ïvχan-*, *ïlχan-* 'proklinjat'' < WOT **alkïn-*, *ultă* '6' < WOT **altï*, *utmăl*, *ultmăl* '60' < WOT **altmïl* < PT **altmïš*, *kin* 'daughter-in-law' < **kiln* < WOT **kilen*, *χăm* 'žerebenok' < *χum* < **χulm* < **kulum* < WOT **kulun*. It disappears in certain grammatical forms: *kil-* 'to come': **kilse* 'coming' > *kise*, **kil-me-r-eś* > *kimerěś* 'they did not come'. This /l/ disappeared before /č/ in cases where /l/ and /č/ are two distinct phonemes in other T lgs: *χeś* 'meč, sablja' < WOT **kïlč* < **kïlïč*, *χěš* 'bedro (tkack-

aja prinadležnosť)' < WOT *kïlč, viś- 'vesiť' < WOT *ölč- > EOT ölč-, ölče-. This also occurs in early lws: *piśen* 'osot, bodjak polevoj' ← Tat *bilčen*, Bashk *bilsän*. The disappearance went through spirantization and /v/. As already stated, Ramstedt (1922–1923: 29) and Poppe (1924a: 44) supposed two kinds of /l/: l^1 and l^2. This dichotomy was later accepted by many scholars in various ways. This supposition is without foundation, since we have no phonological opposition. On the other hand /l/ appears even in places where it is not etymologically justified. In the VBulg inscriptions we find *köč-* 'to migrate, go away' and *köwelč-*, the second has to be read as *köelč-*. This word is *kuś-* in Chuv. A similar feature can be observed in H. Before consonants /l/ disappeared and left a long vowel behind, or appeared where a long vowel was present: Sl *čolnok* 'boat' is written in 1375 as *Cholnokws* and in 1466 *Chonokos*, present H *csónak* 'boat' (see Kniezsa 1955: 139; Bárczi 1958a: 159). This is also to be observed in the history of **bocsát**, **búcsú**, where we find in the name *Bulcsu* (Constantine VII around 950: *Βουλτξου*), 12th c. *bulfcaffa*, *bulfaffa* [bulščäššå, bulšåššå] < *bulčāt* + *y* (imp) + *a* (poss Px3.sg), p1372/c1448 *boczata* [bočāt-å]. In case of *bocsát-* and *búcsú* we have to reconstruct /lč/: WOT *bolčə ~ EOT *boš* 'empty, free'. In the case of H **tanács**: 1213/1550 *Tanals*, 1229/1550 *Thanalchu*, p1372/c1448 *tanalcʟzat*, for a long time we find *tanalč*, and only later does the word change to *tanāč*, i.e. **tanács**. The copied T form was WOT *tanalč < *tanïlč, see EOT *taniš*. In the case of **bóda** we can reconstruct *balday: the word is a Mo word and came by Cum mediation. In H **bojtorján** the cluster /lt/ changed to /yt/. In some cases H preserved the /l/ as in **bölcső**, ? **erkölcs**, **gyümölcs**, **gyümölcsény**. However for **ács**, we find in 1395 *alch* 'artifex', read *alč*, in place of *āč*. Here we have to reconstruct *āčə < *ayačči*; there is no sign of /lč/ in the original, only secondary long /ā/. While the H /l/ appeared and disappeared in the history of **ács**, it remained preserved in the case of **bölcs** which is the H equivalent of T *bügüči* ⟶ *büyüči > *bȳč > bölč*. This type of secondary /l/ appears in VBulg *köelč-* cited above. The fact that this word has a short vowel in EOT and Tkm does not exclude its long status in WOT. As I pointed out above, in Chuv *kuś-* the /l/ appeared and disappeared as in *ács*. Another similar case is WOT *balč 'head' which is *balč* in the VBulg inscriptions, but *puś* in present-day Chuv. The VBulg *balč* is also preserved in Mo, where we find *tarbalji* 'sparrow hawk', which has also the form *tarbaji* (cf. Kalm $tarw^adž^i$ 'kleiner schwarzer Adler', Kirg *tarmaljïn*; cf. also Mo ⟶ Man *tarbalji*, the EOT equivalent is *taz kuš* or *taz baš* (for further details, see **tar**). Similar cases are Mo *korgoljin* 'lead' ~ T *korgašun*, Mo *eljigen* 'donkey' ~ T *eškek*, Mo *kalči-* 'to remove hair from skins or fur, remove unevenness' ~ T *kaš-*. **Al** *lekwen ⟶ AH *legwen* > H *legény* 'lad'. We have other cases where EOT presents an /l/ in front of /š/. In the H sources we find **dél**, **dől**, and **kölyök**. In **Chuv** we find the following words: *alăk* 'dver'' < WOT *älik* < PT *äšik*, Chuv *ilt-* 'slyšať' < WOT *elit- < PT *ešit-*, Chuv *χĕl* 'zima' < WOT *kïl*

< PT **kïš*, Chuv *χĕvĕl* 'solnce' < WOT **kuyal* < PT **kuyaš*, Chuv *kĕměl* 'serebro' < WOT **kümül* < PT **kümüš*, Chuv *kavle-* 'ževat' < WOT **kävil-* < PT **käviš-* < **käv-*, Chuv *pilĕk* 'pjat'' < WOT **bēlik* < PT **bēš*, Chuv *salt-* 'razvvjazat', razut'' < WOT **sälit-* < PT **sešit-*, Chuv *śitměl* 'sem'des'at' < WOT **jētmil* < PT **yetmiš*, Chuv *śul*[1] 'vozrast' < WOT **yal* < PT *yaš*, Chuv *śul*[2] 'sleza' < WOT **yal* < PT **yaš*, Chuv *šăl* 'zub' < WOT **šil* < **šiš* < **čiš* < PT **tiš*, *šăla* 'sudak' < WOT **šileg* < **šišek* < **čišek* < PT **tišek*, Chuv *tălă* 'puty dlja strenoživanija lošadi' < WOT **tulak* < PT **tušak*, Chuv *tĕl* 'opredelennoe mesto, vremja' < WOT **tül* < PT **tüš*, Chuv *tĕlĕk* 'son' < WOT **tülek* < PT **tüš*, *tul* 'naružnaja storona, poverhnost'' < WOT **tal* < PT **taš*, Chuv *čul* 'kamen'' < WOT **t̨ial* < **tāl* < PT **tāš*, Chuv *utmăl* 'šestdesat'' < WOT **altmül* < PT **altmïš*, Chuv *kavlek* < WOT **kävil-Ak* < PT **käbiš* > Bashk *köyöš* 'žvačka; chewing, rumination', Kaz *küyis*, Tkm *gā̈vüš*, Az *köyüš*, Tt *gäviš*, Uzb *kävš*. In the opinion of Ramstedt and Poppe we are dealing here with PA /l[1]/ and /l[2]/. Some scholars have tried to identify one of the two sounds with different phonetic features. The most acceptable suggestion was that we in fact have /lč/ and /l/ here, where in /lč/ the /l/ is unstable, sometimes disappearing through /v/, and sometimes being preserved when the /č/ disappeared. There is however no reason to suppose this /lč/ in PA. That the primary sound was /š/ can be seen in the case of EOT **tiš* 'tooth'. The /š/ in Chuv *šăl* can be only the result of a change /t/ > /č/ > /š/. /č/ comes fr /ti/; otherwise this is a late change in Chuv and we can observe it in the VBulg inscriptions, which were written just when /ti/ was becoming /či/ (see on pp. 1073–1074). Thus we have to suppose that the /t/ > /č/ > /š/ change is a result of an assimilation to the final /š/ before it became /lč/ and then /l/. As I have shown on another occasion (Róna-Tas 1970: 718–722) Chuv *šăla* 'sudak; the fish with teeth' (**šilliɣ*) is the same word as Mo *silegü* 'three-year-old sheep, animal with full teeth'. Poppe claimed (in a personal letter to me) that Mo *sidün* 'tooth' goes back to **sildün*, though there are no data to support this. The Mo suff *-dUn* is rare and forms dev nouns. /l/ disappears before the suff *-sun*, but not before /d/: cf. *ildam* 'friendly', *ildün* 'sword', *sildasun* 'oak', *eldeb* 'all kinds of', etc. Nevertheless, if **sil* were a match for Chuv *šăl*, this would only corroborate the above. The same idea crops up in Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1251), who reconsruct PT *sīl* > T *siš* which everywhere has the meaning 'stick'; they compare it to Chuv *šăl* 'tooth' and Mo *sidün* 'tooth', and also mention Chuv *šăla* and H **süllő** in a note. WOT had /lč/ in place of EOT /š/. Perhaps PT /š/ first became /lš/, then /lšč/ (see *Bolšči* under **búcsú**) and finally /lč/. This cluster consisted of an unstable /l/ and a /č/. In some cases only /l/ was preserved, while in others /č/ remained. Words with original /č/ entered the system in most cases after long vowels, and had secondary /lč/ variants both in WOT and in H. The phoneme /č/ changed to a palatalized affricate /č́/ which later lost its stop constituent to become in Chuv a palatalized sibilant /ś/. **VBulg** /lč/ was very unstable. We find *bačne* instead of *balčne*

(Chuv *pušne*) ~ *baš-i-na*, but *balči* (Chuv *puś*), *kə̄č-*, and *köwelč-* (Chuv *kuś-*, EOT *köč-*). In **Chuv** the /l/ disappears in some cases: instead of *kilmester* 'you (pl) are not coming' we find *kimester*. **EAH** had an unstable /l/ which appeared very early in H in words of PUgr origin. We have data fr LOH: cf. H *völgy* (1211 *uelg-i*, 1220: *Welg*) 'valley' (< AH *və̄d´*) < PUgr **woδ´kă* (> PVog **wōl*) < PFUgr **waδ´kɜ*, H *hölgy* (1275 *Helg-es*, 1321 *Heug-ku*) 'lady, woman' (< AH **hə̄ǰ* < **hə̄d´*) < PUgr **kaδ´ă* (> POUgr **kēδ* > PVog **kāl*, POsty **köyə̄γ*) < PFUgr **kaδ´wa*.

6.2.9 /r/ and the question of rhotacism

Introductory remarks: Rhotacism is a well known feature in the history of the Lat lg. According to Catford (2001) there exist three types of rhotacism, namely the /n/ > /r/ type, the /s/z/ > /r/ type and the /t/d/ > /r/ type (as *pottage* > *porridge*). According to Nandris (1963: 255, quoted/translated by Catford 2001: 178) "Rhotacism [in the case of *n* > *r*] is a consequence of the weakening of the intervocalic nasal consonant: instead of an apico-coronal closure in the dentalveolar zone the tongue merely touches it lightly; the soft palate having remained lowered, the result is a kind of nasalized *r* or fricative *n*." It occurs in Alb and the Celtic Scottish dials, and elsewhere. The second type is the most well known. In Italian the change of intervocalic /s/ to /r/ (i.e. *VsV* > *VzV* > *VrV*) occurs in Umbrian, Faliscan and early Lat, but not in Oscan. Lat examples include *mus*, gen *muris* 'mouse'; *os*, gen *oris* 'mouth'. It is generally assumed that the fact that intervocalic /z/ < /s/ came to be reinterpreted as an /r/ implies that the /r/ of the lg at that time must have been a fricative or approximant, or at least that such an /r/ must have been an acceptable pronunciation of /r/. The Lat change /z/ > /r/ was complete by the middle of the 4th c. B.C., which we can follow by the change of such Lat names as *Papisius* > *Papirius*, etc. The third type of rhotacism is well known in Turkology. The phoneme /d/ changed early in some T dials to a voiced dental spirant /δ/; this changed to /r/ in Chuv: PT **adak* > **aδaγ* > *ura* 'foot' in all cases except before /r/; see on p. 1078. To the three types mentioned by Catford, we can add a fourth type which occurred in the Dahur lg of the Mo family. All consonants which close a syllable became /r/: Mo *kabtasun* 'wooden board' > Dahur *χar'tăs*, Mo *nabči* 'leaf' > Dahur *narči*, Mo *bulag* 'well' > Dahur *bulār*, Mo *bös* 'material' > Dahur *büri*, *agušķi* 'lungs' > Dahur *aurki*, etc. (see Poppe 1930: 140–141). To the above we can add the change of /l/ to /r/ in Ir: PIE **k´el-* 'to conceal, hide' > PIr *sar-* id. (Cheung 2007: 335–336), etc.; see **balta**.

Rhotacism existed and exists in many lgs in various ways. In some cases /z/ changed to /ř/. In Germanic lgs first a change of /z/ > /ř/ occurred (*wiz* > *wiř*), and later this changed to Grm *wir* and Eng *we*. In Czech the palatalized /ŕ/ became /ř/.

Though in the overwhelming majority of cases the /r/ appears at the end of a change and not at the beginning, this alone cannot be an argument for the originality of /z/.

Earlier opinions

We will not here go through all the earlier opinions, which I have done in Róna-Tas (1970: 964–988). I give only a very brief overview of the most important scholars and only of their ultimate stance (in a simplified version, in final or non-initial position):

	PT	Chuvash	Common Turkic	Mongolian	other
Ramstedt (1922–1923)	*ŕ*	*r*	*z*	*r*	Kor *r*
Poppe (1924)	*ř*	*r*	*z*	*r*	
Pritsak (1964)	*r+ti*	*r*	*z*	*r*	
T. Tekin (1969)	*ř*	*r*	*z*	*r*	
Starostin (2003)	*ŕ*	*r*	*z*	*r*	Jpn, Kor *r*
Doerfer (1975–1976)	*r̥i*	*r*	*z*	*r*	
some scholars	r^2 or r_2	*r*	*z*	*r*	*r*

Table 6.2: Earlier views on rhotacism

Most of these and other similar views depart fr the hypothesis that PT (or PA) had two phonemes. Pritsak (1964) supposed a morphonological process, while others not cited above (Benzing 1940; Biišev 1965 etc.) thought that the /d/ > /ð/ > /z/ > /r/ and the /z/ > /r/ changes converged.

Phonetical questions of rhotacism

The alveolar trill /r/, the alveolar tap or flap /ɾ/, the lateral fricatives /ɬ, ɮ/, the approximants /ɹ/ and /l/, and further their retroflex pairs are unstable in most lgs. However, we lack any method for reconstructing phonetical properties of phonemes that existed hundreds or even a thousand years earlier, prior to the first written documents in these lg(s). Thus we have to return to historical phonology.

The phonological question of rhotacism

If we reformulate the question of rhotacism within a phonological framework, we have to establish that there existed in PT two phonemes, whatever we call them and however we note them. To use signs which do not suggest any phonetic form, let us note: the phoneme /♠/ "spade" became /r/ in Chuv, and /z/ in all other T lgs, and /r/ in Mo. The phoneme /♣/ "club" became /r/ in Chuv, /r/ in all other CT lgs, and /r/ in Mo. All scholars agree on this. The only debated question concerns the *phonetic shape* of the phoneme /♠/. However, we have no means to reconstruct phonetic shapes in the deep past. Interestingly enough, neither Mo nor Chuv have /z/ in their reconstructed

oldest forms. In Dybo's view (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 136) PT had no /z/, thus all CT /z/ sounds (if not secondary fr /s/), go back to /♠/. What we can see in this case is that both in Chuv and in Mo the phonemes /♠/ and /♣/ merged into /r/, but this was not the case in CT, where /r/ and /z/ are and remained in phonological opposition. Thus fr a phonological point of view there may be only one opinion. In CT /z/ if not secondary fr /s/, emerged fr /♠/, and Chuv and Mo (which lack /z/) show the result of a merger of two phonemes. Of course this merger may have occurred independently, either as an areal convergence or as the result of lg contact. We can even consider an independent situation where in PChuv there was a merger, and in Mo there never existed a phoneme /♠/. However, an independent change is not probable, because it occurs in many words, common to Chuv and Mo. For convergence in the phoneme system (disappearance of the opposition ♠ : ♣), a long-lasting linguistic contact is one of the prerequisites. This is the same unconditional prerequisite for copying or borrowing of lexical elements.

Phonotactical and morphonological questions of rhotacism

T. Tekin, in three successive papers (1969; 1975; 1979), treated an issue which I would term the morpho-phonotactic questions of rhotacism. The examples can be divided into the following categories:

a) noun > noun: EOT *tīz* 'knee' > EOT *tirsgek* > MT, NT *tirsek* 'elbow', cf. Chuv *čĕr*(*-kuśśi*, *-puśśi*) < WOT **tir* → H **térd** 'knee' (*-d* is a H dim suff), EOT *kāpïz* 'coffin' > **kapuzčak* > *kapurčak* 'coffin', cf. H **koporsó**, EOT *koŋuz* 'beetle' > *komursga* 'ant' (Chuv *χămăr*), EOT *kïz* 'girl' > *kïrkïn* 'girl slave' (Chuv *χĕr*, *χărχăm*), EOT *boguz* 'throat' > MT *bogursdak* > *bogurdak* id.; cf. Chuv *pïr*, *pur* < WOT **bogur*, *bogrul* 'white-throated', EOT *kopuz* > *kobïrgay*, cf. H **koboz**, EOT *sazgan* > *sarkan*, cf. H **sárkány** 'dragon', MT **közsüz* > *kösürken* 'mole', EOT *boz* 'gray' > *borsmuk* 'badger', cf. Chuv *purăš* 'barsuk' < WOT **borsï*, cf. H **borz** 'badger', *borbaš* 'bolšoj, seryj sorokoput' (Kirg), *borčun* 'seraja utka (dikaja) (Kirg), *borcak* 'sarı çiçekli, süpürgüye benzer yakılabilen bir ot' (TtD), ? *boran* 'yaban güvercini' (< ? **bozgan*), EOT *söz* 'word' > *sörček*, *sörčük* 'a story told at night', EOT *köküz* 'chest, breast' > *kökrek* id., EOT *omuz* 'shoulder' > *omrau* id., EOT *kïmïz* 'koumiss' > Kirg *kïmïz* id., but *kïmran*, *kïmïran* 'kipjačennoe moloko (kisloe ili presnoe), razbavlennoe vodoj' (Kirg), **sibiz* 'sharp-pointed' > **sibizgi* > **sibirgi* 'sterlet, sturgeon', cf. H **sőreg**.

b) numeral > noun: EOT *ikiz* 'twin' > *ikirčgü* 'doubt', EOT *tokuz* 'nine' > *dokurǰun* 'game played with nine small stones or shells' (on the latter, see Yüce 1977: 255–259).

c) verb > verb: EOT *süz-* 'to filter' > NT *sïrkï-* 'to filter' (Kklp), cf. Chuv *sĕr-* < WOT **sür-*, cf. H **szűr** 'to filter', EOT *ez-* 'to crush' > *erkle-*, *irkle-*, *yirkle-* 'to trample'.

d) noun > verb: EOT *semiz* 'fat' > *semri-* 'to become fat', cf. Chuv *samăr* 'fat' < WOT **sämir-*, EOT *yumuz* 'round' > *yumurla-* 'to knead', cf. H **gyomor**, EOT *īz*

'track' > *isde-*, *irde-* 'to seek', *irdā-*, *irdiä-* 'izsledovat' (Y), EOT *yulduz* 'star' > *yuldrï-* 'to gleam', **sekiz* 'quick' > *sekri-* 'to jump', cf. H **szökik**, EOT *yavïz* 'bad' > *yavrï-* 'to be or become weak', EOT *käz* 'notch' > *kärt-* 'to notch', EOT *kutuz* 'raving dog' > **kutru-* > *kutur-* 'to rave', EOT *tuvuz* [so in AK] 'large, huge' > *tuvra-* 'to become large'.

e) verb > noun: EOT *täz-* 'to run away' > **täz-ök* > **täzĕk* > **täzk* > *tärk* 'quickly' (cf. Mo *derkire-* 'to run, race'), EOT *äz-* 'to scrape' > *ersin*, *ersün*, *erşün* 'tekneye yapışmış hamuru kazımağa yarayan demir araç' (TtD).

f) verb > adverb > verb: EOT *täz-* 'to run away, fly' > *tärk* 'quickly', *tärklä-* 'to hurry'.

Some examples are mentioned in Erdal (1991: 323–324), but the morphonological processes are sometimes obscure. Of course a suff -(*X*)*z* forming nouns fr verbs exists. Clear suffixation occurred in *ba-* 'to bind' > *baz* 'pacified' (? *Baz kagan* RKT), *u-* 'to know' > *uz* 'master'. What we see here is the change ♠*C*/*C*♠ > *rC*/*Cr*. In other words, in place of the archiphoneme /♠/ we find /r/ if it becomes a member of the clusters with a consonant. The phoneme /♠/ became /r/ in all cases in Chuv, and remained preserved in all other T lgs, where it is realized by /z/. Chuv lost the opposition /♠/ : /♣/ and has only /r/. This feature must, for the time being, be distinguished fr cases like *köz* 'eye' ~ *kör-* 'to see', OT *töz* 'origin' > OT *törö-* 'to come into existence', or *bilezük* ~ *bilerzük*, see **bilincs**.

Dual or plural -z

The suff +*z* in PT **biz* 'we', *siz* 'you (pl)', *ikiz* 'twins' has often been cited as a "dual" marker. It was first Munkácsi (1884a), then Bang (1918a) who made the claim, but it gained popularity after A. von Gabain joined the hypothesis in her *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Gabain 1974: 64). As Poppe wrote in 1952, "At the present time nobody doubts that +*z* is an ancient dual suffix" (1952: 76). I argued against this hypothesis in Róna-Tas (1970: 345–346), where I pointed out that the term "dual" is used in IE and U studies for a different feature (*māter* 'mother', *mātere* 'two mothers', *māteres* 'mothers'). I added that if the term 'dual' is used for a suff denoting paired or twin objects, this is also not the case. It is true that +*z* is also used for such paired objects as *köküz* 'breast', *köz* 'eye', *müŋüz* 'horn', *tīz* 'knee', and that this is not the case with other names of body parts, such as *bogaz* 'throat', *agïz* 'mouth'. But further body parts of which one has two are often not formed with this suff (*kulak* 'ear', *älig* 'hand', *adak* 'feet'). The suff +*z* in OT *biz* is a pl marker present in all CT lgs; its corresponding suff in Chuv is +*r*: *epĕr* 'we' (< *e* + WOT **bir* ~ EOT *biz*), *esĕr* 'you (pl)' (< *e* + WOT **sir* ~ EOT *siz*). To sum up, -*z* is a suff forming dev nouns, and there existed another suff +*z* marking the plurality of nouns, pronouns, and later used in verb conjugation.

The allophone [z] *in Chuvash*
In a phonetic description of Chuv there is a place for the sound [z]. The phoneme /s/ is pronounced in Chuv as [z] in all cases where /s/ is in intervocalic position. Between front vowels it becomes palatalized /ź/. The allophone [z] also appears in the clusters *Cs* and *sC*. In lws, original /z/ is replaced by /s/: Chuv *tinĕs* 'sea, ocean' ← *teŋiz*, cf. WOT **täŋir* → H **tenger**, *tăkăs* 'tesnyj, plotnyj' ← *tigiz*, cf. WOT **tïgïr* (> Chuv *tăvăr*) > EOT *tïgrak* 'strong, firm'.

The disappearance of /r/ *in Volga Bulgar and Chuvash*
This feature is already present in the VBulg inscriptions: *bar-* 'to go' is written as VBulg *batuwi* (< **bartuwi* < **bar-duɣ-i*, cf. Chuv *pïr-*), WOT **är-* 'to be' **erti* > VBulg *eti*, and even *ečі*, which is preserved in Chuv as *i-* in *imeš* 'as it would be', or *ikken* 'to appear as, relate to'. The phoneme /r/ is in certain cases unstable and disappeared in Chuv, mostly before oral stops. This happened with PT /r/ in WOT **tört* > Chuv *tăvată* 'four', WOT **örtiɣ* > Chuv *vitĕ* 'cover'. The /r/ disappears in the stem of ten monosyllabic verbs (*kur-* 'to carry', *yer-* 'to cry', *par-* 'to give', *per-* 'to throw', *pïr-* 'to go', *tăr-* 'to stand', *χur-* 'to lay, put down', *yar-* 'to let go', *šăr-* 'to wet', *kĕr-* 'to go in'). This happens before the consonant of some suffs, such as *par-* 'to give' > **partăm* > *patăm* 'I gave', **parmarăm* > *pamarăm* 'I did not give', but *kalarăm* 'I spoke', *kalamarăm* 'I did not speak'.

Rhotacism and the Ancient Turkic dialects
If a lg is spoken over a large geographical area it is normal that dials emerge. It has been suggested that Chuv and Early WOT pertained to one, while EOT and all non-Chuv lgs to another. PT is a reconstructed lg, but one has to assume that behind it a natural lg existed. I call this Ancient Turkic (AT). Natural lgs generally have dials and isoglosses. It is however very difficult to reconstruct dials and isoglosses in a period prior to EOT and WOT.

Let us select four phonological units: rhotacism, lambdacism, initial /y/ and the intervocalic voiced dental stop:

lg / archiphon	**R*	**Z*	**L*	**Š*	**Y*	*-D-*
Chuv	/r/	/r/	/l/	/lč/ > /ś, l/	/ǰ/ > /ś/	/d/ > /ð/ > /r/
Y	/r/	/z/ > /s/	/l/	/š/ > /s/	/ǰ/ > /s/	/d/ > /t/
Hak	/r/	/z/ > /s/	/l/	/š/ > /s/	/ǰ/ > /č/	/d/ > /ð/ > /z/
YUyg	/r/	/z/ > /s/	/l/	/š/ > /s/	/y/	/d/ > /ð/ > /z/
Tt	/r/	/z/	/l/	/š/	/y/	/d/ > /ð/ > /y/

Table 6.3: Phonological isoglosses in Proto-Turkic

According to the /r/ : /z/ oppositions, Chuv pertains to one group and all other to the second group. If we take the /y/ : /j̆/ oppositions, YUyg stands with Tt and Chuv, Hak and Y pertain to another group. If we group the lgs according to the opposition intervocalic /d/ : /δ/ we find Y in the first group (/d/ > /t/) and all the others in the second. Of course this type of grouping will give different results depending on the selected phonemes. Thus we have to suppose that in AT, before the separation of the big branches of T there existed different types of isoglosses. Isoglosses may be phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical. We also know that lgs (or more precisely their dials) show that not all elements follow the border drown by an isogloss. We have to expect that some words may transgress the isogloss and figure in the area of the other pair of an opposition. In case of rhotacism we find OT *bür-* 'to twist', which in the Og lgs figures as *büz-* (Tkm, Az, Tt), but Bashk *börö-*, Tat *bör-*, Kaz *bür-*, a typical isogloss. In case of OT *töz-* 'to suffer' only H has **tűr** with /r/ reflecting the WOT form **tür-*, Chuv has *tüs-* a Tat lw. A similar case is OT *tüš* 'fruit' and *töl* 'progeny', where the forms with /š/ are present in a very few lgs (Tat, Tt in *döl-döş* where both forms have been preserved), but it is present in Chuv as *těš*, likely a lw. The noun *töl* and the verb *töle-* 'to pay (originally interest)' exists in almost all MT and NT sources, including Chuv *tüle-* 'to pay debt' and *tülle-* 'to ripen (vegetable, embryo)', which must be a loan fr Tat (on the details see Róna-Tas 1972: 227–236).

The chronology of rhotacism

Can we determine something of the chronology of rhotacism? In some of my former publications (Róna-Tas 1970; 1974; 1982b) I treated the T word for 'stirrup'. Since the publication of my results two important remarks have appeared. The paper of Ş. Tekin (Tekin, Ş. 1985) discovered the word *izengülük* in the second chapter of the Hami version of the *Maitrisimit* published first by Geng Shimin in 1980. In his paper, Tekin gives additional sources for the dissemination of the word. He claims that *üzengü* had the original meaning 'sole of the foot' and the object derived its name fr this body part. I cannot follow all of his suggestions, but we agree on the main outlines. **üzengü* has to be reconstructed for EOT and all MT and NT sources, **izeŋü* for Baraba Tat and all T dials and lgs spoken east of Baraba in South Siberia (Hak, Tuv, Tof, Y) and **ireŋü* (> *yărana*) for Chuv. Two minor points: we have to reconstruct /ŋ/ and not /ng/, and Chuv also has *ĕsenke* as a lw (Ašmarin 1928–1950/5: 91). Erdal has dealt with the semantic side of the word *izengülük* (Erdal 1991: 128). He is surely right when he suggests that *izengülük* is the name of the part of the foot reserved for the stirrup, and not 'sole' ('Fussflächen'). Since rhotacism occurred in this word, the phonetic change resulting in Chuv /r/ and CT /z/ – that is, the split of the Chuv-type and CT dials – must date to a period after the stirrup was

invented (c3rd c. B.C.) and spread throughout Eurasia (3th–5th c. A.D.) based on data and chronology derived fr the archeological finds. I have no room here to go into the details. The stirrup evolved fr a leather loop on one side of the horse, an aid to mounting into the saddle: the first stirrups imitate these loops. The spread of the metallic stirrup can be followed in the archeological material.

Rhotacism and the Turkic loanwords in Mongolian

Clark, in a paper published in 1980, made a clear distinction between the earlier and the later correspondences between T and Mo. He demonstrated that in the second, later layer the voiced T fricative /z/ in final position is substituted in Mo by /s/, e.g. Mo *teŋgis* ← T *teŋiz* 'lake, sea', but WOT **tengir* → H **tenger** id. In a few cases we have alternative forms as Mo *ǰes*/*ǰed* 'copper' ← T *yez*, but Mo *ǰer* in *ǰer ǰebseg* 'weapons, armament' reflects a WOT /r/ in the same word. In intervocalic positition, T /z/ is regularily adapted in Mo as /s/ or /ǰ/, as in Mo *seǰig*/*sesig* 'doubt' ← T *sezig*. Sometimes only one of the two entered the dicts as in Mo *boǰo* 'dregs' ← MT *boza* → H **boza**. Starostin (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 13) writes that "It has been convincigly demonstrated by several authors (in a most detailed way by Clark 1980) that there are no (or almost no) Mongolian loanwords in Early Old Turkic". Unfortunately this is 1) a misquotation, and 2) the claim has no grounds whatever. Clark wrote (1980: 38) "It is not my purpose here to argue whether these primary correspondences may also reflect (Bulghar) Turkic borrowings into Mongolian, but rather to confirm that deviations from these correspondences are manifestly borrowings and to provide a register of such borrowings". If we have regular correspondences between Mo and T1 and others between Mo and T2, and those between Mo and T2 clearly turn out to be lws (as demonstrated by Clark and others), we have still said nothing about the correspondences between Mo and T1. They may be all earlier lws, or partly lws and partly of common genetic origin, they may be all of common origin, they may belong to a common adstrate, or they may be the result of areal convergence – and these are only a few of the possibilities. Starostin continues: "This can only mean that Turko–Mongolian contacts started in the 13th century, and there were no direct contacts before that time." This claim is unacceptable. Fr written souces we know that the Turks moved fr South Siberia and Central Asia to the West in the 5th c. This can be proved also by lingustic data as Chuv *χïră* 'pine' < WOT **kadï* which is an early Sam word in the T lgs, see Tuv *χadï* (← Sam *kadï* < **kåət* 'Fichte'), and on p. 1078. We find WOT words in Common Sam such as **yür* 'hundred' ← WOT **yür* > **ǰür* (> Chuv *śĕr*) ~ EOT *yüz* (see Janhunen 1977: 50; 1977a: 125). The WOT speaking Turkic groups, among them the ancestors of the Khazars, the Bulghars and the Chuvash, arrived in the Eastern part of Europe in the 5th c. (see p. 1078). Thus chronologically we have to distinguish between T lws in Mo

after the 12th c. and T lws in Mo before this date, mainly before the 5th c. A.D. As I tried to demonstrate above, the rhotacism is later than the spread of the stirrup. This means that the words which have an /r/ in Mo and in Chuv, or have an /r/ as lws in H in front of /z/ in CT, may be of early WOT origin. All or most of them may have been copied by the Mo speaking communities at any time between the 3rd c. B.C. and the 12th c. A.D. Theoretically there is a possibility that smaller WOT groups remained in the East. On these Ogur tribes see Róna-Tas (1982b: 137; 1996: 265–269). It is, however, unlikely that they exerted a significant impact on Mo. Thus we have to date the period of WOT–Mo contacts to the 3rd c. B.C. and the 5th c. A.D.

Rhotacism and West Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian: A summary
In H we find the following cases of Chuv /r/ ~ CT /z/: **borjú**, **görény**, **gyűrű**[2], **iker**, **karó**, **koporsó**, **ökör**, **sár**[1], **sért**, **sőreg**, **szár**, **szűr**, **tar**, ? **tarka**, **tenger**, **térd**, **tűr**[1]. The hitherto cited examples **ír**, **író**, **gyarló**, **harang**, **kanyaró**, **komor** are T lws but do not pertain to this category; the T origin of **szérű** is problematic. A few of the H words are not present in Chuv, or are present only as Tat or Bashk lws. H is the only testimony for the WOT form in **tűr**[1] and **tenger**. H **borz** is most probably not a pertinent case here. The /y/ in **borjú** is not a reflex of a palatalized /ŕ/, but the cluster /ry/ is a continuation of /rɣ/ **boryu*. In **koporsó** we find a secondary stem with /r/ (*kapïz* > *kapïrčag* ⟶ H), perhaps also in **sőreg**. T words with /z/ are **boza**, **buzogány**, **kalauz**, **káliz**, **koboz**, **kuvasz** (< *kuwaz*), **özön**, **szűz** and **tőzeg**, almost all with clear Cum criteria. **Káliz** is earlier, first attested in 1111, most probably fr the period after the Conquest, and is of ultimately non-T origin (< *Kvaliz* ⟵ *Kvarizm*).

H copied its T lws after the /r/ appeared in some WOT lgs in front of EOT /z/.

6.3 The vowels

Introductory remarks: in the following I shall first treat the changes in the quality of the vowels, and later their quantity or length. Since in many cases we do not know when the length of the H vowel appeared, or when it acquired a phonological value, we shall note both the short and long vowels of the same quality with a capital letter: /A/ = /a/ and /ā/, etc.

6.3.1 West Old Turkic *a*-sounds

Introductory remarks: as is known, the H short /å/ (orthographically <a>) is a labialized vowel. In the H Palóc dial of NE Hungary, the short /a/ is illabial. The long /ā/ <á> is illabial everywhere. This means that either the labial quality or the quantity of the long /ā/ has to be earlier. The EAH /A/ was formed by the merger of the PUgr phonemes /o/ and /a/. In the investigated stock of Ugr words (see on p. 1059), of 138

H words with /a/ in the first syllable, 78 go back to PUgr /a/ and 60 to PUgr /o/. This resulted in the labial short /å/ and in long /ā/; the only question is when this took place. T lws were also involved in this process.

WOT /a/ ⟶ H /å/, /ā/

Of 102 cases, the overwhelming majority is reflected by /å/, as **alma** ⟵ WOT **alma*, **balta** ⟵ WOT **balta*, etc. On the labiality of WOT see on p. 1123. **Al** **aχsïna* ⟶ AH **aχsïnə* > H *asszony* 'lady, dame', Al **gazdïg* ⟶ AH **gazdagə* > H *gazdag* 'rich', Al **kardə* ⟶ AH **kartə* > H *kard* 'sword'.

WOT /a/ ⟶ H /o/

a) if followed by /l/: H **bóda** ⟵ T **baldag* (⟵ Mo), H **bojtorján** ⟵ WOT **baltïrgan*, **kolokány** ~ **kalokány** ⟵ WOT **karlukan*, b) if followed by /v/: H **szó** ⟵ WOT **sav*, H **szór** ⟵ WOT **sawur-*, c) in the presence of a labial consonant: H **boka** ⟵ WOT **baka*, H **boszorkány** ⟵ WOT **basarkan* (but **baszik**), H **kobak** ⟵ WOT **kabak*, H **komócsin** ⟵ T **kamïšan*, H **koporsó** ⟵ WOT **kapurčag*, d) other cases: H **kozma** ⟵ WOT **kasmaγ*, H **tót** ⟵ WOT **tat*.

WOT /a/ ⟶ H long /ā/

As we have seen above (p. 1041) there were no original long vowels in the first syllable of PUgr words. The long vowels appeared in EAH as a result of various processes. After the discovery of the long vowels in PT following Polivanov (1927, non vidi) and Räsänen (1937: 246–255), Ligeti (1938b: 177–204) tried to show that the long vowels are preserved also in the T lws of H. This turned out to be a dead end. Though in a few cases the H long vowels match OT long vowels, this is due to chance; the H length is the result of H changes, cf. **ágos**, **ágyú**, **ákos**, **ál**, **átalag**, **ápol** (~ **apol**), **árik**, **árkány**, **árok**, **árpa**, **ártány**, **ászok**, **báj**, **bálvány**, **bársony**, **csákány**, **gyárt** (~ **gyarat**), **gyász**, **káka**, **káliz**, **kárókatona**, **sár**[1], **sár**[2], **sárga**, **sárma**, **sátor**, **szágom**, **szál**, **szám**, **szán**[1], **szán**[2], **szándok**, **szár**, **tábor**, **táltos**, and **táplál**. See **Al** **nada* ⟶ AH **nadə* > H *nád*, Al **wara* ⟶ AH **warə* > H *vár* 'castle, Al **wām* ⟶ AH **wāmə* > H *vám* 'customs'. As we see, Al short ⟶ H long; Al long ⟶ H long.

WOT *aγ*(*a*) ⟶ H /ā/

Always long /ā/: **ács** < **aγačči* ⟵ WOT **aγačï*, **bátor** < *baγatur* ⟵ WOT **baγatur*, **bán**[2] < **baγin-* ⟵ WOT **baγïn-* < **baqïn-*, **szárny** ⟵ WOT **śaγrïn* < *yagrïn*. The PT *-aga-* disyllables changed to long /ā/ in many T lgs. The same H change occurred during the LAH and early OH periods, and it is difficult to separate these two identical processes. Cf. H **bátor** 1138/ PN *Bahatur*, but 1177 GN *Batur*.

WOT /a/ ⟶ H /ï/ > /i/, /e/

On place of T /a/ we find in H /i/ and /e/: **csipa**, **dió**, **disznó**, **gyertya**, **gyertyán**, **tiló**, **tinó**. In Chuv we find /ï/ in place of EOT /a/ in the equivalents of **disznó** (*sïsna* < *śïsna*), **tiló** (*tïlă* < **talkïg*), and in H **tyúk** ~ **tik** < **tiwuk* < **tiγuk* ⟵ WOT **tïγuk*, in VBulg *tiχik* and Chuv *čăxă* (< *tïkaγ* < **takïg*). This has prompted scholars to suppose that H /ï/ reflects a WOT /ï/. This is, however, untenable. The /a/ > /ï/ change is relatively late in Chuv and evolved only after the reducing and lowering of the original WOT /ï/ > /ă/. The similar features of Tuv and Y are also late: PT **ār* 'to get tired', Chuv *ïr-*, Y *ïr-*, but PT **kāz* 'goose', Chuv *χur*, Y *χās*, PT **āy* 'moon', Chuv *uyăχ*, Y *ïy*, PT **yār-* 'to split up', Chuv *śur-*, Y *ïr-*, PT **kān* 'blood', Chuv *yun* (< **χiun*), Y *χān*. In 2 cases (**író**, **ijeszt**) a diphthong /ai̯/ changed to an /i/-sound, perhaps to /ï/ and /i/, resp. In the case of H **író** Chuv has *uyran*, a lw, perhaps fr another VBulg dial or fr Tat; cf. PT **ayt-* > Chuv *ït-* 'to ask', PT **yarïn* > **ayrïn* > Chuv *ïran* 'tomorrow', but PT **yarïn* > **ǰarïn* > **śuran* 'dawn', for the split cf. Grm *Morgen* 'dawn, tomorrow'.

The investigated sources suggest that both changes (short /a/ > /å/ and short /a/ > /ā/) occurred in AH most probably during its later phase (LAH), after the beginning of the contact between H and T. It even may have lasted until OH. This question will ultimately be resolved if we follow the history of the Chuv /u/ < /o/ < /å/ backwards and establish when the labial /å/ appeared in WOT. This was already sporadically present in VBulg. The Chuv /ï/ in place of EOT /a/ is reflected in the Chuv lws of Cher, cf. e.g. *sĕr-*, *sir-* ⟵ Chuv *śïr* (~ EOT *yaz-* 'to write'), Cher *pïr-* ⟵ Chuv *pïr-* (EOT *bar-* 'to go'). But among the Pe and (ultimately) Ar lws we also find items pertaining to this group: see e.g. Cher *mïskara* 'ridicule' ⟵ Chuv *mïskara* ⟵ Tat ⟵ Pe ⟵ Ar *masχara*, cf. Tat, Bashk *mäshärä*, further Chuv *χïrśă* 'tax' ⟵ Ar *χarǰ*, Chuv *χïpăr* 'news' ⟵ Ar *χabar*, etc. Later we find Pe *sarband* ⟶ Chuv *surpan* 'woman's towel-like headband', Ar *mal* ⟶ Tat ⟶ Chuv *mul* 'property' (see Róna-Tas 1970: 872; Scherner 1977: 27). The /a/ > /ï/ change could occur only after the change /ï/ > /ă/ (> /ĕ/) was completed. In the VBulg inscriptions /ï/ is noted as in VBulg *χïrχ* 'forty' > Chuv *χĕrĕχ*. However the notation with *kesra* (or *ya*) does not necessarily mean that the vowel written with *kesra* has to be pronounced as /ï/ or /i/; it may have already been a reduced but yet not lowered /ĭ/, making possible the phonematic opposition /ï/: /ĭ/. H /i/ in **csipa**, **tinó**, **tiló**, **tik** ~ **tyúk** is a result of H changes, as in some other H words of PUgr origin: H *szíl* 'elm' (originally back-vocalic; cf. *szilas*, *Szilágy*) < EAH **silə* < **salə* < PUgr **śalə* < PFUgr **śala*, H *szirony* 'rime, hoar-frost, granular snow, etc.' (*-ony* is a H suff) < EAH **śirə* < **śarə* < PUgr **śarə* < PFUgr **śarɜ*, H *világ* 'world', *világos* 'bright' < EAH **wïlə* < **walə* < PUgr **wal′ə* (> POUgr **wal′əγ* > PVog **wal′əγ*, POsty **wal′əγ* / **wŏl′əɣ*) < PFUgr **wal′e*, etc., see on p. 1043.

Secondary PUgr/a/: PFUgr **koye-mɜ* > PUgr **koyəmə* > **koymə* (> PVog **kom*) > EAH **χaymə* > **χīmə* > H *hím* 'male', PFUgr **poyka* > PUgr **poykə* (> POUgr **pŏyɣ* > PVog **pŏyɣ* > **püw*, POsty **pŏɣ*) > EAH **φayə* > **φiyə* > H *fi*, see *fi* in *baromfi* 'poultry', H *fiú* 'boy, son' (the *-ú* is a H suff, see PUgr *pal′ă* > H *faggyú*), but H *faj* 'species, breed, race(human)' < EAH *φayə* < PUgr **poykə* < PFUgr **poyka*, PFUgr **woye-* > PUgr **woyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **woyə-* > **wayə-* > H *ví-*, *vív-* 'to fight', PFUgr **yoŋksɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ*) > EAH **yawəh* > **yīwəh*, **yiyəh* > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*), PUgr **tontəɣ* (> POUgr **tōnt* > PVog **tānt*, POsty **tontəɣ*) > EAH **tandəɣ* > **tadəɣ* > H *tidó* '*dial* birch bark'.

PUgr /o/ in 1 case: H *irt-*, (*irtok-*) 'to extirpate', *arch*, *dial ort-* id. < EAH *hirt-* < *sart* < PUgr **sor-t-* (> POUgr **θart-* > POsty *ʌart-*) < PFUgr **šurɜ*. For further /a/ > /i/ changes fr secondary /a/ see p. 1059.

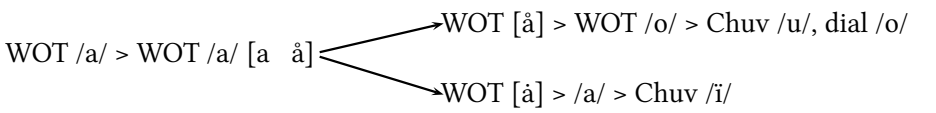


Figure 6.4: The split of the WOT phoneme /a/

This split had to occur after the 10th c., when the Muslim faith was introduced to the Volga region. Based on the comparison of the Chuv /ï/ with Tuv and Y similar changes, can only indicate that both Chuv and the East Sib changes are independent. Németh (1914a: 290) suggested a common isogloss; Doerfer (1968: 244; 1971: 161) and Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 138, quoting Mudrak 1993) reconstructed an independent phoneme for Chuv, Tuv and Y /ï/, though the latter added that some Y cases may be secondary in the vicinity of /y/.

6.3.2 West Old Turkic *e*-sounds

Introductory remarks: WOT and EOT both had open /ä/ and closed /e/. Chuv changed /ä/ to /a/ and /e/ to /i/ or /ĕ/. In some EOT, MT, and NT sources, one can distinguish the open and closed *e*-sounds. Since H has not preserved T vowel length, fr this point of view the original length of the T *e*-sounds is irrelevant. On the other hand, though Chuv distinguished /ä/ and /e/, interestingly enough there are many cases where this distinction does not occur in the same words as in the Og lgs; cf. PT **ärüš-* 'to melt' > Chuv *irel-*, but Az *äri-*, *ärit-*, PT **ēšik* 'door' > Chuv *alăk*, but Az *ešik*. Also H has an open and a closed /e/, but this is not noted by the orthography. Following standard usage in H linguistic literature, I here note the open /e/ as /e/ and the closed /e/ as /ë/. In the T lgs and in H, the closed and open character changed in special

environments as a result of assimilations and dissimilations. Therefore in treating the *e*-sounds special caution is needed. I use the capital E to indicate those *e*-sounds where the quality or quantity of the sound is uncertain.

WOT 36 /ä/ ⟶ H 25 /e/, 11 /ē/

H preserved WOT open /ä/ in 25 cases (<e> = /ä/): **bercel**, **bese**, **besenyő**, **eke**, **enged**, ? **erkölcs**, **ernyed**, **erő**, ? **gyermëk**, **etel**, ? **kebel**, **kecske**, **kelengye**, **kendër**, **kepe**, **kerep**, **kert**, **sereg**, **szeplő**, **szer**, **teker**, **teknő**, **tengëly**, **tenger**. H has long /ē/ in place of WOT open, short /ä/ in the first syllable in 11 cases: **bélyëg** (Chuv *pală*), **bér** (Chuv *paru*), **ék** (Chuv *χak*), **érdëm** (Chuv *ar*), **ész** (acc *eszët*) (Chuv *as*), **gyékény** (Chuv *čakan*), **kép** (Chuv *kap*), **kérődzik** (Chuv *kavla-*), **késik** (Chuv *kaś-*), **tér** (Chuv *tavăr-*), **vék** (Chuv *vakă*). **Al** **äges* ⟶ H *egész*, Al **äzärä* ⟶ H *ezer*, Al **äzvist* ⟶ H *ezüst*, Al **kärtä* ⟶ (T) ⟶ H **kert**, Al **läkwen* ⟶ H *legény*, Al **nämet* ⟶ H *nemez*, Al **räg* ⟶ H *rég*, Al **däyin* ⟶ H *tehén*, Al **däy* ⟶ H *tej*, Al **wärmä* ⟶ H *verem*, Al **wärt* ⟶ H *vért*.

WOT /e/

Introductory remarks: AH and EOH did not have /ö/. All open and closed front labial vowels were substituted by AH /ü/ and later preserved or changed to /ö/. EOH closed /ë/ sound were labialized as /ü/ and later as /ö/.

Of 27 WOT words with closed /e/, 22 were labialized in various ways.

WOT 22 /e/ ⟶ H /ü/, /ö/

WOT closed /e/ is now represented in H in 15 cases by a short, front labial sound, which goes back to a closed H /ë/: **bölény** ⟵ WOT **bülän*, **böszörmény** ⟵ WOT **besermen*, **börtön** ⟵ WOT **bärtän*, **gyümölcs** ⟵ WOT **jemilč*, **gyümölcsény** ⟵ WOT **jemilčän*, **ködmön** ⟵ WOT *kädmän*, **kölyű** ⟵ WOT **kelig*, **köpönyeg** ⟵ WOT **kepenek*, **körtvély**, **körte** ⟵ WOT **kertwelig*, **ölyv** ⟵ WOT **elig*, **örmény**[1] ⟵ WOT **ermeni*, **szökik** ⟵ WOT **sek-*, **tükör** ⟵ WOT **tikär*, **tükär*, **üröm** ⟵ WOT **erim*. **Al** **zäldä* ⟶ H *zöld*.

WOT 5 instances of /e/ ⟶ H /ō̈/ fr a secondary H diphthong: **bő** ⟵ WOT **beγ*, **csűr**[1] ⟵ WOT **čevir-*, **csősz** ⟵ WOT **čevüs*, **őröl** ⟵ WOT **evir-*, **őrül** ⟵ WOT **evril-*. WOT /e/ ⟶ H /ō̈/ by secondary lengthening: **szőlő** ⟵ WOT **śeleγ*, **tőzeg** ⟵ Cum **tezek*. In 2 cases, WOT closed /e/ is reflected by H long /ē/: **csécs** (**csëcs**) ⟵ WOT **čeč* (> Chuv *śeśke*, *čečče*), **szél** (acc *szelet*) ⟵ WOT **čel* (> Chuv *śil*). As we see, both words also preserved the closed, short vowel, the first as a dial variant, the second in the oblique stem. The PT etymon of H **szél** had long /ē/ **yēl*, but H /ē/

does not reflect this PT sound; its length is secondary. There are only three H words in the Lexicon which present closed /ë/ in the first syllable. In 2 cases, Chuv and H show a closed /ë/, while other T lgs have an open one: **ëgy(ház)** (Chuv *ĭră*, EOT *ädgü*), **gyënge** (Chuv *śĕnĕ*, EOT *yaŋï*), in 1 case Chuv has an open /ä/: **gyëpű** (Chuv *śapa*), but the etymology is complicated by the H word *gyep*. In 2 instances I have not found a Chuv equivalent: **ér** and **kéneső**, but H **ér** evolved by contamination of a PUgr and a T word, and its T etymon had a closed /e/. The first part of the etymon of H **kéneső** had a closed /ë/. **Al** **des* → H *tíz*, Al **redV* → H *réz*.

The WOT original may have been closed /ë/, but it has an open /ä/ in H in 4 cases: **teng** (Chuv *tĕn-*), **tengër** (Chuv *tinĕs* ← Tat), **terëm**, **teve** (Chuv *tĕve*). In 2 cases H has illabial and labial variants: **csëpű**, **csöpü** ← WOT **čöpüg*, **seprő**[2], **söprő**[2] ← WOT *čöpräγ*. Finally there are 2 words which have a closed /ë/ in H and go back to WOT /i/: **bëtű** ← WOT **bitig*, **sëpër** ← WOT **šipir-*. In one case we can see first fronting: **sér** < **šir* ← WOT **šĭr-*. **Al** **idweǰ* → AH **eδwed´* > H *özvegy*.

In summary, the dominant majority of the WOT E sounds are reflected by their H counterparts. I found open and short WOT /ä/ sounds in 36 cases altogether. Two-thirds of these are reflected by H open /e/. In 11 cases WOT short /ä/ is reflected in H by a long /ē/. Closed WOT /e/ is normally labialized by H. There are 22 cases that show this change, and a further 2 that have alternants. On the other hand the quantitative opposition of the E sounds is not reflected by H. In 2 cases H and Chuv have closed /e/ while all other T lgs which distinguish these sounds have open vowels.

6.3.3 West Old Turkic *i*-sounds

Introductory remarks: PUgr and EAH did not have the opposition of front /i/ and back /ï/, see p. 1051. This opposition appeared in LAH and began to disappear in LOH. The H orthography is neutral to it. However, in declination or derivation stems it is preserved, as in *víz* 'water' > *vizek* (pl), but *sír* 'tomb' > *sírok* (pl). This can also be seen in the second syllables of the WOT copies: see **cigle**, **csigër**, **ige**, **igen**, **ijeszt**, **ikër**, **illik**, **idő**, **izzik**, **kicsiny**, **kíjc** (**kijces**), **kikerics**, **kiköcsény**, **szín** (**színes**), but **bicska**, **bika**, **csipa**, **dió**, **disznó**, ? **gyilkos**, **ildom**, **imád**, **ír**(**at**), **író**, **sík**(**ot**), **sió**, **tiló**, **tinó**. In the case of **szirt**, the word was back-vocalic in OH and even in MH, becoming front-vocalic relatively late, in the 18th–19th c., mainly because of the constant composite *kőszirt* 'stone cliff'.

Out of the 31 T words with /i/ in the first syllable, 16 are reflected by H /i/ or /ī/: **bicska**, **bilincs**, **bíró**, **cigle**, **csiga**, **ikër**, **ildom**, **illik**, **ír**, **izzik**, **kicsiny**, **kíjc**, **sík**, **szín**, **szirony** and **szirt**. 15 cases reflect T phonemes other than /i/ or /ï/. **bika** (**u*), **csipa** (**a*), **dió** (**a*), ? **gyilkos** (**u*), **idő** (**ö*), **ige** (**ü*), **igen** (**e*), **ijeszt** (**ay*), **imád** (< *vimād* (**ü*) ~ (**u*)), **ing** (**ö*), **író** (**ay*), **kikerics** (**ö*), **kiköcsény** (**ö*), **tinó** (**a*), **tiló** (**a*).

The cases of WOT /a/ ⟶ /i/ we have already seen above. In 2 cases (**író**, **ijeszt**) a diphthong /aị̯/ changed to an *i*-sound, perhaps to /ï/ and /i/ resp. The change initial /ay/ > /ï/ occurred in WOT in **író**. Chuv has *uyran*, a lw, perhaps fr another VBulg dial or fr Tat; cf. PT **ayt-* > *ït-* 'to ask', PT **yarïn* > WOT **ayrïn* > **ïran* 'tomorrow', but PT **yarïn* > WOT **ǰarïn* > **śuran* 'dawn'; for the split cf. Grm *Morgen* 'dawn, tomorrow'. In 3 cases we find H /e/: **bëcsül**, **béklyó**, **bëtű**. In 1 case the labialisation is relatively late: *bik* > **bükk**.

6.3.4 West Old Turkic *o*-sounds

WOT /o/ ⟶ H /o/

Of 38 words with /o/ in the first syllable, 16 are reflected by short /o/ in H: **bog**, **boglya**, **bojt**, **boly**, **bocsánik**, **bocsát**, **bor**, **borz**, **gyom**, **komor**, **korhány**, **olló**, **orv**, **sok**, **tok**[1], and **tolmács**.

WOT /o/ ⟶ H /A/

15 words have /å/ or /ā/, in parallel with the split of PUgr /o/ (see on p. 1046): **ápol**, **áporodik**, **apró**, **arat**, **gyanú**, **harang**, **hattyú**, **karám**, ? **kár**, **kalauz**, **tapló**, as a part of a diphthong: **váj** ⟵ WOT **vay-*, **ōy-*, **vályú** ⟵ WOT **valaγ* < **oluk*. VBulg /å/: though PT /a/ is written as <a> (with *aleph* or *fatha*) in many words in VBulg: *altï*, *ayχï*, *bar-*, we find *bal-* for *bol-* 'to become' and *mon* 'great, old' for *man* < *ban* (see Róna-Tas 1994b: 175–180). These writings are signs of the labial /å/. The change began earlier. In the remaining 5 words, three had a disappeared consonant after the vowel: **búcsú** (⟵ **bolčuγ*), **túzok** (⟵ **toγdak*), (*túrul* >) **turul** (⟵ **toγrïl*), one had metathetic antecedents **tulok** (⟵ **tokol* < **tokluk* < **tok*), and in 1 case /u/ may go back to *oγ* (*turag* < **tograk* [> Chuv *tăvara*, Tat *tugaruk*] > *toγraγ* > **turō* >) **túró**.

6.3.5 West Old Turkic *u*-sounds

Of the 40 words with WOT /u/ in the first syllable, 29 have /o/ in H, but in most cases we have written evidence that the change /u/ > /o/ occurred in H. In the remaining few we can extrapolate the same change: **borít**, **borjú**, **bors**, **borsó**, **borul**, **bosszú**, **bosszant**, **bot**, **gyomor**, **gyónik**, **homok**, **komló**, **komondor**, **kor**, **kóró**, **korom**, **ocsú**, **ok**, **olcsó**, **ondó**, **orosz**, **orsó**, **som**, **somlyó** (see **som**), **tojik**, **torma**, **torol**, **torontál**. In 5 cases H has long /ū/ as a result of secondary lengthening (**úr**) or the disappearance of a consonant: **bú**, **búza**, **gyúr**, (*kūn* >) **kun**. The following 5 words have different problems: **csúnya**, **gyilkos**, **gyúl**, **hurok**, **ug**. In 1 case the original vowel (*Bulgar* or *Bolgar*) is not clear; in any case the name was copied late: **bular**. **Al** **būda* ⟶ AH *būδə* > H *bűz*.

6.3.6 West Old Turkic *ö*-sounds

In 13 cases we find /ö/ in H, but this is the result of a H change /ü/ > /ö/ similar to (but not identical with) the case of /u/ > /o/: **csök**[1], **csöpű**, **dől**, **görény**, **kökörcsin**, **kökény**, **kölyök**, **kömődörög**, **köpec**, **köpcös**, **ökör**, **söprő**[2], **törvény**. In 3 words the WOT base had a long vowel, which was copied as diphthong in H: WOT **kō̆k* ⟶ H **keyk* > **kék**, **kiköcsény**, **kikerics**, but **kökény**. In case of WOT **tō̆r* ⟶ **tőr**, most probably a chain of changes occurred in H: /ō̆/ ⟶ /ü/ > /ö/ > /ō̆/. In 3 cases WOT /ö/ is represented in H by /ü/: **küllő**[2], **ürge**, **üvecs**, and in 1 case the WOT sound was delabialized: **dél**.

6.3.7 West Old Turkic *ü*-sounds

In 16 cases H copied a WOT /ü/ as /ü/ but changed it later to /ö/: **böjt**, **bölcs**, **bölény**, **böszörmény**, **csök**[1], **gödény**, **görény**, **könyv**, **köpü**, **köszön**, **önik**, **örök**, **tökél**, **tömény**, **török**. In 5 cases long /ū̆/ is represented by long /ū̆/: **bűn**, **dűl** ~ **dől-**, **szűr**, **szűz**, **tűr**[1]. In the following cases the second syllable had a diphthong or a long vowel: (**büγ* >) **bű**, (**bütüγ* > **bütū̆* >) **bütü**, (**küd′eü* > **güd′ū̆* >) **gügyü**, (**küseü̯* > **güzū̆* >) **güzü**, (**ǰüsüγ* ⟶ **ǰürüγ* > **ǰürū̆* >) **gyűrű**[2], (**külüleü̯* >) **küllő**[1], (**küvey* >) **küllő**[3]. The long /ū̆/ is secondary in H: **tűr**[2]. The delabialisation occurred in H: (*ümeg*) > **ing**, (**üdeγ* >) **idő**, (**üge* >) **ige**, (**kučeleγ* >) **keselyű**, (**śürüγ* >) **szérű**.

6.4 Changes in the vowel system

As we have seen above (p. 1069) the vowel system at the end of EAH was the following:

back vowels /a/, /ā/, /o/, /ō/, /u/, /ū/,
front vowels: /i/, /ī/, /e/, /ē/, /ä/, /ā̈/, /ü/, /ū̆/,
diphthongs: /au̯/, /eü̯/, /ai̯/, /äi̯/, /ei̯/.

6.4.1 Changes in the oppositions of the vowels

As we have seen above, PUgr already had a back : front opposition. /i/ was not in opposition with /ï/, but had an allophone [ï]. This changed after the contacts with the Turks began. Words with back /ï/ were copied with back /ï/: cf. WOT **ïr-* ⟶ LAH *īr-* > LAH *ïrdal-*. This strengthened the phonological status of [ï]. Otherwise in the system the front and back oppositions was not altered. As we have seen there were no long vowels in first syllables in PUgr. Length became an important feature in LAH through several processes (see pp. 1061–1065). We cannot say that the appearance of the long vowels is the result of H–T contact. H first substituted WOT long vowels

with H short ones or diphthongs; later this was not necessary because long vowels appeared in H, and thus long vowels could be adapted by H long vowels (see pp. 1061–1065). H did not have the closed front labial phoneme /ü/. WOT words with /ü/ in their first syllables were first adapted by H /ö/. This changed the functional load of the phoneme. Later in H and T words with /ö/ became more open and changed to /ü/. These changes were complicated by a strong labialisation, mostly of the closed /ë/ sounds. The opposition of PUgr open and closed *e*-sounds persisted. WOT open /ä/ was adapted by H /ä/ in the majority of the cases, as were the open /ä/ sounds of Al. However we also find some cases where Chuv and WOT → H *e*-sounds reflect another sound as one would expect looking to EOT or the non-Chuv modern lgs. Statistics may sometimes mislead, but the numbers reveal general tendencies. This chart indicates the functional load of the PUgr vowels and the functional load of vowels in WOT lws in H.

PUgr	N	%		WOT	N	%
/a/	90	19		A	109	25
/o/	107	24		O	70	16
/u/	54	12		U	29	7
/ä/	71	15	33	E*	82	19
/e/	85	18				
/i/	32	07		I	33	08
/ü/	23	05		Ü	39	09
				Ö	69	16
	561	100%			431	100%

*closed and open *e*-sounds

Table 6.4: Functional load of PUgr and WOT vowels

As we see, the load on the *e*-sounds diminished by 14% and a new phoneme /ö/ appeared in the WOT words in 16% of the entire vocalic stock. The phonemes /i/, /ü/ and /ö/ made up 33% of the total. This is considerable change.

6.4.2 Changes in the functional load of vowels

Let us now see the changes in the functional load in the the PUgr stock of the present H lg:

Distribution of vowels in first syllables, present H								Changes to H fr PUgr			
phoneme	grapheme	N	%	short		long		short + long	N	%	PUgr %
				N	%	N	%				
/å/	<a>	80	19	80	32			A*	126	31	< 19
/ä/	<e>	60	15	60	23						
/ā/	<á>	46	11			46	32				
/o/	<o>	42	10	42	16			E**	123	30	< 33
/ē/	<é>	35	9			35	24				
/ë/	<e>	28	7	28							
/ö/	<ö>	23	6	23	10			O	55	13	< 24
/ő̄/	<ő>	15	4			15	10				
/ū/	<ú>	15	4			15	10	Ö	38	9	< 0
/u/	<u>	14	3	14	5						
/ō/	<ó>	13	3			13	9	U	29	7	< 12
/ī/	<ī>	11	3			11	8				
/ü/	<ü>	10	2	10	4			I	19	5	< 7
/i/	<i>	8	2	8	3						
/ű̄/	<ű>	8	2			8	6	Ü	18	4	< 5
		408	100	265	100	143	100		408	100	100
		408	100	265	65	143	35				

*Capitals represent both short and long vowels, **open and closed, short and long

Table 6.5: The functional load of first-syllable vowels of H words of PUgr origin

The important change occurred fr PUgr /a/ to H /å/ + /ā/: 19 > 31, and fr PUgr /o/ to H /o/ + /ō/: 24 > 13. A new phoneme /ö/ appeared. Of 408 first-syllable full vowels, 143 (35 %) became long and 265 (65 %) remained short. Among the long vowels the greatest load is on /ā/ and /ē/. The growth of the number of the *a*-sounds and a lessening of those of the *o*-sounds is a H feature, as we have seen above. The total of the labial sounds /o, u, ü/ makes up only 41 % of all first-syllable vowels. In H we find that the labial phonemes /å, o, ō, ö, ő̄, u, ū, ü, ű̄/ are around 53 % of the entire stock. This reflects a slight labialisation of the vocalic system. The front vowels /ä, ë, i, ü/ form 46 % of the vowels of the PUgr stock. In H the front vowels of words of PUgr origin make up 48 % of the entire stock, which is a marginal difference. As we have seen, the phoneme /ö/ appeared only in OH; T /ö/ sounds were replaced by /ü/. Nevertheless the relatively large amount of T words with /ö/ in the first syllable surely must have aided the rise of the new phoneme. The merging of the two *i*-sounds

/ï/ and /i/ occurred at the end of AH, though we could not find any trace of a similar change in WOT. But a similar change occurred in Mo, and a large-scale restructuring is in evidence in Chuv. These may have common roots.

6.4.3 Sporadic fronting

We found sporadic fronting in the following words: **bese** (*baša*), **bölény** (*bulan*), **csiger** (*čagïr*), **csősz** (*čavuš*), **gödény** (*kotan*), **gyűlöl** (*yagïla-*), **sör** (*sïra*), **serte** (*sïrt*) **sűrű** (*čïrag*), **tőr** (*tor*) and **ver**[2] (*ur-*) 'to beat', see further *verseny* (*uruš*) in § 8.1.1. In the historical database: *ǰeü* < *J̌ewü* (*yabgu*) in the H PN *Gyeücsa*. See also the Ch transcription of Bayan as Bäyan (**bán**[1]), the Gr transcription of the name Yayïk in Constantine VII as *γεήχ* that is *J̌äyiχ*.

Of possible Cum origin is **csődör** (*čawdur*). These examples call for attention, but are not enough for a general statement.

6.5 Derivational morphology

6.5.1 Introductory remarks

WOT, like other natural lgs, consisted of both simplex and complex words. Words without any T suffs may be grouped into words of foreign der and native ones. In our corpus, we find both foreign words whose origin we know and migrant cultural words whose origin is uncertain or unknown.

6.5.2 Words of foreign origin

H **alma** (see WOT **alma* 'apple') (← IE), H **örmény**[1] (see WOT **ärmäni* 'Armenian') (← Pe), H **besenyő** (see WOT **bäčänäg* 'Pecheneg') (< T ?), H **bátor** (see WOT **bayatur* 'hero') (← ?), H **balta** (see WOT **balta*) (← Ir ← Sem), H **bálvány** (see WOT **balvan* 'idol') (← Ir), H **bársony** (see WOT **barčun* 'silk, a material') (← Ir), H **bese** (see WOT **bäšä* 'a bird of prey') (← Pe), H **böszörmény** (see WOT **besermen* 'muslim') (← Pe), H **bor** (see WOT **bor* 'wine') (← Ir), H **böjt** (see WOT ? **bügtä* 'fast(ing)') (← Sogd), H **bors** (see WOT **burč* 'pepper') (← Ir ← Ind ← ?), H **sajt** (see WOT **čïgït* 'cheese') (← Khwar), H **gyöngy** (see WOT **ǰinǰü* 'pearl') (← Ch), H **kender** (see WOT **kändir* 'hemp') (← ? IE), H **kerep** (see WOT **käräp* 'a kind of ship') (← Gr), H **kert** (see WOT **kärtä* 'garden, place for animals') (← Al), H **kazár** (see WOT **kazar* 'Khazar') (← Lat), H **káliz** (see WOT **kvaliz* 'the name of those who were associated with or came from Khwarezm') (← Khwar), H **komló** (see WOT **kumlay* 'hops') (← Ir), H **tatár** (see WOT **tatar* 'Tatar') (← ?), H **tót** (see WOT **tat* 'Tat') (← ?), H **terem** (see WOT **terem* 'hall, chamber') (← Gr), H

tömény (see WOT **tümän* 'ten thousand') (← ? Ir, ? Ch), H **török** (see WOT **türkü* 'Turk') (← Khot), H **jász** (see WOT **yas* 'a group of Alans') (← Ir).

6.5.3 West Old Turkic words of foreign origin, but with a Turkic suffix

These were fully Turkicized. WOT **kertme* 'pear' (← Cauc) > **kertmeliγ*, with the WOT suff *+lXγ* (EOT *+lXk*) (see H **körtvély**), WOT **širlig* < **šir* (< *sïr* ← Ch) with the WOT suff *+lXg* (EOT *+lXg*) (see H **serleg**), WOT **čan* 'cup, bowl' (← Ch) with the WOT suff *+Ak* (EOT *+Ak*) (see H **csanak**).

6.5.4 West Old Turkic words transmitted through third languages

In some cases, it is possible that the WOT word came into H through a third lg, in most instances a Sl one: WOT **bayan* → South Sl → H **bán**[1]; WOT **berü* → South Sl → **berü* > **bér**.

It is of importance that the few words of Ch origin (**csanak**, **gyöngy** and **serleg**) all denote commodities, with two of them containing T suffs. The overwhelming majority of the group is of Ir der. Sometimes we can point to the source lg (Sogd, Pe, Khwar, Al), while in other cases we can only demonstrate the Ir background. This points to an early and intensive T–Ir connection. H had special contacts with Al, on which see § 8.9.

In the following, I have listed all morphological units which played a role in the formation of words copied by H fr WOT. In some examples, different segmentations are possible. In such cases, I usually offered the most probable one. Problematic etymologies also occur among the words cited. These are marked in the Lexicon. Altogether, I found that of all the WOT words there were about 185 that could be segmented according to their morphological structure and more than 200 which seem to be simplexes. About 35 were words which show explicit Cum traits or can be determined to be of Cum origin on chronological or dial grounds.

6.5.5 Formatives of denominal nouns

WOT *+(X)γ* (> Chuv *+A*), EOT *+Ak*

WOT **śürüγ* (< **ǰürüγ* < **ǰür*) → H **sürüγ* > **szérű**, WOT **čöpüγ* (< **čöp*) → H *čöpüγ* > **csöpű*, **csepű**, WOT *ǰürüγ* (< **ǰür*) → H **ǰürüγ* > **d′ürü̱* > **gyűrű**[2], WOT **küpüγ* (< **küp*) → H **küpüγ* > **küpü* > **köpű**, WOT **oglaγ* (< *ogul*) → H **oγlaγ* > **olloų̱* > **olló**, WOT **üdeγ* (< *üd*) → H **üdeγ* >**üdeų̱* > **üdō̱* > **idő**, WOT **talkïγ* (< **talkkïγ* < **talkgï-*) → H **talkaγ* > **talō* > **tiló*, but WOT **ürük* > H **ürük* > **örök**, WOT **čanak* → H **csanak**, WOT **čečäk* (< *čäč*) → H **čeček* > (by back-formation)

csécs, WOT **kepenek* (< **köpe*) ⟶ H **kepenek* > **köpönyeg** > (by back-formation) **köpeny**.

WOT +*Iγ* (> Chuv +*Ă*), EOT +*Ik*

WOT **butïγ* (< **but*) ⟶ H **butiγ* > **buti* > **bot**.

WOT +(*A*)*γU* (> Chuv ?), EOT +(*A*)*gU*

WOT **ǰapaγu* (< *ǰap*) ⟶ H **ǰapγu* > **gyapjú**, WOT **bïkaγ*(*u*) (< **bïka*) ⟶ H **bikaγ*(*u*) > **bekō*, **bekyō* > **béklyó**.

WOT +(*A*)*gUt* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*AgUt*

WOT **ǰapγut* (< **ǰap*) ⟶ H **ǰaput* > **gyapot**.

WOT +*An* (> Chuv +*Ăm*), EOT +*gAn*

WOT **ǰemilčän* (< *ǰemilč*) ⟶ H **ǰemilčen* > **d′emilčen* > **gyümölcsény**, WOT **kürän* (< **kür*) ⟶ H **güren* > **görény**, WOT **kamïčan* (< **kamïlč*) ⟶ H **kamičin* > **komócsin**, WOT **kökän* (< **kȫk*) ⟶ H **köken* > **kökény**, WOT **kökärilčän* (< **kökerilč*) ⟶ H **kükerelčen* > **kökerčen* > **kökörcsin**, WOT **tatraŋ* (< **tatur*) ⟶ H **tatrang* > **tatrang**, but WOT **taturgan* (< **tatur*) ⟶ H **taturγan* > **tátorján**, WOT **čalïγan* (< *čalï* < *čal-*) ⟶ H **čalaγan* > **csalán**, WOT **ǰartaγan* (< **ǰarta*) ⟶ H **ǰartaγan* > **gyertyán**, WOT **karakan* (< **kara*) ⟶ H **karakan* > **karakán**, **kalokány**.

WOT +(*X*)*n* (instrumental suff) (> Chuv +*Ăn*), EOT +(*X*)*n*

WOT **kölčän* (< **kölčä* < **köl-*) ⟶ H **külčen* > **kölcsön**.

WOT +(*A*)*n* (coll) (> Chuv ?), EOT +(*A*)*n*

WOT **kuwan* (< **kuwa*) ⟶ H **kuwan* > **kūn* > **kun**.

WOT +*čAγ* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*čUk*

WOT **kälinčäγ* (< **kälin* < **käl-*) ⟶ H **kelinǰeγ* > **kelind′e* > **kelengye**, WOT **kapurčaγ* (< **kapur* < **kap-*) ⟶ H **kopurčaγ* > **kopuršau̯* > **koporsó**, WOT **köpčäγ* (< **köp*) ⟶ H **köpčeγ* > **köpčeu̯* > **köpčȫ* > **köpcös**, but WOT **biläčäk* ⟶ H **biliček* > **bilinček* > **bilincs**.

WOT +*čI* (> Chuv +*śĂ*), EOT +*čI*

WOT **büγüči* (< **büγü*) ⟶ H **bölcs**, WOT **śiγči* (< **čiγči* < **jiγ* < **ji-*) ⟶ H **siγči* > **siwči* > **szűcs**, WOT **aγačči* (< **agač*) ⟶ H **ács**, WOT **satïγči* ⟶ H **szatócs**, ? WOT **čikinči* (< **čïkïn*) ⟶ H **csökönyös**, WOT **taltučï* (< **talutčï* < **talut* < **tal-*) ⟶ H **taltuč* >**taltuš* > **táltos**, WOT **orvučï* < **arvïlčči* (< **arva-*) ⟶ H **urvuš* > **orvos**.

WOT +(*A*)*č* (> Chuv +*ś*), EOT +(*X*)*č*

WOT **öväč* (< **ögeč* < **öge*) ⟶ H **öveč* > **üvecs**, WOT **alač* (< **ala*) ⟶ H **alacs**.

WOT +*dAm* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*dAm*

WOT **ärdäm* (< **är*) ⟶ H **erdem* > **érdem**, WOT **ïldam* (< **ïlïdam* < **ïlï* < **ïl-*, *yïl-*) ⟶ H **ildam* > **ildom**.

WOT +*dUr* (> Chuv +*tĂr*), EOT +*dUr*

WOT **balturγan* (< **baltur* < **bal*) ⟶ H **balturγan* > **bōturyan* > **bojtorján**.

WOT +*dUrUk* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*dUrUk*

WOT **kömüldürük* (< **kömül* < **köŋül*) ⟶ H **köməldürük* > **kömődörög**, **kentreg**.

WOT +*Iγ*, (> Chuv ?), EOT +*Ik*

WOT **talkïγ* (< **talkkiγ* < **talkgi-*) ⟶ H **talkiγ* > **tiló**.

WOT +*γAn* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*kAn*

WOT **törüγen* (< **törü*) ⟶ H **türüγen* > **türγen* > **törvény**.

WOT +*Ok* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*Ok*

WOT **šarug* (< **šār*) ⟶ H **šarug* > **sárog**, **sárga**.

WOT +*kA* (> Chuv +*kA*), EOT +*kA* ⟶ Chuv +*kA*

WOT **käčäkä* (< **käčä*) ⟶ H **käčäkä* > **kecske**.

WOT +*kAn* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*kAn*

WOT **karakan* (< **kara*) ⟶ H **karakan* > **karakán**, **kalokány**, WOT **šarakan* (< **šara*) ⟶ H **šarakan* > **sárkány**.

WOT +*kIńA* (> Chuv +*Ăn*), EOT +*kIńa*

WOT **kičigin* (< **kičigkińä* < **kičig*) ⟶ H **kićiγiń* > **kicsiny**.

WOT +(*X*)*l* (> Chuv +*Ăl*), EOT +(*X*)*l*

WOT **teŋäl* (< **teŋ*) ⟶ H **tengil* > **tengel´* > **tengely**.

WOT +*lA* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*lA*

WOT **čiklä*, **čigla* (< **čik*, **čig*) ⟶ H **čigle*, *čigla* > **cigle**, **csigle**, **csigla**, **csigolya**[2].

WOT +*lAγ* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*lAk*

WOT **külüläγ* (**külgü* < **kül-*) ⟶ H **külleγ* > **küllő**[1], WOT **küčeleγ* (< **küčeliglӓk* < **küčelig* < **küč*) ⟶ H **küčäläγ* > **kešeleu̯* > **keselyű**, WOT **tarïlaγ* (< **tarïglaγ* < **tarïg* < **tarï-*) ⟶ H **tarlaγ* > **tarlau̯* > **tarló**, but WOT **bögöläk* (< **bög*) ⟶ H **bögölök* > **bögöly**.

WOT +*lXγ*[1] (> Chuv +*lĂ*), EOT +*lXg*

WOT **köliγäliγ* (< **köliγä*) ⟶ H **kölig*(*e*)*liγ* > **köliliγ* > **külliγ* > **külleü̯* > **küllő**[2], WOT **ǰarlïγ* (< **ǰar*) ⟶ H **ǰarliγ* > **ǰarlou̯* > **gyarló**, WOT **säpliγ* (< **säp*) ⟶ H **sepliγ* > **szeplő**, WOT **šilliγ* (< **šil* < **šiš* < **tiš*) ⟶ H **šilliγ* > **šilleü̯* > **süllő**, but WOT **vertülük* (< **vertüγlük* < **vert-* < *ört-*) ⟶ H **vertelek* > **vértelek**, WOT **širlig* ⟶ H *širlig* > **serleg**, WOT **altïlïg* (< **altï*) ⟶ H **altilig* > **átalag**.

WOT +*lXγ*[2] (> Chuv +*lĂχ*), EOT +*lXk*

WOT **kertmeliγ* (< **kertme*) ⟶ H **kertmeliγ* > **kertweli* > **körtvély**, WOT **ǰipliγ* (< **ǰip*) ⟶ H **ǰipliγ* > **ǰepleu̯* > **gyeplő**, WOT **čumluγ* (< **čum*) ⟶ H **čumluγ* > *šomlō* > **somlyó**, WOT **topluγ* (< **top*) ⟶ H **topluγ* > **tåplou̯* > **tapló**, WOT **tokol* (< **tokluk* < **tok*) ⟶ H **tukol* > **tulok**, WOT **śeleγ* (< **čeleγ* < **ǰeleγ* < *je-*) ⟶ H **selleγ* > **szőlő**.

WOT +*Xlč* (> Chuv +*Ăś*), EOT +*Xš*

WOT **ǰemilč* (< **ǰem* < **ǰe-*) ⟶ H **ǰemilč* > **gyümölcs**, WOT **orwučï* (< **arwïlčči* < **arwïlč* < **arwa*) ⟶ H **urvoči* > **orvos**.

WOT +(*X*)*m* (> Chuv +*Ăm*), EOT +(*X*)*n*

WOT **čavlïm* (< **čavlï*) ⟶ H **čavlim* > **čōlum* > **sólyom**.

WOT +*mAk* (> Chuv +*mA*), EOT +*mAk*

WOT **öŋmäk* (< **öŋ*) ⟶ H **ümmeg* > *ümeg*, *ümög* > **ing**.

WOT +(*A*)*mUg* (> Chuv ?), EOT +(*A*)*mUk*

WOT **karamuγ* (< **kara*) ⟶ H **karamuγ* > **karamō* > **kanyaró**.

WOT +*r* (> Chuv +*r*), EOT +*z*

WOT **ikir* (< **eki*) ⟶ H **ikir* > **iker**.

WOT +*sIγ* (> Chuv +*ś*), EOT +*sIg*

WOT **kiči* (< **kičiγ* < **kitsiγ* < **kit*) ⟶ H **kicsi**.

WOT +*sOγ* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*sOk*

WOT **ǰüγsöγ* (< **ǰüγ* < **ǰü-*) ⟶ H **ǰüγsüγ* > **gyűszű**.

WOT +*tIγ* (> Chuv +*čĂ*), EOT +*tIk*

WOT **bürtiγ* (< **bür*) ⟶ H **bürtiγ* > **bürteu̯* > **bertű**, **börtű**, WOT **kindik* (< **kin*) ⟶ H **kindik* > **kildik* > **köldök**.

WOT +*U* (> Chuv +*Ă*), EOT +*gU*

WOT **edü* (< **äd*) ⟶ H **edü* > **ed* ~ **ed´* > **egy**(ház) (cf. **edül-* > **üdül**, **üdül-* > *üdl-* > **ül**, **idnap* > **ünnep**).

6.5.6 Formatives of deverbal nouns

WOT *-A* (> Chuv *-A*), EOT *-A*

WOT **ǰala* (< **ǰal-*) ⟶ H **ǰala* > **ǰalaz-* > **gyaláz**, WOT **čïgola* < (**čïgïl-*) ⟶ H *čigola* > *čigoya* > **csigolya**[1].

WOT *-An* (> Chuv *-(Ă)n*), EOT *-Xn*

WOT **basarkan* (< **basarka-* < **bas-*) ⟶ H **basarkan* > **boszorkány**.

WOT *-(X)γ* (> Chuv *-Ă*), EOT *-(X)g*, and *-(O)g* (> Chuv *-U*), EOT *-(O)k*

WOT **aldaγ* (< **alda-* < **al*) ⟶ H **aldaγ* > **ald´au̯* > **ágyú**, WOT **opuruγ* (< **opur-*) ⟶ H **opuruγ* > **oprau̯* > **apró**, WOT **bitiγ* (< **biti-*) ⟶ H **bitiγ* > **beteü̯* > **betű**, WOT **bolčuγ* (< **bolču-*) ⟶ H **bulčuγ* > **bulčū* > **búcsú**, WOT **bütüγ* (< **büt-*) ⟶ H **bütüγ* > **bütü**, WOT **bosuγ* (< **busa-*) ⟶ H **bosuγ* > **bossou̯* > **bosszú**, WOT **äkäγ* (< ** äk-*) ⟶ H **ekeγ* > **eke**, WOT **inäγ* (< **in-*) ⟶ H **ineγ* > **eneü̯* > **enő**, WOT **äriγ* (< **är-*) ⟶ H **eriγ* > **ereü̯* > **erő**, WOT **ïraγ* (< **ayrag* > **ayïr-*) ⟶ H **iraγ* > **irau̯* > **író**, WOT **ǰonaγ* (**ǰona-* < **ǰoŋa* < *ǰoŋ*) ⟶ H **ǰonaγ* > **ǰonau̯* > **gyanú**, WOT **ǰüγsüγ* (< **ǰüg* < **ǰü-*) ⟶ H **ǰüγsüγ* > **gyűszű**, WOT **kapuγ* (< **kap-*) ⟶ H **kapuγ* > **kapu**, WOT **karoγ* (< **kar-*) ⟶ H **karaγ* > **karau̯* > **karó**, WOT **käpäγ* (< **käpä-*) ⟶ H **kepeγ* > **kepe**, WOT **käwrüγ* (< **käwir-*) ⟶ H **kewreγ* > **kőrő**, WOT **keliγ* (< *kel-*) ⟶ H **keliγ* > **keleü̯* > **kelő* > **kölyű**, WOT **käwiräγ* (< **käwir-*) ⟶ H **kewereγ* > *kewreü̯* > **kérő**, WOT **küčäläγ* < (**küčel-*) ⟶ H **küčeleγ* > **keselyű**, WOT **kowroγ* (< **kuru-*) ⟶ H **kuroγ* > **kóró**, WOT **učaγ* (< **uč-*) ⟶ H **učaγ* > **ocsú**, **olcsó**, **ócsárol**, WOT **undaγ* (< **unda-* < **un*) ⟶ H **undaγ* > **undau̯* > **ondó**, WOT **čarlaγ* (< **čarla-*) ⟶ H **čarlaγ* > **šarlau̯* > **sarló**, WOT **čöpräγ* (< **čöpär-* < **čöp*) ⟶ H **čeprő̄* > **seprő**[2], (**apró-cseprő**) etc., WOT **satïγčï* (< **satïγ* < **sat-*) ⟶ H **satiγči* > **sataŭ̯či* > **szatócs**, WOT **śeleγ* (< **ǰeγleγ* < *ǰeγ* < **ǰe-*) ⟶ H *seleγ* > **szőlő**, WOT **tanuγ* (< **tan-*) ⟶ H **tanuγ* > **tanú**, WOT **taplaγ* (< **tapla-* < **tap*) ⟶ H **taplaγ* > **taplā* > **táplál**, WOT **tarïlaγ* (< **tarï-*) ⟶ H **tarlaγ* > **tarlau̯* > **tarló**, WOT **vertülük* (< **vertüγläk* < **vert-*) ⟶ H **vertelek* > **vértelek**, but WOT **vändäg* (< *vändä-* < **ün*) ⟶ H *vendeg* > **vendég**, WOT **bäläg* (< *bel-*) ⟶ H **beleg* > *bēl´eg* > **bélyeg**, WOT **isig* (< **isi-*) ⟶ H **isüg* > **üsüg* > **üszög**, **üszök**, WOT **šivrigey* (< **sivri-*) ⟶ H **ševrege* > **sőreg**, WOT **siŋuk* (< **siŋ-*) ⟶ H **sinuk* > **suńug* > **szúnyog**, WOT **tilök*[1], **tilök*[2] (< **til-*) ⟶ H **telek**[1], **telek**[2].

WOT *-čA* (> Chuv *-śĂ*), EOT *+čA* (converbal)

WOT **kölčän* (< **kölčä* < **köl-*) ⟶ H **külčen* > **kölcsön**.

WOT *-čUɣ* (> Chuv ?), EOT *-(X)čUk* ⟶ Chuv *-čĂk*

WOT **kȫkärčän* (< **kȫkerčüɣkän* < **kökärčüɣ* < **kȫker-* < **kȫk*) ⟶ H **keykerčen* > **kikerics**, **kökörcsin**, **kiköcsény**.

WOT *-A* (> Chuv ? *-A*), EOT *-gA*

WOT **baka* (< **bakga* < **bak-*) ⟶ H **baka* > **béka**, WOT **čïga* (< **čïgga* < **čig-*) ⟶ H **csiga**.

WOT *-gAn* (> Chuv *-kĂn*), EOT *-gAn*

WOT **balkan* (< **bal-*) ⟶ H **balkan* > **balkány**, WOT **čakan* (< **čakkan* < **čak-*) ⟶ H **csákány**, WOT **kapkan* (< **kap-*) ⟶ H **kapkan* > **kapkány**, **kaptány**, WOT **koryan* (< **korï-*) ⟶ H **koryan* > **korhány**.

WOT *-gI*, *-gU* (> Chuv *-kĂ*), EOT *-gI*

WOT **askï* (< **as-*) ⟶ H **aski* > **ask* > **ászok**, WOT **bïčkï* (< **bïč-*) ⟶ H **bički* > **bicske**, **bicska**, **bicsak**, WOT **bïkayu* (**bïka-* < *buka-*) ⟶ H **bikaɣ(u)* > **bikau̯* > **békó**, **béklyó**, WOT **ičkü* (< **ič-*) ⟶ H **ičkü* > **es**, **eskü**, WOT **šipiryi* (< **šipir-*) ⟶ H **šipiriɣ* > **seprő**[1], WOT **talkïɣ* (< **talkgi* < **talk-*) ⟶ H **talkiɣ* > **tiló**, WOT **külüläɣ* (< **külgü* < **kül-*) ⟶ H **külleɣ* > **külleü̯* > **küllő**[1].

WOT *-gUči* (> Chuv ?), EOT *-(X)gčI*

WOT **ǰulkučï* (< **ǰulkguči* < **ǰulk-* < **ǰul-*) ⟶ H **ǰilkuč* > **ǰilkuš* > **gyilkos**.

WOT *-I* (> Chuv *-Ă*), EOT *-I*

WOT **bay* (< **ba-*) ⟶ H **báj**, WOT **čalïɣan* (< **čalï* < **čal-*) ⟶ H **čaliyan* > **csalán**, WOT **čatï* (< **čat-*) ⟶ H **čati* > **csat**, WOT **čomak* (< **čoɣmak* < **čokïmak* < *čokï* < **čok-*) ⟶ H **čomak* > **csomak**, WOT **čäviri* (< **čäwir-*) ⟶ H *čeviri* > **csűr**[2], WOT **ǰarlïɣ* (< **ǰarïlïɣ* < **ǰarï* < *ǰar-*) ⟶ H **ǰarliɣ* > **gyarló**, WOT **tarï* (< **tarï-*) ⟶ H **tara* > **dara**, WOT **ïldam* (< **ïlïdam* < **ïlï* < **ïl-* / **yïl-*) ⟶ H **ildam* > **ildom**.

WOT -(*X*)*l* (> Chuv ?), EOT -(*X*)*l*

WOT **bogul*[1] (< **bog*-) ⟶ H **bugul´* > **boglya**, **bugolya**, **boklyó**, WOT **bogul*[2] (< **bog*-) ⟶ H **boγol* > **boly**, WOT **sakal* (< **sak*-) ⟶ **szakáll**, WOT **teŋäl* (< **teŋä*- < **teŋ*) ⟶ H **tengel* > **tengely**.

WOT -(*X*)*lč* (> Chuv -*ś*), EOT -(*X*)*š*

WOT **kökärilč* (< **kökär*- < **kȫk*) ⟶ H **kȫkereč* > **keyikerič* > **kikerics**, **kökörcsin**, WOT **orvulč* (< **arvülčči* < **arvülč* < **arva*-) ⟶ H **urvoči* > *urvoš* > **orvos**, WOT **tanülč* (< **tana*-) ⟶ H *tanač* > **tanács**.

WOT -(*X*)*m* (> Chuv -*m*), EOT -(*X*)*m*

WOT **barum* (< **bar*-) ⟶ H **barom**, WOT **ǰemilč* (< **ǰem* < **ǰe*-) ⟶ H **ǰemilč* > **gyümölcs**, WOT **koram* (< **koru*-) ⟶ H **koram* > **karám**, WOT **äγrim* (< **ägir*-) ⟶ H **eγrim* > **eürim* > **őrém**, WOT **šïma* (< **sïyïm* < **sïy*-) ⟶ H **sima**, WOT **sām* (< **sā*-) ⟶ H **szám**, WOT **sïyrum* (< **sïdrum* < **sïdïr*- < *sïd*-) ⟶ H *siyrum* > *sirum* > **sirun*, **sirum* > **szirony**.

WOT -*mAγ* (> Chuv -*mA*), EOT -*mAk* ⟶ Chuv -*mAk*

WOT **kasmaγ* (< **kas*-) ⟶ H **kasmaγ* > **kozma**.

WOT -*mAn* (> Chuv ?), EOT -*mAn*

WOT **kädmän* (< **käd*-) ⟶ H **kedmen* > **ködmön**, WOT **ägirmän* ⟶ H **eγirmen* > **ewirmen* > *őrmen* > **örmény**[2], see **őr**.

WOT -*mUr* (> Chuv ?), EOT -*mXr*

WOT **ǰumur* (< **ǰummur* < *ǰum*-) ⟶ H **ǰumur* > **gyomor**.

WOT -*Vn* (> Chuv -(*Ă*)*m*), EOT -*Xn*

WOT **bayan* (< **bay*-) ⟶ H **bayan* (> Sl >) **bán**[1], WOT **arïtan* (< **arït*-) ⟶ H **aritan* > **artan* > **ártány**, WOT **basarkan* (< **basarka*- < **bas*-) ⟶ H **basarkan* > **boszorkány**, WOT **berten* (< **bert*-) ⟶ H **berten* > **börtön**, WOT **čikin* (< **čik*-) ⟶ H **čükün* > **csökön**y(**ös**), WOT **kīn* (< **kïyïn* < **kïy*-) ⟶ H **kín**.

WOT -(*X*)*ŋ* (> Chuv ?), EOT -(*X*)*ŋ*

WOT **kataŋ* (< **kata*-) ⟶ H **katang* > **katák**.

WOT *-tA* (> Chuv *-tA*), ? EOT *-dU*

WOT **ǰarta* (< **ǰar-*) ⟶ H **ǰarta* > **gyertya**, WOT **koldu* (< **kol-*) ⟶ H **koldu* > **koldus**, **koldul**, WOT **kaɣδu* (< **kāg-*)⟶ H **kaɣzu* > **kāz* > **gaz**.

WOT *-U* [after C] (> Chuv ?), EOT *-gU*

WOT **berü* (< **ber-*) ⟶ H **berü* > **bér**, WOT **ičü* (< **ič-*) ⟶ H **ičü* > *iš* > **es**, see **eskü**.

WOT *-Ut* (> Chuv ?), EOT *-Ut*

WOT **bogut* (< **bog-*) ⟶ H **buɣut* > **buɣt* > **bojt**, WOT **taltučï* < (**talutčï* < **talut* < **tal-*) ⟶ H **taltuči* > **táltos**, WOT **čalït* (< **čalut* < **čal-*) ⟶ H **csalit**.

6.5.7 Formatives of denominal verbs

WOT +*A-* (> Chuv +*A-*), EOT +*A-*

WOT **ǰonaɣ* (< *ǰoŋa-* < **ǰoŋ*) ⟶ H **ǰonaɣ* > **ǰanaų̆* > **gyanú**, WOT **ǰala-* (< **ǰal*) ⟶ H **ǰala* > **gyaláz**, WOT **küčäläɣ* (< **küčä-* < *küč*) ⟶ H **küčeleɣ* > **kešeleų̆* > **keselyű**, WOT **teŋäl* (< **teŋä-* < **teŋ*) ⟶ H **tengel* > **tengely**.

WOT +*lA-* (> Chuv +*lA-*), EOT +*lA-*

WOT **čarlaɣ* (< **čarla-* < *čar*) ⟶ H **čarlaɣ* > **sarló**, WOT **ǰägilä-* (< **ǰägi* < **yagï*) ⟶ H **ǰeɣile-* > **ǰeų̆le* > **ǰű̆le-* > **gyűlöl**, or (← WOT **ǰellä-*), WOT **taplaɣ* (**tapla-* < **tap*) ⟶ H **taplaɣ* > **taplā* > **táplál**.

WOT +*Ar-* (> Chuv +*Ar-*), EOT +*Ar-*

WOT **čöpräɣ* (< **čöpär-* < **čöp*) ⟶ H **čöpreɣ* > **söprő**, **seprő**[2], WOT **kökärälč* (< **kökär-* < *kȭk*) ⟶ H **kükerelč* > **kökerīč* > **kikerics**.

WOT +*rA-* (> Chuv +*rA-*), EOT +*rA-*

WOT **opura-* (< **op*) ⟶ H **oporo-* > **apor-* > **áporodik**.

WOT +*tA-* (> Chuv ?), EOT +*tA-*

WOT **aldaɣ* (< **alda-* < **al*) ⟶ H **aldaɣ* > **ald´aų̆* > **ágyú**, WOT **undaɣ* (< **unda-* < **un*) ⟶ H **undaɣ* > **undaų̆* > **ondó**, WOT **vändäg* (< **vändä* < **ün*) ⟶ H **vendeg* > **vendég**.

6.5.8 Formatives of deverbal verbs

WOT -(*X*)*k*- (> Chuv -*Ăk*-, -*Ăx*-), EOT -(*X*)*k*-

WOT **sayïn*- (< **sak*- < **sā*) ⟶ H **sayin*- > **szán**[1], WOT **ǰulkučï* (< **ǰulkyuči* < **ǰulk*- < **ǰul*-) ⟶ H **ǰilkuč* > **ǰilkuš* > **gyilkos**.

WOT -(*X*)*l*- (> Chuv -*Ăl*-, -*l*-), EOT -(*X*)*l*-

WOT **čïgula* (< **čïgïl*- < **čïg*-) ⟶ H **čigula* > **čiguya* > **csigolya**[1], WOT **ävril*- (< **äwir*-) ⟶ H **evril*- > **őrül**, WOT **ǰiγil*- (< *ǰiγ*-) ⟶ H **ǰiγil*- > **ǰīl*- > **gyűlik**, WOT **küčäläγ* (< **küčäl*- < **küčä*-) ⟶ H **küčeleγ* > **keselyű**, WOT **bičil*- (< **bič*-) ⟶ H **bičil*- > *bëcsël*- > **becsül**.

WOT -*Xn*- (> Chuv -*Ăn*-), EOT -*Xn*

WOT **bayïn*- (< **bak*-) ⟶ H **bayin*- > **bān* > **bán**[2], **bánt**, WOT **bolčan*- (< **bolča*-) ⟶ H **bočan* > **bocsánik**, WOT **busan*- (< **busa*-) ⟶ H **busan*- > **bosszant**, **bosszankodik**, WOT **ǰūn*-, **ǰuvun*- (< **ǰu*-) ⟶ H **ǰuvun*- > **jūn*- > **gyónik**, WOT **kepenek* (< **kepen* < **kepe*-) ⟶ H **kepenek* > **köpöńek* (> **köpenyeg**) > **köpeny**, WOT **küsän*- (< **küsä*-) ⟶ H **küsen*- > **köszön**, WOT **sayïn*- (< **sak*- < **sā*-) ⟶ H **sayin*- > **szán**[1], WOT **törütün* (< **törüt*-) > **törtün*- ⟶ H **történ**(-ik).

WOT -(*X*)*r*- (> Chuv -(*X*)*r*-, -*r*-), EOT -(*X*)*z*-

WOT **sür*- (< **sü*-) ⟶ H **szűr**, WOT **tüγür*- (< **tög*-) ⟶ H **tūr* > **tōr*- > **tör**.

WOT -(*X*)*r*- (> Chuv -(*A*)*r*-), EOT -(*I*)*r*-, -(*U*)*r*-, -(*A*)*r*-

WOT **käwir*- (**käw*-) ⟶ H **kevir*- > **kēr*- > **kérődzik**, **kérő**, WOT **sïyrum* (< **sïyïr*- < **sïd*-) ⟶ H **sirum* > **sirom* > **szirony**, WOT **töγür*- (< **tög*-) ⟶ H **tüγür*- > **töγör*- > **tōr*- > **tör**.

WOT -(*A*)*rkA*- (> Chuv -*ĂrkA*-), EOT -(*X*)*rkA*-

WOT **basarkan* (< **basarka*- < **bas*-) ⟶ H **basarkan* > **boszorkány**.

WOT -(*X*)*t*- (> Chuv -(*X*)*t*-), EOT -(*X*)*t*-

WOT **artat*- (< **art*- < **ar*-) ⟶ H **artat*- > **árt**, WOT **bolčat*- (< **bolča*-) ⟶ H **bulčat*- > **bocsát**, **bocsájt**, WOT **ilt*- (< *il*-) ⟶ H **ilt*- > **ölt**, WOT **ǰarat*- (< **ǰar*-) ⟶ H **ǰarat*- > **gyarat**, **gyárt**, WOT **ǰitür*- (< **ǰirttür*- < **ǰirt*- < **ǰir*-) ⟶ H **ǰitür*- > **ǰütür*- > **gyötör**.

WOT *-tUr-* (> Chuv *-tAr-*), EOT *-tUr-*

WOT **ǰitür-* (< **ǰirttür-* < **ǰirt-* < **ǰir*) ⟶ H **ǰitür-* > **jütür-* > **gyötör**.

WOT *-Ur-* (> Chuv *-Ar-*), EOT *-Ur-*

WOT **sawur-* (< **saw-*) ⟶ H **sawur-* > **szór**.

6.5.9 Turkic influence on Hungarian homophonous deverbal verb formatives

In Róna-Tas (1994: 114), I analysed what happened to three T suffs, -(*X*)*n*-, -(*X*)*l*- and -(*X*)*t*-, with special consideration of the fact that H had dev verb formative suffs with the same phonetic shapes, but not the same functions. After analysing 24 WOT verbs copied by H, I concluded that:

(1) Whenever Hungarians took over T words with the suff -(*X*)*n*-, the word was taken over unchanged. The function of the corresponding H suff -(*X*)*n*- shows no influence fr the original T one.

(2) The suff -(*X*)*l*- had a causative function in the OUgr lgs, and it can be traced even further into the past. The pass meaning of the suff -(*X*)*l*- has very weak traces in the OUgr lgs, and the H passive function may have developed under T influence. The original caus function of the AH -(*X*)*l*- has been continued by -(*A*)*l*-.

(3) The H suff -(*X*)*t*- also had a caus function. The caus function of -(*X*)*t*- is fully developed in the OUgr lgs. In this case, the T caus -(*X*)*t*- joined the H suff. After the convergence, the suff ceased to be productive and the forms -(*A*)*t*- and -*t*(*A*)*t*- took over this function.

Thus, we have three cases:

(1) no influence
(2) influence
(3) convergence.

As we can see, almost all der suffs which may have existed in WOT are reflected in H. Erdal dealt with ca. 110 EOT suffs. In the WOT material copied by H, 69 suffs can be counted. The relation of the nominal suffs to the verbal ones is in about 78 : 28 = 2.8 (Erdal 1991), whereas in our material 55 : 14 = 3.9, suggesting that H copied proportionally fewer verbs than existed in the WOT corpus, which is a normal case. Nouns are usually three times more frequently copied than verbs (see below pp. 1143–1144). The fact that two-thirds of the der formatives are reflected in the H lws points to a long and intensive cohabitation.

With respect to der morphology, WOT is a "normal" OT lg. Unfortunately, we do not have the pl sign in our material, which is *+sem* in Chuv, but *+lAr* in all other T lgs. The only trace of a pl is in the GN *Aslar*, noted not later than the 13th c., but this does not assist us in reconstructing WOT (see **jász**). The Chuv pl sign *+sem* has to be relatively young. In some Chuv dials, it preserved its front-vocalic form even in back-vocalic words.

6.6 Morphological embedding of West Old Turkic verbal bases in Hungarian

In the following subchapter, I shall investigate the way the T verbs were adapted by and embedded into the verbal system of the Hungarians that spoke a FUgr lg.

6.6.1 Turkic verbs in the Hungarian verbal system

H used two systems of conjugation. The "normal" one was formed continuously fr Ugr times and the EAH period. The so-called *-ik* conjugation appeared in EAH and began to disappear in the 17th c. Its function changed fr mediality to reflexivity to indefiniteness. Fr a descriptive point of view, the H lg contains: a few full *-ik* verbs; verbs which only contain *-ik-* in the 3rd person sg, but otherwise pertain to the normal conjugation; and verbs with suffs which pertain to the *-ik* conjugation alternating with suffs of the non-*ik* conjugation. Both forms are acceptable as, in **szökik** ~ *szök-*, 1stp.sg *szököm* ~ *szökök*, etc. Since the *-ik* conjugation lost its original function, it has rapidly disappeared.

I have selected three H verbs, all of T origin: H **ír** 'to write' (← WOT **ïr-* 'to make a notch'), H **gyónik** 'to confess (sins)' (← **ǰuwun-* 'to wash oneself'), and **késik** 'to be late' (← WOT **kēč-* 'to be late'). I shall use three H nouns, also of T der: **betű** 'letter' (← WOT **bitiɣ* 'letter'), **bűn** 'sin' (← WOT **bṻn* 'sin'; cf. EOT *mṻn*), and H **hajó** 'ship, boat' (← WOT **χayïɣ*; cf. EOT *kayïk*). The verbal forms will be shown in the present tense indicative and conditional. Both have two subsystems. The definite conjugation is used with a definite object, as in '*I write the letter*', while the indefinite conjugation is used when the object is not defined, as in '*I write a letter*'.

For comparison, I cite H verbs of Ugr origin: H *hall-* 'to hear' (< PUgr **kulä-*) fr the non-*ik* conjugation, *eszik-* 'to eat' (< PUgr **sewä-*) fr the *-ik-* conjugation, and *hang* 'sound'.

The definite article is *a*, the indefinite article is *egy*.

	Definite	Indefinite
1stP/sg	*én ír**om** a betűt* 'I write the letter'	*én ír**ok** egy betűt* 'I write a letter'
	*én hall**om** a hangot* 'I hear the sound'	*én hall**ok** egy hangot* 'I hear a sound'
2ndP/sg	*te ír**od** a betűt* 'you write the letter'	*te ír**sz***[1] *egy betűt* 'you write a letter'
		but *te néz**el** egy betűt* 'you look at a letter'
	*te hall**od** a hangot* 'you hear the sound'	*te hall**asz** egy hangot* 'you hear a sound'
3rdP/sg	*ő ír**ja** a betűt* 'he writes the letter'	*ő ír*[2] *egy betűt* 'he writes a letter'
	*ő hall**ja** a hangot* 'he hears the sound'	*ő hall egy hangot* 'he hears a sound'
1stP/pl	*mi ír**juk** a betűt* 'we write the letter'	*mi ír**unk** egy betűt* 'we write a letter'
	*mi hall**juk** a hangot* 'we hear the sound'	*mi hall**unk** egy hangot* 'we hear a sound'
2ndP/pl	*ti ír**játok** a betűt* 'you write the letter'	*ti ír**tok** egy betűt* 'you write a letter'
	*ti hall**játok** a hangot* 'you hear the sound'	*ti hall**otok** egy hangot* 'you hear a sound'
3rdP/pl	*ők ír**ják** a betűt* 'they write the letter'	*ők ír**nak** egy betűt* 'they write a letter'
	*ők hall**ják** a hangot* 'they hear the sound'	*ők hall**anak** egy hangot* 'they hear a sound'

[1] The personal marker for 2ndP/sg, *-sz* occurs most frequently in the non-*ik* conjugation, even after *-n* finals (see e.g. *köszön-* 'to greet', *köszönsz* 'you greet' (← T *küsen-*), but *-l* also occurs after /z/ and /s/ (see *nézel* 'you look' and *veszel* 'you take, you buy').

[2] With a zero morpheme.

Table 6.6: Normal, non-*ik* conjugation, present tense, indicative

	Definite	Indefinite
1stP/sg	*én ír**nám** a betűt* 'I would write the letter'	*én ír**nék** egy betűt* 'I would write a letter'
	*én hall**anám** a hangot* 'I would hear the sound'	*én hall**anék** egy hangot* 'I would hear a sound'
2ndP/sg	*te ír**nád** a betűt* 'you would write the letter'	*te ír**nál** egy betűt* 'you would write a letter'
	*te hall**anád** a hangot* 'you would hear the sound'	*te hall**anál** egy hangot* 'you would hear a sound'
3rdP/sg	*ő ír**ná** a betűt* 'he would write the letter'	*ő ír**na** egy betűt* 'he would write a letter'
	*ő hall**aná** a hangot* 'he would hear the sound'	*ő hall**ana** egy hangot* 'he would hear a sound'
1stP/pl	*mi ír**nánk** a betűt* 'we would write the letter'	*mi ír**nánk** egy betűt* 'we would write a letter'
	*mi hall**anánk** a hangot* 'we would hear the sound'	*mi hall**anánk** egy hangot* 'we would hear a sound'
2ndP/pl	*ti ír**nátok** a betűt* 'you would write the letter'	*ti ír**nátok** egy betűt* 'you would write a letter'
	*ti hall**anátok** a hangot* 'you would hear the sound'	*ti hall**anátok** egy hangot* 'you would hear a sound'
3rdP/pl	*ők ír**nák** a betűt* 'they would write the letter'	*ők ír**nának** egy betűt* 'they would write a letter'
	*ők hall**anák** a hangot* 'they would hear the sound'	*ők hall**anának** egy hangot* 'they would hear a sound'

Table 6.7: Normal, non-*ik* conjugation, present tense, conditional

	Definite	Indefinite
1stP/sg	*én gyón**om** a bűnömet* 'I confess my sin'	*én (meg)gyón**om**[1] egy bűnömet* 'I confess one of my sins'
	*én esz**em** a halat* 'I eat the fish'	*én esz**em** egy halat* 'I eat a fish'
	*én lekés**em** a hajót* 'I miss the ship'	*én lekés**ek** egy hajót* 'I miss a ship'
2ndP/sg	*te gyón**od** a bűnödet* 'you confess your sin'	*te (meg)gyón**ol**[2] egy bűnödet* 'you confess one of your sins'
	*te lekése**d** a hajót* 'you miss the ship'	*te lekés**el** egy hajót* 'you miss a ship'
	*te esze**d** a halat* 'you eat the fish'	*te esz**el** egy halat* 'you eat a fish'
3rdP/sg	*ő gyón**ja** a bűnét* 'he confesses his sin'	*ő (meg)gyón(**ik**[3]) egy bűnt* 'he confesses a sin'
	*ő lekés**i** a hajót* 'he misses the ship'	*ő lekés**ik** egy hajót* 'he misses a ship'
	*ő esz**i** a halat* 'he eats the fish'	*ő esz**ik** egy halat* 'he eats a fish'
1stP/pl	*mi gyón**juk** a bűneinket* 'we confess our sins'	*mi (meg)gyón**unk** egy bűnt* 'we confess a sin'
	*mi lekés**sük** a hajót* 'we miss the ship'	*mi lekés**ünk** egy hajót* 'we miss a ship'
	*mi esz**szük** a halat* 'we eat the fish'	*mi esz**ünk** egy halat* 'we eat a fish'
2ndP/pl	*ti gyón**játok** a bűneiteket* 'you confess your sins'	*ti (meg)gyón**tok** egy bűnt* 'you confess a sin'
	*ti lekés**itek** a hajót* 'you miss the ship'	*ti lekés**tek** egy hajót* 'you miss a ship'
	*ti esz**itek** a halat* 'you eat the fish'	*ti esz**tek** egy halat* 'you eat a fish'
3rdP/pl	*ők gyón**ják** a bűnt* 'they confess the sin'	*ők (meg)gyón**nak** egy bűnt* 'they confess a sin'
	*ők lekés**ik** a hajót* 'they miss the ship'	*ők lekés**nek** egy hajót* 'they miss a ship'
	*ők esz**ik** a halat* 'they eat the fish'	*ők esz**nek** egy halat* 'they eat a fish'

[1] This is an archaic form, but it exists in ModH as *meggyónom egy bűnömet*, similarly to *iszom egy pohárral* 'I drink a glass'.

[2] This is an archaic form, which exists in ModH, *gyónod, meggyónod egy bűnödet*, but see *késel*.

[3] The form *gyónik* pertains to an archaic norm.

Table 6.8: The *-ik* conjugation, present tense, indicative

	Definite	Indefinite
1stP/sg	*én lekés**ném** a hajót* 'I would miss the boat'	*én lekés**nék** egy hajót* 'I would miss a boat'
	*én en**ném** a halat* 'I would eat the fish'	*én en**nék** egy halat* 'I would eat a fish'
2ndP/sg	*te lekés**néd** a hajót* 'you would miss the boat'	*te lekés**nél** egy hajót* 'you would miss a boat'
	*te en**néd** a halat* 'you would eat the fish'	*te en**nél** egy halat* 'you would eat a fish'
3rdP/sg	*ő lekés**né** a hajót* 'he would miss the boat'	*ő lekés**ne** egy hajót* 'he would miss a boat'
	*ő en**né** a halat* 'he would eat the fish'	*ő en**ne** egy halat* 'he would eat a fish'

1stP/pl	*mi lekés**nénk** a hajót* 'we would miss the boat'	*mi lekés**nénk** egy hajót* 'we would miss a boat'
	*mi en**nénk** a halat* 'we would eat the fish'	*mi en**nénk** egy halat* 'we would eat a fish'
2ndP/pl	*ti lekés**nétek** a hajót* 'you would miss the boat'	*ti lekés**nétek** egy hajót* 'you would miss a boat'
	*ti en**nétek** a halat* 'you would eat the fish'	*ti en**nétek** egy halat* 'you would eat a fish'
3rdP/pl	*ők lekés**nék** a hajót* 'they would miss the boat'	*ők lekés**nének** egy hajót* 'they would miss a boat'
	*ők en**nék** a halat* 'they would eat the fish'	*ők en**nének** egy halat* 'they would eat a fish'

Table 6.9: The *-ik* conjugation, present tense, conditional

Imperative, 2ndP/sg: *kés**d** le a hajót*! 'miss the boat!', *kés**sél** le egy hajót!* 'miss a boat!'; *ed**d** a halat!* 'eat the fish!', *egy**él** egy halat!* 'eat a fish!'.

6.6.2 The fundamental distinction between the Turkic and non-Turkic loan verbs in Hungarian

H verbs of Ugr origin fall into either the *-ik* or the non-*ik* conjugation and have definite and indefinite conjugations. The same holds true for the T loan verbs. The case of verbs borrowed fr the Sl and Grm lgs is fundamentally different. They take a H *denominal* verb formative suff.

Sl examples – only den verb formative suffs: *+Vl-*, *+Vz-*

Sl *obar-iti* 'abkochen' (< *obvariti*) → H *abár**ol**-* 'to steam (bacon)'
Sl *běrma-ti* 'firmen' → H *bérmá**l**-* 'to confirm (Christian rite of passage)'
Sl *čerpa-ti* 'ausschöpfen' → H *cserpá**l**-* 'to drow out with a vessel'
Sl *činja-ti, čini-ti* 'tun, ordnen' → H *csiná**l**-* 'to make, perform'
Sl *klepa-ti* 'mit Hammer schlagen' → H *kalapá**l**-* 'to hammer'
Sl *kruž-iti* 'zaubern' → H *kuruzs**ol**-* 'to quack'

Grm examples – only den verb formative suffs: *+Vl-*, *+Vz-*

Grm *ansagen* → H *anzág**ol**-* 'to talk big'
Grm *büffeln* → H *bifláz-* 'to cram'
Grm *blitzen* → H *blicc**el**-* 'to cheat, cut (class)'
Grm *brillieren* → H *brillir**oz**-* 'to show off'
Grm *defilieren* → H *defilir**oz**-* 'to march (past somebody)'
Grm *dünsten* → H *dinszte**l**-* 'to steam'

(1) As we see it: the general rule is that all verbs take the *denominal* suff *+Vl-* with the exception of verbs with an /l/, /n/ or an /r/ in the last syllable, to which the den suff *+Vz-* is added.

(2) T *nouns* take the *same denominal* verb formative suffs as the Sl and Grm verbs: **árok** 'ditch' (← WOT **aruk*) > *árk**ol***- 'to make a ditch', *bűn* (← WOT **bün*) 'sin' > *bűnözik*- 'to commit a crime', *hajó* 'ship' (← WOT **χayiγ*) > *hajózik*- 'to sail',

(3) None of the non-T loan verbs fall under the *-ik* conjugation without a den suff: *biflázik*-, *brillirozik*-, *karikírozik*- (< Grm *karikieren*). This has not changed in the present day: *kompjuterezik*- < *kompjuter* ← Eng *computer*.

(4) Only non-T loan verbs which were adapted to the H system with the den suff +(*V*)*z*- can be *-ik* conjugation verbs. **kalapál-ik*- and **bliccel-ik*- are impossible, but *bifláz-ik*- and *kompjuterez-ik*- are accepted.

6.6.3 Typology of the embedding of Turkic verbs

Type 1. No additional H suff

T simplex verbal stem → H simplex verbal stem

PT **tüš*- 'to fall, settle down' > WOT **dül*- → H **dől**, *dűl*- 'to lean, topple over'
PT **tïk*- 'to thrust' > WOT **dïg*- → H **dug** ? id.
PT **yul*- 'to give light' > WOT **ǰul*- → H **ǰul*- > **gyúl** (see also *gyújt*-) ? 'to catch fire, light'
PT **yogur*- 'to knead' > WOT **ǰuγur*- → H **ǰuγur*- > **gyúr** id.
PT **ïr*- 'to make a notch' > WOT **ïr*- → H **ír** 'to write'

T complex verbal stem → H simplex verbal stem

WOT **orat*- 'to mow' (< PT **or*-(*X*)*t*-) → H **arat** id.
WOT **bayïn*- 'to look at' < *bakïn*- (< PT **bak*-(*X*)*n*-) → H **bayin*- > **bán**[2] (also **bánik**, **bánt**) 'to treat somebody'
WOT **bičil*- 'to be cut' (< PT **bič*-(*X*)*l*-) → H **becsül** 'to estimate'
WOT **bolčat*- 'to free' (< PT **boš-a*-(*X*)*t*-) → H **bocsát** 'to forgive'
WOT **čavïr*- 'to turn' (< PT **čavV*-(*I*)*r*-) → H **čawir*- > *csór* (also **csűr**[1], **csavar**) 'to steal, twist'
WOT **ǰarat*- 'to create' (< PT **yar*-(*A*)*t*-) → H **ǰarat*- > *gyarat*-, **gyárt** id.
WOT **küsen*- 'to wish' (< PT **kṻ-sA*-(*X*)*n*-) → H **köszön** 'to greet, thank'
WOT **ävril*- 'to revolve' (< PT **ävir*-(*X*)*l*-) → H **őrül**, *megőrül* 'to become mad'

Type 2. Embedding into the *-ik* conjugation

T simplex verbal stem ⟶ H simplex verbal stem -ik conjugation

PT, WOT *bas-* 'to press' ⟶ H **baszik** 'to fuck'
PT, WOT **čök-* 'to kneel, sink' ⟶ H **csökik** 'to become, remain smaller'
PT, WOT **il-* 'to hang on, attach to' ⟶ H **illik** 'to fit into, suit'
PT, WOT **ïsï-* 'to glow' ⟶ H **is-ik-* > **izzik** id.
PT, WOT **kēč-*'to be late' ⟶ H **késik** id.

T complex verbal stem ⟶ H simplex verbal stem -ik conjugation

WOT **bolčan-* 'to free oneself' (< PT **boš+a-(X)n-*) ⟶ H **bocsánik** 'to be forgiven'
WOT **ǰūn-* 'to wash oneself' (< PT **yu-/yuv-(X)n-*) ⟶ H **ǰuwun-ik-* > **gyónik** 'to confess'
WOT **ǰigil-* 'to be collected' (< PT **yïg-(X)l-*) ⟶ H **jiγil-ik-* > **gyűlik** 'to be gathered'

Type 3. Embedding with one or more H dev suffs

T simplex verbal stem ⟶ H verbal stem with H dev suff(s)

PT, WOT **bur-* 'to turn over' ⟶ H **borít** id. (see also **borul**, **borogat**, **borong**, etc.)
PT, WOT **äŋ-* 'to bend' ⟶ H **enged** 'to give way, allow'
PT, WOT **äyi-* 'to fear' (< *ayi-*) ⟶ H **ijeszt** 'to frighten', **ijed** 'to be afraid'
WOT **vïm-* 'to ask for, covet' (< PT **um-*) ⟶ H **vim-ad-* > **imád** 'to adore, worship'
WOT **äwir-* 'to turn round' ⟶ H *őr-*[1] > **őröl** 'to grind'
WOT **ögir-* 'to rejoice' ⟶ H **őr-* > **örül** 'to rejoice'
WOT **turo-* 'to block' ⟶ H **toro-* > H **torol** 'to pile up'

T complex verbal stem ⟶ H verbal stem with H dev suff(s)

WOT **busan-* 'to grieve' (< PT **bus-a-(X)n-*) ⟶ H **bosszant** 'to annoy' (also **bosszankodik**)
WOT **ärin-* 'to be lazy' (< PT **er-(X)n-*) ⟶ H **erin-ed-* > **ernyed** 'to slacken, relax'
WOT **ǰägile-* 'to be hostile' (< PT **yagï+la-*) ⟶ H **ǰeγil-öl-* > **gyűlöl** 'to hate' (⟵ ? *ǰelle-*)

Type 4. Embedding with one or more H dev suffs and into the *-ik* conjugation

T complex verbal stem → H verbal stem, dev suff and -ik conjugation

WOT **opura-* 'to decay' (< PT **op*+(*X*)*rA-*) → H **áporodik** id.
WOT **ǰarpa-* 'to be firm' (< PT **yarp*+*a-*) → H **ǰarap-od-ik-* > **gyarapodik** 'to grow stronger' (also *gyarapszik-*)
WOT **kewir-* 'to ruminate' (< PT **kev-*(*I*)*r-*) → H **kewir-ődz-ik-* id. > **kérődzik** id.

Type 5. Embedding with a H den suff

T simplex verbal stem → H den verb formative suff

WOT **op-* 'to kiss' → H **ápol**, *ap-ol-* 'to kiss, caress'
WOT **čat-* 'to join' → H **csatol** 'to add, join'

These two verbs are of onomatopoeic origin. Since the onomatopoeic words are used in H with den suffs (see e.g. *kakukk* > *kakukkol-* 'to cuckoo'), it is almost impossible to decide whether these two words are loan verbs or not. Onomatopoeia may also be copied.

T simplex verbal stem → H den noun formative suff + den verb formative suff

WOT **ayan-* 'treat with respect' → H **ajnároz** id.

T dev nominal stem → H den verb formative suff

We find many examples, two of them being:

WOT **bitig* 'letter' (< *biti-*(*X*)*g*) → H **betű** > *betűz-* 'to spell'
WOT **koldu* 'what is begged for' (< *kol-dU*) → H **koldu* > **koldul** 'to beg', **koldus** 'beggar'

In summary, the copied T verbal stems behave like H verbal stems of Ugr origin, as opposed to verbal stems copied fr Sl and Grm. Fr the point of view of general linguistics, this is a rare case. While T verbal stems do not require an "embedding suffix", they function like the Ugr verbal bases, whereas Sl and Grm *verbal stems* need "embeddig suffixes", which are *denominal suffixes*, not dev ones. The use of den suffs to embed verbal stems into other languages is a common feature.

In respect of the hypothesis of the relationship of the Trans-Eurasiatic or the "Altaic" lgs, this carries an important message. After one and a half thousand years, verbs borrowed fr an unrelated lg cannot be detected with internal methods. They are deeply embedded.

6.7 Lexicology

The Lexicon contains 419 main entries and 73 reference entries. Among the reference entries, we find many instances of H words which pertain to the same etymon as their main entries. In most cases, they are variants or dialectal corresponding forms, but sometimes the result of a word or semantic split. In the case of **bicsak**, **bicska**, **bicske**, we have to assume at least three versions copied at different times. Fr the perspective of T lexicology, we must suppose four ders fr one and the same basis (**bičak*, **bičäk*, **bičkï*, **bičga* / *bičkä*, all fr *bi-* 'to cut'). In the case of H **bocsát**, **bocsájt**, we are dealing with two H variants, but one T etymon. H **kalauz** and **kalóz** reflect the same T word copied at different times and with different meanings fr different T lgs. H **koldul** and **koldus** represent two H words with two different H suffs, but the base is one T word. H **gyarat** and **gyárt** denote different activities, but go back to one and the same H copy of a WOT word (**ǰarat-*). H **ér** is of Ugr origin, but its semantics was enhanced by the homophonous T word. Therefore, counting is always very risky. Nevertheless, we can get a sense of some order of magnitude.

6.7.1 Word classes

Out of the 419 main entries in our Lexicon, 72 are verbs, which makes up 17% of the copied word stock, while 83% are non-verbs (nouns, adjs and adverbs). Papp (1974: 57) counted the proportions within H words of T origin. He included 271 words selected fr Bárczi (1941). Out of all the T lws, verbs totalled 11% and non-verbs came to 89%. The change in the proportion of verbs to non-verbs stems fr the higher total number.

To this, we can add some data on the proportions within H. According to Papp (1974: 57), among 5.623 H basic, non-suffixed words, 7% are verbs, 80% are nouns and the rest are either adjs, adjs used as nouns, or vice versa. This drastically changes if we also figure in the ders. Out of 14.550 lexemes that occur in Papp's sample with one or more der suffs, 36% are verbs and 64% are non-verbs. If we consider the basic and derived lexemes totalling 20.173 words, the percentage of basic and derived verbs is 28%, whereas that of non-verbs is 72%.

According to Papp, the percentage of verbs of non-H origin within all verbs in H is 18%, while that of nouns of foreign der within H non-verbs is 73%. In other words, *only one out of four H nouns is of H origin, and more than four out of five verbs are of H origin.*

These proportions agree with those of Haugen (1950: 224). According to his counts for three different samples, the verb total ranges between 18.4% and 23.2% of the copied lexical stock, whereas the nouns come to 71.7–75.5%. (Adverbs, adjs, prepositions and interjections together comprise the rest). His guess for the reason behind

this proportion is the greater frequency of the nouns and the fact that children learn more nouns than verbs. Papp suggested (1974: 57) that the higher percentage of non-verbs stems fr the fact that lgs copy words for things rather than activities. Activities are expressed either by original verbs or by foreign nouns with native suffs. I would add that verbs appear in a more complicated conjugational form, while nouns occur in a more simple declination system. It is certainly more difficult to abstract fr a more complicated system. Similar ideas were expressed long ago by Whitney, Tesnière and others.

The etymological lexicon by Clauson (1972) contains 10,842 items (see the counts in Róna-Tas 1981/1: xi). If we subtract the erroneous (E), the secondary (S) and the reference items, 7.778 independent head items remain. Out of these, 3.664 are verbs, which is 47% of the total lexical stock treated. This unusually high proportion owes much to the etymological interest of the author. The non-verbs come to 4.114 items (53%). If we had dealt separately with verbs that figure in our Lexicon with a dev noun formative suff, we would have had to include 101 more verbs. To these we can add nouns which are dev nouns, but the verb itself is a dev one, as in *bas-*, *basarka-*, *basarkan* ⟶ H **boszorkány** and *ǰul-*, **ǰulk-*, **ǰulkguči* ⟶ H **gyilkos**. The first is present in the count as the etymon for **baszik**, but not the other. The WOT verb **köker-* 'to be or became blue' can be found in the nouns **kökörcsin**, **kikerics** and **kiköcsény**, but does not occur as a verb in H. If we count the number of verbs in our sample that exist as verbal bases of nouns or as verbs, their number is about 170. Of course, we find more nouns than 419−170 = 249. All 85 den nouns contain at least two nouns. This and the 12 nouns with den verb formatives also have to be included. This totals 347 nouns and 170 verbs in the WOT lexicon, or 517 words altogether. Thus, we can conclude that the proportion of verbs to non-verbs among the WOT lws in H is 33% : 67%, which is closer to what one would expect.

6.7.2 Word stock common to Chuvash and Hungarian

A comparison of the Chuv and the H word stock of WOT der promises interesting results. In some examples of WOT words, H preserved them while they are absent fr Chuv. In a very few cases, Cher or Voty and Tat or Bashk contain the continuation of the WOT word, whereas it disappeared fr Chuv. Cher *sös* 'Gedächtnissfeier für die Verstorbenen' ⟵ Chuv **śüs* < **śus* < WOT **ǰas* ⟶ H **gyász**, Cher *činče* 'bl′ostki; kreisrunde Metallplättchen' ⟵ VBulg **činče* < WOT **ǰinjü* ⟶ H **gyöngy**, Chuv *ĕnčĕ* ⟵ Tat *enǰe* (Agyagási 2009: 15–19), Cher preserved an earlier form: Cher *śöśna* etc. ⟵ Chuv **śusna* < WOT **ǰasnaγ* ⟶ H **disznó**, Chuv **śïsna* > *sïsna*, Voty *syakan* 'rogoža' ⟵ Chuv **śakan* < WOT **ǰekän* ⟶ H **gyékény**, Chuv *čakan* ⟵ VBulg **čäkän.*

If we look for preserved WOT words on the H side, we have to exclude words of Cum origin (35 words). In Chuv, we have to rule out words of Tat or Bashk der (23 words): WOT **aldag* ⟶ H **ágyú**, but Chuv *ultav* 'obman' ⟵ Tat *aldau*, WOT **bolčan-* ⟶ H **bocsánik**, Chuv *pušan-* ⟵ Tat *bušan*, WOT **bolčat-* ⟶ H **bocsát**, Chuv *pušat-* ⟵ Tat *bušat-*, WOT **čöpüγ* ⟶ H **csepű**, Chuv *čüpek* ⟵ Tat *čübek*, WOT **čolak* ⟶ H **csolák**, Chuv *čălak*, *čălaχ* ⟵ Tat *čulak*, WOT **čök* ⟶ H **csök**, Chuv *čăkă* ⟵ Tat *čögey*, WOT **čomak* ⟶ H **csomak**, Chuv *čukmar* ⟵ Tat *čukmar*, WOT **kaγdu* ⟶ H **gaz**, Chuv *χavtan* ⟵ Tat *kaudan*, WOT **ǰala-* ⟶ H **gyaláz**, Chuv *yula* ⟵ Tat *yala*, WOT **ǰapaγu* ⟶ H **gyapjú**, Chuv *yupaχ* ⟵ Tat *yabaga*, WOT **ǰarlïg* ⟶ H **gyarló**, Chuv *yurlă* ⟵ Tat *yarlï*, WOT **ǰïpar* ⟶ H **gyopár**, Chuv *yăpar* ⟵ Bashk *yïpar*, WOT **ǰinjü* ⟶ H **gyöngy**, Chuv *ĕnćĕ* ⟵ Tat *enǰe*, WOT **kapuγ* ⟶ H **kapu**, Chuv *χapχa* ⟵ Bashk *kapka*, WOT **karoγ* ⟶ H **karó**, Chuv *χusăk* ⟵ Tat *kazïk*, WOT **köken* ⟶ H **kökény**, Chuv *küken* ⟵ Tat *kügen*, WOT **aruslan* ⟶ H **oroszlán**, Chuv *arĭslan* ⟵ Tat *arïslan*, WOT **čatur* ⟶ H **sátor**, Chuv *čătăr* ⟵ Tat *čatïr*, WOT **širlig* ⟶ H **serleg**, Chuv *sărlă* ⟵ Tat *sïrlï*, WOT **šire* ⟶ H **sör**, Chuv *săra* ⟵ Tat *sïra*, WOT **sïrt* ⟶ H **szirt**, Chuv *sărt* ⟵ Tat *sïrt*, WOT **teŋir* ⟶ H **tenger**, Chuv *tinĕs* ⟵ Tat *diŋez*, WOT **tör-* ⟶ H **tűr**[1], Chuv *tüs-* ⟵ Tat *tüz-*.

In some cases, H preserved the WOT word, while Chuv has the same WOT word copied fr Rus: WOT **tawar* ⟶ H **tár**, Chuv *tavar* ⟵ Rus *tovar* ⟵ WOT **tawar*, WOT **bura* ⟶ Rus **buraga* > *braga* ⟶ Chuv *păraka*, Os *byræg* (see H **boza**).

In another category, Chuv preserved the WOT word, but also copied its cognate fr Tat: WOT **čïgga* ⟶ H **csiga**, Chuv *śĕχrĕ* (< WOT **čakïr*), *čăkăr* ⟵ Tat *čïgïr*, WOT **ǰuγur-* (> Chuv *śăr-*) ⟶ H **gyúr**, Chuv *yur-* ⟵ Tat or Bashk, WOT **χïrguy* (> Chuv *χĕrχi*) ⟶ H **herjó**, Chuv *kăykăr* ⟵ Tat *kïygïr*, WOT **kepeγ* (> Chuv *tipĕ*!) ⟶ H **kepe**, Chuv *kapan* ⟵ Tat *kibän*.

Other discrepancies include WOT **agač* ~ **ïgač* > Chuv *yïvaś*, H **ács** < **agačči*.

WOT words which are present in H but absent fr Chuv are the following 115 words (Cum words excluded): **alacs**, **ál**, **ápol**, **áporodik**, **apró**, **ártány**, **balkány**, **balta**, **béka**, **bélyeg**, **bercel**, **bese**, **besenyő**, **bicsak**, **bika**, **bilincs**, **bíró**, **boglya**, **bojt**, **boly**, **bor**, **bosszant**, **böjt**, **bölcs**, **bölcső**, **börtön**, **bú**, **bular**, **búza**, **bűn**, **bűvös**, **csalit**, **csanak**, **csata**, **csatol**, **csiger**, **csipa**, **csősz**, **csúnya**, **dió**, **dől**, **ér**, **erkölcs**, **ernyed**, **görény**, **güzü**, **gyanú**, **gyapot**, **gyarmat**, **gyász** (preserved in Cher), **gyilkos**, ? **győz**, **gyűlik**, **gyümölcsény**, **gyűszű**, **hajó**, **homok**, **ijeszt**, **jász**, **kalauz**, **káliz**, **kantár**, **kanyaró**, **karakán**, **karám**, **kárókatona**, **kazár**, **kebel**, **keselyű**, **kor**, **korhány**, **kos**, **ködmön**, **kölyök**, **könyv**, **köpec**, **körtvély**, **küllő**[2], **küllő**[3], **ok**, **olcsó**, **ól**, **ondó**, **orsó**, **ölyv**, **örök**, **örül**, **őrül**, **sárkány**, **sárma**, **sok**, **sólyom**, **szán**[1], **szesz**, **táltos**, **tanács**, **táplál**, **tar**, **tarló**, **térd**, **terem**, **tok**[1], **toklyó**, **torma**, **torontál**, **tót**, **tőr**, **tulok**, **túzok**, **ürge**, **ürü**, **üvecs**, **váj**, **vejsze**, **zerge**.

Add words which are present in Chuv but not of WOT origin (they rather derived fr Tat, Bashk or Rus (25)) and we count 138 WOT words, including **karó** and **tenger**, which have been preserved by H but not by Chuv. On the other hand, there exist 246 words which occur both in Chuv and in H. The fact that almost two-thirds (64%) of the WOT words copied by H have their parallel in Chuv is of great importance. This provides a very sound basis for reconstructing WOT. The 138 WOT words present in H and absent fr Chuv demonstrate a drop-out rate in Chuv, which is due to time and cultural/historical circumstances.

Chapter Seven

Who spoke, where and when West Old Turkic?

7.1 Space

In fixing the region where H copied the WOT words, we should take great care when using linguistic indicators. For example, we find a number of words in the material related to pig breeding (see p. 1160 below). This certainly may provide a clue to an environment where pigs could have been bred. Of course, other explanations for the existence of such terms in a given area are also possible. Pork products brought to market fr elsewhere would require words to identify them. Also, societies that prohibit the consumption of pork must at least have a name for the forbidden animal. In any case, mounted nomads with a great radius of yearly mobility can only breed pigs if some members of the group (clan or tribe) remain in the winter resorts throughout the year. Even more remarkable than the pig breeding terms, however, is the high number of words that fall under the terminology of agriculture, more specifically, that of viticulture. But before we attempt to analyze them, we first have to collect words that reflect the botanical environment. I hope I have demonstrated in two papers (Róna-Tas 2004; 2005c) that the botanical terms common in WOT, Al and H, if checked against data fr archeobotany, can safely be used to fix the territory of linguistic contacts.

It is well known that botanical terms and their meaning may change over time. The Gr form that regularly corresponds to IE *$*b^haHk'o$* 'beech' is *φαγός*, *φηγός*, yet it carries the meaning 'oak'. Sl *bukъ* means 'beech', but its phonological structure is irregular and it is a lw fr Grm. The H name of the 'hawthorn' was **gyümölcsény** until the end of the Middle Ages, but later it was displaced by Sl *galagonya*.

H	WOT	Al	Os
kőris 'ash tree, *Fraxinus*'	**kevrüč* < **kebrüč*	**kevrüš*	*kærz*
som 'cornel, *Cornus*'	**čum*	**čum*	*cym*, *cumæ*
körte, **körtvély** 'pear, *Pyrus*'	**kertve*, **kertveliɣ*	**kertve*	*kærdo*, *kerttu*
kökény 'blackthorn, *Prunus spinosa*'	**kökän*	**kökän*	*kakon*, *kokojæ*, *koko*
komló 'hops, *Humulus lupulus*'	**kumlaɣ*	**χumalag*	*xomællæg*, *xumælæg*
gyékény 'bulrush, *Typha*'	**ǰekän*	**ǰeken*	*ǰeġen*, *ǰegejne*
bükk 'beech, *Fagus*' < *bik*	**bik*		
gyümölcsény 'hawthorn', *Crataegus*	**ǰemilčen*		
gyertyán 'hornbeam, *Carpinus betulus*'	**ǰartaɣan*		
gyűrű[1] 'maple, *Acer*; cornel, *Cornus*'	**ǰereɣ*		
dió 'walnut, *Juglans*'	**ǰïgaɣ*		
? **mogyoró** 'hazelnut, *Corullus avellana*'	**muńaraɣ* < **muńur*		*æŋūz*, *ængozæ*
komócsin 'timothy grass, *Phlenum sp.*'	**kamïlčan*	**kamïl* 'reed'	*qamïl*, *qamil*
tül arch 'oak', **tölgy** 'oak, *Quercus*'		**tülǰ*	*tūldz*, *toldzæ*

Table 7.1: Botanical terminology in H, WOT, Al and Os

One isolated term says almost nothing. However, a relatively large number of botanical terms establish a welcome foundation for a cautious conclusion. If we compare the names with paleobotanical findings, it becomes clear that the *ash tree*, the *oak* and the *beech* were present in the period when the Hungarians migrated within three regions: (1) The Kuban–Don region; (2) the south-east part of the Crimean peninsula; and (3) the region west of the Dniester (see a detailed treatment in Róna-Tas 2004; 2005c). Of the three regions, only the first can be chosen if we take into account the historical data on the Alans, Turks and Hungarians. Hungarians were never on the Crimean peninsula for longer periods, and the territory west of the Dniester was their last place of settlement before they invaded the Carpathian Basin.

The entire terminology of geographical objects is lacking. No words for landscape, river, sea, meadow, nature, cloud, rain, snow etc. can be found. The only word of importance is H **tenger** 'sea', which, at the same time, is the only known *r*-T word-form; both Chuv and Mo reflect a *z*-form (*tinĕs* and *teŋgis*, resp). We find two words in the Lexicon which denote fish living in the Black Sea and in the lower reaches of the rivers flowing into the Black Sea: **sőreg** and **tok**[1] 'sturgeon'. Both may pertain to WOT1 or WOT2, because the final *-g* in **sőreg** came into this position secondarily. H has a third word for the same fish, *viza*, which is of unknown origin. The names of fish may change, as we know fr IE studies. But here the data bear each other out.

7.2 Time

The material offers possibilities for a relative chronology. Among the botanical terms, we find five words which reflect WOT /ǰ/: **gyékény**, **gyümölcsény**, **gyertyán**, **gyűrű**[1] and **dió** (< **gyivó**). This paves the way for the next step. We have, including the above five, altogether 36 words in the Lexicon with the same phonetic feature. Even if we exclude six or seven of them because they are debatable, this is sufficient to draw further conclusions. WOT /ǰ/ changed through /č/ to /č́/ later and this palatalized /č́/ was adapted by LAH to the palatalized sound /ś/, which later became depalatalized /s/. See e.g. PFUgr **śälä-* > PUgr **śälə-* (> POUgr **sīl-*, **sūl-* > PVog **šīl-*, POsty **sül-*) > EAH **śälə-* > H *szel-* 'to slice', WOT1 **ǰēl* > WOT2 *čēl* → LAH **śel* > H **szél** 'wind'. All words in which the H phoneme /s/ corresponds to WOT /ǰ/ >> Chuv /ś/ are later (WOT2): **szárny**, **szél**, **szer**, **szérű**, **szőlő** and **szűcs**. Numerical statements are always risky, but the fact that PT /y/ > WOT /ǰ/ > Chuv /ś/ is represented by 30 words with /ǰ/ > /ď/ in the earlier portion of lws and by six words with /s/ in the later group indicates that the largest number of words were copied in the first period. Can we refine this?

In the above botanical list, we find **som** 'cornel', which is in evidence in the earliest H documents (1001, 1015, etc.). It forms part of a wide H word-family, partly of T origin (**som**, **somlyó**), partly already with H suffs (*Somos*, **somogy**). As we have seen above (pp. 1088–1093) WOT /č/ was copied into the H system as /č/, which later changed, along with all PUgr /č/ sounds, to /š/ in the initial position (see p. 1089): PFUgr **čappɜ-* > PUgr **čappə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **šapə-* > H *sápad-* 'to turn pale' (*-d* is a H suff). H words in which H /š/ corresponds to WOT /č/ are: **sarló**, **sajt**, **saru**, **sátor**, **seprű**[2], **sok**, **sólyom** and **sűrű**. The number of words with an initial /š/ was augmented with WOT words that contain /š/ to total 30 words, or, if we exclude the debated etymologies, 25–26.

Later, WOT /č/ changed to a palatalized /č́/. The palatalization of WOT /č/ must have occurred later than the /ǰ/ > /č́/ change. Because of the strong palatalization of /č/ > /č́/, it was taken over as /ć/ and became /č/ in H, together with the PUgr /ć/ phoneme.

WOT1 /ǰ/ → EAH /ǰ/ > /ď/
WOT1 /č/ → LAH /č/ > H /š/
WOT2 /ǰ/ > /č́/ → LAH /ś/ > H /s/
WOT3 /č/ > /č́/ → LAH /ć/ > H /č/

As we can see, WOT /ǰ/ and /č/ combined in Chuv, but relatively late. Until now, we have not found words in VBulg which contained WOT /č/ in the initial position, therefore we cannot decide when the merger of the two phonemes occurred there. In

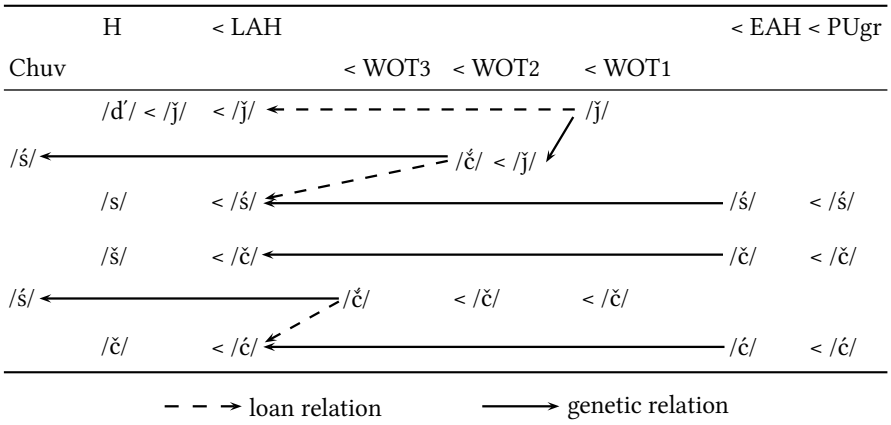


Table 7.2: Relative chronology of affricates and sibilants

the non-initial position, there are several words with /č/, but there are none with /ǰ/ in the non-initial position. This structural situation may have triggered the change /ǰ/ > /ǩ/. While a strong palatalization occurred in the Volga region, we witness a depalatalization in the LAH, PUgr /ć/ > H /č/ and PUgr /ś/ > H /s/, which occurred in the last phase of LAH.

Among the 36 words copied by H with an initial /ǰ/, only one has preserved a final guttural stop (**gyermek**), and this is a much debated etymology. Since we do not know the origin of the Chuv word **śarmăk*, which is most probably connected with the H word, we can exclude it fr further investigations. It is clear that all words copied in the WOT1 period lost their final guttural, which was originally a stop, either /g/ or /k/ in PT. The same holds true for WOT2. None of the words where H has an initial /s/ in place of WOT /ǰ/ > /ǩ/ preserved a final guttural.

There is only one word common to Al and LAH which lost its final guttural: **komló** 'hops'. However, **komló** is a very old migrating cultural word, so it does not help much in our case. The fact is that Os preserved its final guttural consonant and Chuv and H lost theirs.

Another, slightly different case is that of a group of words in which H /š/ corresponds to WOT /č/. In such instances, WOT /č/ was taken on as /č/ and, as we have seen, changed with PUgr /č/ to /š/. With one exception, the final guttural disappeared (**sarló**, **saru**, **seprű**[2], **somlyó** and **sűrű**), and it was preserved in one case (**sereg**).

The typical Chuv change /s/ > /š/ before /i/, /ï/ and /i̯a/ < /ā/ is reflected in the following H words:

	H		WOT	EOT	Chuv
sár[1]	'mud, marsh'	*šār*	**si̯ar*	**sāz*	*šur*
sár[2]	'yellow'	*šār*	**si̯arï*	**sāz*	*šură*
sárkány	'dragon'	*šārkān*	**si̯arkan*	**sazakan*	–
sebes	'fast, quick'	*šebeš*	**šip*	**sip*	*šep*
sért	'to injure, hurt'	*šēr-t-*	**šir-*	**sïz-*	*sur-*
seper	'to sweep'	*šeper-*	**šipir-*	**sipir-*	*šăpăr-*
serke	'nit'	*šerke*	**širke*	**sirkä*	*šărkă*
serte	'bristle'	*šerte*	**širt*	**sïrt*	*šărt*
sík	'even, flat'	*šīk*	**šïk*	**sïk*	ăšăχ
sima	'smooth'	*šima*	**šïma*	**sïyma*	*šăma*
sió	'running water'	*šiō*	**šï̯u̯*	**sub*	*šïv*
serleg	'cup'	*šerleg*	**širlig*	**sïr*	*săr*
sör, **sër**	'beer'	*šör*, *šër*	**šire*	**sïra*	*săra*
sőreg	'sterlet (fish)'	*šő̄reg*	**šivrigey*	**siviz°*	*šürekkey*
süly	'scurvy'	*šül′*	**šiyül*	**sigil*, *sögöl*	*šăklă*, *šăkl′ă*, *šĕkĕl*
süv	'uncle'	*šüv*	**šiγ*	**siŋil*	*šăllăm*

Table 7.3: H, WOT and Chuv sibilants before primary and secondary /i/

In 13 out of 16 cases, H /š/ corresponds to Chuv /š/. In three instances, H preserved WOT /š/ and Chuv used /s/. Two Chuv words, *săr* (cf. **serleg**) and *săra* (cf. **sör**), are Tat lws in Chuv. In five cases (**sár**[1], **sár**[2], **sárkány**, **sért** and **sőreg**), we find rhotacism. In the case of H **sért**, we see that Chuv contains /s/, but it also features /r/ instead of EOT /z/. This means that, with the exception of **sért** (with an etymology that is not entirely airtight), H and Chuv share a common feature: instead of PT /s/, both have /š/ before a primary and secondary /i/. The words with /š/ in place of /s/ were copied later than the WOT change /s/ > /š/ before a primary and secondary /i/.

Let us now see the other side of the coin, words which have either an *i*-sound or a long /ā/ > /i̯a/ after the initial /s/ and in which the /s/ > /š/ change did not occur.

Chuv *sum* denotes 'sčet, (ust.) mnogo deneg, bogatstvo, kapital, (ust.) mera sčeta nitok v prjaže, česť, počet, uvaženie' (Chuv), *sum*, *som* II 'rubl′ (assignacijami)', *sum* 'rubel (papirosrubel); Rubel (Papier-Rubel)' (ChuvP), that is 'account, sum, a lot of money, wealth, capital, the measure of the sum, thread in the yarn, honour, etc., roubel'. This was a term of taxation. It originally denoted the amount of tax. The tax collector was named *samči*, which was fixed as DBulg *σαμφής* [sampses] 'bulgarische

	H		WOT	EOT	Chuv
szál	'raft'	*sāl*	**sāl*	**sāl*	*sul*
szám	'number'	*sām*	**sām*	**sān*	*sum*
szár	'pale, bald'	*sār*	**sār*	**sāz*	*săr*
szesz	'fume'	*ses*	**sis*	**sis*	–
szép	'beautiful '	*sēp*	**sip*	**sip*	*šep*
szín	'colour'	*sin*	**sïn*	**sïn*	*săn*
szirony	'thin hide rope'	*siroń*	**sïyrum*	**sïdrïm*	*šăyăr-*
szirt	'rock'	*sirt*	**sïrt*	**sïrt*	*šărt, sărt*
szúnyog	'mosquito'	*suńog*	**sïŋuk*	**siŋäk*	*šăna*

Table 7.4: Words with preserved /s/ before */i/ and */ā/ in H

Würde', *sampsi* id. (869/870) (Moravcsik 1983/2: 266) and Rus *samčij* 'upravljajuščij hozjajstvom' (Fasmer 1964–1973/3: 554). This means that the word was in common use in the Khazar Empire, and later among the Volga and Danube Bulgars, fr where it was copied into OChSl. H preserved this meaning in the expression *számos állat, számos jószág*, which is a kind of standard for animals. A full-grown horse, cow or ox had the value of one, which was equal to two young animals (foals or calves) or to five or six small animals (sheep or goats) older than one year. Peasants had to pay the rent for the pasture according to this system. The herdsman in charge of payment was the *számadó*. This system can be traced back to an earlier taxation system. The Chuv word for 'number, amount' is *χisep*, an Ar word (*ḥisāb*) which came through Tat (*χisäp, isäp*) into Chuv (Scherner 1977: 32, 56).

One reason why Chuv and H have /s/ and not /š/ in **szám**, may be that both copied it fr a third T lg. Given the historical background, this could only be Khaz. However, the other reason may be that, though the vowel is long in EOT, it was shortened early on in WOT. This can be reinforced by the fact that the basic verb also contains /s/: *su-* 'sčitaťˊ, počitaťˊ, pričityvaťˊ nagovor; to count, reckon, value, number'.

H **szál** 'raft' tells a similar story. Both Chuv and H have /s/. The length of the /a/ is secondary in H. The shortening of /ā/ occurred in WOT. In the case of H **sár**[2], **sárga** 'yellow' and **szár** 'yellowish, pale', we find both *šur* 'white' and *săr* 'seryj' in Chuv. In Chuv, *šur* and *săr* stand in opposition, H **szár** disappeared in MH but otherwise H and Chuv are in agreement. H **szár** and Chuv *săr* both go back to WOT *sar* < **sār*.

H **szín** 'face, outer look, colour' and Chuv *săn* id. are comparable. Both derive fr WOT **sïn* and the change /ï/ > /i/ did not occur in WOT, thus /s/ remained /s/. The equivalent of H **szirt** 'rock, cliff' is *sărt* 'holm, gorka; hill, rock, crest' in Chuv, but Chuv also contains *šărt* 'crest', *tu šărćĕ* 'crest of a mountain' preserved in a dial. In contrast, H has **sebes** 'fast, quick' and **szép** 'beautiful' , while Chuv only has *šĕp* 'horošij, krasivyj; good, beautiful', all three being fr WOT **sip* > **šip*. Only H **szúnyog** and **szirony** have equivalents with /š/ in present-day Chuv. This may mean that the /s/ > /š/ change before a primary and secondary /i/ was not complete during the time of the T–H contacts before the Conquest. On the other hand, the shortening of the long /ā/ had begun. This means that *sā-* became *sa-* earlier than /ā/ became /i̯a/.

As we have seen above (p. 1093), EOT */y/- corresponds to DBulg and VBulg /ǰ/ and to Chuv /ś/. In such cases, H /s/ comes fr H */ś/-, which replaced the strongly palatalized WOT3 /ć/ < /ǰ/. We also see that the final guttural disappears.

H	LAH	WOT3	Chuv	WOT1	EOT
szárny	< **śārn*	← **ćа(γ)rïn* >	*śurăm*	**ǰagrïn*	*ya(g)rïn*
szél	< **śēl*	← **ćēl* >	*śil*	**ǰēl*	*yēl*
szérű	< **śēreu̯*	← **ćürüγ* >	*śĕrĕ*	**ǰürüγ*	*yüzük*
szőlő	< **śöleu̯*	← **ćeleγ* >	*śi-*	**ǰeleγ*	*yelek, yeglek*
szűcs	< **śeu̯či*	← **ćiγči* >	*śĕvĕšĕ*	**ǰiγči* < *ǰüγiči*	*yipči, yigči*

Table 7.5: H /s/ in place of EOT /y/

Returning to the affricate /č/, we can conclude that the H change /č/ > /š/ lasted a long time and was only completed during the WOT3 period, or even later. It may have finished in some H dials later than in others. It may have lasted in EOH after the Conquest.

The guttural seems to be preserved in words which otherwise pertain to WOT1–2: **sőreg**, **serleg** and **sík**. H **sőreg** corresponds to *šürekkey pulă* 'sterljad′, not to Chuv *śevrik* 'sevrjuga', and Rus *sevrjuga* reflects a form **sürekey*. H **serleg** is a wandering word of Ch origin with a T suff. I will return to **sík**. In one case, /g/ changed to /w/ > /v/ in **süv** as it did in **üvecs**. H preserved the one but last stage of the change: */g/ > /ɣ/ > /w/ > /v/ > /ø/.

What type of gutturals did WOT use? As we can see, in all cases where EOT had a guttural stop in the word-final position, Chuv lost the final guttural. Let us check those words which contain a guttural final in H.

In monosyllabic words, /k/ is preserved in the final position: H **csak**, Chuv *śiχ*, etc., H **csök**[1], Chuv *čăχă*, H **csökik**, Chuv *śăk-*, H **kék**, Chuv *kavăk*, H **ok**, Chuv deest, H **sík**, Chuv *šăχ*, *ĕšĕk*, etc., H **szék**, Chuv *sak*, H **szökik**, Chuv *sik-*, H **tok**[1], Chuv deest, H ? **ug**, Chuv *üχĕ*, *ükĕ*. WOT /g/ disappeared in the final position: H **bő**, Chuv (*em*)*pü*, H **bog**, Chuv *pu*, H **bú**, Chuv deest.

The case is different with polysyllabic words. According to the normal correspondence, the final guttural disappeared in H and in Chuv: H **borjú**, Chuv *păru*, EOT *buzag*(*u*), H **disznó**, Chuv *sïsna*, T **yasnag*, H **eke**, Chuv *aka*, T *äkäg*, etc. (see pp. 1076, 1081–1083). In some cases, we find the word without a guttural in Chuv, whereas its H corresponding form preserved the guttural: H **sereg**, Chuv *śar*, H **üszög**, Chuv *ăšă*. Some of these words contained a final vowel, which disappeared in one way or another: H **ászok** ← **askï*, **homok** ← **kumakï*. But the remaining final gutturals call for some explanation. They are the following:

In nine cases (**árok**, **csanak**, **gyermek**, **hurok**, **köldök**, **örök**, **telek**[1], **túzok** and **vértelek**), the PT final *-k* is preserved, and in three cases (**általag**, **bélyeg** and **szúnyog**), the PT final /k/ changed to /g/ in WOT and H reflects this stage. In the following cases, H has a final /g/ as EOT did: **serleg**, **sereg**, **üszög** and **vendég**.

The whole group has to pertain to WOT3. H **tyúk**, *čăχ*(*ă*) in Chuv, is a special case, in which the first vowel is reduced and the second is secondary. H **tyúk** derives fr **ṭi̯uk*; this is the WOT form fr which the Chuv **tiγuk* > *čăχ* evolved. H *-k* reflects an earlier phase, before /k/ became /χ/ in Chuv. In any case, Chuv preserved the final guttural, because it dealt with it as a monosyllabic word and not a polysyllabic one.

The disappearence of the final guttural is reflected by the PPerm lws in VBulg (see Rédei-Róna-Tas 1972: 287): PPerm *śuri* 'Weberspule' ← VBulg **čüri* (< **čüri* < **ǰürüγ*) → Tat, Bashk *šüre* (cf. Chuv *šĕrĕ*).

WOT /γ/ disappeared through /w/ in VBulg: PT **ellig* > WOT **elliγ* > **elliw* > VBulg *ellü* > Chuv *allă* 'fifty', or PT **belüg* > WOT **belüγ* > **belüw* > VBulg **belü* (*-wi*) > Chuv *pală*, *pallă* (see **bélyeg**). The words **süv** and **üvecs** were copied around the time of this phase.

That means that there was no change in this position on the WOT side between 1 and 3, but H changed in the same position and WOT /γ/ was substituted by H /g/ in the WOT 2–3 period. The WOT guttural in the syllable-final position changed later than the one in the word-final position /gd/ > /γδ/ → /γz/ > /V̄z/ (**túzok** and **búza**) and WOT /γ/ then became /w/ (see **süv** and **üvecs**).

Let us check the case of the loss of the final guttural using Al. We find a few words with guttural finals (see § 8.9): *gazdag* 'rich', *méreg* 'poison', *rég* 'a long time ago', *üveg* 'glass' and ? *részeg* 'drunken'. If WOT /g/ produced /ø/ in bisyllabic words, why is this not the case with the Al words? Either the Al words pertain to the WOT3 period, or if they were earlier there had to exist a difference between the finals.

H	WOT	Chuv	EOT
árok	**aruk*	*arĭk*	**arĭk*
általag	**altïlïg*		**altïlïk*
bélyeg	**bäläg*	*pală*, *palăk*	**bäläk*
csanak	**čanak*		**čanak*
gyermek	**ǰärmäk*	*śarmăk*	**yärmäk*
hurok	**urok*		**uruk*
köldök	**kindik*	*kăvapa*	**kindik*
kölyök	**kölčäk*		**köšäk*
köpönyeg, **köpeny**	**kepenek*		**kepenek*
örök	**ürük*		**ürük*
serleg	**širliġ*	*săr*(*ă*)	**sirlig*
sereg	**čerig*	*śar*	**čärig*
süv	**šüw* < **siγ*	*šăllăm*	**siŋil*
szúnyog	**sïŋuk*	*šăna*	**siŋäk*
telek[1]	**tilök*	*čĕlĕ*	**tilök*
túzok	**toγδak*		**togdak*
üszög, **üszök**	**isig*	*ăšă*	**isig*
üvecs	**öweč*		**ögeč*
vendég, see **enő**	**vändäg*	*vime*	**ündäg*
vértelek	**vertülük*	*viteləĕk*	**örtülük*

Table 7.6: WOT guttural finals in LAH

Final /g/ appeared relatively late in the PUgr stock of H:

H *-γ* > *ø*: PFUgr **śukɜ* > PUgr **śuγə* (> POUgr ? **suγ* > PVog **sou*, POsty **saγ*) > EAH **śuγə* > **śuwə* > H *szú* 'woodworm', *szuvas* 'decayed, carious'.

H *-g*: PFUgr **śäŋkɜ-* 'to break' > PUgr **śäŋkə-* (> POUgr **sēŋk-* > PVog **sə̄ŋk-*, POsty *söŋk-*) > EAH **śäŋgə-* > **sägə-* > H *szeg-* 'to break (bread or somebody's neck), hem'.

H *-k*: PFUgr **pukkɜ* > PUgr **pukkə* (> POUgr **pŭγ-* > PVog **pŭp*, POsty **pŏγ*) > EAH **φukə* > OH *fuk* > H *fok* 'cape, eye of a needle'.

From the above, it is clear that H replaced WOT /ɣ/ with H *-ɣə* during WOT1 and WOT2 because of the H rule of the open syllable. Later, /ɣ/ disappeared through a diphthong. Al /g/ was substituted by H /gə/ in the final position. Al /g/ was a stop and not a spirant in the final position. Thus Al *-Vg* was preserved through *-Vgə* as *-Vg*. After the slow disappearance of H /ɣ/, WOT *-Vɣ* was replaced by H *-Vg*. When WOT *-Vɣ* changed to *-Vw*, H copied it as *-Vw*. H /ə/ disappeared first after spirants like /ɣ/.

Final /ɣ/ is preserved in the *Foundation Deed* of the Abbey of Tihany (1055) in *azah* and *meneh*, but /ɣ/ already disappeared in *feu* and *gisnav*, in which we find a diphthong (see **disznó**), as well as in *munorau*, *monarau* and *ferteu* (see Bárczi 1951: 117; Zelliger 2005).

	PT	WOT		H		
1.	*-Vk*	> *-Vg*	> *-Vɣ* ⟶	*-Vɣə* >	*-VV̆* >	*V̄*
	-Vg	> *-Vg*	> *-Vɣ* ⟶	*-Vɣə* >	*-VV̆* >	*V̄*
2.	*-Vk*	> *-Vg*	> *-Vɣ* ⟶	*-Vg*		
3.	*-Vg*	> *-Vg*	> *-Vɣ* ⟶	*-Vg*		
	-Vk	> *-Vk*	> *-Vk* ⟶	*-Vk*		
4.	*-Vg*	> *-Vɣ*	> *-Vw* ⟶	*-Vw*		

Table 7.7: WOT guttural finals and their H adaptation

Labial vowels changed to diphthongs in the initial position and later took on a prosthetic /v/ in Chuv (see p. 1102). We find 34 WOT words in which the initial labial did not change to /v/. Four of them changed their initial vowel to H /å/ or /ā/: **apró**, **arat**, **ápol** and **áporodik**. Two are of Cum origin (**ontok** and **özön**). Among the remaining 28 words, two are debatable. Among the remaining 26 words, in most cases the final guttural disappeared (**idő** < *üdő*, **ocsú**, **olcsó**, **ondó**, **orsó**) and in two (**hurok** < *urok*, **örök**) the guttural was preserved. Among the eight words with /v/ (**váj**, **vályú**, **vejsze**, **vék**, **vendég**, **ver**[1], **vértelek**, **imád** < *vimád-*), three are debated. In one case (**vályú**), the final guttural disappeared; in two (**vendég** and **vértelek**), it is preserved. In the case of **vendég**, we find the same base without /v/ in **enő**. We have to suppose that the prosthetic /v/ evolved in WOT3. During this phase, H had already begun to preserve the WOT final /g/ and /k/.

WOT3 may have been the period in which non-Chuv lgs appeared and **örök** and **hurok** or **bélyeg** may have been copied fr such a lg. The prosthetic /v/ was

generalized in VBulg before the 13th–14th c.s at the latest, most probably in the 10th c., as it was in DBulg.

The following words show rhotacism: **borjú**, **görény**, **gyűrű**[2], **iker**, **karó**, **koporsó**, **ökör**, **sár**[1], **szár**, **szűr**, **tar**, **tenger**, **térd** and **tűr**[1]. In all the words with a final guttural, it disappeared (**borjú**, **gyűrű**[2], **karó** and **koporsó**). This is not the case with words that demonstrate lambdacism: **dél**, **dől** and **kölyök**. Of these three words, one contains a guttural final (**kölyök**). There is a discrepancy between Chuv and H in the proportion of words with /l/ in place of PT /š/. Chuv has more than 20 words with /l/, H only three, and the first two have the initial /d/ instead of /t/. As I have shown above (pp. 1104–1107), we must add to the words with /l/ those which had PT /š/ and WOT /lč/ reflected by H /č/ or /lč/: **bölcső**, **bocsát**, **búcsú**, **gyümölcs**, **gyümölcsény**, **komócsin** and **tanács**. In these words, the final guttural disappeared (**bölcső** and **búcsú**). This means that the /lč/ > /l/ and /č/ >> /ś/ changes occurred late, H first copied /lč/ (WOT1–2) and later (WOT3) /l/.

The words **dél**, **dől** and **görény**, together with ? **gaz**, ? **gödény**, **güzü**, and **dara**, pertain to the WOT3 period. If the etymology of **gaz** can be solidified, then it pertains to the group **búza** and **túzok**, where PT /d/ already changed to /δ/ before /ɣ/ and /k/ was copied as /k/.

There are two back-vocalic words in the list of botanical terms (**komló** and **komócsin**) which were copied with the initial stop /k/. Of the 76 words beginning with /k/, 38 are of front-vocalism and 38 of back-vocalism. If we place into this framework the five words copied by H with /χ/- > /h/-, we find another chronological device. The /k/ > /χ/ ⟶ /χ/ > /h/ change occurred later than PUgr /s/ > /h/ > /ø/. The small quantity of words with /h/ and some special questions associated with them point to a WOT dial. The /k/ > /χ/ feature in back-vocalic words is regular in all VBulg inscriptions and in Chuv. The copying of back-vocalic /k/ may have begun in WOT1 (**kanyaró**, **kapu**, **karó**, **komló** and ? **kóró**). It may have lasted until the appearance of the Cumans. In the Cum layer, we find **kobak** with a preserved final guttural, as in the other Cum words: **barág**, **csabak**, **ontok** and **szándok**. The WOT change /k/ > /χ/ began in a dial of WOT (**hajó**, **harang**, **herjó** and **homok**), later it was generalized, and this is reflected in VBulg and Chuv: PT **kïrk* > VBulg *χïrχ* > Chuv *χĕrĕχ* 'fifty'. In the case of the Al lws, we find H *híd* 'bridge' < **χīd* ← Al **χīd*.

Before we take the next step, we have to separate the 35 Cum words (see § 8.10) that were copied after the second migration of the Cumans into the Carpathian Basin (after 1242). If we collect the words which neither indicate that they pertain to WOT1, WOT2, WOT3, nor show Cum traits, a relatively large group remains. Words like **ész**, **kar**, **kép**, **ok**, **orv**, **örök**, **szaka**, **terem** and **üröm** and a great deal more represent no special criteria. Németh (1921 and in several of his successive papers such as 1922; 1930a) called this layer „middle", placing it after the BulgT layer and before the Ott

one. Later, Bárczi (1958a: 68) called this layer Pech–Cum, but Ligeti (1986: 89) rightly pointed out that we have no grounds for separating Pech words. Németh was wrong to place all T lws with /č/ into the „middle" layer. This also influenced Benkő in several of his publications. On the other hand, Ligeti (1986: 90) wrote that CT, that is non-Chuv words, began to flow into the H lg before the Conquest. He devoted almost 40 pages to several criteria for T lgs not pertaining to the Chuv group. Some of these conditions are clearly Cum ones, such as /p/ > /b/ in the intervocalic position (**koboz**) and the preservation of /z/ in **boza**, **özön** and **tőzeg**. He included rules in the investigation which only apply to PNs and GNs such as /y/ in the initial position. The preservation of /v/ < /g/ in the word **üvecs** instead of the expected **űcs* is surely a sign of a not very ancient origin, perhaps, according to him, fr an Ott dial. This is not very probable. I agree with Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1591) who, for reasons of word geography and history, excluded Ott in this case. The words **üvecs** and **süv** show the WOT3 change /ɣ/ > /w/.

The loss of the guttural element of /ŋ/ in PT **siŋek* (**sunug* → H **szúnyog**), together with the preservation of both /s/ before /i/ and of the final guttural, prompted Ligeti to suggest a Pech origin (1986: 10; but 1986: 96 irregular, not Kip). Ligeti linked the voicing of initials as in **dara** to the Ūz lg. The name Ūz is a late form of Oguz and has been noted in the H sources since 1192. In some Lat sources, the same group is called "Black Cumans", but this only means that they are not identical with the Cumans known to the H author. All GN data connected with Ūz were collected by Kristó–Makk–Szegfű (1973–1974: 21–22). The migration of this group to the Carpathian Basin occurred earlier than the Mongol invasion in 1241–1242.

The voicing of /t/ and /k/ in the initial position cannot be separated fr the two words with lambdacism, **dél** (EOT **tüš*, but Tkm *düšlem*, TtD *düš*, Tuv *dü˝š*, Mo *düli*) and **dől** (EOT **tüš-*, but Tkm, Az, Tt *düš-*, Tuv *düš-*, Mo *tüsi-*), and one with rhotacism, **görény** (cf. EOT **küzen*, but TtD *gözen*, Mo *kürene*), as well as **gödény** (EOT *kotan*, Tkm, Az *godan*, Mo *kotan*). On the other hand, the final H /a/ in **dara** in place of WOT /ï/ shows that it must have been copied at a time when H final /i/ sounds already disappeared, and T /ï/ may have been replaced by H /a/ or /e/. On the Og parallels of **dara**, see Tkm, Az *darï*, Tt *darı*, Gag *darï*. These words were perhaps mediated by an Og lg, or pertain to a common WOT–Og isogloss. On other Chuv–Og isoglosses, see pp. 1159.

Ligeti also dealt with lexical problems (1986: 129–130). Some important lexical isoglosses separate the Kip and Og lgs. There are a few words which also appear in the Lexicon, for example **köldök** (< *kindik*), which is present in the Kip lgs, while the Og lgs have the continuations of PT **kȭpek*. Interestingly, in this case (but in some others as well), Chuv has the word of the Og-type (*kăvapa* < WOT **kȭpek* < **kȭpek*). Chuv *kĕntĕk* 'serdečnik, škvoren' (u telegi); core, kingpin (of the cart)'

goes back to **kindik* 'navel', as Fedotov (1996/2: 274) already correctly supposed. Chuv *kĕntĕk* is, however, a Tat lw (see the semantics of Tat *kendek* 'pup, serdečnik (telegi), škvoren′, steržen′, centr'). H **kos** 'ram' pertains to the lexical indicators, in which case the etymon for the H word (WOT **koč*) is of the Og-type and the Kip lgs contain **kočkar*. As for the first part of H **kéneső** 'mercury, "tickwater"', the Og lgs have **känä* 'tick' and the Kip lgs have *kasartka*, *kasartkï*, *kasïrtaka*, but, while Nog has *kasartkï* 'klešč; tick', 'mercury' is *könesuv* 'rtut′' in that lg, which has to be a lw fr a T lg spoken earlier in the area (see **bükk**). In the case of H **szúnyog** 'mosquito', we see that the word is practically absent fr the Kip lgs. It is certain that CrTat and the data fr KarC are of Og origin, while we find PT **čibin* in the other Kip lgs. In this case, Chuv also follows the Og lgs; it has *šăna*. However, H **szúnyog** must be a late copy, as we have seen above. We have to put it into the WOT3 period. That is, the Og-type words are to be dated to WOT3.

One of the most important lexical isoglosses that separate the Og and the Kip lgs is the word for 'sun'. The Og lgs have the continuation of **küneš*, while in the Kip lgs we find the forms that correspond to **kuyaš*. In this case, Chuv has *χĕvel*, which is clearly a case of lambdacism and at the same time a continuation of **kuyaš*, that is the "Kip" form. Räsänen's idea (1969: 301) of reconstructing a form **kuńaš* for both words for 'sun' is not impossible, but does not help with the question of how old the Og and the Kip isoglosses are in Chuv. Chuv *χĕvel* can be traced immediately back to **kuyal*. This form may be a continuation of **kuńaš*. A further link with EOT **köń-*, *köy-* 'to burn' is also possible (see Berta 1997: 23–31). In this case, Chuv follows the Kip form, but with lambdacism, suggesting that the isogloss is very old.

In a paper, Levitskaja (1982: 97–103) treated very important isoglosses common to the morphology of the Og lgs and of Chuv. She also added some lexical and semantic isoglosses. According to her, the Og parallels point to an earlier layer and the Kip ones suggest a later one. Schönig (1997: 271–272) carried on the investigations of Chuv–Og comparisons. He underlines the "astonishing parallel in suffix structure, mainly in that of case suffixes…" and adds, "I assume the Oghuz–Bolgar connection to date back to before the collapse of the Khazar Empire (or even earlier)" (272). What we see reflects a situation before the dissolution of AT. At this time, AT already had several dials. It is highly improbable that the word for 'sun' was copied by a T lg fr another T lg. Most items fr the lists of Og–Chuv and Kip–Chuv isoglosses reflect an AT situation, and most likely the last common one, before the separation and westward migration of the ancestors of the WOT tribes began. On isoglosses that pertain to rhotacism and lambdacism, see pp. 1104–1114. The Og-type features that appear in the T lws in H show a later phase.

7.3 Culture and the economy

As to the cultural background reflected by the lws, the first striking phenomenon is the absence of horse breeding terminology. This feature has been familiar for a long time (see Mészöly 1929; Zichy 1931 both with the title *Mióta lovasnép a magyar*? [Since when are the Hungarians a mounted people?]). The few words such as **csődör** 'stallion' (but H *mén* id.), **gyeplő** 'reins', **kamcsi** 'whip, lash', **kancsuka** 'a whip with a short handle', **kangyík** 'saddle strap', **kantár** 'bridle, reins', **béklyó** 'hobble' and **árkány** 'a type of lasso' are of secondary importance; most of them are clear Cum lws, others may be, but demonstrate no criteria. Only **béklyó** ~ **békó** and **gyeplő** pertain to the early layer, WOT1. This clearly points to the fact that the Hungarians already had a horse breeding economy when they met the Turks. The horse was familiar to the PUgr people (see **ló** 'horse' in § 8.5), and even *kengyel*, the H word for 'stirrup', is not T. It is a H der fr a PUgr base (**kegy* with suff +*l*; see Benkő 1993–1997/1: 728).

The lack of horse terminology among the T lws is even more striking if we look at the other part of animal husbandry. We find such words as **alacs** 'pied (of an animal's' coat)', **ártány** 'barrow', **barág** 'hairy, bushy (of dogs) (adj), a big hairy dog (noun)', **barom** 'cattle, livestock', **bika** 'bull', **bögöly** 'horse fly', **bölény** 'bison', **borjú** 'calf', **buga** 'ox', **csök**[1] 'sexual organ of large male animals', **disznó** 'pig', **gyapjú** 'wool', **gyapot** 'cotton', **író** 'buttermilk', **karám** 'sheepfold, cattlegrid', **kecske** 'goat', **kérő** 'cud', **kérődzik** 'to ruminate (of bovines)', (**meg**)**kíjc**(**esedik**) 'to become felty (of the hair of dogs)', **komondor** 'a kind of Hungarian sheepdog', **köpec** id., **kuvasz** id., **kert** 'garden, place for animals', **kos** 'ram', **ködmön** 'frock, sheepskin waistcoat', **kölyök** 'young of an animal, kid', **ól** 'sty, cattle pen, sheepfold', **olló** 'kid (of a goat)', **ökör** 'ox', **sajt** 'cheese', **sertés** (**serte**) 'pig', **szűcs** 'furrier', **telek**[2] 'higher place where animals rest and accumulate dung', **teve** 'camel', **tinó** 'steer, young bullock', **tojik** 'to lay eggs', **toklyó** 'one-year-old lamb', **tőzeg** 'peat, turf, dried dung', **tulok** 'steer, young bullock, ox or cow', **túró** 'cheese curd', **tyúk** 'hen', **ünő** 'heifer', **üvecs** 'female, one-year-old sheep', **ürü** 'wether, sheep' and **vályú** 'trough, tray'.

I think even the names of parts of the body pertain to animal husbandry, because the bodies of the animals were more important for the Hungarians than their own. Later, the names of animal body parts were transferred to the human body. Such words are **boka** 'ankle', **gyomor** 'stomach', **kar** 'arm', **köldök** 'navel', **szakáll** 'beard' and **térd** 'knee'. Words like **bélyeg** 'mark', **bilincs** 'schackles', **csősz** 'field guard', **iker** 'twin', **kéneső** 'mercury' and **komor** 'gloomy, not properly castrated', and the Cum words **kentreg** 'beast strap' and **kömődörög** id. also pertain to animal husbandry. It is highly probable that the Hungarians were mounted hunters before they met the Turks, though we cannot rule out that they kept domesticated animals as well. In

any case, the copied terminology may have pertained to a new system of animal husbandry.

The agricultural terminology is important: **arat** 'to mow', **árok** 'ditch, canal', **árpa** 'barley', **boglya** 'stack of hay', **borsó** 'peas', **búza** 'wheat', **csalán** 'nettles', **csalit** 'thicket', **csepű** 'impurities, tow, chaff', **dara** 'grist', **eke** 'plough', **enő** 'community work in agriculture', **gaz** 'weed', **gyékény** 'bulrush', **gyepű** 'borderland, hedge', **gyom** 'weed', **karó** 'stake, pale, stick', **katang** 'chicory', **kender** 'hemp', ? **kepe** 'shock, shook, a unit of grain paid or given', **kobak** 'gourd, head', **kéve** 'sheaf, bundle', **komló** 'hops', **komócsin** 'timothy grass', **kóró** 'dry weed stalk', **kölyű** 'pounder, beater, small mortar', **köpü** 'churn, beehive', **ocsú** 'chaff', **orsó** 'spindle, whorl', **őröl** 'to grind, mill', **sarló** 'sickle', **sárma** 'a kind of wild onion', **sör** 'beer', ? **szérű** 'threshing floor (round)', **szesz** 'fumes, vapour, spirits, alcohol, humour', **szór** 'to winnow', **tarló** 'plough field, arable field, stubble field', **telek**[2] 'a piece of land, field, parcel, patch', **tiló** 'hemp breaker, swingle' and **torma** 'horse radish'.

Viticulture and horticulture are reflected by **általag** 'barrel (wooden container and standard quantity)', **ászok** 'gauntry, gantry (for supporting barrels)', **bor** 'wine', **csiger** 'a wine of low quality, a fruit wine', **seprő**[2] 'draff, lees, dregs of wine', **szőlő** 'grape', **szűr** 'to strain, filter', **gyümölcs** 'fruit', **alma** 'apple', **dió** 'nut', **kökény** 'blackthorn', **körte** 'pear', **körtvély** 'pear' and **som** 'dogwood (tree), cornel'. The high percentage of words related to agri-, viti- and horticulture points to a type of nomad husbandry where agriculture was frequent at the winter resorts. This type of husbandry, keeping livestock and cultivating crops, moving in summer, but returning to the same place in winter, was recorded of the Hungarians by Ibn Ḫurdādbih (d. 911), the postmaster and friend of the Khalif Muʿtamid (870–892). His work *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms* was ready around 886. A few lines remain to us fr the chapter on the Hungarians through the so-called Jayhani tradition, which was kept by Ibn Rusta, among others. His extracts contain the following lines (translated by Zimonyi 2006: 35):

> (3) Die Ungarn gehören zu den Türken. (4) Ihr Herrscher reitet mit zwanzigtausend Reitern aus. (5) Ihr Herrscher heißt K.nd.h [Kändä] und dieser Name ist der symbolische Titel ihres Königs, denn der Name des Mannes, der de facto über sie herrscht, ist Ǧ.l.h [ǰula]. Alle Ungarn befolgen die Befehle, die der Ǧ.l.h genannte Herrscher bei Angriff und Verteidigung sowie in sonstigen Angelegenheiten erteilt. (6) Sie besitzen runde Zelte. Sie suchen reiche und fruchtbare Weideflächen auf. (7) Ihr Land ist weiträumig. (8) Eine seiner Grenzen stößt an das Meer von Rūm. In dieses Meer münden zwei Flüsse. Der eine von ihnen ist größer als der Ǧaiḥūn. Ihre Wohnsitze befinden sich zwischen diesen beiden Flüssen.

> Nahen die Tage des Winters, so zieht jeder zu demjenigen der beiden Flüsse, der sich mehr in seiner Nähe befindet. Sie verbringen dort den Winter, indem sie Fische im Fluss fangen. Das Winterlager ist für sie dort erträglicher. (12) Das Land der Ungarn ist reich an Bäumen und Wasser. Ihr Land ist wasserreich. (13) Sie besitzen viele Saatfelder.

I was able to witness and describe a similar system in Mongolia in the years 1957–1958 (see Róna-Tas 1959; 1961).

Fishing: **csabak** 'a fish', **küllő**[2] 'a fish living at the bottom of the river, gudgeon', **sőreg** 'sterlet, surgeon', **süllő** 'pike-perch', **tok**[1] 'sturgeon', **gyalom** 'drag-net, a kind of fishing net', **gyertya** 'candle (used during night fishing)', **hajó** 'boat, ship', **szaka** 'uvula, the re-curved point of a fishing hook or of a lance', ? **vejsze** 'fishweir' and **vék** 'a hole in the ice (for fishing)'. **sőreg**, **hajó** and **tok**[1] pertain to WOT2, **vejsze** and **vék** pertain to WOT3, and **csabak** is Cum.

Falconry: **bese** 'a bird of prey', **turul** 'the totem bird of the Árpád dynasty, a bird of prey', **herjó** 'hawk', **karvaly** 'sparrow hawk', **keselyű** 'vulture', **kiköcsén** 'a bird similar to a falcon', **ölyv** 'hawk, buzzard', **sólyom** 'falcon', **szongor** 'a kind of falcon', **torontál** 'a kind of small falcon', **tőr** 'snare, trap' and **hurok** 'noose, loop, snare'. The high number of names of birds used for hunting reflects the special role of falconry.

The proportion of words pertaining to religious, social and political life is high. They include **báj** 'charm', **bíró** 'judge', **bálvány** 'pagan idol', **bátor** 'courageous', **betű** 'letter (of the alphabet)', **boszorkány** 'witch', ? **böjt** 'fast(ing)', **bölcs** 'wise', **börtön** 'prison', **búcsú** 'indulgence', **bűn** 'sin', **bűbáj** 'charm', **bűvös** 'magical', **csősz** 'field-guard, herald', **csök**[2] 'feast, christening feast (at baptism)', **egyház** 'church (building and organisation)', **érdem** 'merit', ? **erkölcs** 'morals, morality', **es(kü)** 'oath', **erő** 'strength, power', **ész** 'reason, mind', **gügyű** 'matchmaker', **gyaláz** 'to abuse', **gyanú** 'suspicion', **gyarló** 'poor, frail', **gyász** 'mourning', **gyilkos** 'murder', **gyónik** 'to confess (sins)', **gyűlik** 'to assemble, gather', **gyűlöl** 'to hate', **harang** 'bell', **idő** 'time, weather', **ige** 'word, biblical word, verb', **igéz** 'to enchant', **ildom** 'proper behaviour', **imád** 'to adore, worship', **ír** 'to write', **kelengye** 'trousseau', **kép** 'picture, shape, form', **kín** 'pain', **koporsó** 'coffin', **korhány** 'tomb, small hill', **könyv** 'book', ? **orvos** 'doctor', **nyögér** 'the name of a group of military people in Hungary, Cuman bodyguard to the Hungarian king', **önik** 'to elect, to select', **sárkány** 'dragon', **szán-dok(láda)** 'trousseau box', **táltos** 'sorcerer, medicine man', **tanú** 'witness', **törvény** 'law', **ül** 'to observe a feast' and **ünnep** 'feast'. Even if **csősz** and **csök**[2] turn out to be of Cum origin, the high percentage is impressive. Some of the words clearly suggest a connection to WOT1 or WOT2, **búcsú**, **gyanú**, **gyarló** and **koporsó**, and none of them contains a preserved guttural in the word-final position or has /s/ in place of WOT /j̆/ > /č̆/, that is none has criteria for pertaining to WOT3.

7.4 Who spoke West Old Turkic?

Up to this point, I have avoided the question of who spoke WOT. In the following, I endeavour to provide an answer.

7.4.1 Avars

Bulgars lived among the Avars fr at least 670 on (see pp. 38–39 above). Sl idioms were spoken among them fr the beginning, but the immigration of Slavs accelerated after the crushing of the Avar Empire at the hands of the Franks in the late 8th c. Fr the mid-9th c., settlers and missionaries came fr the Archbishopric of Salzburg and the Bishopric of Passau.

Though there exists an ample literature on the "language of the Avars", the result of the research is more a question of belief than of scientific value. One group of scholars linked the lg of the Avars to Mo. This can be traced to a brief remark made by Pelliot, who supposed that the name *Bayan* has to be Mo and that thus the Avars spoke a Mo lg (see **bán**[1]). Harmatta (1983: 71–84) and Ligeti (1986a: 145–151) analyzed PNs and titles. Reviewing the earlier material, Pohl (1988: 223–225) was highly skeptical. The idea posited by Futaky (2001), and partly endorsed by Helimski (2000; 2004), that some of the T lws in H are not, in fact T, but Avar, and that the lg of the Avars (Futaky) or one of the lgs spoken in Avaria (Helimski) was a Man–Tu lg, has been refuted by Kara (2002) and Róna-Tas (2003, see **börtön**).

The small corpus, preserved in Lat and Byzantine sources, consists of names and such titles as *kagan*, *katun*, *kapkan*, *tudun*, *yug*(*u*)*ruš*, *tarkan* and *canizauci*, all recorded earlier than the late 8th c. They pertained to the common nomenclature of the nomadic steppe empires.

Vásáry (1972: 335–347) provided a useful overview of runiform signs found on several objects excavated fr Avar burial sites. A turning point in the research came in 1983 with the discovery of a needle case by the archeologist Juhász near Szarvas (SE Hungary). The inscription has almost 60 signs on its four sides. The first deciphering attempts fr T (Róna-Tas 1990) and fr H (Vékony 1987: 56–73) proved unsuccessful. Nevertheless, it became clear that the runiform alphabet used on the Szarvas inscription and the alphabet used on the pieces in the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós pertain to the same script (Göbl–Róna-Tas 1995: Tables XXII–XXIII). The needle case was dated to the second half of the 8th c., i.e. to the same time when the Avar titles were recorded. The golden Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós, which belonged to a high dignitary of the Avar Empire was hidden after the defeat of the Avar Kaganate in the first years of the 9th c. On the treasure, see Göbl–Róna-Tas (1995) and Bálint (2004). It is clear that a runiform script that was part of the East European Runiform Script

group was used in the Avar Empire, but had its own traits. This may be of major importance in deciphering the lg of the Avars.

On one item in the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós, there is an inscription written with Gr letters and in a non-Gr lg, see Göbl–Róna-Tas (1995: Table XXIV).

+ΒΟΥΗΛΑ·ΖΟΑΠΑΝ·ΤΕΣΗ·ΔΥΓΕΤΟΙΓΗ·
ΒΟΥΤΑΟΥΛ·ΖΩΑΠΑΝ·ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ·ΗΤΖΙΓΗ·ΤΑΙΣΗ

In Göbl–Róna-Tas (1995: 18–19), we counted 14 trials published by *bona fide* scholars, none of them similar and none of them acceptable, including mine (Róna-Tas 1985: 248). Perhaps Erdal (1988: 221–234) offered the best explanation, but not an entirely airtight solution. Most readings are based on T, but recently Helimski (2000; 2004: 62–63) read it in a PMan lg. There are two names on the inscription, *Buila* and *Butaul*. *Buyla* is the same title which occurred in Inner Asia and in the DBulg polity. The title became a PN among the Avars and later also among the Hungarians (see below p. 1169). The second name is of T origin, *buta* < *bota* (as *buyla* < *boyla*), with the original meaning 'camel colt', but later a term of endearment for a son, while *ul* < *ogul* 'son'.

Then follows a title that occurs twice: <ΖΩΑΠΑΝ, ΖΟΑΠΑΝ>. This was first fixed in 777 in the Foundation Deed of Kremsmünster monastery, *coniuravit ille jopan qui vocatur Physso* (Hagn 1852: 2), and is ΖΟΥΠΑΝ (Moravcsik 1983/2: 131), ΖΟΥΠΑΝΟς (Beševliev 1979: No. 87), as well as *župan* (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 66, here also *župa* 'okrug') in the other sources. The title goes back to **župa pan* > *župan* ⟶ H *špan* > *išpan*. Whatever the origin of *župa* or *župan* is, it is a Sl title in this form or occurs as a title used by the contemporary Sl-speaking population. On the details of the history of this title, see Zett (1975: 207–216). Only late Avar leaders could have had T names but a Sl title. The submerging of the Avars into the Sl population was under way (see pp. 37–39 above).

The title *tarkan* used by the Avars may have become a PN and later a GN in Hungary. It occurs in about 18 different GNs (see Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974: 41–42, *Tárkány*). On /k/ after consonants, see § 6.2.1. The later variant of the name is fixed by Constantine VII as the name of one of the seven H tribes: *ταριάνου* (gen), EOH *taryan* < LAH **tarχan* ⟵ WOT **tarχan* < *tarkan*. The H GN *Tarján* occurs in 30 different place names in Hungary (Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974: 35–36).

All historical data at our disposal are univocal. No Avar-speaking group of major importance witnessed the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Slavicized Avars fully lost their ethnic identity. Even a few words may have been transmitted, but we can safely exclude an Avar impact on the H lg. We can assume the transmission of a few GNs and some PNs at most.

7.4.2 The Danube Bulgars

The Bulgars of Asparukh founded the Danube Bulgarian Empire around 679. They were gradually Slavicized. Their intensive Slavicization began after 870 when they subjected themselves to the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople. We know of three groups of sources of the lg of the Danube Bulgars. After earlier attempts, the *List of the Bulgar Princes* was edited by Pritsak (1955, with an earlier bibliography) and Beševliev (1963: 306–323). The original fr the 10th c. remains to us in three copies fr the 15th–16th c.s. The texts of the copies are so mutilated that they have lost any connection to the original. Pritsak's attempt to reconstruct the original T wording turned out to be a failure (see details in Róna-Tas 1970: 819–821). The reconstruction by Bazin (1974: 651–710; 1991) offers a few acceptable solutions. Ligeti (1986: 463–474) is more critical.

The ordinal numbers are as follows (see Róna-Tas 1976a: 171–175; 1999a: 1–15):

ordinals	EOT	WOT	DBulg	VBulg	Chuv
3rd	*üčinš > üčinč	*üčiminš	<wečem> /wečim/	väčim	viśĕm, viśśĕmĕš
4th	*tōrtinš > tōrtinč	*tüwetiminš	<toutom> /tōtim/	tüwätim	*tăvătăm, tăvattămĕš
5th	*bēšinš > bēšinč	*bieliminš	–	biyelim	*pilekĕm, pillekmĕš
6th	*altïnš > altïnč	*altïminš	<altem> /altïm/	altïš	ulttămĕš
7th	*yetinš > yetinč	*ǰētiminš	<čitem> /ć̆item/	ć̆iyetiš	śiććĕmĕš
8th	*sekizinš > sekizinč	*sekirminš	<šeχtem> /seɣtem/ < *sekirtim	säkir°	sakkarmĕš
30th	*otuzunš > otuzunč	*oturminš	<wtirem>, <twirem> /wuturïm/	wutur°	vătărmĕš

Table 7.8: The ordinal numbers in DBulg and VBulg and Chuv

The form *šeχtem* <шехтемь> is much mutilated. It may come fr **sikertim* > *šeketim* > *šektim*, *šeχtem*, but the initial *ši* < *si-* represents an ad hoc explanation. The first vowel was an open one in Chuv. If the first of the two concurring forms <втіремь> [vtiremь] and <твирем> [twirem] was the older one, then it may have been WOT **oturim* > **wuturim*. If the second is the older one, then perhaps *twirem* < **tŭwirem* < *toɣurim* ~ *tokuzunč* 'ninth', but in Chuv we find *-χχ-* < **tokkur*: Chuv *tăχχărmĕš*.

As we can see, the basic numerals and the system of ordinal numbers was almost the same. Present-day Chuv *+měš* is a relatively new feature, developing fr *+m* and the old 3rdP poss suff *+ši* < *si*.

The DBulg inscriptions are in MGr, but full of DBulg names, titles and technical terms. The inscriptions were edited by Beševliev (1963; 1979). We find mostly titles

such as *πηλε* (Inscription No. 52: 8), which has to be read *bīlä*, and is a late form of *boyla* > *buyla* > *büle* > *bēla*. In the same inscription (Beševliev 1963: 238, No. 52: 2) the "Inner Boyla" is called *ητζηργωυ βωυλε*, read *ičirgü büle*. On the inscription of Selište <чрьгоубылю> *črĕgubül′ä*, see Beševliev (1963: 299). The title occurs among the names of the H kings, such as *Béla* (see below). Other readings (see Beševliev 1963: 241) are less probable. Among the titles of interest is *κολοβρος*, on which see **kalauz**. One of the very few common words is *κυπε* (Beševliev 1963: 238, No. 52: 2, 5, 8, 10; No. 53; and with the poss suff *κυπεσι*, No. 53: 5). The word is *küpe* in EOT, originally 'a small metal ring' and later 'a coat of mail' (see Clauson 1972: 687). In Chuv, we find *kĕpe* 'rubaha, ženskaja rubaha, bel′e, soročka; shirt, women's dress, linen, camisole' < *'a special dress', but Tat preserved the old meaning *köbe* 'pancir, kol′čuga; coat of mail'.

In 1940, Németh published a paper in which he claimed that a significant portion of the T lws in H came through Bulgar-Turks living in the *Maros* valley, in the south of Transylvania. The key argument was the name of the daughter of the local H prince Gyula, namely Sarolt, who became the mother of St. Stephen (d. 1038), king of Hungary. The idea goes back to Melich, who suggested that the names of the two daughters of Gyula, *Caroldu* and *Saroldu*, are fr a BulgT lg. Melich (1925–1929: 46–48) claimed that *Caroldu* is *kara+aldï* and *Saroltu* is *šarï* and *aldï*. (*Geula genuit duas filias, quarum una uocabatur caroldu et altera saroltu et sarolt fuit mater sancti regis Stephani* (Anonymous, Pais 1975a: chap 27). Melich cited Radloff (1893–1911/1: 418, 412, Tel, Shor, Tub, Koib, Kar) *aldï* 'Wild', *ag-aldï* 'Hermelin', *alda* 'Wild, Zobel' (cf. Tuv *aldï* 'sobol′'). Ligeti was very skeptical about the idea (1986: 534). The etymology was corroborated by another name of the mother of King St. Stephen, *Beleknegini*, which means 'white' (*bele*) 'Dame, queen' (*knegini*) (Sl, in the Lat *Chronicle* of Thietmar (d. 1018)). There are a great many details as yet unclear, but even if it turns out that *Carolt* has nothing to do with *Carolus* (i.e. with the name of Charlemagne), which only occurs as a PN in the H sources fr the 13th c., and if the name *Sarolt* has to be read with an /š/, it is sociolinguistically impossible that she and her retinue spoke a T idiom and that this is the source of a relatively large group of the (Danube) BulgT lws. More to the point is Györffy's opinion (1977: 64) that Sarolt maintained good contacts with Byzantium and was at least formally baptized, but did not receive a Christian education. The relationship between the Hungarians and the Danube Bulgars was hostile before the Conquest (Róna-Tas 1999: 331–336). The conditions were not appropriate for a relatively large amount of words to be copied. In any case, based on very scanty material, it is clear that the lg of the Danube Bulgars of Asparukh was not different fr that of the Bulgars of his brother Bat Bayan, who remained with the Hungarians.

7.4.3 Bulgars and Khazars

The early H variant of Gombocz (1912b) had the H title *Régi török jövevényszavaink* [Our old Turkic loanwords] (1907a). This was re-edited under the new title *Honfoglalás előtti török jövevényszavaink* [Our Turkic loanwords before the Conquest] (1908). These cautious formulations changed in 1911 when Gombocz obtained the book by Ašmarin *Bolgary i Čuvaši* (1902, reedited in 2000) through Munkácsi. Based on the traces in Ašmarin, Gombocz identified the characteristic features of the OChuv lg as /r/ and /l/ in contrast to the common T /z/ and /š/. He referred to OChuv as Bulgar, using the term BulgT as an ethnonym and lg name to make a distinction with Slavic Bulgar (*Bulgarisch-Türkische Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, 1912). He suggested that the T lws were copied fr the lg of the Volga Bulgars. After 1912, Gombocz added numerous remarks and wrote several papers on the topic. They were mostly entitled "On our Turkic loanwords" or "On our old Turkic loanwords…" He attempted to clarify the historical background in a paper published in 1921. In the 1930s, he gave several university lectures on the topic, always with the title "Honfoglalás előtti bolgár-török jövevényszavaink". These lectures were published by Ligeti in 1960. Fr 1921 on and in 1930, Gombocz suggested that the contacts occurred and the lws were copied in the south, in the Kuban region, on the territory of the Old Bulgar state. Both in his book published in 1912 (1912b) and in his lectures held 1930, he excluded the lg of the Khazars as the source of the lws in H (see **kazár**). According to Gombocz, the Khazars spoke a *z*-language. This was long the opinion commonly held by H scholars, among them Németh and Ligeti. The first change may have come about in the never published lecture, held by Ligeti in 1945 at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In this paper, he mentioned that Khazarian may be the source of the T lws in H. This opinion was reinforced in 1984 in a longer review on Golb–Pritsak (1982). (The H version is Ligeti (1984) and the English version of Ligeti (1981) was published in 1984, but was not proofread by the author and is full of printing errors.) In Golb–Pritsak (1982), Pritsak suggested a great many readings of the Hebrew Documents edited by Golb. These readings and interpretations have been criticised *in lato* by Erdal (2007: 95–106). I have found none of Pritsak's suggestions acceptable and will not cover them.

The changes only occurred in the 1980s. Dissertations by Golden (1980) and Ludwig (1982) collected partly earlier inaccessible materials and attempted to evaluate them. Following the line of Gombocz, Németh and Halasi-Kun, Golden argued that the lg of the Khazars was not a lg of the Bulg–Chuv type. In later papers, he published additional materials (Golden 1993–1994; 1998–1999; 2004; 2005a; 2006a; 2006–2007). This line was followed recently by Erdal (2007) (based on a lecture he had given in Jerusalem in 1999). Having reviewed all arguments for and against the inclusion of

the Khaz lg into the Chuv branch, he concludes: "Summing up all this, one would state that overall evidence would be slightly *against* the *inclusion* [emphasis by M.E.] point of view. However, there could also have been different Khazar dialects with isogloss profiles differing in points of which we are, at present, able to detect only a few: perhaps, there was a diachronic, contact-related development towards, or away, from the Bolgar branch, or perhaps, finally, Khazar occupied an intermediate position with respect to these isoglosses". He also stressed that "[w]e seem to have no certain evidence of lambdacism" (Erdal 2007: 89).

Let us briefly overview the material and the criteria brought up by Erdal. According to him, they include not only titles, but also denotative nouns, adverbs, colour names and two suffs (2007: 79–80). He correctly observed that "[t]itles often wander from one people to the other and are thus no proof of national identity…;" (2007: 79, n. 15). The denotative nouns, etc. would be "*dog* 'funerary feast', *ït* 'dog' or *bulan* 'elk', the adjective *alp* 'valiant', the words for 'white', 'yellow' and 'black', the agentive suffix *+čI* used in several Khazar words [sic!], the diminutive suffix *+Ak*, the suffix *+šIn* added to color terms – these are definitely and exclusively Turkic."

No doubt this is a correct statement. The only problem is that, with the exception of *dog*, all the other items are abstracted fr titles or PNs. This method cannot be rejected, but stands on very shaky ground. If somebody 100 years fr now were to reconstruct the lg of the Soviet Union (or of Russia) fr a title and name like *Generalissimus Stalin*, he would hardly hit the mark. Of course, if we know the lg, then we can decide that a given name or title may or may not be tied to the lg of the country where the bearer of the name lived and his title functioned. We are, however, even in these cases, confronted with difficulties. Proper names serve deictive functions but carry no meaning as nouns or verbs do.

I would be the last to deny the importance of the linguistic investigation of proper names. I myself began to compile and document a list of H PNs of T origin fr the time of the Árpád dynasty (1000–1301) following earlier work by Gombocz (1914–1915: 241–249, 293–301, 337–342; 1915: 145–152, 245–252, 311–346, 433–439); Németh (1928: 147–150; 1930; 1931b: 145–147; 1966: 1–21; 1970: 229–235; 1972a: 293–299; 1991); Ligeti (1978: 257–274; 1979: 26–42, 129–141, 259–273) and others. However, "Khazar" *ït* 'dog', *bulan* 'elk' and *alp* 'valiant' can only be found in names or titles (*Itaχ*, *Bulan*, *Alp Ilutwer*, *Alp Tarχan*; see Erdal 1991: 31–36; Golden 1980/1: 169–171, 147–151). The same is true of the suffixes *+Ak*, (*Itaχ*) and *+čI* (*Balgïčï*, *Boluščï*; Golden 1980/1: 165–169).

Common words

There remain only two words which are terms, most probably nouns, but not proper names. The first is recorded by Ibn Aʿtham al Kūfī (d. 926). The work exists in a copy

dated 1468 and held in Istambul (Golden 1980/1: 113). According to the author, during Muslamah's 737 campaign into Khazar territory, the Khazar kagan possessed a kind of travelling tent-car. Its name is rendered as آلجداذ <alǰdāḏ>. Togan (1939: 122) cites Kashgari's *alaču* and *čatïr*, while Golden (1980/1: 247) equated this term with the name of a kind of tent *alaču* (see **alacs**) without offering an explanation of the two occurrences of <d>, nor of a dot which is visible on the first and thus has to be read as <ḏ> (Golden 1980/2: 137, l. 4). Erdal (2007: 80) emends the same reading to **čadára*, and equates the word with T *čātïr* / Pe *čador*, H **sátor**. I have no answer for the questions above, nor any reasonable explanation as to why a Pe word is cited here, if not for the voiced dental stop /d/, which is of course unacceptable here. Either it is a Pe word, in which case it offers us no better understanding of the lg of the Khazars, or it is a T word, in which case we have to provide an account of its phonemic structure.

The common noun *dog* occurs in the work of Theophanes (d. c 818), and was cited by Ludwig (1982: 356). In fact, it was selected out of four variants: *δοχήν*, *δογήν*, *δογῆν* and *δουγήν*. It is possible that this is not a case of the Gr *δοχ* 'feast, treatment', but of the same word already cited by Menandros (late 6th c.) as *δογια*. Ludwig mentions that "der Lautwandel *d* ⟶ *y* ... ist im Khazarischen anscheinend nicht mitvollzogen worden" (Ludwig 1982: 357). That is impossible. The Gr *delta* in *δαϊξ* (Ptolemy, 2nd c. A.D.) and *δαΐχ* (Menandros) renders the same river name which is written with a *gamma* in *γεήχ* (Constantine VII, 10th c.; for all three, see Moravcsik 1983/2: 116). This is the name *Ǯaïχ* > *Ǯäiχ*, the name of the River Ural, which is *Yayïq* in the *y*-lgs. Thus "*doq*" has to be read as *ǰoχ* or *ǰoγ* ~ EOT *yog* 'funeral feast'. Gr could not render the voiced affricate in the word-initial position; this is a substitution, while the final may have been a spirant. Khaz was a *ǰ*-lg, in which the final guttural was already a spirant.

Titles and personal names

The titles help us, if we also have other data fr different eras, different periods and transcriptions. A good example is the EOT title *boyla*. In the DBulg inscriptions, this is *βοιλας*, *βοηλα* and *βώυλα* in Gr script. According to the Gr inscription of the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós, it became *buyla* (see above) and then *πηλε* (*bīlä*). The next form is in a Cyrillic transcription, <чрьгоубыля> [ičirgü] *bülä*, in the year 869/870 *Zergobula*, read *čergobülä* and finally *bïla* ⟶ H *Bēla* <Béla> the name of several H kings and princes. The name was first mentioned as that of the nephew of St. Stephen in 1034, who would later become King Béla I (1060–1063).

The EOT title *yabgu* had the WOT form **ǰabgu*. This changed to *ǰebgu* (Geor *Ǯibgo*; Golden 1993–1994: 107) and later to *ǰebü* (Arm sources). Then it became *ǰewü* and finally it appears as a H name with the H dim suff *+čA* as *ǰeü* in *Ǯeüča* (first mentioned in 1063 as the son of Béla I, known, because of misreadings, as Géza I,

who ruled fr 1074, when he received the crown fr the Emperor Dukas. On the crown we read *Γεβιτζας*, i.e. *J̌ewičas* (for the several forms, see Moravcsik 1983/2: 109). The name was also common later. Géza II (1141–1162) appeared in the Byzantine sources as *Γειτσας*, read *J̌eiča*. Golden (1980/1: 218) may be right when he connects this title with a name or title of a Khazar kagan *ζιέβηλ* < **J̌iebila* < EOT *yabgu* + *boyla*. For further data, see Ludwig (1982: 348–354).

The EOT title *elteber* had the WOT form **yiltever*, written by Ibn Fadlan as بيلطوار. This title was read by Czeglédy (1944: 179–186) as *yilṭawār*, because of the emphatic /ṭ/, but the use of emphatic letters only in back-vocalic words in Ar transcriptions came into usage much later. It is not present in the Ar orth of Kashgari, and the VBulg title has to be read as *yiltewer*. The title came up in the Bact texts published by Sims-Williams (2000: 74–78) as *Hilitber*, and in Sogd as *δyttpyr*, *ryttpyr* (Sims-Williams 2002: 235; Erdal 2007: 82), which is the same rendering as the form *lytbyr* in the Mahrnāmag (Müller 1913: 11). Golden (1980/1: 147–150, 197) and Erdal (2007: 82) dealt with its other forms. Whatever the origin of this title is, an initial laryngeal /h/ is lost or is not noted in the Runiform and the Uyg scripts (*elteber*), while it came before /i/ *y-* in WOT as in the next title.

The EOT title **ellig*, **illig* became **yelleγ* or **yilliγ* in WOT and occurred in H as the name of the second son of Árpád in *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII: *Ιέλεχ* [Yeleɣ].

The EOT title *tarkan* appeared in the Khazar Empire as *tarχan* together with the names (or titles) *Alp*, *As*, *Awč'i*, *Čorpan* and *Hazār* (see Golden 1980/1: 150–155, 176, 181). Menandros has *ταρχαν*, Geor *t'arxani* (Golden 1993–1994: 111). This changed to *Taryan* in H (see Constantine VII *ταριανος* and the H GN *Tarján*).

Used as a title, EOT *bagatur* changed to *baγatur* in WOT (Golden 1980/1: 155) and became **bátor** in H.

The EOT title *bäg* changed to *bäγ* in WOT (see Ibn Fadlan به <beh>), while in H it followed the path *beγ* > *beu̯* > **bő**.

In several sources, the WOT title *kündü* is written as <kndr> instead of <kndw> كندر = كندو. Other sources contain <kndh> كنده. This title occurs in the name of a general of the Abbasid Caliphate, Ishaq ibn *Kündāǰīq* (d. 891; Golden 2004: 304; 2006a: 26), which consists of the title *kündä* and the dim suff +*čIk*. In the work of aṭ-Ṭabarī, we find كنداش *Kündāš* (Golden 2004: 302). The title is in evidence in H as *Kündü*, a PN that occurs in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200) in the form <Cundu>, read *Kündü*, also in the H dative case <Cundunek>, read *Kündünek* (facsimile Pais 1975a: chaps 6, 46). He is the father of Kursan, a protagonist of the Conquest.

A Khaz title is preserved in an Arm source (Golden 1980/1: 213) in the form *T'armač'*. Golden is most probably right when he claims that the title is *talmač* 'interpreter', which is identical with the name of one group of bodyguards in the

Byzantine court, *τουλμάτζοι* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 318), and occurs as **tolmács** in H, EOT *tïlmač*.

The WOT name *Bayan*, which is not only the name of the founder of the Avar Empire, but also of one of the sons of Khuvrat (*Bat Bayan*), became a title as that of *Cæsar*, or *Karl*, that is the Emperor Charlemagne. The word is present in Chuv as *puyan* 'rich' and the arguments made by Erdal (2007: 78) against the link between *puyan* 'rich' and Chuv *puy-* 'to be(come) rich' are hardly acceptable. Chuv does not contain **puyă-* < **bayu-*, which is common in the other T lgs. In this respect, Chuv deviates fr these lgs. On the rare, but existing suff *-(X)n*, see **börtön**, Chuv *kilen* 'bride', EOT *irkin* 'a title', as well as **bán**[1].

Erdal may be right that the hitherto unidentified title جاوشيغر (Golden 1980/1: 191–192; Erdal 2007: 80) is a composite word fr *čavïš* and something else. He proposes *yïg-* 'to collect' with the governing verb in the aorist. I have been unable to find examples of verbs in the aorist figuring in EOT titles. Aorist forms in titles occur much later around 1310 in the name *Basar aba* and in the title *orunbasar* also cited by Erdal. I identified the first part as the same word as H **csősz**: *čȭs* < **čȭš* < **čäwiš* ← WOT **čäwiš*, EOT *čabïš*, that is WOT had a front-vocalic form. The origin of the title is uncertain. The fact that it was pronounced with a final /š/ would be of interest, if it reflected a Bulg or Khaz common word. But it is a title taken over fr the Turkic Kaganate. It occurs on the Küli čor inscription as *bilgesi čawusi* 'counsellor and field marshal' (Clauson–Tryjarski 1971: 23, 31), and in the *Divan* of Kashgari: *čawuš* '[the officer] who keeps the troops in battle order and holds them back from unwarranted violence' (AK). The final /š/ also occurs in the Avar title *yuguruš*, and in the same *Divan*: *yugruš* 'a commoner of vizier rank one degree below Khākān' (AK).

In the Ar transcription by Ibn Fadlan, the name of the VBulg ruler he met is *Almïš* and it was often suggested that the name is the same as that of the father of the founder of the Hungarian Árpád dynasty, *Almuš*. His name occurs in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200) as <Almus>, which most probably has to be read as *ālmuš*. In the present-day H pronunciation, this is *ālmoš* <Álmos>. The pronunciation of the final in the name is secured by Anonymus's folk etymology, according to which his name came fr a dream (H *álom*) which Emese, Álmos's mother, had. In this dream, a bird named **turul** appeared and impregnated her. The H suff is *+Vš*. However, the name is transcribed into MGr as *Ἀλμούτζης* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 63), which has to be read *Almuč*(*i*). Ligeti supposed that the /č/ > /š/ change is an inner H development (Ligeti 1986: 457). Berta (2001a: 99–117) suggested that, instead of *almïš* 'the one who takes away, the founder of the *el*', one should read the word as **alïmïš*, fr the reconstructed verbal base **alï-* 'to be entranced'. This may call for further research, but does not solve the problem of the final, rendered in Gr as <tz>. Ligeti may be right, and the pronunciation of the name may have been **Almuč*, which is the reg-

ular WOT form. **Almuči* could be the AH form with an additional H final vowel. Among the PNs during the Árpád dynasty, the name *Almus* was very popular. It occurs first in 1091 in the Lat acc form *Almum*; in 1097, *Almus* is mentioned, who is the brother of King Coloman. On these and all further data, see in Fehértói (2004: 59). It is debated whether names such as *Almas* (1208) pertain here or to H **alma** 'apple'. The name of a Khazar Mameluk officer in Egypt was *Barmïš* (or *Bermiš*) (Ludwig 1982: 355), with the same suff as in *Almïš*.

The word *alp* 'brave, hero' occurs in Khaz names, such as *Alp ilutwer*, *Alp tarχan* (see Golden 1980/1: 147, 150), and is frequent in OH. It occurs as *Olup* fr 1055, *Alup* in 1138 and *Olop* in 1256. Variants such as *Olub*, *Olpu* and even *Holup* exist in the 13th c., while Anonymous (c1200) wrote of *Oluptulma*. It soon became a clan name (*de genere Olup* 1248) and GN *Oluphel-* (1055) (see Fehértói 2004: 60).

Even a few Khaz PNs have parallels in H. The name of the Khaz general in the Cambridge Hebrew document (Golb–Pritsak 1982: 116–117), *Bolščï* בולשצי <BWL-SČY>, has to be the same T word as the etymon for H **búcsú** (see all data under that entry) and may also be connected with the name of one of the H leaders who visited Constantinople in the first decades of the 10th c. His name is rendered as *βουλτζους* (Moravcsik 1983/2: 107). Anonymous has *Bulsu*. In EOT, one expects **bošugčï*. This is another case of the "lambdacism" that occur in Khaz. The name of the famous Khaz king Bulan (Golden 1980/1: 169-170: bwlan) can be found in H as **bölény**. The word for a woman's clothing *τζιτζάκιον* [cicakion] may well have gone back to the Khaz name for the Empress Eirené, *Čiček*, as suggested by Moravcsik (1931; 1983/2: 313–314) and, following him, by Golden (1980/1: 175). The word may be related with H **csécs**. The name of a Khazar serving in the household of al-Muʿtaṣim (reg 833–842), *Bugha* (Golden 2004: 281), occurs in H as **buga**, and as PN *Buga* (1215).

One of the Khaz generals in the service of the Caliph bore the name *Sīma* (Ludwig 1982: 358), a frequent name among Turks in the Caliphate. This may be WOT **Šïyma*, on which see H **sima**.

Geographic names and ethnonyms

A few Khaz GNs appear in H in one way or another. *Etel*, the Khaz name for the Volga, appears in H as **etel**, and as *Ἀτελκούζου* [Ätelküzü] in Gr transcription.

The name of the Khaz city حمليخ has to be read *Xam*(*ï*)*l*(*l*)*ïχ*, and it is EOT *kamïšlïk* 'the place rich in reeds' ~ WOT **kamïllïk* > *χamïlïγ* (see Os *qamïl* 'kamyš' and on p. 1148 and H **komócsin**). The name of a relatively small river on the Crimean peninsula is *χαρασίου*, the Black Water. Importantly, the name contains /χ/ like the name of the Khazars and the name of the city *Xamlïχ*. The name occurs among the glosses which were appended to the *Notitiæ Episcopatuum A*, written between 733 and 746. The ethnonym Khazar is also mentioned in the glosses (Moravcsik 1983/1: 465). It

is highly unlikely that – as Erdal (2007: 92) supposes – *χara* is Khaz (PT **kara*), but *siou* preserved a PT pronunciation. An Oguric *šiu̯* could have been rendered as *σίου* by Gr. The auxiliary hypothesis suggested by Erdal, that the GN is inherited fr the Bulgars of Khuvrat, is unlikely in chronological terms, but also fr the perspective of the type of gloss. The Khaz word is present in H in **kéneső** and **sió**.

The name of the fortress of Sharkel is fixed in the Gr and Heb scripts. The Gr script could not render the sound /š/, the Heb could if it used the three dots, but if it did not, then the transcription remained ambiguous. Erdal (2007: 86–87, referring to an unpublished paper by Tezcan 1975 and cited by Tekin (1979: 129)) suggested that the first part of the name comes fr **sar* 'pale' (< PT **sāz*) and that Chuv *šur*(*ă*) may be its continuation. This would represent one of the possible reasons why Chuv *šură* denotes 'white' and not 'yellow'. As we have seen, WOT *sar* 'pale' is in evidence in Chuv as *săr*(*ă*) 'grey' and also in H **szár**. The first part of the name of the fortress built on the Don carried the meaning 'White House', 'Belaja Veža' in Rus and 'άσπρον ὁ σπιτιον' or 'λευκον οικημα' in Gr. It is highly unlikely that this is the 'Pale House'. The symbolics of white, reflected in H *Fehérvár*, Sl *Belgrad* (H *Nándorfehérvár*, the Onogundur White Castle) is that it is the castle, the house which excels, the house of high prestige, built of stone in contrast to the black house, a small hut. The second part denoted 'house'. Though it appears in some Og lgs as a suff denoting the members of the same house (*Ahmedgil* 'the family living with Ahmed, the Ahmeds'), the word with the form *kil* meaning 'dom, semja; house, family' only exists in Chuv. The only open question is whether the initial written <s> in Gr Σάρκελ and <SRK(I)L> שדכל in Heb has to be read as /s/ or /š/. As we have seen, it is possible that the long /ā/ was shortened before the diphthongization. But Chuv has *šur*(*ă*) 'white', *săr*(*ă*) 'grey' and *kil* 'house', and we have no cause to read one part of the name according to the Oguric pronunciation and the other not. In any case, Sharkel is a Khaz name and at the same time a name that comes fr the Oguric branch of the T lgs. It is perfectly matched by Chuv.

The final /š/ also occurs in the Oguric branch of T. It is true that in words of the same etymological origin, Oguric used /l/ or /lč/ or /č/ in most cases (on the details, see above pp. 1104–1107). But even in genuine Oguric words, /š/ may also appear in the non-initial position. As I have shown (Róna-Tas 1999a: 1–15), several consonant clusters containing /č/ changed to /š/ in Chuv. This includes words like Chuv *savăš* 'joy' < WOT **säwinš* ~ EOT *säwinč* or Chuv *χăruš* 'fearful' < WOT **korkïnš* ~ EOT *korkïnč* or Chuv *pĕrreměš* 'first' < WOT **birinš* ~ EOT *birinč* 'first'.

The Khaz name for Volgograd was *Sarïġšïn* (Golden 1980/1: 237–238). If this is a Khaz name, we have to read it as *Šarïgšin*, the first part of which occurs in H **sárga**. Later, the name was adapted to the local Kip lg and was pronounced *Sarïsïn* (1579). It

became a Rus city and the name was changed to *Tsaritsyn*. Later, it would be called Stalingrad.

As has often been noted (Róna-Tas 1982a; 1983b; Ligeti 1986: 488), Gombocz's position, that Khaz is not an Oguric lg because the name Khazar includes a /z/, can be dismissed. We know that a PT /z/ remains /z/ before an /r/ in the Oguric branch (see Clark 1978: 373–376). The ethnonym Khazar has two forms *kasar* and *kazar*, and most likely the former is the older one. But even if the ethnonym Khazar were of T origin and even if it had taken this form in the Khaz lg, this would not be an argument against the Khazars speaking an Oguric-type of lg. In many cases, ethnonyms originate fr neighbours. Khazar occurs in H: as an ethnonym in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymous (c1200) in the form *Cozar* (*gentes qui dicuntur Cozar*); as names of persons, 1221 PN *Cazar*, *Cozar* (the same person) and *Cozardi* (Fehértói 2004: 169–170); as a PN, 1332–1337 GN *Kusar*, *Kosar* (Györffy 1963–1998/1: 330); and in 20 other GNs, *Kozár*, *Kazár*, etc. (Kristó–Makk–Szegfű 1973–1974: 12). It is difficult to distinguish this basic name fr the homophonous GN *Kozar* 'goat keeper' fr Sl *koz* 'goat'. Another Khaz tribal name is *Barsil*, *Bersil* (Golden 1980/1: 143–145). This name occurs in the form **bercel** in H.

Let us recall the arguments made by Erdal:

1. Rhotacism: there is no example in the meagre Khaz corpus.
2. Lambdacism: *Xamlïγ*, *Bolšči*, *Bulču*.
3. /j/ is present in Khaz transcribed as <δ> in the Gr sources, and later as <γι>: *dog*, *J̌ebgü*, *J̌ewü* and *Ziebulos*.
4. The diphthongization of long vowels, in fact only /ā/ > /i̯a/: *Šarkel*, *Šarigšin*.
5. The palatalization of /s/ (see 4).
6. The palatalization of /t/ is a late change, beginning only during the period of the VBulg inscriptions.
7. The loss of final velars, *beg* > *beγ* (> *peh*) > **bő**.
8. The change PT /k/ > /χ/ in back-vocalic words is demonstrated in *Xamlïγ*, *χarašiu̯*. It occurs in the work of Ibn Fadlan in the word *χaδïŋ* 'birch tree', which offers a chronology. As I have pointed out, Ibn Fadlan had at least one Bulgar interpreter along his route. The sporadic occurrence of the spirantisation in other T lgs is a later feature. The Oguric /χ/ in the initial position is represented in H in **hajó**, **harang**, **herjó**, **homok** (see § 6.2.1).

Several lgs were spoken in the Khazar Empire, as in all similar political units of originally nomadic origin. We may select the lg of the ruling class or one of the lgs spoken in Khazaria. One fact we know. After the defeat of Khuvrat's Bulgaria (see Róna-Tas 2000: 1–22 and map 11.2 on p. 1487 below), some Bulg tribes went in different directions to the west and south-west. A group headed by Asparukh founded the

Danube Bulgarian Empire. However, a large proportion of the Bulgars remained in place under Bat Bayan and lived with the Hungarians. Later, a part of them moved to the north (together with a small Hungarian population) and founded the Volga Bulgarian Polity. Thus three lgs were surely spoken in the Khazar Empire, BulgT, Khaz and H. To these we can add Crimean Gothic, Byzantine Gr, Al, Cauc lgs and later Khwar. The common lexical stock of Al, H and BulgT has been mentioned above. Noonan tells us (2007: 208) that the Khazar Khaganate encompassed a minimum of 24 different tributary peoples and perhaps as many as 40 or more. Even if many of them paid taxes to, but did not live within, the Khazar Empire, no doubt the empire was a multilingual formation. Excluding now the non-T lgs, other Turkic people appeared in the Empire in the late 8th and the 9th c. Some of the words pertaining to WOT3 may come fr their lg.

We learn fr Constantine VII that a group called *Kabar* or *Kavar* joined the Hungarians. I disagree with Howard-Johnston (2007: 190), that the Hungarians were totally reorganised, that new names were given to their tribes, and that the Kavars were sent by the Khazar ruler to lead the Hungarian tribal federation. This contradicts the entire chap 39 of the DAI. We understand: "The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Khazars… Some of them were slain by the Khazars, but other escaped and came and settled with the Turks [Hungarians] in the [present] land of the Pecheneg, and they made friends with one another and were called 'Kabaroi'" (Moravcsik–Jenkins 1967/1: 175). It continues: "And so to these Turks they taught also the tongue of the Khazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they also have the other tongue of the Turks (*καὶ τουρκων ἑτέραν γλωσσαν*)". That means that the Hungarians also learnt the lg of the Khazars in the late 9th c., and some of them became bilingual for a time, but the Kavars began to assimilate to the Hungarians. Then follows a much debated line: "And because in wars they show themselves the strongest and most valorous of the eight clans [of the Hungarian tribal confederation] they have been promoted to be the first clans. There is one prince among them, I mean, among the three clans of the Kabaroi, who is even to this day." (Moravcsik–Jenkins 1967/1: 175; 1967/2: 150). As has often been pointed out, the last tribe(s) to join a confederation (by defeat, force or alliance) was / were the first to be sent against the enemy. The three Kabar tribes were united, were reorganised by the Hungarians, and accepted one leader who seems to have ruled over them until the source of DAI chap 39 was written.

This was the last contact with people that spoke a lg of the Khazar Empire. This happened at a time when the Hungarians had already made (merely) formal contacts with the Khazars after 840–841 and before 881 (see Róna-Tas 1999: 329). The first date refers to the building of Sharkel, most probably against the Hungarians. The second

is the date of an attack on the region of Vienna by Hungarians in alliance with the Kavars (*cum cowari*, *Annals of Salzburg*).

The H lg contains 384 words of WOT origin. Even if we leave aside 56 words which are debatable and 38 which are only possibly but not certainly of WOT origin, 290 words remain. Of 384 WOT words, 246 – 64% – are also present in Chuv.

The picture, that develops fr various sides mirrors the following situation: WOT1 and WOT2 reflect clear Oguric features, most of them also in evidence in VBulg and DBulg. In the WOT3 period, they lessen and other lgs appear.

Bulg and Khaz, or at least what we know of these lgs, pertained to WOT1 and WOT2. There was no essential difference between the two lgs. If we speak of historical entities, we have to use two ethnonyms, *Bulgar* and *Khazar*. However, if we wish to denote the lgs spoken by both peoples, we can use either *Oguric* or *Old Chuvash*. I prefer Oguric, one dial of which was spoken by the Danube and one by the Volga Bulgars. The VBulg material is four hundred years younger than the DBulg records. Another dial remains to us spoken by the Chuv, the first sources of which are lws in Perm, and later in Cher and Voty. The earliest written materials date fr the beginning of the 18th c. (Strahlenberg 1721, published in 1730). The Danube Bulgars were Slavicized, while a large proportion of the Volga Bulgars was absorbed by the Tatars and Bashkirs.

About 20 elements of Khaz proper names collected hitherto are present in H in one way or another. They fit perfectly into the overall picture that we have developed of WOT. There are no arguments at hand that the T lg of the leading group of Khazaria was different fr the lg of the Bulgars. Thus to answer the question of whether the T lws in H are of Bulg or Khaz origin is easy. *Hungarian copied the Turkic lws fr Oguric, which was spoken by both the Khazars and the Bulgars.* Seen fr a historical point of view, the WOT lws were first copied by H fr the Oguric lg of the Bulgars. Later, Khaz elements may have been copied in relatively small numbers. At the same time, a few Og (Ūz) elements also enriched the H lexicon, as did certain Kip (Cum) items after the Conquest (896–902).

Apparatus

Chapter Eight

Lists and indices

8.1 Improbable etymologies

In this subchapter, I include 70 etymologies which I have found either unacceptable or at least improbable. I first deal with those 28 which required longer argumentation and then with those which can be covered in brief.

8.1.1 Notes on some improbable etymologies

cickány [cickāń] 'shrew, *Soricidae*' | 1800 *tzitzkány* [cickāń] | *cickāń* < **cickan* ← Grm scientific lg | EOT *sičğan* id. < **sičV-* 'to defecate' {with suff *-gAn*} | See *dschilkis-tsitskan* '*Mus Lagurus*, Rauchschwänzige Maus, Zugmaus' (Georgi 1797: 1570) ← ? T *sičkan*, *čičkan* 'mouse, rat'.

Of Grm origin.

E/H Earlier research (Vámbéry 1882a: 219; Munkácsi 1886–1887: 471; Gombocz 1912b: 66–67) considered the H word to have come directly fr T. Paasonen (1913: 57) and Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 307) pointed out that the H word cannot possibly be connected with the Chuv word forms. Citing Bárczi without any remarks, Ligeti (1986: 118) mentioned this word in his monograph. In the Index to his book, he did not place *cickány* in brackets, which is either a slip or means that he believed it to be of T der. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 427; 1993–1997/1: 166), the H word was mediated through the Grm scientific literature.

The word is of immediate Grm origin. It has a synonym in the H colloquial lg, **güzü**. The T word came through the work of Georgi (1797 [or a later edition]: 1570) or its source (perhaps Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, 1771–1776: 1563 Tat *ǰilkis sitskan* 'Mus vagus', *ǰilkis tsitskan* 'Mus Lagurus') into the Grm scientific literature. The H word first appeared in the H–Grm dict by József Márton (1800) as the H equivalent of Grm 'Spitzmaus'. The supposed phonetic change

in H *cickāń* < **cickan* can be explained through the influence of the H word endings *+Ány*, *+kÁny*, *+vÁny*, etc.

For the T etymology, compare Mo *čičagulin* 'mole, gopher, prairie squirrel' < (MMo MA *čici-* 'to defecate', LM *čičaga* 'diarrhoea', *čičarkayla-* 'to defecate watery feces', Bur *šeše-* 'stradať ponosom'; cf. Ramstedt (1952–1966/1: 96); Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1287). Mo **čiča-* may go back to **siča-* (see also Ščerbak 1997: 145; Tenišev 2001: 167–168).

◆ Georgi 1797: 1570; Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 1126; Fialowsky 1878: 215; Vámbéry 1882a: 219; Munkácsi 1886–1887: 471; Szily 1902–1908/1: 41; Gombocz 1907a: 154; Gombocz 1912b: 66–67; Melich 1912: 146; Németh 1912: 401; Paasonen 1913: 57; Vámbéry 1914: 144; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 659-660; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 96; Ščerbak 1961: 148–149; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 307–308; Egorov 1964: 336; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 427; Räsänen 1969: 414; Clauson 1972: 796; Doerfer-Tezcan 1980: 188; Ligeti 1986: 118; Erdal 1991: 88; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 166; Fedotov 1996/2: 452; Ščerbak 1997: 145; Tenišev 2001: 167–168; Dybo 2003: 425–430; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1287, 1301.

CIGÁNY 'gipsy' | 1370 GN ? *Cygan*, 1476 *Czigan-os*, 1495 *Czigan* | H ← Balkan Sl.

According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 167), H *cigány* may be a Southern Sl word through Rom mediation. According to him, the source of the Southern Sl words is of Gr (Byzantine) origin: *τσιγγανος* < *αθιγγανος* 'the name of a people in the Middle East in the 9th c.'. Ligeti (1986) did not include *cigány* among the T copies in H.

Stachowski (2002: 159–169) recently discussed the possible etymological link between H *cigány* and *szegény*. Stachowski's article contains very important remarks about the phonetic stumbling blocks in a Gr starting point for the "Wanderwort" that means 'gipsy'. However, the solution he proposed (H *cigány* ← Sl ← T **čïkâń* ~ **čïġāń* ~ **čikāń* ~ **čigāń* → OH **šigāń* > H *szegény*) raised new and insurmountable phonetic issues. According to Stachowski, the older form of EOT *čïġāń* was **čïkań*, but he offered no explanation for the unusual weakening of the intervocalic EOT guttural. There is no foundation for the hypothesis that H *szegény* had an OH form **šigāń*.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 1128–1129; Halász 1888: 250–255; Rozvány 1895: 577–579; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 665–670; Wertner 1917: 146–149; Pais 1936a: 233–236; Bárczi 1941: 31; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 223; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 429; Räsänen 1969: 104, 107; Clauson 1972: 408–409; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 167; Tenišev 2001: 334; Stachowski 2002: 159–169; Tietze 2002: 519; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 445; Erdal 2004: 71–75.

CSATAK [čåtåk] 'mud, marshy place' | 1783 *tsatakos* [čåtåk-oš], dial *csatkos* [čåtko-š] id., 1802 *tsatak* [čåtåk] 'mud' | *čåtåk* ← **čatak* | EOT *čatïk titig* 'clinging mud' < *čat-* 'to add, to bring together, to join' | See **csatol**.

E/H According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 883 s.v. *csatakos*), *csatak* may be a back-formation fr *csatakos*, which is of unknown origin. Bárczi (1941: 36, *csatakos*) considered the H word to be an internal H development of an onomatopoeic base. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 114) argued for a T beginning for the word and cited some

Tt dial words to strengthen his view: *çatak* 'vízfolyásos helyek és patakok egyesülési helye; place where rivulets flow together', *çatak* 'delta'. In this case, the T word would be etymologically identical with the T etymon for **csatol**. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 485; 1993–1997/1: 193–194, *csatakos*) accepted Bárczi's (1941) position. He regarded the word-final *-k* to be a suff and suggested that the base of the H word-family cannot be determined precisely. It is also possible that the H word developed fr the back-formation *csatakos* > *csatak*. Ligeti (1986) did not discuss the etymology of the word in question.

The H word is certainly not related to T *čat-* 'to add, join'. In the expression, *čatïk titig* 'clinging mud', *čatïk* denotes 'clinging' fr *čat-* 'to add, to join'. In Turki, we find *čatak* 'uniting, meeting; confused' (TurkJ) fr the same base.

◆ Edelspacher 1876: 197; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 883; Bárczi 1941: 36; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 114; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 54; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 485; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 193–194.

csepp [čepp], **csöpp** [čöpp] 'drop, a bit, tiny, very small, minute' | 1257 ? GN *Chep* [čep], 1307 ? GN *Chepch* [čep-č], c1493 *cheeppyn-* [čepp-in] | Of onomatopoeic origin, but perhaps influenced by T *čöp* | See EOT *čöp*.

E/H The H linguistic literature has generally discussed H *csepp*, *csöpp* as onomatopoeic word forms and mainly compared them with their FUgr and Ugr counterparts (Benkő (1967–1984/1: 501; 1993–1997/1: 202)). Bárczi (1941: 38), however, rightly pointed out that in the case of words of onomatopoeic der the corresponding FUgr and Ugr forms cannot possibly serve as proof that the H word represents part of the old FUgr or Ugr heritage.

It was Vámbéry (1914: 148) who first argued in favour of the possible T origin of the H word. More recently, Vásáry (1994: 277) mentioned the potential interrelation between H *csepp*, *csöpp* and T words. According to him, the H words (*csepp* 'drop, a bit', *csepeg-* 'to drop, dribble') were somehow influenced by T data. They are not fr T; they are onomatopoeic. However, they came under the influence of T words. Substantiating Vásáry's opinion is, nevertheless, a difficult task. One can add to this that the semantic side of his position does not seem very strong because the original meaning of the T word does not form part of the same semantic field. The H words *csepp*, *csöpp* signify 'drop, a bit' and the T forms denote 'dregs, sediment, rubbish, dirt, filth'. The word-final long consonant (*-pp*) in the H words may be secondary. Ligeti (1986) did not include *csepp*, *csöpp* among the T lws in H.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/1: 955; Budenz 1873–1881: 365; Bálint 1877: 6; Beke 1909: 447; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1930: 954; Vámbéry 1914: 148; Szinnyei 1920a: 142; Bárczi 1941: 38; Egorov 1964: 223; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 501; Lakó 1967–1978/1: 115; Räsänen 1969: 118; Clauson 1972: 394; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 202; Vásáry 1994: 275–277; Fedotov 1996/2: 148; Tietze 2002: 535; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 452.

CSERGE [čerge] 'a coarse woven cloth (used for tents as carpet)' | 1331 *cherge* [čerge], 1362–1365 *cherge-sator* [čerge-šātor] 'čerge tent', 1604 *Sergelepel* [šergelepel] 'overgarment', | *čerge* ← **čärgä* through Rom | MT *čärgä*.

MT *čärgä* 'tente, petite tente appelée *kalenderi*' (AChag), *čärgä* 'palatka dlinnaja, na dvuh stolbah' (AChagBud), *čärgä* 'Zelt, das mit zwei Stangen gestützt ist, kleine Zelte der Nomaden' (AChagR), *čärgä* 'çadır' (AChagŠS), *čerge* 'Wanderzelt, Hütte' (AChagŠSK), *čärgä* 'kleines Zelt' (AChagZ), *čerge*, *ǰerge* 'derme çatma çadır' (AOtT); **NT** ***NW*** *cerge*, *čerge*, *čer'i* 'sarïk yunïnnan basïlgan kiez; košma, vojlok' (TatD1), *cerge* 'kiez; vojlok, košma' (TatD2); ***SW*** *çerge*, *çergi* 'small, makeshift tent, gipsy's tent; (*hist.*) marquee used as a porch to a royal encampment' (Tt), *çerge* = *çergi* 'zanaves, naves na dvuh stolbah; malen´kaja masterskaja (*po remontu časov, obuvi i t.p.*), šater, jurta´ (TtB); *cerge*, *cergi* 'göçebe çadırı, çerden çöpten yapma gölgelik, bostan ve bahçelerde yapılan kulübe', *çergi* 'ince kilim, çardak, çadırın etrafına çevrilen kıl örme' (TtD), *çerge* (*çergi*, *çerke*) 'kilim, bir çeşit dokuma örtü', *çerge* (*cerge*, *cergi*, *çergi*) 'göçebe çadırı, tente' (TtD1); **SE** *čirgi* 'potnik', *čirgilik* 'košma, prigodnaja dlja izgotovlenija potnika' (Uzb).

E/T The T word *čärgä* 'tent used by the nomads, carpet, etc.' has only been known since the MT sources and its occurrence in the contemporary lgs is very limited. It seems to be a lw in the T lgs. According to Redhouse (1968: 248), it has a Gr etymology. Tietze (2002: 498) discussed the corresponding Tt dial data under two entries. According to him, *çerge* I 'kilim, yün örtü' was copied fr Gr *τσεργα* (tsérġa) while *čerga* in the various Sl (Blg, Croat, Serb) lgs goes back to Lat *serica* 'silk'. According to Tietze, the Tt dial word *çerge* II / *cerge* 'çadır, derme çatma kulübe' was taken fr Blg *čerga* 'tent'. On the adequate Tt and Sl word forms, see also Räsänen (1969: 105), who thought that Blg *čerga* 'grober Teppich' and Croat *čerga* 'Hütte' came fr Chag, OtT *čärgä* 'Zelt'.

The word forms in Kashgari with the base **čärmä*-, Kar dial verbs *čėrge*- 'obmatyvat'' (KarC), *cėrge*- 'obvivat´, obmatyvat'' (KarH), etc., Chuv *čĕrke*- 'begöngyölni, pólyázni; wickeln, winden, einwickeln, umwickeln' (ChuvP), *čărka*- Szp. id. 'burkolni, rácsavarni, pólyázni; wickeln, winden, aufwinden' (ChuvP), etc. as well as Mo *čerge* 'hitching post for horses' (L) are of different origins and do not pertain here.

E/H It was Edelspacher (1873: 344) who first regarded the H word as being originally T. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 981–983), the H word could have been copied several times. While the H word meaning 'tentorium' may have derived fr T, the word that denotes 'Decke, Kotzen, Vorhangdecke' is more likely to go back directly to its Rom or South Sl counterparts. Kniezsa (1955: 611–612) pointed out that H *cserge* is a widespread international word which has its ultimate roots in Lat (*serica*), thence it emerged in OIt and fr it in NGr and OttT. Since the word is attested in H fr the 14th c. it seems plausible that it was not taken directly fr T but via

Sl. He argued that the definition 'tentorium; Zelt' certainly points to a Sl borrowing and the sense of 'gausepe; Decke' to a Rom one. The word occurs in some Byzantine sources. Németh (1965b: 231–234) distinguished the "leather bathtub" *τζεργα* fr the tent *τζεργα* and suggested a H origin for the first, which is not acceptable. Moravcsik (1983/2: 312) compared the H word to Tt data with the meaning 'Zelt, Holzbaracke, Viehhürde'. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 510–511; 1993–1997/1: 206) believed that the H word is of international character and that it was borrowed into H several times fr a number of different lgs. He noted that the first occurrences of the H word may indicate a South Sl starting point. According to him, the OT origin of the H word can be refuted. Although Ligeti (1986: 315) mentioned H *cserge* among the possible T lws in H, he did not discuss it.

In any case, the word is not originally fr T and did not come to H through T mediation. Along the way, it entered several T lgs at different times. The two words stem fr a semantic split: 'a kind of material' – 'a kind of tent made of the material'. The *balneum turcicum*, used on the travels of the Byzantine Emperor, has to be the same tent.

◆ Edelspacher 1873: 344; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 981–983; Kniezsa 1955: 611–612; Németh 1965b: 231–234; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 510–511; Redhouse 1968: 248; Räsänen 1969: 105; Moravcsik 1983/2: 312; Ligeti 1986: 315; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 206; Tietze 2002: 498.

DIKICS [dikič] 'shoe knife' | 1767 *Dikis* [dikiš], 1801/ *dikits* [dikič], dial *gyikics* [ɟikič], *dikicsel* [dikič-el] 'to stuff, to knead something with great difficulty into a hole, into a gap, a pit, etc.' (B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 979) | **dikič* ← Tt **dikeč* | EOT *tikü̈č* 'a pastry cook's instrument for ornamenting bread and cakes' < *tik-gü̈č*.

Of OttT origin.

E/H The T etymon for the H word goes back to the verbal base **tikV-* 'to insert, to sew', which must be separated fr the base **tïkV-* 'to thrust, squeeze, or cram'. The immediate T etymon for the H word was a noun formed fr the verbal base with the suff *-gUč*, which can be found in Kashgari's compendium with a different meaning, *tikü̈č* 'pastry cook's prick', and it may be a crasis of **tikgü̈č* (see Clauson 1972: 479; Erdal 1991: 358). The PT verb **tikV-* is not obviously a simplex, but its segmentation is not necessary for the etymological explanation of the H word. It was Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1356) who first proposed the T etymology, but they pointed out that the H word may be connected to OttT *dikiš* (*dü̈küš*) 'Naht, Nähen'. Bárczi (1941: 51) rejected Gombocz–Melich's proposal because of semantic problems and considered the H word to be of unknown origin. Rásonyi (1941–1943: 280–281) argued in favour of the T etymology of the word. According to Benkő (1967–1984/1: 635), H *dikics* is a dial word of unknown origin. He rejected the explanation that the word may be a copy fr Tt *dikiš* 'sewing, seam'. According to him, its etymological link to certain other T words (cf. *tikič* 'thorn' (AHou)) calls for further investigation. Kakuk

(1973, 1996) did not list the word among the Ott lws in H. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 262) changed his opinion and thought it plausible that the H word was derived fr T. As he pointed out, the T counterparts of the H word may be ders fr T **tik-* 'stechen'. The copied form could have contained a final *-š* or *-č*. According to Benkő, the T etymology of the word presents some semantic and chronological difficulties. Ligeti (1986) makes no mention of the word. The etymon for the H word is attested in Tt: *dikici* (< **tikičči*) 'sapožnik, zanimajuščijsja šit′em obuvi (*v otličie ot raskrojščika*), portnoj, zanimajuščijsja pošivom odeždy (*v otličie ot zakrojščika*), (*ist.*) uličnyj torgovec (*torgujuščij v palatke na opredelennom meste*)' (TtB), *tikeç* 'çit kazığı', *dikeç* 'bağ çubuğu dikmek için yere delik açmağa yarıyan demir veya ağaç kazık, kazık, dik boynuzlu manda, kağnı köplerinin iki başına dikilen kazık' (TtD). Its late appearance in H also points to the Tt origin.

◆ Alexics 1887: 441; Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1356; Bárczi 1941: 51; Rásonyi 1941–1943: 280–281; Ramstedt 1952–1966/2: 255; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 527–528; Egorov 1964: 325–326; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 635; Räsänen 1969: 479–480; Clauson 1972: 476–477, 479, 483–484; Sevortjan 1974–1980/3: 226–228; B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/1: 979; Erdal 1991: 358, 385; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 262; Fedotov 1996/2: 211–212, 417–418; Tenišev 2001: 105–106; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1370.

DÚL [dūl] 'to ravage, devastate, pillage' | 1358–1359 GN *Dulow-peturzewle* [dūlō-petursōle], c1456 *dul-ya* [dūl-ya] | *dūl-* < **ǰūl-* < **ǰulï-* ⟵ ? WOT **ǰulï-* | EOT *yulï-* 'to plunder, to pillage'.

E/H The word is of unknown origin. The T der poses phonological and semantic difficulties. The H change *ǰ-* > *d′-* > *d-* only took place before /i/. See **dió** and **disznó**.

It was Vámbéry (1914: 151) who first considered *dúl-* to have originated in T, but he compared the H verb with T data which cannot possibly be related to the H verb. According to Gombocz–Melich (1914–1944/1: 1437–1438), Bárczi (1941: 55) and Benkő (1967–1984/1: 685–686), it is unclear where the H verb came fr. Benkő claimed that the basic meaning of H *dúl-* could have been 'to turn over'. Palló (1982: 68–69) argued in favour of the OT etymology of the H verb. She assumed that there had been confusion between OT *yulï-* 'to pillage' and *yul-* 'to pull out, to pluck out'. According to her, the depalatalisation of the initial consonant in H *dúl-* (< **ǰul-*) could have appeared to distinguish the verb fr another H verb, **gyúl** 'sich anzünden'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 284), the verb is of unknown origin and a T starting point is less likely. Berta (2003: 110) rejected a T der for *dúl-*, but he thought that the T forms of *yulï-* could have been mixed up early on with other words that served as the basis for H **gyilkos**. Ligeti (1986) did not note H *dúl-* among the T elements in the H lexicon.

◆ Gombocz–Melich 1914–1944/1: 1437–1438; Vámbéry 1914: 151; Bárczi 1941: 55; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 685–686; Clauson 1972: 919; Palló 1982: 68–69; Erdal 1991: 389, 395; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 284; Berta 2003: 109–112; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 996.

GÖDÖLYE [gödöye] 'kid (of goats)' | 1349 GN *Gudullew* [güdüllö], 1368 ? PN *Gudullew* [güdüllö], 1519 *ghedole-th* [gedölē-t].

E/H According to Melich (1895: 248), H *gödölye* is of Grm origin. Bárczi (1941: 97) assumed that a Grm dial form *gittele* 'she-kid' had been borrowed, but Benkő (1953b: 19–20) ruled this out because of phonetic problems and for reasons of word geography. It was Pais (1955: 107–108) who first suggested that the H word could be traced back to T, however he did not explain his proposed etymology. According to him, the original word form of H *gödölye* could have been **güdülő* or **güdüle* in H. Benkő (1967–1984/1: 1082) viewed the etymology of the H word as debatable. It may be a der of the H word *gida* 'kid', which may go back to a beckoning word used for domesticated animals, but it may also be of Grm origin. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/1: 472) considered the H word *gödölye* as a der fr H *gida*. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *gödölye* among the plausible T lws in H.

A similar word occurs in Kirg as *ketelik* '(v ėpose) nazvanie dikogo životnogo' (Kirg) and in Nog *kedey* 'jagnenok *ili* kozlenok, ostavšijsja bez matki' (Nog). They may come fr a T beckoning word (cf. TatD2 *kötö-kötö-kötö* 'bärän čakïru ïmlïgï; vozglas, kotorym podzyvajut jagnenka'). The T der is improbable for phonological reasons.

◆ Melich 1895: 248; Bárczi 1941: 97; Benkő 1953b: 19–20; Pais 1955: 107–108; Benkő 1967–1984/1: 1082; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 472.

HÁM [hām] 'harness' | 1336 *ham* [hām], 1558 *hámfejet* [hām feyet] | *hám* < **hom* ← ? WOT **xom* < *kom* | EOT *kom* 'camel's pack saddle'.

Of Grm origin.

The H word was compared with the following T words: **OT** *qom* 'bât de chameau' (UHamTouHou), *qōm* 'pack saddle for a camel' (AK); **MT** *qom*: *qomladï tiši teweni* 'položil sedlo na verbljudicu; Mo *qomlaba ingeni*', *qomnïŋ ileyi* 'perednjaja časť verbljužego sedla, Mo *qomunu ömüneni*' (AChagMA), *kom* 'Sattelunterlage, Eselsattel'; **NT** ***Chuv*** *xămăt* 'homut' (Chuv ← Rus, with illustration); ***NW*** *qum* 'čeprak' (Bashk), *kom* 'verbljuž́e v́jučnoe sedlo' (Kirg), *qom* 'piece of felt which replaces a saddle on a double-humped camel, fat back (on a camel)' (Kaz), *qom* 'spinnoj žir (u verbljuda), verbljuže v́jučnoe sedlo' (Kklp); ***SW*** *gom* 'žirovoe utolščenija na bokovyh storonah gorba verbljuda' (Tkm); ***SE*** *kŭm* 'verbljuž́e sedlo' (Uzb); ***NE*** *kom* 'jarmo, v́jučnoe sedlo' (AltTel, Verbickij 1884: 140), *kom* 'dostilka pod v́jučnoe sedlo' (Tuv), *hom* 'žir na spina izjubra' (Tof).

Mo *qom* 'piece of felt under a pack on a camel, horse collar' (L), *xom* 'tevenyereg nemezből, vastag faggyú a tevepúp tövénél [camel saddle made of felt, thick suet at the base of a camel's hump]' (Khal, Kara 1998: 582), *xom* 'die fette Stelle unten am Buckel des Kamels (D), ein Filzstück, das man auf dem Kamelsrücken hat, wenn man

es sattelt, Kamelsattel, Kamelfilz' (Kalm), *xom* 'camel saddle', *xomid* 'yoke, horse collar' (Oyr ← Rus), *xom* 'vojlok, potnik (podkladivaemyj pod verbljužij v′juk), homut (dlja verbljuda)', *xomūd* 'homut' (Bur), *xom* 'les deux coussins rembourrés du bât de chameau' (Ord).

E/T The T word originally meant 'fat, the fat side parts of the hump of a camel', hence also that of a deer (see Tof and Khal). This has been preserved in many lgs. See also *komu bar tō* 'očen′ žirnyj verbljud, verbljud visšej opytannosti', *komdū* 'očen′ žirnyj (o verbljude, korove, byke)' (Kirg). As a secondary development, this gave rise to the sense of 'one or two pieces of felt, cushions, cover on the sides of the hump of a camel to ease the burden of baggage, a pack saddle on a camel'. The making of a *kom* goes, according to Kashgari, as follows: "One takes the camel blanket and stuffs it with straw, then props it up level with the hump so that one may place things on top" (Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 217). The word is present in Mo and was borrowed by Man and Evnk fr Mo. The relationship between the T and Mo words is not clear. The monosyllabic form of the Mo word may point to a T origin, and perhaps to a relatively late borrowing. However, the two words may have come fr a non-Altaic source.

E/H The H word has been tied to MHGrm *Ham* (← Lat *camus* 'muzzle'; cf. Gr *κημοσ*, Dorian *kamos*) (see Benkő 1967–1984/2: 39–40; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 520; also Kobilarov–Götze 1972: 194; Mollay 1982: 302–303). The Grm word is now *Hamen* 'Kummet' (Wahrig 1968: 1636; Kluge 1934: 229) < *Hame* ← MFlemish *Hame* (→ Eng *hames* n. pl. 'two curved pieces of wood or metal that form (part of) the collar on a draught horse'.

Vámbéry (1882a: 256; 1914: 166) claimed that the H word is originally fr T, and argued that it belongs with T **kam-* 'to bind', but this verb seems to be one of Vámbéry's "creations". He derived it fr *kamčï* 'whip' and *kamal* 'siege' (the latter Ott *kamala-* 'umgeben, belagern' (TtR)). Ramstedt (1935: 184) was the first to compare T and Mo *kom* with H *hám*. In a paper dedicated to the origin of H wagons and coaches, Paládi-Kovács (2003: 110–134) cited earlier literature in which it is maintained that the H type of harness is either fr T or Mo. The notion of the "Oriental" beginnings of this type of harness goes back to Haudricourt, who collected harness terminology in Inner Asia (Haudricourt 1948). Jenkins (1961) and Paládi-Kovács (2003: 110–134) later used his linguistic material. Before going into the details, we have to separate data which are surely lws, and thus only play a secondary role in the research on the terminology. Tib *hom* 'a pad placed under a camel's load' was classified as a Mo lw as early as Jäschke (1949: 597). 'Harness' is *chibs-chas* in Tib, where *chibs* is 'horse' and *chas* is 'tool, instrument' (see H *lószerszám* 'harness': *ló* 'horse' and *szerszám* 'tool'). Man *komo* 'a felt blanket placed under a camel's saddle' is a late Mo lw in Man (see Rozycki 1994: 142), and the final *-o* is a Man vowel used for adapting the word to the

system of finals in that lg. The Mo word was also borrowed by Tu (see Evnk *kōm*, cf. Cincius 1975–1977/1: 408). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 717) considered Mo *köm* 'rawhide' and T *kōm* to be genetically related, which is semantically and phonologically improbable. They are right, however, in their observation: "In the Western area, the root basically denotes a carpet or covering (> saddle) made of skins".

Rom *ham* 'Pferdegeschirr' (Tamás 1966: 399) and SerbCroat *ham*, *am* 'Pferdegeschirr' (Hadrovics 1985: 253–254) represent lws fr H. We have to separate Grm *Kummet* ⟵ Sl *homut* < **xomont* > Pol *chomąt* (Sl ⟶ H *hamut*). Sl *homut* is present in many lgs, among them Os (*hamut*), Chuv, Tat, Bashk and other T lgs. In Eurasia, we must distinguish T–Mo *kom* fr Sl **xomont*, and fr IE **kam*. A fourth word is Mo *köm* 'rawhide' (Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 717).

Phonetically, the H word *hám* may be related to T *kom*, but the semantic gap is hard to bridge. The T word does not mean 'harness'; it is related to the pack saddle on a camel everywhere. It is not very probable that *hám* was originally a type of harness lined with some soft, downy material, and therefore may have taken its name fr a camel blanket stuffed with straw to ease the burden of baggage (see Kashgari above), particularly since Grm *Hame* means 'harness; Kummet'.

To sum up, for semantic reasons, the H word is more likely to have originated in Grm than T.

◆ Vámbéry 1882a: 256; Verbickij 1884: 140; Vámbéry 1914: 166; Kluge 1934: 229; Ramstedt 1935: 184; Haudricourt 1948; Jäschke, 1949: 597; Jenkins 1961; Tamás 1966: 399; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 39–40: Wahrig 1968: 1636; Kobilarov–Götze 1972: 194; Cincius 1975–1977/1: 408; Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985/2: 217; Mollay 1982: 302–303; Hadrovics 1985: 253–254; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 520; Rozycki 1994: 142; Kara 1998: 582; Blagova 2000: 55; Paládi-Kovács 2003: 110–134; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 717.

horó [horō] *arch* 'cook (to the king)' | 1232 PN *Hurov* [hurou], 1272–90/1346 PN *Horrow* [horrou], 1313 *Hushhorou* [hūš-horou], 1400 *Belhorow* [bēl-horou] | *horō* < **hōrō* < **χoraų̯* < **χaγuraγ* ⟵ ? WOT **χaγuraγ* | EOT *kagur-* 'to bake, roast', MT *kavurga* 'parched grain, roasted meat'.

OT *qaġur-* 'rösten' (UHeilkI 173), *kaġur-*, *kavur-* 'to fry (wheat or other)' (AK); **MT** *qur-* 'to fry, to roast' (AGul), *qaġ-* 'to be cooked' (ARbg), *qavur-* 'griller, rôtir, fricasser' (AChag), *qavurmač* 'žarenaja pšenica' (AChagB), *qavur-*: *qavurdï* 'podžaril' (AChagMA), *qavur-* 'to roast' (AChagSC), *qavur-*: *qavurqïna* 'eine Art Pfanne zum Braten oder Rösten' (LCCI), *qavur-*: *qavurdï* 'kavurdu', *qavurma* 'yağda kızartılmış et parçası' (AAH), *qav* 'mèche (pour allumer le feu)' (ADur), *qavur-* 'braten' (AHou), *qavrul-*, *qavrun-* 'žarit′sja' (ATuh), *xovur-*, *xuvur-* 'frire' (AmTr), *quvdur-* 'to set fire to, set aflame, burn down (tr)' (AmCh), *qavur-* 'kızartmak' (AOtT); **NT** ***NW*** *kuïr-* 'žarit′, zažarivat′, obdavat′' (Tat), *qŭïr-* 'žarit′, podžarivat′, kalit′, palit′' (Bashk), *qaur-* 'rösten, braten' (SibTBR), *kūr-* 'žarit′, podžarivat′' (Kirg), *quïr-* 'žarit′, obžarit′, podžarivat′' (KazB), *quwïr-* 'žarit′, podžarivat′' (Kklp), *kuvïr-*

'žariť, podžarivať, zažarivať' (Nog), *qavur-* 'žariť' (CrTat), *kuvur-* 'žariť' (KarT), *kuvur-* 'žariť' (KarH), *qavur-* 'žariť' (KarC), *kaur-* 'sütni (tr) – to bake, roast, fry' (KumN), *quwur-* 'žaiť, peč, topiť' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *govur-* 'žariť, podžarivať, zažarivať' (Tkm), *govur-* 'žariť, podžarivať, zažarivať' (Az), *kavur-* 'to fry, to roast, to dry' (Tt), *kuvurma* 'kendi yağıyle kavurulup kızartmış et, kavurma' (TtD), *kaur-* 'žariť, zažarivať' (Gag), *ġoɣur-*, *ġowur-* 'braten, rösten' (Khor), *qåuur-* 'braten, rösten' (SOg); ***Kh*** *qāɣur-* 'braten, rösten (Fleisch, Erbsen usw. trans)' (Kh); ***SE*** *qåvur-* 'žariť, zažarivať, podžarivat' (Uzb), *qâur-* 'to roast (grain), to fry' (TurkiSh), *qoru-* 'žariť, zažarivať, podžarivať' (MUyg), *kov^{v}r-* 'nakalivať' (Sal), *qaġïr-* 'mešať (ložkoj v kotle pri varke v nem piši), rezať (travu dlja kušan'ja)' (YUygM); ***NE*** *kūr-* 'žariť podžarivať (jačmen'), dovesť' (Alt), *kur-* 'Gerste rösten' (AltR), *kaur-* 'žariť' (AltQK), *kur-* 'Gerste rösten' (AltTelR), *xār-* 'žariť, podžarivať, zažarivať, kaliť' (Khak), *xār-*, *xōr-* 'žariť, podžarivať, žeč' (Tuv); ***Y*** *xōruy-* 'žariť čto-nibuď' (Y).

Mo *qaġari-*, *qayira-* (< **qaġira-*), *qaġur-*, *quġur-* 'to fry, grill, roast, to singe with a hot iron, cauterize, scorch' (L).

E/T The T word is a caus der with *-Ur-* (Erdal 1991: 710–726) fr a hitherto unattested verbal base **kag-*, which may be found in *kagut* 'roasted, parched grain'. Clauson (1972: 609) has the base, but *kagïl* 'a willow shoot' and *kagun* 'melon' do not belong here. Early on, Kashgari mentioned the form *kawur-* and later hands note *kogur-*, *kowur-* in the MS. Mo *kagur-* is a perfect match for the T word and seems to be a T lw, as Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 657, 684) also concede. Other Mo forms are secondary; some may have been inner Mo developments, and others may have evolved under T influence. Words like Ul *xari-*, *χaru-*, Nan *xari-* and Man *xara-*, *xaru-* 'peč, žariť' represent Mo lws.

E/H According to H historians, *horó* was a H word for 'cook' in the Middle Ages. In addition, it occurs in a number of GNs. It has been noted in a donation document issued in 1275 and renewed in 1323. Here we read "duo mansiones co[corum?] qui vulgo horo apellantur". The parchment is mutilated in that spot and the second part of the word *cocorum* is almost illegible, but this is the only Lat word which fits the context. Futaky (1991: 192–195) suggested that the word may be connected to the "Altaic" words cited above. According to Futaky, the final *-ó* is a H suff that forms adjs and the word later became a noun. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 150; 1993–1997/1: 578), H *horó* forms part of the word-family *horol-* 'to scrape, to scratch', *horzsol-* 'to graze, bruise', which is of FUgr origin. It denoted the people who had to scrape or scratch the meat fr the hide. Two PNs, 1313 *Hushorou* [hūš-horō] 'meat-horó' and 1400 *Belhorow* [bēl-horō] '*intestines*-horó', as well as the lack of a verb **hor-* 'to roast' in H, which should contain a long vowel, i.e. **hōr-* if it comes fr T, render Benkő's suggestion more plausible than Futaky's. Morphological problems also tend to support Benkő's opinion: there is no extension with *-Aɣ*.

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/2: 150; Clauson 1972: 609; Erdal 1991: 710–726; Futaky 1991: 192–195; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 578; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 657, 684.

ispán [išpān] 'a Hungarian title from the Middle Ages on' | 1269 GN *yspanlesuy* [ispānlesüy], a1282 "Ex his etiam Hunis plures fuerant in exercitu capitanei constituti qui Hunorum lingua *Spani* [spāni] vocabantur" | *išpān* < *špan* ← Avar **šŭpan* < *šupan* ← Sl *župan* < *župa pan* 'the župa lord, the lord of a župa'.

A Sl title of debatable origin, which may have been transmitted by T-speaking people.

E/H The earliest item for the title is in the Foundation Charter of the monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria, where a *jopan* is recorded among the witnesses (...que coniuravit ille *jopan* qui vocatur Physso...). The autographed charter is dated 777 (see Hagn 1852: 2). The title crops up in the Byzantine sources in the forms *ζωπαν* or *ζουπαν* with or without the Gr ending *-os* (see Moravcsik 1983/2: 131–132) and on the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós in the forms *ζωαπαν*, *ζοαπαν* (see Göbl–Róna-Tas 1995: 23). The Gr forms can be found in the PBulg inscriptions (see Beševliev 1963: Nos 52, 60, 62 and Register) and in many historical sources, among them in the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine VII (see Moravcsik 1983/2: 131–132), that is in the 9th-10th c.s. The earliest Lat sources furnish us with forms such as *suppan* in Pomerania (...omnium baronum ac suppanorum...; see Zett 1975: 212). The phonetic form of the title can be reconstructed as **župan* for the 9th–10th c.s. Its origin is debatable. A T starting point suggested by Németh is unlikely. Németh (1931a: 184; 1932a: 8–9) and others thought of T *čoban*, which occurs in AK as *čupan* <JUBAN> 'assistant to the village chief', which is perhaps a copy fr Pe *čōpān* 'shepherd', though Clauson found this unlikely (1972: 398). Ligeti demonstrated that the original form is *čupan* and that it is present in the Ch sources as the title of two leaders in the tribal association of the Ten Arrows (On Oq) (Ligeti 1986a: 140). In the Tefsir and in a few other MT sources we find *čoban* 'shepherd' (see Clauson 1972: 398). The Avar title should be linked to *župa* 'province, county' (its distribution is the same as that of *župan*), but their morphological relationship is also unclear; perhaps the Avar title is a crasis of *župa pan* 'the lord of the župa'. Kniezsa (1955: 224–226) clearly saw that H *ispán* must be the same as Sl *župan* but found that their phonetic correspondence is unclear. A form like *župan* would have produced something like *šupan* in H. Zett (1975: 207–216) summed up the sources on *župan* and its different forms as well as the opinions fr the earlier literature. Trubačev (1965: 71-75) published an important paper, in which he contended that, as it comes fr an earlier **gъpanъ* and is an Ir lw in Sl, the Sl title *pan* 'lord, etc.' is certainly not related to *župan*. The title also took the form *špan* in early H sources. Since clusters such as *sp-* and *sk-* were not possible at the beginning of words in early H, they took on a prothetic *i-* as in H *iskola* 'school'

(← Lat *scola*), *ispotály* 'hospital' (← Lat *spital*), etc. According to Kniezsa (1955: 225), the forms *span*, etc. evolved fr such compounds as *vári-župan*, *udvari-župan* 'župan of the castle (*vár*), of the court (*udvar*)' through such (unattested) forms as **vári span* and **udvari span.* This is, however, highly improbable. Zett is so far right that *župan* changed to *špan* and that H adapted this to its phonotactic system as *išpan.*

If H had borrowed *župan*, it would have been altered to *šupan.* Since the stress is placed on the first syllable in H, *špan* could never have come fr *šupan*; instead *šupan* would have been preserved. The change fr *župan* to *špan* could only have come about in a lg where the stress is not on the first syllable, and this is the case in the T lgs. If *župan* was borrowed by T-speaking Avars, the stress was on the last syllable, hence the reconstructed T form should have been **šŭpán* > *špan.* All Sl forms that reflect a form **špan* are either copied fr the Avar form or borrowed fr H. Postulating a "Pannonslavic" *žъpanъ* (Skok, Mažuranić, cited by Zett 1975: 208) seeks the solution in the same way but within Sl. This would, however, only be possible if we supposed that the stress changed in the "Pannonslavic" lg under T influence. In any case, H *ispán* could have been transmitted by a T lg spoken in the Carpathian Basin, but to prove this we need further data. According to Benkő (1993–1997/3: 626–627), the word may be of Sl origin, but the borrowing is not quite clear phonetically.

◆ Hagn 1852: 2; Németh 1931a: 184; Németh 1932a: 8–9; Kniezsa 1955: 224–226; Beševliev 1963: Nos 52, 60, 62 and Register; Trubačev 1965: 71–75; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 239; Clauson 1972: 398; Zett 1975: 207–216; Moravcsik 1983/2: 131–132; Ligeti 1986a: 140; Benkő 1993–1997/3: 626–627; Göbl–Róna-Tas 1995: 23.

KORSÓ [koršō] 'jug' | c1395 *korfo* [koršō] | *koršō* < **kuršo* < **kuršaɣ* ← T **koršaɣ* < T **korčaɣ* ← Sl *korčaɣ* < **kъrčag.*

Of Sl origin, probably through T mediation.

E/H The H word has been linked to Sl **kъrčagъ* / *kъrčaga* 'glinjanyj sosud, kuvšin, korčaga' (on which, see Trubačev 1974–1995/13: 207–208), Rus *korčaga.* Benkő (1967–1984/2: 588) was inclined to suppose that it came fr Sl, but noted that this is not clear and that the Sl word may have derived fr T (cf. Teleut *kurčak* 'hoop of the barrel'; on further details, see below). Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 803) changed his view and suggested that the starting point of the H word may be either Sl or T and that the relationship between the Sl and T words remains obscure. He concluded that the T source is unlikely to be traceable via Sl *kurčag* because of serious semantic concerns (see **kor** and Trubačev's arguments (1966: 215; 1974–1995/13: 208)). The T word is present in Rus *kušak* 'belt' (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 439). As Kniezsa (1955: 674) correctly pointed out, a Sl source for the H word is problematic, because there is no example of Sl /č/ → H /š/. If we begin at Sl, the final H *-ó* is also unclear. The H final long *ō* may go back to an *-aɣ* or a diphthong. This excludes all Sl lgs with the exception of Slvk, which contains *krčah*, which evolved fr **krčag* > **krčaɣ* > *krčah.*

The origin fr Slvk presents chronological difficulties and is less probable. In Ukr, which Kniezsa also mentioned as a possible candidate lg, there is *korčaga*, which can be ruled out. The only possible solution is that Sl *kъrčagъ* entered a T lg, perhaps that of the Avars. According to Agyagási (personal communication), we have to expect a form like **kъrčagъ* > **kŏrčaγ* in the southern dialects of East Sl of the (9th ?) 10th–11th c.s. This may have been adapted by the Turks as *korčaγ*, or the word may have developed into it. This was changed to **koršaγ*. A T **koršaγ* produced *koršaų* (cf. 1344 *Koršau*) and later *koršō* in H. On the T /č/ ⟶ H /š/ after /r/, see also **bársony**, **bors**, **borsó**, **koporsó**, etc. The phonetic problems can be solved by supposing a T mediation. The semantic hurdles disappear when we suppose a Sl origin. Whether Trubačev's idea of deriving the Sl word fr **kъrъk* 'šeja; neck' can be verified remains an open question. In any case, the word is an OSl one. Rus *goršok* 'pot' does not pertain here. The latter is a dim form of **gъrnę* (e.g. *kamen´* > *kamešek*; see Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 445; Trubačev 1974–1995/7: 210).

Some T data on **kurčag*, *kuršag* < *kurša-* < **kur+ïš+a-* < *kur-*:

OT *kuršag* 'belt' (AK); MT *quršaq* 'pojas' (AIM), *qur quršan-* 'to put on a belt' (ARbg); NT *NW kŏršau* 'obruč, obvodka' (Tat), *qŏršau* 'obruč, tes´ma, okruženie' (Bashk), *kŭrsau* 'bandaž, obruč' (Kaz), *kuršav* 'obruč', *kušak* 'pojas' (CrTat), *qïršav* 'obruč, pojas' (Kum), *quršov* 'obruč, skobki' (KrchBlk); *SW guršav* 'obruč, obod, okruženie, sreda', *gušak* 'kušak, pojas' (Tkm), *ġuršaġ* 'kušak, opojaska, podpojaska, obruč, (geol.) zona' (Az), *kušak*, *kuršak* 'girdle, belt, sash, (diagonal timber) tie or stay, (geom.) zone, bands' (Tt), *kuršak* 'kadınların arkadan bellerine bağladıkları işlemeli kuşak' (TtD); *SE qoršav*, *quršav* 'okruženie, osoda' (MUyg); *NE qur* 'Leibgurt, Kreis, Rang, Stellung' (AltR, AltTelR, AltLR). All these words denote 'belt, hoop, etc.' and not 'barrel or jug, etc.'

◆ Kniezsa 1955: 674; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 445; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 439; Trubačev 1966: 215; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 588; Trubačev 1974–1995/7: 210; Trubačev 1974–1995/13: 207–208; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 803.

könyör in **könyörül** [köńörül] 'to show mercy' | p1372/c1448 *kenyerewl-e* [keńerül-e], *könyörög* [köńör-ög] 'to ask for mercy', *könyörtelen* [köńör-telen] 'merciless' (neologism) | *köńörül-* < **könür-* {with suff *-Vl-*} | cf. EOT *köndgür-* 'to straighten, to guide to the right road' < *kön-*, *könt-* 'to be or become straight'.

Erroneously considered to be of T origin.

E/H A T der fr OT *köndgür-* 'to straighten', as suggested by Palló (1982: 135–136), is unacceptable for serious semantic and morphological reasons. The etymon should be **könür-*, which is absent fr our database. The existing forms *könder-*, etc. carry the meaning 'to guide' and hardly pertain here. The relationship among the H words is unclear, and neither a proposed possible FUgr starting point nor an origin fr an inner development (Mokány 1980: 32) bear up under close scrutiny (see Benkő

1967–1984/2: 613–614; 1993–1997/2: 818). It is not known where the H words come fr.

◆ Benkő 1967–1984/2: 613–614; Mokány 1980: 32; Palló 1982: 135–136; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 818.

LÓ [lō] 'horse' | 1055 GN *adluazu holma* [ad luvasu holma], 1193 GN *Loaz hýg* [loas hiď], p1395 *low* [loų̯] | PUgr **luγə*.

Of Ugr origin.

OT *ula-* 'to join' (RTIrk 48), *ulag* 'transport horse let out on hire' (UUsp 3,2-3), *ulaġ sapiġ* 'Reihenfolge, Verknüpfung' (UTTVI 015,312), *ulaġ* 'a horse which an express courier takes by order of the emir and rides until he finds another', *ol yip ulādï* 'he joined the string (or other)', *ol yaġuq ulādï* 'he cemented his kinship bonds' (AK), *ula-* 'to join, connect' (UXuanzangIndex), *ulal-* 'verbunden sein', *ulalur* 'er wird verbunden' (*u lā lu r*) (BF 14); **MT** *ula-* 'bağlamak, eklemek' (UY), *ulaġči* 'palefreiner' (UHy), *ulam* 'addition, supplément, encore' (UHyS), *ulaġ* 'jedes Haustier, welches zum Transport von Sachen gebraucht wird, ein Lasttier' (UCiv RH 13:3), *ulašu* 'running, in succession' (AGul), *ulam*, *ulaš* 'devamlı' (AHMA), *olam* (r: ulam) 'za pośrednictwem, przez, od, stale', *ulaš* 'stale, zawsze, bez przerwy, nieustannie' (AHŠ), *ulaġči* 'ulak alan' (AIMI), *ula-* 'to forward', *ulaš-* 'to join' (AKor), *ulaš-* 'soedinjat′sja' (AM), *ulaġ*: *yel ulaġlïġ* 'with the wind for a horse' (ARbg), *ulam* 'pribavlenie, pribavka, ešče', *ulaš-* 'soedinjat′sja, soobščat′sja' (ATef), *ula-* 'bağlamak, eklemek' (AYC), *ulaġ*, *ulaq* 'cheval, courrier' (AChag), *ulaġ*, *ulaq* 'horse' (AChagAb), *ulaġ* 'jedes Haustier, welches zum Transporte von Sachen gebraucht wird, ein Lasttier, Saumtier, Tier, welches den Wagen oder Schlitten zieht' (AChagR), *ulaġ*, *ulaq* 'riding horse, a messenger or courier (sent from one place to another)' (AChagSC), *ula-* 'verbinden', *ulam* 'mittels, durch' (LCCG), *ulaq* 'posta ulağı', *ula-* 'bitiştirmek, raptetmek' (AAH), *ula-* 'aneinanderfügen' (AHou), *ulaštur-* 'to connect' (AMGh), *ula-* 'soedinjat′, svjazyvat′' (ATuh), *ula-* 'ulamak' (ATuhA), *ulaġ*, *ulaq* 'eskiden bir yerden başka yere posta veya haber götüren, at' occasionally 'post horse' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *lav* 'voz (telega ili sani), voz (kak edinica sčeta), (peren.) voz, ujma, (ust.) izvoz, jamščina, provoz, progon, proezdnoj, progonnyj, (ist.) guževaja povinnost′, ezdka (v sčetmirskoj povinnosti)', *lam*: *lamran lam*(*a*) 'iz ust v usta, iz pokolenija v pokolenie' (Chuv); *lav* 'voz, podvoda, mirskaja podvodnaja povinnost′', *ulax*, *olax* 'uedinennyj, uedinenie, nočnoe sobranie molodeci' (ChuvA), *ălav*, Szp. *lav* 'előfogat; Vorgespann, Pflichtgespann, das Fahren od. Transportieren mit Mietpferden' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *olau* 'oboz, podvoda, oboznyj', *olaučі* 'oboznik, obozčik, izvozčik, vozčik, podvodčik' (Tat), *lau* 'Vorspann' (TatB), *lau* 'die Pflichtpferde' (TatR, KazR), *ilau* 'podvoda, oboz, oboznyj' (Bashk), *ula-* 'soedinjat′ koncami, nadstavljat′, (peren.) prodolcat′, sledovat′ za kem-čem-l. neotstupno, vosprinimat′, perenimat′ ot kogo-l. i peredavat′, (ust.) privivat′ (rastenija)', *ulō* I 'soedinenie koncami, udlinenie, mesto

soedinenija, skreplenija', *ulō*, *ilō* 'verhovoe životnoe ili podvoda, vystavljaemye v porjadke obščestvennoj povinnosti', *ulō* (tjan´š.) 'uprjažnaja (ne verhovaja) rabočaja lošad´, voz' (Kirg), *lau* [law] 'horse and cart, (hist.) transportation furnished by the people to officials visiting on official business' (Kaz), *lau* 'Pflichtpferde' (TatR, KazR), *law* '(ust.) podvoda' (Kklp), *ulakšin* 'cep´ (dlja podvešivanija kotla nad ognem)' (Nog); ***SW*** *ulag* 'verhovoe ili v´jučnoe životnoe, (razg.) transport', *ula-* 'soedinjat´, prisoedinjat´' (Tkm), *ulag* 'v´jučnoe životnoe, osel, (peren.) oluh' (Az), *ulak* 'courier, messenger, (arch.) near, at hand, neighbouring', *ula-* '(arch.) to join one thing to another' (Tt), *ula-* 'soedinjat´, svjazyvat´, scepljat´, sraščivat´, sostavljat´' (Gag); ***Kh*** *ulāγ* 'Esel, als Lasttier' (KhT); ***SE*** *ulov* 'verhovoe ili v´jučnoe životnoe rabočij skot, tjaglo, tjaglovaja sila', *uloq* 'svjazannyj, sceplennyj, uzelok, soedinjajuščij oba konca (čego-l., napr. verevki, nitki, i t.p.), zaplatannyj (ob odežde); zaplata' (Uzb), *olaq* 'lošad´, kon´' (UzbD, Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 588), *ulag* 'beast of burden, sumpter, animal, load' (TurkiJ), *ulaq* 'v´jučnyj skot', *töš ulan* 'perednjaja podpruga u sedla' (TurkiL), *ulaq* 'jedes Hausthier, welches zum Transporte von Sachen gebraucht wird, ein Lastthier, Saumthier, Thier, welches den Wagen oder Schlitten zieht' (TurkiTR), *ulaq* 'verhovoe ili v´jučnoe životnoe, rabočij skot' (MUyg), *ulaġ* 'v´jučnyj skot, podvoda', *ula-* 'soedinjat´, svjazyvat´' (YUyg), *olaġ* 'skot, podvoda', *ulag* 'v´jučnyj skot' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ula-* 'nadstavljat´ dlinu, soedinjat´, svjazyvat´ koncy' (Alt), *unā* 'das Pflichtgespann' (AltR, AltTelR ← Mo), *unaġ* 'das Pflichtgespann' (AltQKR), *ulā* 'das Pflichtgespann' (AltLR, AltTKR ← Mo), *ulā* 'podvoda', *ulādžï* 'podvodščik, jamščik' (AltQK), *ulā* 'podvoda' (AltTK), *ulaġ* 'podvoda', *ulastir-* 'udlinjat´ čto-l., soedinjat´ čto-l., svjazyvat´ koncy čego-l.' (Khak), *ula-* 'udlinjat´ čto-l., soedinjat´ čto-l., svjazyvat´ koncy čego-l.' (KhakS, KhakQb), *ulaġ* 'das Pflichtgespann' (ChulR), *ulag* 'perekladnoj', *ulag a´´t* 'perekladnaja lošad´' (Tuv), *ulaġ* 'podvoda, transport', *ula-* 'soedinjat´ koncy, nadstavljat´' (Tof); ***Y*** *ulam* 'vse ešče, ešče bol´še, pušče, postepenno' (Y).

Mo *ulaġa*, *ula* 'relay horses; relay transportation' (L).

E/T According to Clauson (1972: 136), *ulāg* is probably a Dev. N. fr. *ulā-* 'to join (something Acc.) to (something Dat.)'. Ligeti (1986: 139–141, 238) and Erdal (1991: 212–213) also accepted this proposal. It is etymologically identical to *ulāg* 'something joined on', but it carries the specific meaning 'post horse, relay horse'. Clauson thought that it may originally have meant a string of horses and not a single horse. It became an early lw in Mo as *ulaga*. It is already documented in the Secret History of the Mongols (cf. also Ščerbak 1997: 161; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 102–107; Räsänen 1969: 512; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 588–590). The T word occurred as a relatively late borrowing in several Ir lgs, in Urdu, Ar, Tib, in several lgs of the Balkans, in Mordv (*ulav*), Cher (*ula*), Vog (*olo*) and Osty (*ataw*), and in several Cauc lgs. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1035–1036) reconstructed the PT verbal base as **ula-* 'to extend, prolong, to attach, join (ends)'. According to Ligeti (1986: 238), the word-initial

T *u-* disappeared during the PT–Ugr contacts (fr 2000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) because it was an unstressed position. The vowel in the second syllable was not only stressed, but it could also have been a long one. One can find examples of the loss of the word-initial vowel especially before the consonant /l/; see Rus *losaď* ← T *alaša*, Chuv *laša*; and Rus *lačuga* ← T *alačuk*. The word-initial vowel could already have disappeared in PT. Semantically, *ulag* was not equivalent to *yont*, *yunt* 'a riding horse'. Its primary meaning could have been 'transport horse'. The semantic change 'transport horse' > 'riding horse' took place on the Ugr side. Egorov (1964: 124) erroneously thought that the T word was copied fr Mo *ǰam*. It seems likely that Chuv *lam*, as in *lamran lam*(*a*) 'iz ust v usta, iz pokolenija v pokolenie', also pertains to the same T verbal base *lam* < WOT **ulam* < *ula-* 'to join, connect' and not to Mo *dam*, as Fedotov (1996/1: 328) supposed.

E/H According to Budenz (1869: 13), H *ló* may be of Ugr origin. Munkácsi (1895a: 182) and later Szinnyei (1920a: 137) and Gombocz (1922a: 203) all accepted Budenz's etymology. Later, Munkácsi (1901b: 445) suggested that the H and other FUgr word forms are of Cauc der. Vámbéry (1914: 187) argued in favour of tracing the H word back to T and compared it with Kaz *lau*, among other words. According to Bárczi (1941: 190–191), H *ló* goes back to Ugr. Hajdú (1953: 81) considered the source for H *ló* to be unknown. Mészöly (1982: 321) pointed out that H *ló* cannot have come fr T but that it is unfamiliar in the western FUgr lgs. According to him, it belongs to the common lexical stock of the Ugr branch of the FUgr lgs. Moór (1958: 68–70; 1959c: 281) observed that T *ulak*, *ulag* has no direct bearing on the H word *ló*. He thought, however, that *ló* may reflect ancient connections between T and Ugr. Lakó (1967–1978/2: 405) supposed that *ló* came fr Ugr. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 777) believed the H word to be an ancient inheritance fr the Ugr period. He suggested that the Ugr protoform could be **luβe* or **luɣe* and concluded that its origin calls for further investigation. Ligeti (1986: 139–141) stressed that the H word *ló* 'horse' goes back to a Ugr form **luwe* or more probably **luge*, which is a very old T lw in PUgr. The T word **ulag* is first mentioned in the Xuanzang biography. The Ch characters noted the term 'post horse' as *wu-lo* on the Western T territory, MCh *uo-lâk* (see Pelliot 1929: 220). According to Benkő (1993-1997/2: 902), the H word derives fr Ugr and the Ugr word may come fr a Cauc lg. The PUgr form may rather have contained /β/.

A T source for the PUgr word poses several problems. The word stress was on the first syllable in PUgr, therefore the initial *u-* could only have disappeared in T. However, if the first vowel was dropped fr **ulag*, what remained was /a/ in the second syllable and most probably a long /ā/. This would then require a *lāg* > *lāɣ* > *law*, etc. change, but the presence of a labial vowel (*law* > *low*, or even *loɣ*) is hardly motivated. In any case, the H word is of PUgr origin, and the starting point for the PUgr word is unclear.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/3: 1504–1509; Budenz 1869: 13; Budenz 1873–1881: 703; Bálint 1877: 33; Munkácsi 1895a: 182; Munkácsi 1901b: 445; Vámbéry 1914: 187; Szinnyei 1920a: 137; Gombocz 1922a: 203; Pelliot 1929: 201–202; Bárczi 1941: 190–191; Hajdú 1953: 81; Moór 1958: 68–70; Moór 1959c: 281; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 102–107; Egorov 1964: 124; Sinor 1965: 312–315; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 777; Lakó 1967–1978/2: 405–406; Räsänen 1969: 512; Clauson 1972: 136; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 588–590; Mészöly 1982: 321; Ligeti 1986: 139–141, 238; Erdal 1991: 212–213; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 902; Fedotov 1996/1: 326–328; Ščerbak 1997: 161; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1035–1036.

MOGYORÓ [moďorō] 'hazel' | 1055 *monorau* [mońorau], 1156 GN *Mogorod* [mogorōd] | *moďorō* < *mońorau̯* ⟵ T **muńaray* | EOT *buŋuz-ak*.

OT –; **MT** –; **NT** ***Chuv*** *măyăr* 'oreh i orehi, orehovyj' (Chuv), *măyăr*, *măyără*, *măyră*, *muyăr*, *muyără*, *mur´ă*, *murĕ*, *mïr´ă* 'oreh' (ChuvA), *măyăr* 'mogyoró; Haselnuss' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *mayar miläše* 'baybay agačï; buzina krasnaja Sambucus racemosa' (TatD1), *mayran* 'dülänä; bojaryšnik' (TatD2); ***Y*** *monyoġon*, *mōynoġon*, *mōynyoġon* 'černaja smorodina' (Y).

Mo *moyilsun*, *moyisun*, *moyil* 'bird-cherry' (L).

E/H It was Munkácsi (1884a: 262) who first compared H *mogyoró* with Chuv *măyăr* and reconstructed a T form **mïyïrïk* or **muyuruk* on the basis of the H word. Gombocz (1907a: 308) presented a small collection of the historical occurrences of the H word which have come up since the 11th c. (*munorau*, *monarau*, *monyero*, etc.) and also listed some of its dial variants *(monyoró*, *monyorú*, *magyaró)*. According to him, the H word may be a lw fr Chuv. The Chuv word *măyăr* has no corresponding forms in other T lgs. Paasonen (1908a: 271–272) rejected the T etymology of *mogyoró* and thought that Chuv *măyăr* may be of H origin. According to him, H *mogyoró* may go back to a compound of two words of FUgr der. The first element of the compound survives in H as *bogyó* 'berry'; the second element **ró* carried the same meaning. Vámbéry (1914: 190) erroneously connected H *mogyoró* < *monyoró* to T *yomorï* 'round', *yumruk* 'fist'. Gombocz (1912b: 220–221) assumed that the Chuv word had come fr H. Later, Gombocz (1924a: 61) changed his view and thought that H *mogyoró* may be a den noun form with the suffs *+r+ó* and that its first element has FUgr cognates, as Paasonen already supposed (cf. Voty *mul´i* 'berry'). Mikos (1935: 289) rejected Paasonen's explanation. According to him, *mogyoró* may be a der fr H *mony* 'egg', which originated in FUgr. Bárczi (1941: 207) viewed the source of *mogyoró* as debatable. Räsänen (1949: 209) attempted to link Chuv *măyăr* 'Haselnuss' (⟶ H *mogyoró*) to Y *monyoġon*, *mōynoġon*, *mōynyoġon* 'černaja smorodina' and Kirg, Kaz word forms like *moy-sun*, *moyil-sun* 'Faulbeere'. Bárczi (1951: 29) pointed out that the word-internal *-gy-* in the H word may be secondary and felt that Zsirai (1927: 314) had offered the most plausible explanation for the etymology in linking *mogyoró* to H *mony* 'egg'. The first occurrence of the H word is documented as *munorau* in the Foundation Deed of the Abbey of Tihany fr 1055. D. Bartha (1962:

29) demonstrated that one would expect the form **monyorú* for the etymology proposed by Zsirai and that the word would be an adj, not a noun. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 941–942) accepted Zsirai's etymology and rejected the T starting point for the word. According to Ligeti (1986: 234), one cannot exclude the possibility that Chuv *măyăr* is a H lw, but on the basis of the FUgr forms the word-internal *-n-* was primary in *mogyoró* and the explanation of the FUgr *-n-* ~ Chuv *-y-* correspondence causes difficulties. Egorov (1964: 130) compared Chuv *măyăr* with the H word and pointed out that the Chuv word is of unknown origin. Fedotov (1996/1: 346) thought that the H word may have its beginnings in Chuv.

Róna-Tas (2004: 432–435) reconstructed an old alternation **moyor*(*o*), **muyur*(*u*) ~ **mayor*(*o*) based on the Chuv forms. One cannot rule out that the TatD1 item *mayar* in the plant name *mayar miläše* 'bajbaj agačï; red elder [Sambucus]' may also belong here. Additionally, see *mayran* 'dülänä; bojaryšnik' (TatD2). The Tat word *mayar* may also take the form *bayar* since the OChuv alternation **moyor*(*o*), **muyur*(*u*) ~ **mayor*(*o*) may go back to PT **bońor*(*o*), **buńur*(*u*) ~ **bańor*(*o*). Róna-Tas did not exclude the possibility that AH **muńaro* (> *mogyoró*) could be the source for the T forms in the Volga region, however he pointed out that this explanation throws up both chronological and phonetic stumbling blocks. He claimed that the reverse route of the connection between the H and Chuv forms seems more possible. An Ancient Chuv **bońor*(*o*) or **buńur*(*u*), which comes fr **boŋor* could regularly have changed to **muńor*(*o*) in OChuv and this is the form that could have been borrowed by H. The T etymon for H *mogyoró* can then be linked to the PT word **buŋaz* 'horn, cornet', which could have the Ancient Chuv corresponding form **buńar* (*sic*! with the disappearence of the guttural element). The semantic side of his explanation can be supported by the fact that the hazelnut has a hard shell and the horn is a hard outgrowth of the bone. Thus, the following changes may be supposed: H *mońarō* < **muńarau̯* < **muńaraɣ* < WOT **buńaraɣ* < **buńarak* < PT **buŋuz* +(*A*)*k*.

The isolated Chuv evidence and the many hypothetical forms make the etymology uncertain and even improbable. The Y data go back to **moń*, and those fr Mo perhaps also to **mońi*. Do these items support the T origin of the H word? More research is needed.

◆ Munkácsi 1884a: 262; Gombocz 1907a: 308; Paasonen 1908a: 271–272; Gombocz 1912b: 220–221; Paasonen 1912–1913: 244; Vámbéry 1914: 190; Gombocz 1924a: 61; Zsirai 1927: 314; Mikos 1935: 289; Bárczi 1941: 207; Räsänen 1949: 209; Pais 1950: 11; Bárczi 1951: 29; Pais 1953b: 90; D. Bartha 1962: 29; Egorov 1964: 130; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 941–942; Ligeti 1986: 234; Fedotov 1996/1: 346; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 944; Róna-Tas 2004: 432–435.

NYAK [ńåk] 'neck' | 1304 ? GN *Feneernak* [feńērńåk], 1312 PN *Nakas* [ńåkåš], p1372/c1448 *nyak-okot* [ńåk-okot] | *ńåk* < **ńaka* ← ? PT **ńaka* | EOT *yaka* 'edge, collar'.

OT *čït anda toqïtdïm yay anda yayladïm yaqa anda yaqaladïm* 'I made a stockade driven into the ground, I spent the summer there and fixed the frontier (of my dominions) there' (RMShin E 8), *yaqa anda yaqaladïm* 'I fixed the frontier there' (RMShin S 2), *yaqa* 'collar' (AK), *yaqa* 'collar' (AQB); **MT** *yaqa* 'collar, bank, shore' (AGul), *yaka* 'yaka, kıyı, kenar' (AHMA), *yaqa* 'kołnierz', *yaqa* 'brzeg' (AHŠ), *yaqa* 'vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj' (AHŠF), *yaqa* 'vorotnik' (AIM), *yaqa* 'giyimin boynu kuşatan yeri' (AIMI), *yaqa* 'collar' (AKD), *yaqa* 'vorotnik, vorot' (AM), *yaka* 'yaka, kenar, kıyı' (ANeh), *yaqa* 'vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj' (ANehF), *yaqa* 'vorotnik' (ATef), *yaqa* 'bord, cotê, collet d'un habit' (AChag), *yaqa* 'vorotnik' (AChagMA), *yaqa* 'der Kragen' (AChagR), *yaqa* 'boundary, shore, bank, a collar, the fur which they sew to the edge of a *collar*' (AChagSC), *yaka* 'Rand, Kragen, Küste, Ufer' (AChagZ), *yaġa* 'Kragen' (LCCI), *yaqa* 'yaka' (AAH), *yaka* 'dağın kenarı, bayır olan mahalle' (AAHI), *yaġa* 'côté, de côté' (ABul), *yaqa* 'col' (ADur), *yaqa* 'Kragen' (AHou), *yaqa* 'vorot, vorotnik, ošejnik, bereg' (ATuh), *yaqa* 'yaka' (ATuhA), *yaxa*: *ota yaxa* 'the opposite bank, other side, Anatolia' (AmCh); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śuxa* 'vorot, vorotnik, vorotničok, monisto, ožerel′e iz monet' (Chuv), *śuxa*, *śoxa* 'vorot, šejnaja povjazka, ožerel′e iz monet (*ukrašenie*)' (ChuvA), *śuxa* 'Kragen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yaka* 'vorot, vorotnik' (Tat), *yaga*, *yaġa* 'yaka; vorotnik', *yaġa*, *ǰaqa*, *yaqa* 'ělěktä: tar gïna materiya kisägěnä täŋkälär tězěp yasalgan häm muyïnga bäyläp kuyïla torgan bizänü äyběrě; starinnoe ženskoe ukrašenie iz monet, nadevaemoe na šeju' (TatD1), *yaga*, *yaġa*, *yaqa* 'tar materiyägä täŋkälär tězěp yasalgan häm muyïnga kiyělä tŏrgan bizänü äyběrě; starinnoe ženskoe ukrašenie iz monet, nadevaemoe na šeju', *yaġa*, *yaqa*, *ǰaqa* 'yaka; vorotnik' (TatD2), *yaka* 'gallér; Kragen' (TatB), *yaqa* 'der Kragen, der Rand, der Ufer', *ǰaqa* 'der Kragen, der Rand, die Grenze' (TatKR), *yaġa* 'vorot, vorotnik, (ėtn.) nagrudnik (ženskoe nagrudnoe ukrašenie iz našityh materiju serebrjanyh monet, korallov i dragocennyh kamnej)', s pritjaž. affiksom 3 l. 'kraj, bereg' (Bashk), *yaga* 'szél, szegély, mellék [edge, border, environs]', *yaka* 'gallér [collar]' (BashkP), *yaġa* 'yaka; vorotnik; yan, kïrïy, čit; bok, kraj, storona; su buyï; bereg' (SibT), *yaġa* 'bereg, kraj, vorotnik, vorotničok' (SibTBD), *yaġa* 'der Kragen' (SibTBR), *žaka* 'vorotnik, (v nekotoryh mestah) odežda, kraj, bereg, predgor′e, (tjan′š. str.) mauėrlat' (Kirg), *žaġa* 'shore, coast, beach, collar' (Kaz), *žaġa* 'bereg, vorotnik, poberež′e, poberežnyj' (KazB), *ǰaġa* 'der Kragen, das Ufer', *ǰaqa* 'der Kragen, die Rand, die Grenze' (KazR), *žaġa* 'vorotnik, kraj, bereg, beregovoj' (Kklp), *yaga* 'vorotnik, bereg, beregovoj' (Nog), *yaqa* 'vorotnik' (CrTat), *yaġa* 'der Kragen, das Ufer' (CrTatR), *yaġa* 'bereg, konec, kraj, predel' (KarH, KarC), *yaqa* 'vorotnik' (KarSh), *yaġa* 'vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj' (Kum), *yaga* 'Kragen, Ufer, Rand' (KumN), *džaġa* 'bereg, poberež′e, beregovoj, vorotnik, vorot' (KrchBlk), *ǰaga* 'Kragen' (KrchP); ***SW*** *yaka* 'vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj, obočina, storona, kraj' (Tkm), *yaxa* 'vorot, vorotnik' (Az), *yaka* 'collar (*of a garment*), edge (*at the neck*), skirt (of a mountain), border (of a sea or river), shore, bank, side

(*of a sail*)' (Tt), *yaka* 'taraf, cihet' (TtD), *yaqa* 'der Kragen' (TtR), *yaka* 'vorot, vorotnik' (Gag), *yaqa*, *yaga*, *yaxa*, *yaxạ*, *yạxa*, *yạxạ*, *yạxa*, *yạxạ*, *yaxë*, *yaxxạ* 'Kragen' (Khor), *yaxa* 'Kragen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *yaqa*, *yaxa* 'Kragen' (Kh ← Az), *yaqa*, *yaqqa*, *yäxä* 'Kragen' (KhT); ***SE*** *yåqa* 'vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj, obočina' (Uzb), *yaqa* 'a collar of a garment; outside' (TurkiJ), *yâqâ* 'a border, an edge, a collar (of a garment)' (TurkiSh), *yaqa* 'bereg, kraj, bok' (TurkiL), *yaqa* 'der Kragen, der Rand, der Ufer' (TurkiTR), *yaqa* 'kraj, bereg, vorot, vorotnik' (MUyg), *yaxa* 'vorotnik, vorot' (Sal), *yaxa* 'col' (SalK); ***NE*** *d´aka* 'vorotnik, kraj' (Alt), *d´aga* 'bereg, vorot', *t´aga* 'vorotnik' (AltL), *yaqqa* 'der Kragen, Hutrand, Brustlatz des Pelzes, das Ufer, der Rand, die Grenze' (AltR, AltTelR), *yaġa* 'der Kragen' (AltLR), *d´aga* 'bereg', *d´aka* 'vorotnik, bereg, okraina', *čaga* 'bereg' (AltQK), *d´aga* 'bereg', *d´aka* 'bereg, vorot, vorotnik' (AltTK), *čaġa* 'pojas (štanov), kraj, gran´, (ust.) vorotnik' (Khak), *čaġa* 'vorotnik' (KhakS, KhakQb), *čaġa* 'vorot, verhnij kraj brjuk' (KhakB), *čaġa* 'der Kragen, die Grenze' (KhakQbR, KhakSR, KhakShR), *yaġa* 'der Kragen' (ChulR), *daga*, *jaga* 'collar' (FY), *čaga* 'otvorot, vorot, vorotnik' (Tuv), *ča˝ha* 'vorot, vorotnik (odeždy), pojasnaja čast´ (brjuk), okraina, kraj (poselenija)' (Tof); ***Y*** *saġa* 'vorot, vorotnik (šuby, pal´to), kraj, granica, opuška (lesa, skošennago sena)' [*ǰaġa* 'kraj' (← Mo)] (Y), *haga* 'Kragen' (DlgS).

Mo *ǰaqa* 'brim, rim, border, frontier, side, flank, collar, bazaar, market, used as a "classifier" for counting garments', *ǰaqada-* 'to collar, seize by the neck, to be situated or move along the border or edge' (L). Cf. also the Mo phr *aimag-un ǰaqa* 'the border of an aimak'.

E/T In the linguistic literature, many scholars have considered the H word *nyak* to be of T origin. In their opinion, the T etymon for the H word could be *yaka* 'the edge, or border (of something)', a word which is well-known as of the OT period and which also carried the secondary meaning 'the collar (of a garment)' in early times.

Clauson (1972: 898) regarded the word as a possible der which may contain the verbal base *yak-* 'to approach, or be near to (something)'. On the base, see Clauson (1972: 896–897). Vladimircov (cited by Egorov 1964: 222 and also Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 83 without any comments) previously noted this explanation. Erdal (1991: 381) accepted this etymology of the T word and similarly segmented the word *yaka* 'edge, collar' with the base *yak-* 'to draw near' and the suff *-gA*. Erdal pointed out that the initial segment *˚g* in the suff could already have disappeared in OT after the verbal base ending in /k/. Erdal's opinion could not be rejected (see e.g. the data in Kashgari), however the OT sources written in Runic script are inapt for the task of providing information /kk/. The geminate could not have been completely simplified for this word in all varieties of OT. The traces of the long consonant in the word (**yak-ga*) can be observed in some contemporary lgs (cf. e.g. Tat, Kirg, KarC). The

primary meaning 'edge, border' was preserved in many sources (cf. AHMA, ANeh, AAHI, ABul, ATuh, BashkP, SibT, Kirg, KazB, Kklp, Tt, TtD, MUyg, Alt, etc.).

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 983–984), the PT **yaka* 'collar; edge', PMo **nigur-su* 'spinal marrow, vertebral gristles' and PTu **nikimna* 'neck, nape of neck' may go back to PA **ni̯ăke* 'neck, vertebra'. They rejected Doerfer's (1963–1975/4: 102–104) critical remarks concerning Ramstedt (1935: 463) and Räsänen's (1920: 194) attempts to find an old genetic interrelation between the T word *yaka* and Mo *ǰaka*. Räsänen also mentioned H *nyak* among his data. Doerfer pointed out that the T and Mo words cannot be genetically related. The T word never carried the meaning 'Hals, Wirbel, Nacken'; it only denoted 'Kragen', which may be traced back to an earlier semantic change 'Rand' > 'Rand der Kleidung'. The Mo word represents a lw fr T. Clauson (1972: 898) regarded the Mo word *ǰaka* 'edge, frontier, collar' as a so-called Second Period lw. Ščerbak (1997: 122) however, listed it in the earlier layer. Chuv *śuxa* 'collar' was borrowed into Cher (*śoga* 'Kragen, Brustschmuck', *sogan* 'Kragen' (cf. Räsänen (1920: 194)).

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 165) who first viewed the H word as a T lw. Budenz (1873: 105; 1883: 444; 1884: 11) thought that the etymology presents serious semantic problems. In the T lgs, one cannot find an equivalent word that means 'neck'. Németh (1928–1930a: 468) did not accept the T etymology of the H word. According to Räsänen (1939: 99), the BulgT *ń-* ~ CT *y-* correspondence may be as important as the *r* : *z* and *l* : *š* oppositions. He supposed that H *nyak* 'Hals, Nacken, Kragen' may come fr an OBulg form **ńaka*. Bárczi (1941: 216) considered the H word to be of unknown origin. Later, he (1952: 350) noted that fr among the H *ny-* ~ T *y-* correspondences mentioned by Räsänen, only *nyak* and *nyár* can be regarded as relatively convincing. According to Bárczi, one of the weakest points of the etymology is that the Mo equivalent of the T word has an initial *ǰ-* and not an *n-*. (Bárczi's remark, however, would be crucial only in the case of a genetic interrelation between the T and Mo words). In Bárczi's view, the loss of the final vowel in the word can be explained with the possible phonetic change *-a* > *-ï* > *-u* > *-ø*. Moór (1960: 393) rejected the T etymology, because it can only be supported by some bare data that demonstrate the H *ny-* [*ń*] ~ BulgT **ń-* correspondence. Ligeti (1961: 39) did not exclude the possibility that the H initial *ń-* could go back to a T initial **y-*. This hypothesis can also be borne out by the initial Mo *ǰ-* in the counterpart of the T word. Bárczi (1962: 1-10) believed the H word to be of T origin in AH. According to Ligeti (1963b: 390–391), the H word cannot possibly belong to the ancient common T borrowings in the U lgs. It is not connected to the Tu lgs. The etymology has some weaknesses. On the basis of the T and Mo data, one would be hard-pressed to reconstruct an initial **ń-*. Ligeti also pointed out that we do not know any T lgs or dials where the corresponding T word with the meaning 'neck' can be documented. Bárczi (1965: 49) did not see

the semantic problem as serious. According to Lakó (1967–1978/3: 474), the U origin of the H word can only be accepted if the final consonant *-k* represents an ancient U segment **-kk* and not a **-k*. Lakó rejected the T etymology of the H word. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1031) believed the H word to be of unknown derivation. The trouble with a U beginning is that the possible corresponding form only occurs in Selkup. A T source for the word places both phonetic and semantic obstacles in our way. Ligeti (1986: 156–157) regarded the PT starting point of the H word as not altogether impossible. The weakest point of the etymology is its semantic side. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 328) listed the H word among the U inheritances in H. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1034–1035) considered *nyak* to be of uncertain origin. He also said that starting out at U can only be supported with the Selkup words *nukka*, *nug*, *nog* 'Nacken' and that a T etymology throws up serious semantic stumbling blocks. Róna-Tas (1997b: 49–50) accepted his position. The semantic side of the etymology is very shaky. On the T side, one cannot find the corresponding word that denotes 'neck'. It would be an argument in favour of this etymology if we found the meaning 'border' or 'frontier' for this word in H, but this has hitherto not been the case.

According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 61), PA initial /ń/ is reflected in AT as /y/ and in Mo as /j/. This would mean that the H word *nyak* dates fr the PA period, which is impossible for chronological reasons. Even more serious is the semantic side. H *nyak* carries two meanings, 'neck' and 'collar of a shirt, coat, etc.'; the second is a later, H development.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 165; Budenz 1873: 105; Budenz 1883: 444; Budenz 1884: 11; Räsänen 1920: 194; Németh 1928–1930a: 468; Ramstedt 1935: 463–464; Räsänen 1939: 99; Bárczi 1941: 216; Bárczi 1952: 350; Ligeti 1960: 302; Moór 1960: 393; Ligeti 1961: 39; Bárczi 1962: 1–10; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 102–104; Ligeti 1963b: 390–391; Egorov 1964: 222; Bárczi 1965: 49; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1031; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 474; Räsänen 1969: 180; Clauson 1972: 896–898; Doerfer 1985: 125; Ligeti 1986: 85, 153, 156–157, 523; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 328; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 83; Erdal 1991: 381; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1034–1035; Fedotov 1996/2: 146–147; Róna-Tas 1997b: 49–50; Ščerbak 1997: 122; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 61, 983–984.

NYARGAL [ńårgål] 'to gallop' | 1541 *jargal-ják* [yårgål-yāk], c1550/1638 *nyargal-a* [ńårgål-å], 1569 *fel-gyargal-ának* [fël-ďårgål-ānåk] | *ńårgål-* < *yårgål-* < **yorga-* {with suff *-l-*} ← T **yorga-* or *ńårgål-* < *yårgål-* < ? **jár** 'to walk' ← T **yorï-* 'to walk' | EOT *yorïga* 'a horse that ambles or goes at a jog trot'.

1 OT *yorïġā at* 'ambler (horse)' (AK), *yorïġa* 'ambler' (AQB); **MT** *yorġa* 'yorga' (AHMA), *yorġa* 'inohodec' (AIM), *yorġa* 'yorga yürüyen at', *yorqa* 'yelen at' (AIMI), *yorïġa* '(horse) of a light step', *yorqa* 'ambler' (AKD), *yorġa* 'ambler' (ARbg), *yorġa* 'cheval coureur', *yorġala-* 'aller d'un pas très-pressé, prendre le galop' (AChag), *yorġa* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (AChagR), *yorġa* 'ambler' (AChagSC), *yorġa* 'yorġa taz, čifte qošmaq' (AChagŠS), *yorġa* 'Traber, Doppeltraber' (AChagŠSK), *yorgala-* 'im Trabe gehen, gut schreiten, eilen' (AChagZ), *yorġa* 'koşarak giden', *yorġala-*

'koşarak yürümek' (AAH), *yurga* (r: *yorġa*) 'Passgänger' (AHou), *yorġa* 'inohodec (lošad′)' (ATuh), *yorġa* 'yorga' (ATuhA), *yorġa* 'rahvan' (AOtT), *yorġa* occasionally *yorqa* 'rahvan' (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *śărxa* 'inohodec, inohod′' (Chuv), *śărka* 'inohodec', *śărxa* (*śŏrxa*) 'inohodec, inohod′' (ChuvA), *śărxa*, Szp. *śărgav* 'poroszka ló; Passgänger' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yurga*: *yurga at* 'inohodec', *yurga* 'inohod′, (peren., vul′g.) ženščina legkogo povedenija' (Tat) *ǰurġa* 'der Passgang, der Trab', *yurġa* 'der Passgang' (TatKR), *yurġa* 'inohodec' (Bashk), *yōrġala-* 'yurgalau; bežat′ inohod′ju' (SibT), *yurġa* 'der Passgang' (SibTTR), *žorgo* 'inohodec, inohod′', *žorgolo-* 'idti inohod′ju' (Kirg), *žorġa* 'pacer, ambler' (Kaz), *žorġa* 'inohodec' (KazB), *ǰorġa* 'der Passgang, der Passgänger' (KazR), *žorġa* 'inohodec' (Kklp), *yorga* 'inohod′, inohodec' (Nog), *yorġa* 'inohod′' (CrTat), *yorġa* 'inohodec' (KarT, KarSh), *yorġa* 'inohod′': *yorġa at* 'inohodec' (Kum), *džorġa* 'inohodec, inohod′', *džortuw* 'rys′, beg rys′ju, (peren.) speška, sueta' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yorga* 'inohod′ (hod lošadi), inohodec' (Tkm), *yorġa* 'inohod′', *yorġala-* 'idti bystro' (Az), *yorga* '(horse's) jog trot, going at a jog trot' (Tt), *yorga* 'atlarda bir türlü yürüyüş, tatlı rahvan, rahvana yakın yürüyüş' (TtD), *yorga* 'rahvanın kabası, rahvan ve eşkin arası yürüme' (TtDA), *yorġa* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (TtR); ***Kh*** *yụ°rga* 'der (graziöse) Gang des Rebhuhns, Gangart des Pferdes, wenn es weder Galopp noch Schritt geht (also: Trab), schneller und geschmeidiger Gang der Tiere' (Kh); ***SE*** *yŭrġa* 'inohod′, (vul′g.) ženščina legkogo povedenija, (ėtn.) čast′ ljul′ki, kačalka (v vide poloz′ev polukrugloj formy), na kotoroj kačaetsja ljul′ka' (Uzb), *yurgæ* 'ambler, ambling' (TurkiJ), *yurgha* 'an amble' (TurkiSh), *yorġa* 'inohodec' (TurkiL), *yorġa*, *yoġa* 'inohodec' (MUyg), *yorġa at* 'inohodec' (YUygM); ***NE*** *d′orgo* 'inohodec, inohod′, sposobnost′ hodit′ inohod′ju', *d′orgolo-* 'idti inohod′ju, polzat′' (Alt), *yorġō*, *yorġo* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (AltR), *d′orgo*, *yorgo* 'inohodec, inohod′' (AltL), *yorġo* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (AltLR, AltTelR), *d′orġo* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (AltTelR), *d′orġolo-* 'bežat′ inohod′ju' (AltQK), *d′orgo* 'inohodec' (AltTK), *čorġa* 'inohodec, inohod′, sposobnost′ hodit′ inohod′ju' (Khak), *čorġa* 'inohodec, inohod′' (KhakB), *yorġa* 'der Passgänger, Passgang' (KhakQbR, KhakQchR), *čorġa* 'der Passgänger' (KhakSR, KhakShR), *ǰorgō at* 'ambler' (FY), *čirā a't* 'inohodec' (Tuv ← Mo), *čoruġa* 'bystryj, bystrohodnyj (o kone ili olene)' (Tof); ***Y*** *dyoruo*, *ǰoruo* 'inohod′, inohodec' (Y ← Mo).

Mo *ǰiroġa* 'ambling, fast amble, ambler' (L).

2 OT *yorï-*, *yor°-*: *yorïdïmïz* 'we marched' (RMKT E 37), *tašra yoryor* 'they are marching out' (RMKT E12), *yorïyor ärmiš* 'they are said to march out' (RMTon 10), *yormazun* 'do not march out!' (RMTon 11), *yorïdïm* 'I marched (out)' (RMShin N 9), *yorï-* 'to walk, pass, to live, get on' (RTIrk 53), *yorï-* 'gehen, wandern' (UTTVII 28:47), *aḍaqïn yorïp* 'walking on our legs' (UChuast, see Clauson 1972: 957), *yorï-* 'to walk' (UXuangzangIndex), *yorī-* : *är yorīdī* 'the man (etc.) walked'. The same for anything that travels or walks. (AK), *yorïmaz nā yatmaz* '(God) does not walk or

lie down' (AQB), *yorï-* 'gehen, wandeln' (BB 1,3), *yorïyur* 'einhergeht' (UManI 17:3), *adaqïn yorïp* 'mit ihren Füßen wandelnd' (UTT III 97), *yür-*: *yatïp yürür* 'liegend leben' (MTTII B:10); **MT** *yürü-*, *yüri-* 'laufen' (UOg), *yorï-* 'yürümek' (UY), *yürü-* 'yürümek' (UYB), *yorï-* 'aller, marcher' (UHy), *yorï-* 'marcher, s'en aller' (UHyS), *yorï-*, *yor-* 'gehen, gültig sein, gelten' (UCivSa 01:13; RH 02:3), *yorï-* 'to go' (ABF), *yort-* 'to drive', *yürü-* 'to go, walk, to turn, to live, behave, used as an auxiliary verb with *-a* and *-p* gerunds', *yürit-* 'to cause to walk' (AGul), *yöri-*, *yörü-* 'yürümek, gitmek' (AHMA), *yor-* 'poruszać się, jechać', *yür*(*i*)- 'iść, poruszać się, maszerowacz', *yürü-* 'iść, kroczyć, poruszać się' (AHŠ), *yüri-*, *yürü-* 'idti, hodit′, dvigat′sja, napravljat′sja, stranstvovat′, brodit′, vystupat′' (AHŠF), *yorï-* 'mašā' (AIM, Cl.), *yürü-* 'ayakları ileriye atarak hareket etmek' (AIMI), *yorï-*, *yürü-* 'to journey, travel' (AKor), *yür*(*i*)- 'hodit′' (AM), *yüri-*, *yürü-* 'idti, hodit′, dvigat′sja, napravljat′sja, stranstvovat′, brodit′, vystupat′' (ANehF), *yüri-* 'to walk, march' (ARbg), ? *yüri-* 'hodit′, dvigat′sja' (ATef), *yorï-*, *yürü-* 'yürümek' (AYC), *yürü-* 'marcher' (AChag), *yürüš* 'járás, utazás [walk, journey]' (AChagAbV), *yürü-* 'dvigat′sja, idti' (AChagB), *yürüt-* 'vinni, vezetni, úton vezetni [to transport, lead, drive]' (AChagBL), *yürü-* 'to walk, march, to flow' (AChagG), *yürü-* 'to go, walk' (AChagSC), *yür-* 'gehen', *yor-* 'gehen' nur als Hilfsverb (LCCG), *yür-*, *yürü-* 'gehen, wandern, reisen, sich begeben' (LCCI), *yürü-* bugünkü manasında (AAH), *yir-*, *yirür* 'iść, kroczyć, maszerować' (ABul), *yüri-* (r: *yöri-*) 'gehen' (AHou), *yürü-* 'megy; gehen' (AKav), *yüri-* 'to walk about, (for a horse) to walk, to move, to ride (a horse)', *yürü-* 'to walk, to follow, to move, to ride (a horse), to come, (for an arrow) to travel', aux. v. which adds the sense of continuity (AMGh), *yürü-*, *yür-* 'idti, hodit′, dvigat′sja' (ATuh), *yürü-* 'yürümek' (ATuhA), *yuru-* 'to walk, to advance' (AmCh), *yuru-* 'marcher' (AmE); **NT *Chuv*** *śüre-* – glagol dviženija – oboznačaet neodnokratnoe, prodolžitel′noe dviženie – perevod zavisit ot sposoba peredviženija: 'dvigat′sja, hodit′, ezdit′, putešestvovat′ i t. d.' (Chuv), *śüre-* 'hodit′, ezdit′, dvigat′sja, etc.', *yurt-*, *yort-* 'bežat′ rys′ju' (ChuvA ← Tat), *śüre-* 'járni, utazni; gehen, wandern, reisen', *yurt-* 'ügetni, baktatni; im Trabe fahren, traben lassen' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yör-* 'hodit′, idti, dvigat′sja, (razg.) vstrečat′sja, družit′, s deepr. osnovnoga glagola vystupaet v roli vspomogatel′nogo glagola i označaet prodolžitel′nost′, dlitel′nost′ dejstvija, zanjatost′ čem-l.' (Tat), *yer-*, *yör-* 'baru; ezdit′, hodit′' (TatD1), *yörö-*, *yör-* 'járni, utazni; gehen, reisen' (TatB), *yör-* 'hodit′, idti, ezdit′, hodit′, kursirovat′ (o sredstvah peredviženija), katat′sja na kom-čem, etc.' (Bashk), *yör*! 'äydä! pošli!' (SibT), *yör-*, *yür-* 'hodit′, idti, ehat′' (SibTBD), *yür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (SibTTR), *žür-* '(v ėpose, a v nekotoryh govorah i teper′ imeet formu *žürü-*) dvigat′sja, byt′ v dviženii, hodit′, ezdit′, žit′, nahodit′sja, prebyvat′ v kakom-l. sostojanii, služit′, rabotat′ (po najmu u častnogo lica), byt′ v dejstvii, dejstvovat′ (o zakone), imet′ hoždenie (o den′gah), (o vetre) dut′, (o ženščine) nahodit′sja v ljubovnoj svjazi, (kart.) hodit′, s predšestv. prič. proš. vr.

namerevat′sja, byt′ blizkim k čemu-l., s glagolom *bol-* okazat′sja kem-čem-l., v roli vspomogatel′nogo glagola pridaet dejstviju osnovnogo glagola harakter dliteľnosti, postojanstva' (Kirg), *yür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (KirgR), *žür-* 'to move (intr), go, ride' (Kaz), *ǰür-* 'hodit′, dvigat′sja; gehen, sich bewegen' (KazR), *žür-* 'dvigat′sja, byt′ v dviženii, prodolžat′sja, rabotat′ po najmu, okazat′sja *kem-čem l., v kačestve vspomogatel′nogo glagola pridaet dejstviju osnovnogo glagola harakter dliteľnosti, postojanstva*' (Kklp), *yür-* 'hodit′, idti, dvigat′sja, vesti sebja, deržat′ sebja, byt′ v obraščenii, imet′ obraščenie (o den′gah), vystupaet v kačestve vspomogatel′nogo glagola i vyražaet povedenie, storonu haraktera' (Nog), *yort-* 'bežat′ truscoj, idti', *yürü-*, *yür-* 'hodit′' (CrTat), *yürü-* 'hodit′, ehat′, žit′' (KarT, KarC) *iri-* 'peredvigat′sja, byt′ v dviženii' (KarH), *yiri-* 'hodit′, ehat′, byt′ v dviženii, žit′' (KarH), *yur′u-* 'hodit′' (KarT, KarC), *ür′u-* 'idti, hodit′, marširovat′, guljat′' (KarT), *yürü-* 'hodit′, idti, hodit′, delat′ hod (v igre), byvat′ vmeste, obščat′sja s kem-l., nahodit′sja vmeste' (Kum), *džürü-* 'hodit′, ezdit′, dvigat′sja, byt′ v hodu, funkcionirovat′, vodit′sja, imet′sja, etc.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *yort-* dial 'begat′', *yöre-* 'hodit′, idti, dvigat′sja, rabotat′, dejstvovat′, postupat′, idti, hodit′ (o časah), etc.', *yör-* vspomogatel′nyj glagol v sočet. s deepr. na *-ïp, -ip, -up, -üp, -p* oboznačaet mnogokratnost′, prodolžitel′nost′, nezaveršennost′ dejstvija (Tkm), *yeri-*, *yürü-* 'hodit′, stupat′, idti' (Az), *yürü-* 'to walk, to move, to go in any way or direction, to advance, to make progress, to march (of an army), to hurry along, etc.' (Tt), *örü-* 'idti, hodit′ peškom, šagat′' (Gag), *yǭ′r-* 'gehen' (Khor); ***Kh*** *yụ̄°riš* 'Gang', *yụ̄°ra* 'Art zu gehen, Gangart' (Kh), *yǭri-* 'wandern', *yǭrut-* 'jemanden herumfahren' (KhT); ***SE*** *yur-* 'hodit′, idti, hodit′, delat′ hod (v igre), ezdit′, ehat′, etc.' (Uzb), *yür-*, *yüy-*, *yu̇-*, *dʒü-* 'to wander, to wander about, to walk, to walk about, to stroll, to stroll about, etc.', *yürü-*, *yürü-* 'to walk, to wander, to go, to stroll, to fly' (TurkiJ), *yuyu-* 'žit′, hodit′, dvigat′sja', *yui-* 'hodit′, proživat′', *yüyü-* 'hodit′, dvigat′sja, žit′' (TurkiL), *yür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (TurkiTR), *žür-* 'hodit′, ezdit′, šestvovat′, hodit′, idti (rabotat′ o mehanizmah), imet′ hoždenie, v sočetanii s osnovnym glagolom v forme deepričastija na -p, etc.' (MUyg), *yir-*, *yer-*, *yör-*, *yöř-*, *yūr-*, *yür-*, *yüř-*, *yur-* 'hodit′, peredvigat′sja' (Sal), *yor-*, *ʒor-*, *ʒoř-*, *yoŕ-*, *ʒör-* 'hodit′, dvigat′sja' (YUyg), *yor-* 'ehat′, hodit′', *džor-* 'hodit′' (YUygM); ***NE*** *d′ür-* 'žit′, hodit′, dvigat′sja' (Alt), *yür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (AltR, AltLR), *d′or-* 'idti dvigat′sja' (AltL), *yür-* = *d′ür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (AltTelR), *d′or-* 'hodit′', *d′orï-* 'hodit′, dvigat′sja, slezat′', *d′ōr-* 'hodit′', *čör-* 'brodit′, hodit′, dvigat′sja', *čōr-* 'hodit′', *čür-* 'bežat′, hodit′, dvigat′sja, idti, brodit′, v kačestve vspomogatel′nogo glagola ukazyvaet na ėpizodičeskoe postojanstvo dejstvija' (AltQK), *d′or-* 'hodit′', *d′ür-* 'idti, ehat′, dvigat′sja, begat′, hodit′, brodit′, rashaživat′, ezdit′ na kone verhom' (AltTK), *čör-* 'dvigat′sja, hodit′, ezdit′, v kačestve vspomogatel′nogo glagola obrazuet vid glagola so znače-

niem ėpizodičnosti soveršenija dannogo dejstvija' (Khak), *čür-* 'in Bewegung sein, auf dem Wege sein, gehen, fahren, reiten, wandern' (KhakShR), *ǰür-* 'to move, walk' (FY), *čor-*, *čoru-* 'idti, ehatʹ, uezžatʹ, bytʹ, nahoditʹsja, plytʹ, ehatʹ', kak vspomogatelʹnyj glagol v sočetanii s deepričastiem na *-p* osnovnogo glagola vyražaet dlitelʹnoe dejstvie (Tuv), *yor-* 'gehen wandeln' (TuvSR), *čoru-*, *čorï-* 'idti, ehatʹ', *čoruq* 'poezdka, putešestvie, hod, alljur' (Tof); ***Y*** *sïrī* 'hod, hodʹba, pohodka', *sïrït-* 'hoditʹ, dvigatʹsja (hoditʹ, ezditʹ, plavatʹ), itti, stranstvovatʹ, etc.' (Y), *hïrït-* 'gehen, fahren, reisen', *sïrïs-* 'kommen', *sïrī* 'Reise, Fahrt' (Dlg).

Mo *ǰori-* 'to move in the direction of, to strive, intend, plan, to be resolved', *ǰorči-* 'to walk, go, to travel, to set out, start for' (L).

E/T According to Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 151–153), the PT word could be **ǰi̲orïga*, which developed into *ǰiruga* in Mo. The Mo word was copied by Tu (see *ǰirō*, *ǰoran*, etc.). This would bring together Mo *ǰiruga* and T *yorï-*, Mo *ǰori-*.

The T verb was borrowed by Tu dials (*ǰori-*) and Man (*ǰori-*) through Mo (see Doerfer (1985: 115)). On the Mo forms, see also Ščerbak (1997: 125). The T word which some scholars previously regarded as the etymon for the H word (see **E/H**) is the dev nominal *yorīġā* '(a horse) that ambles or goes at a jog trot', which has the base *yorī-* 'to walk, march' (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 151–153; Clauson 1972: 964; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 225; Erdal 1991: 377).

As Clauson (1972: 957) rightly noted, the vowel *-o-* in the first syllable of the verbal base can be confirmed due to both the data in sources written in Brahmi script (B TTVIII B:1,3,7, E:50, G:19) and the first-syllable vowels in its ders *yorïk* and *yorīġā*, but the verbal base otherwise only shows the vowel /o/ in a very limited area of the contemporary T lgs (cf. AltL, Tof). Nearly all modern forms contain *-ü-*: NE Alt *yür-*; SE *yürü-*; NC *ǰür-*; SC *yur-*; NW Kklp *yür-*; Kaz *yör-*; Nog, Kum *yürü-*; SW Az *yėri-*; Osm *yürü-*; Tkm *yörä-*. These forms are secondary T developments. On the T verb, see also Sevortjan–Levitskaja (1989: 229–231).

The Mo verb *ǰori-* 'to move in the direction of, to strive, intend, plan, to be resolved' (L) is a T lw despite Ramstedt's assumption (1935: 478) that T *yorï-* and Mo *ǰori-* are genetically interrelated verb forms. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 219) rejected Ramstedt's suggestion earlier on. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 482–483) reconstructed **yorï-*, **yüri-* 'to walk; hoditʹ' and compared it with Mo *dürbe-* 'to run (in panic)', which is another word, and they also connected PTu **dūrē-* 'to walk, wander (off), to run, to leap, gallop' to them. Since T *yürü-* is a late, secondary development, the comparison is hardly acceptable (see also Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 219–220)). T *yort-* (< **yorït-*) was borrowed by the Mo lg (*ǰorči-*). In discussing the Chuv verb *śüre-* 'hoditʹ, ezditʹ', Fedotov (1996/2: 149) erroneously tied it to T *yügür-*.

E/H Vámbéry (1870: 165) considered the H verb to be of T origin and thought that the primary meaning of the H verb could have been 'to amble'. According to

Horger (1924: 127–128), the unusual phonetic change *j-* > *ny-* in *nyargal-* occurred under the influence of the verb *nyergel-* 'to saddle'. Räsänen (1939: 101) was of the opinion that H *nyargal-* 'galoppieren' may go back to an OBulg verb. Moór (1956: 40) believed that the H verb was a T lw and thought that it had been borrowed together with other lexemes associated with horse breeding. According to Bárczi (1941: 217), the etymological beginning for H *nyargal-* is uncertain and debatable. It may be a der fr H *jár-* 'to go' and in this case the phonetic shape of the H verb developed under the influence of H *nyereg*. It may, however, also be an OT lw. Both possibilities pose some difficulties. Bárczi (1957a: 189–191) later claimed that it seems highly plausible that the H verbs *jár-* 'to go, walk' and *nyargal-* 'to gallop' may be interrelated. In this case, one can regard the short vowel in the first syllable of *nyargal-* as a secondary phonetic change. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 260–262; 1037), the H verb represents a der fr the H verb *jár-* 'to go, walk', which is of FUgr origin. According to Palló (1969: 460), the primary phonetic shape of *nyargal-* was in H *jargal-*. This verb may be etymologically tied to H *jár-*, which may itself come fr T *yorï-* 'umherziehen, frei nomadisieren' and the first-syllable long vowel in H (*jár-*) may be a preserved old feature. Palló thought that *jár-* and *jargal-* (> *nyargal*) could have been borrowed fr T at the same time. Palló (1982: 139–140) suggested that because of the preserved OT *y-* in the verbs *jár-* and *nyargal-* (< *jargal-*) in H, these verbs may be among the oldest T borrowings in H. The copied form for *nyargal-* could be the T verbal form *yorgala-* 'im Passe gehen'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1037), Palló's explanation is unacceptable. The H verb *nyargal-* stems fr a special type of word split in which great changes came about in the semantics between the starting point (*jár-*) and the new form (*nyargal-*), as in H *bukik-* 'to tumble' ~ *baktat-* 'to trudge', *öl-* 'kill' ~ *üldöz-* 'to chase'. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *nyargal-* among the T lws in H.

The initial /ń/ in H is secondary. The connection between T *yorga-* and H *jargal-* > *nyargal-* presents us with semantic concerns. A horse's amble pace represents a very special term in horse breeding, and the H word has never carried this meaning. The link between H *jár-* 'to go' and T *yorï-* presents chronological problems. This would be the only word with a preserved *y-*. On the other hand, the H der *jár-* > *jargal-* is also unclear. If dev, the suff *-gÁl-* serves a frequentative function, as in *szaladgál-* (< *szalad-* 'to run'), *taszigál-* (< *taszít-* 'to push'), *rongál-* (< *ront-* 'to spoil'), *nevetgél-* (< *nevet-* 'to laugh'), etc. The only possibility would be to suppose that H copied a form *ǰorga* 'ambling horse' as **ǰorga* and that this changed in H to *ǰarga*, later to *yarga* and *ńarga*, and took on the H den suff *+l-*. For the H change /ǰ/ > /y/ in the initial position, see **gyárt** > *járt-*, *jarat-*; **gyász**, dial *jász*. The semantic stumbling blocks remain, and forms like **ǰorga* or **ǰarga* are also absent fr H.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 165; Horger 1924: 127–128; Ramstedt 1935: 478; Räsänen 1939: 101; Bárczi 1941: 217; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 52, 148; Moór 1956: 40; Bárczi 1957a: 189–191; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 150–153, 217–220; Egorov 1964: 208, 223, 351; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 260–262, 1037; Palló 1969: 459–462; Räsänen 1969: 207; Clauson 1972: 957, 959–961, 963–964; Palló 1982: 139–140; Doerfer 1985: 37, 115; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 225, 229–231; Erdal 1991: 173, 257, 377, 688, 795–796; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1037; Berta 1995a: 9–16; Fedotov 1996/2: 99, 149, 493; Ščerbak 1997: 125; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 482–483.

NYÁR [ńār] 'summer' | 1398 GN *kysnyarlew* [kiš-ńār-lō], p1416/c1450 *nýar-ba* [ńār-bå] | *ńār* < **ńar* ← WOT **ńar* < PA **ńaz* > *yaz* | EOT *yaz* 'summer'.

OT *yazïŋa* 'in the summer (or spring)' (RMKT N 8), *yazïŋa* 'in the summer (or spring)' (RMBilg E 31), *yazïn* 'in the summer (or spring)' (RMBilg S 2), *yazqïï* 'im Sommer' (MManIII Nr.7: 12), *yaz* 'Frühling' (UTTVII 38:1), *yaz* 'spring' (UXuangzangIndex), *yāz* 'summer', *yāzïn qatïġlansa qïšïn säwnür* 'Whoever works hard (and earns) in summer, will be happy in winter', *kűz käligi yāzïn bälgűrār* 'The (manner of the) coming of autumn becomes apparent in the summer'. This is coined about something whose end can be predicted at its beginning. (AK), *yaz* 'spring' (AQB); **MT** *yaz* 'ilk bahar, yaz' (UY), *yaz* 'printemps' (UHy), *yaz* 'Sommer' (UCivWP 04:21), *yaz* 'summer' (AGul), *yaz* 'wiosna' (AHŠ), *yaz* 'leto, vesna' (AHŠF), *yaz* 'vesna' (AIM), *yaz* 'ilkyaz, ilkbahar' (AIMI), *yaz* 'summer' (AKD), *yaz* 'leto' [the context suggest 'spring', not 'summer'] (AM), *yaz* 'ilk bahar, yaz' (AYC), *yaz* 'l'été' (AChag), *yaz* 'spring (season)' (AChagG), *yaz* 'vesna' (AChagLN), *yaz* 'vesna' (AChagMA), *yaz* 'der Sommer' (AChagR), *yaz* 'the first six month of the year, the three months of spring (*bahār*)' (AChagSC), *yaz* 'tabistan' (AChagŠS), *yaz* 'der Sommer' (AChagZ), *yaz* 'Frühling' (LCCG), *yaz* 'Frühling' (LCCI), *yaz* 'ilkbahar' (AAH), *yaz* 'printemps' (ABul), *yaz* 'nyár; Sommer' (AKav), *yaz* 'summer' (AMGh), *yaz*, *yay* 'leto' (ATuh), *yaz*, *yay* 'yaz' (ATuhA), *yaz* 'été' (AmTr), *yaz* 'été' (AmE), *yaz* 'bahar mevsimi, ilkbahar' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *śur*, *śură* 'vesna, vesennij, vesnoj, vesnoju, po vesne' (Chuv), *śur*, *śor* 'vesna' (ChuvA), *śur* 'tavasz; Frühling', *śur*: *śur-kunne* 'tavasz, tavasszal; Frühling, im Frühling' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *yaz* 'vesna, vesennij' (Tat), *yaz* 'ǰäy; leto' (TatD1), *ǰaz* 'ǰäy; leto' (TatD2), *yaz* 'Frühling', *ǰaz* 'der Frühling, das Frühjahr' (TatKR), *yaδ* 'vesna, vesennij' (Bashk), *yaδ* 'tavasz' (BashkP), *yas* 'vesna' (SibTBD), *žaz* 'vesna' (Kirg), *žaz* 'summer', *žazġa salïm* 'in spring' (Kaz), *žaz* 'leto' (KazB), *ǰaz* 'der Frühling, das Frühjahr' (KazR), *žaz* 'leto, letnij' (Kklp), *yaz* 'leto, letnij' (Nog), *yaz* 'leto' (CrTat), *yaz* 'der Frühling' (CrTatR), *yaz* 'leto' (KarT, KarH, KarC), *yaz* 'der Frühling' (KarLR), *yaz* 'der Frühling' (KarTR), *yaz* 'vesna, vesennij' (Kum), *yaz* 'nyár; Sommer' (KumN), *džaz* 'vesna, vesennij', (Blk.) 'leto, letnij' (KrchBlk), *ǰaz* 'Frühling' (KrchP); ***SW*** *yāz* 'vesna, vesennij' (Tkm), *yaz* 'vesna, vesennij' (Az), *yaz* 'Frühling' (AzR), *yaz* 'summer, (arch) spring' (Tt), *yaz* 'der Sommer' (TtR), *yaz* 'leto, letnij' (Gag); ***Kh*** *yā^{a}z* 'Sommer' (Kh); ***SE*** *yoz* 'leto, letnij' (Uzb), *yaz* 'summer' (TurkiJ), *yaz* 'spring, summer' (TurkiSh), *yaz* 'vesna' (TurkiL), *yaz* 'der Sommer' (TurkiTR), *yaz*

'leto' (MUyg), *yaz* 'vesna' (Sal), *yaz* 'printemps' (SalK), *yaz* 'vesna', *yarïn* 'sledujuščij god' (YUyg), *yarïn* 'na buduščij god', *yarïṅġo* 'otnosjaščijsja k buduščemu godu', *yaz* 'vesna' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ď as* 'vesna' (Alt), *yas* 'der Frühling' (AltR, AltTelR), *ď as* 'der Frühling' (AltTR), *ť as* 'leto' (AltL), *ď askï* 'vesna, vesennij' (AltQK), *čas* 'der Frühling' (KhakSR), *ǰas* 'spring' (FY), *čas* 'vesna' (Tuv), *čas* 'vesna' (Tof); ***Y*** *sās* 'vesna, vesnoju' (Y), *sās* 'vesna' (YS), *hās* 'Frühling' (Dlg), *hās* 'Frühling' (DlgS).

? **Mo** *niray* 'newborn, baby, fresh, new' (L).

E/T The T word *yaz* is well attested in the T sources as of the OT period (see *yāz* 'spring or summer' (cf. Clauson 1972: 982)). Its primary meaning and its interrelation with the T word *yāy* 'spring or summer' (cf. Clauson 1972: 980) are, however, a matter of debate in the T linguistic literature. Clauson (1972: 980) thought that the basic sense of *yāz* was 'summer' and that *yāy* primarily denoted 'spring'. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 66–67), the OT word *yay* could have been used to mean 'summer' and *yaz* mainly signified 'spring'. Clauson's position was based on Kashgari's explanation that *yāy* is the T word for 'spring', which stands in opposition to *kūz* 'autumn'. In the *Divan* of Kashgari, however, the word *yāy* also comes up in the sense of 'summer'. In the entry *yāy*, Clauson provides a short overview of the semantic fields of *yāz* and *yāy* in the contemporary T lgs. His attempt can certainly provide important information, but the contemporary word forms prove inadequate to decide the problem of the basic definitions of the words under investigation. The distribution of the words *yay* vs. *yaz* in the NT lgs seems secondary. The T word *yāz* means 'spring' in the following T lgs: Chuv, Tat, Bashk, Kirg, Kum, Kar, Tkm, Az, Sal, YUyg, Alt, Khak, Tuv, Y and Dlg. It denotes 'summer' in Kaz, KrchBlk, Kklp, Nog, Tt, Gag, Kh, Uzb and MUyg. In some cases, the meanings are simply reflect decisions made by the lexicographers. In Tt, besides its usual sense of 'summer', *yaz* also has 'spring' as an arch use. Meanwhile, *yay* as an arch word can signify the same thing, while in colloquial Tt the Pe lw *bahar* is used to avoid the polysemy.

It is very important to see certain facts. (1) The word *yay* only appears in the sense of 'spring' as an exception (cf. e.g., in addition to the above-mentioned case, the NogD data); (2) The den verbal der *yay+la-* and its nominal der *yay+la-g* (cf. Erdal 1991: 109; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 78–79) only carry meanings which show a direct connection with 'summer'.

For a clarification of the primary definitions of the words under investigation, the best arguments can of course be provided through an etymology of the words. Before demonstrating an internal T etymology for *yaz*, a brief overview may be in order of the earlier etymological explanations of these words.

Ramstedt (1935: 272; 1952–1966/1: 111) compared T *yāz* with H *nyár* 'summer', Kor *nal* 'sun' and Mo *naran* 'sun', but he also included Kor *nje̲ri̲m* 'summer' and Tu *ne̲l-ki* 'spring' in his investigation. Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 66–67) and Ligeti (1986:

155–156) rightly pointed out that Ramstedt's attempt is unacceptable for semantic and phonetic reasons. Poppe (1960: 37–38) thought that the T word *yaz* may be related to Mo *niraį̲* 'neugeboren, frisch' and Man *niyarhûn* 'frisch'. According to him, the H word *nyár* – as an old T lw – also belongs to this word-family. Although Ligeti (1986: 156) did not reject this comparison of Poppe's, he did note that it does not seem very convincing. According to Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 67), the Man word cited above is a lw fr Mo and the comparison T *yaz* 'Frühling' ~ Mo *niraį̲* 'frisch' is very dubious for semantic reasons, but it also poses phonetic problems. Doerfer's opinion concerning the diverse semantic fields of the T and H words can be considered – as we shall see below – as well-founded and his remark concerning the phonetic sticking point is also crucial. However, his counter-arguments are not unsolvable.

Having discussed the T word *yaylag* 'summer pasture', Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 252–253) made some criticisms of Ramstedt's (1952–1966/1: 75, 96) comparison of T *yay* ~ Bur *nažir* 'summer' ~ Kor *nat* 'midday'. He categorically rejected the Kor data fr the comparison, but in the case of the Buriat item he only mentioned that the rarely attested word may also be a lw. Ramstedt's assumptions were actually reinforced by Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 963–964). According to them, PT **yāy* 'summer (1); summer pasture (2); spring (3)', PMo **naǰiir* 'summer' and PKor **náč* 'day, daytime' may go back to PA **nājV* 'summer, midday'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 988–989) also discussed the A parallels of the T item *yāz*. They assumed that PA **nį̲áŕ[à]* 'young, spring, summer' could have had the following representatives: PTu **ńar-gu-* 'new, fresh, young willow', PMo **nirai* 'newborn', PJpn **nátù* 'summer', PKor **njèrï-m* 'summer' and PT **yār´* 'spring, summer' (cf. also Tenišev (2001: 74)). Despite Ščerbak's opinion (1997: 123), they did not accept the T origin of the Mo word. They did not agree with Doerfer (1963–1975/4: 67), however they added that "[t]he root has indeed some problems." This position seems to be entirely correct and one can only add that the Mo word **nirai* could long ago have been interrelated with the T word *yāz*. On the ders of *yāz*, see Clauson (1972: 985 *yazā-* 'to spend the spring', 985–986 *yazkï*, 986 *yazïk-* 'to spend the spring', 987 *yazlïg* 'belonging to the summer', 987 *yazla-* 'to spend the summer (somewhere)', 987 *yazlat-* caus: cf. *ol koyïn yaylagda yazlattï* 'he put his sheep for the spring on the summer pasture').

The word does not seem to be a simplex. If it really can be related to Mo *nirai* 'newborn, baby, fresh, new' (L), it may come fr an ancient verbal base **ńarV-* 'to be or become renewed, fresh'.

The ancient verbal base **ńarV-* did not disappear in the OT period; it was known in the phonetic shape *yaro-* 'to shine' (see Clauson (1972: 956), where the entry *yarū-* can be corrected to *yarō-*). The T word *yāz* 'spring' was formed fr this verb with the suff *-(X)z*. The long vowel in the first syllable is not implicitly etymological (cf. TkmD: *yarïk* 'light', Y *sarā-* but also *sïrdā-* 'to dawn'). It seems plausible that it

occurred secondarily, due to the expansive behavior of the suff in the der **yaro-(X)z* > *yāz*. On the der, see e.g. **ökör** and **térd**.

As Erdal (1991: 255) rightly mentioned, the word *yarok* 'light, bright, brightness, gleam' clearly shows the vowel *-o-* in the documents written in the Tib (BuddhKat 32) and Brahmi scripts (BTT VIII C 13, I 18). Clauson thought that the verb *yaro-* may perhaps be a der fr a reconstructed verbal base **yā-* or may go back directly to a reconstructed noun **yar*, which is a dev nominal fr the verb **yā-*. It is certainly possible that OT *yaro-* < PT **ńarV-* is not a simplex.

The OT verb *yaro-* has many ders, on which cf. Joki (1952: 352–353), Clauson (1972) and Erdal (1991: 300–301). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1028–1029) rejected the etymological connection between OT *yaro-* (see at them *yaru-* 'to shine') and *yarïn* 'morning'. They reconstructed PT **yạr-ïn* 'morning, tomorrow, next year' and compared it with PMo **naran* 'sun', PTu **ŋēr(i)-* 'light', PJpn **àrí-* 'dawn' and PKor **nár* 'sun, day, weather'. On PT **yar-* 'to shine, to dawn, light, candle', see the entry PA **zēra* 'light, moon, moon cycle' (1512).

As Clauson established, the primary meaning of this der could have been 'becoming bright' and then it denoted 'in the early morning', thence 'tomorrow morning' and fr there, more generally, 'tomorrow' and even 'next year'.

The word *yaro-k* appears frequently as a member of a binom with *yašo-k* (on the data, see Erdal 1991: 255–256). The same base of these words may be identical with the second element of the word forms *künäš* and *kuyaš* 'sun'. (On the etymology of these words, see Berta 1997).

The basic definition of the verb **ńarV-* > *yaro-* could have been 'to dawn, to be or become renewed, to be born' and the meaning 'to be or become bright' seems to be secondary. According to our data, the verb could primarily have denoted the arrival of spring and the dev nominal *yāz* < *yaro-(X)z* (cf. **ńarV-* originally meant 'spring' and not 'summer'). It is another question whether the semantic field for the seasons also depends on climatic relations. Fr this point of view, the following items are very important: YUyg *yarïn* 'the next year', YUygM *yarïn* 'in the next year', *yarïngo* 'pertaining to the next year'. The *-n* is the instrumental, used here in a temporal sense.

There are serious semantic problems with an etymological connection between the H word *nyár* and the T word *yaz* discussed here (WOT **ǰar* > Chuv *śur*) as well as the question of historical phonology. The sound /ń/ in the initial position must have disappeared very early and it is difficult to reconcile this chronology with the H–WOT contacts. As we can see, there are certain other issues with all the words with initial /ń/ (see *nyak*, *nyargal*, *nyereg* and *nyűg*).

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 165) who first considered the H word to be of T origin. Räsänen (1939: 99) compared H *nyár* 'Sommer' with an OBulg reconstructed form

ńār. According to Bárczi (1941: 217), the der of the H word is unclear. It may perhaps be an OChuv lw in H, but this etymology is not very convincing. Bárczi later (1952: 350–351) thought that the only crucial point of the T etymology is the initial *ny-* of the H word. According to Ligeti (1961: 39; 1963b: 390), the H word may go back to a PT form **ńār* but the etymology can only be explained within the framework of comparative A linguistics. Nyíri (1964: 414; 1965: 101) attempted to find an etymological link between H *nyár* 'summer' and *nyárfa* 'poplar < *morass tree' under the supposition that the original meaning of H *nyár* could be 'morass; the period when the fields became marshy as the ice melts'. Bárczi (1965: 48–49) believed that the H word came fr T. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 476) listed the H word in the category of words of uncertain etymology. He did not reject Nyíri's proposed etymology, however he also left open the possibility of a PT starting point. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1036), the der of the H word is debatable. Either it is identical with the homophonous noun *nyár* 'morass', which is a U inheritance in H, or it is borrowed fr the OT word **ńār* 'spring, summer'. Clauson (1972: 982) thought that H *nyár* can be regarded as a very old T lw. According to Ligeti (1986: 155–156), *nyár* is of T origin and its initial *ny-* can, like *nyereg*, be a "regular" representative of the PT **ń-*. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1037) viewed the etymology of *nyár* as uncertain. He thought it may be an internal H development which occurred due to a split fr the homophone *nyár* 'morass', however this explanation presents semantic difficulties. Benkő did not reject the possibility that *nyár* was borrowed fr a T lg of the Chuv type. According to him, the copied form in this case would have been **ńār* 'Frühling, Sommer'. In the latter case, Benkő, however, saw chronological pitfalls. According to Róna-Tas (1997b: 50), the FUgr etymology of *nyár* is more convincing than the T one. The semantic problem is added to the chronological one.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 165; Bang–Gabain 1930: 97, n. 1; Ramstedt 1935: 272; Räsänen 1939: 99; Bárczi 1941: 217; Bárczi 1952: 350–351; Joki 1952: 352–353; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 75, 96, 111; Poppe 1960: 37–38; Ligeti 1961: 39; Ligeti 1963b: 390; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 66–67, 252–253; Egorov 1964: 215, 219–220; Nyíri 1964: 414–423; Bárczi 1965: 48–49; Nyíri 1965: 101; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1036; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 476; Räsänen 1969: 179, 189, 193; Clauson 1972: 956, 960, 962–964, 970, 980, 982, 985–987; Ligeti 1986: 153, 155–156, 523; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 71, 74, 78–79, 134; Erdal 1991: 109, 255–256, 300–301, 793–794; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1037; Fedotov 1996/2: 128, 138–139; Berta 1997: 23–31; Ščerbak 1997: 123; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Tenišev 2001: 73–74; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 963–964, 988–989, 1028–1029, 1512.

NYEREG [ńerëg] 'saddle' | 1227 GN *Nerges* [ńergeš], c1380 *nerg* [ńerg] | *ńereg* < PUgr **neger* ⟵ ? PT **ńeger* > **yeger* > *eger* | MT *eger* 'saddle', T *eŋer*, *iŋir*, cf. also *eder*.

1 OT –; **MT** *egär* 'saddle', *ïŋïrčaq* 'pack saddle' (ARbg), *eger* 'selle' (AChag), *ėgär* (with *g*) 'saddle' (AChagAb, Cl.), *iger* 'eyer' (AChagAbA), *iger* 'nyereg' (AChagAbV), *egär* 'sedlo' (AChagB), *eger* 'sedlo' (AChagBud), *ägär* 'der Sattel' (AChagR), *ėgär* 'saddle' (AChagSC), *eger* 'eger, serj' (AChagŠS), *ikar* (r: *egär*) 'Sattel' (AChagŠSK), *yïnïrčaq* 'Packsattel' (LCCI), *ägär* 'eyer' (AAH); **NT *Chuv*** *yĕner* 'sedlo,

sedel′nyj', *yěnerčěk* 'sedelka' (Chuv), *yěner* 'sedlo, podšipnik' (ChuvA), *yěner* 'nyereg; Sattel', *yěnerčěk* 'hámpárna; Kummetpolster' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ïŋgïrčak* 'sedelka, sedeločnyj, sedelkovyj' (Tat), *ïŋïrčak* 'hámpárna; Kummetpolster' (TatB), *ïŋġïrsaq* 'sedelka' (Bashk), *ėger*, (južn.) *ēr* 'sedlo' (Kirg), *er* 'saddle', *ïŋïršaq* 'packsaddle, saddlestrap' (Kaz), *er* 'sedlo' (KazB), *ïŋïršaq* 'der Packsattel' (KazR), ? *er* 'sedlo', *ïŋġïršaq* 'sedelka' (Kklp), *ėger* 'sedlo' (CrTat), *ėger*, *ėr*, *yėr* 'sedlo' (KarT), *ïġïr* 'sedlo' (KarH), *ėgėr* 'sedlo' (KarSh), *yer* 'sedlo' (Kum), *džer* 'sedlo' (KrchBlk), *ïŋïrčaq* 'sedlo' (KrchBalk, Sev.), *aŋŋïrcaq* 'v′jučnoe sedlo bez prinadležnostej' (Blk, Sev.); ***SW*** *ïŋŋïrǰaq* 'sedlo osla' (TkmD, Sev.), *yähär* 'sedlo' (Az), *ïngïrcak* 'kolybel′, ljul′ka' (TtD, Sev.); ***SE*** *ėgar* 'sedlo, sedel′nyj' (Uzb), *igɛr*, *igɛ* 'saddle' (TurkiJ), *igar* 'saddle' (TurkiSh), *eger*, *egei* 'sedlo' (TurkiL), *ägär* 'der Sattel' (TurkiTR), *egär* 'sedlo' (MUyg), *ïnġïrčaq* 'v′jučnoe sedlo' (MUygM, Sev.), *egär*, *egä* 'sedlo' (MUygBN), *eŋer* 'sedlo', *ïŋgïrʒïx*, *ïŋgïrʒux* 'sedlo (dlja veščej)' (Sal), *eŋer*, *eŋėr* 'selle' [Pot. *iŋer*], *i̲ŋgi̲rᴅžax* 'selle de bagage' (SalK); ***NE*** *ēr* 'sedlo', *ērčik* 'sedelka' (Alt), *ïŋïrčaq* 'der Packsattel' (Alt Sev., AltR, AltTelR), *ā̄r* 'der Sattel' (AltR), *ēr* 'sedlo' (AltL), *ā̄r* 'der Sattel' (AltLR), *ēr* 'sedlo' (AltQK), *ėr*, *ēr* 'sedlo' (AltTK), *ā̄r* 'der Sattel', *iŋirgä* 'Satteldecke' (AltTelR), *ïŋïrt′aq* 'der Packsattel' (KhakQbR), *ïŋïrčaq* 'das Holzgestell des Sattels' (KhakSR), *ïŋgïržaq* 'v′jučnoe sedlo' (Tuv), *ïŋġïršaq* 'v′jučnoe sedlo' (Tof); ***Y*** *ïŋïr*, *ïŋī̄r*, *ïgī̄r* 'sědlo, v′jučnoe sědlo' (Y), *ïŋī̄r*, *ïŋïr* 'sedlo, v′jučnoe sedlo' (YS), *ïŋī̄r* 'Rentierlastsattel' (Dlg), *ïŋī̄r* 'Frauensattel für Rentiere' (DlgS).

Mo *yaŋġirčaġ* 'packsaddle, saddle without a cushion', *yaŋġiya* id. (L).

2 OT *ädä̲r* 'saddle (*sarǰ*)', *ol aŋar ädä̲r kökläšdi* 'he [helped him] to tighten the bands of the saddletree' (AK); **MT** *idär* 'selle' (UHy), *ädär* 'Sattel' (UCivSa 17:3), *eyär* 'saddle' (ABF), *äyär* 'saddle' (AGul), *ėyär* 'siodło', *ädä̲rlä-* 'siodłać (konia), kulbaczyć' (AHŠ), *ädä̲rlä-* 'sedlat′ konja', *äyär* 'sedlo' (AHŠF), *äyär* 'sedlo' (AIM), *äyär yapuġï* 'saddle-housing' (AIM, Cl.), *iyär* 'eğer', *eyerči* 'eğerçi, saraç', *ederle-* 'hayvanın sırtına eyer koymak' (AIMI), *eyer* 'saddle' (AKD), *eyer* 'eyer' (ANeh), *ädä̲r*, *äyär* 'sedlo' (ANehF), *ed̲är*, *ädä̲r* 'saddle' (ARbg), *eyer* 'sedlo' (AChagMA), *eyer* 'Sattel' (AChagZ), *eyär* (eyar) 'Sattel', *eyärči* (*eyarçi*) 'Sattler' (LCCI), *äyär* 'eyer' (AAH), *äyär* 'Sattel' (AHou), *äyär* 'nyereg; Sattel' (AKav), *eyär*, *ez̲är* 'saddle' (AMGh), *äyär*, *iyär* 'sedlo' (ATuh), *ėyer* 'hayvan eğeri' (ATuhA), *iar* 'selle' (AmTr), *eyer* 'eyer' (AOtT); **NT** ***Chuv*** *yer* 'sedlo' (ChuvA ← Tat); ***NW*** *iyär* 'sedlo, sedel′nyj' (Tat), *yär* 'iyär; sedlo' (TatDI), *eyär* 'nyereg; Sattel' (TatB), *iyär*, *ĭyär* 'der Sattel' (TatKR), *ėyär* 'sedlo, sedel′nyj' (Bashk), *ĕyär*, *yär* 'nyereg' (BashkP), *iyär* 'iyär; sedlo' (SibT), *ĕyar*, *iyär* 'sedlo' (SibTBD), *iyär* 'der Sattel' (SibTBR), *iär* 'der Sattel' (SibTTR), ? *ēr* 'sedlo' (Kirg), ? *er* 'saddle' (Kaz), *yer* 'sedlo' (KazB), *er*, *iär* 'der Sattel' (KazR), *er* 'sedlo' (Kklp), *ier* [*iyer*] 'sedlo' (Nog), *iyer* 'sedlo' (CrTat), *äyär* 'der Sattel' (CrTatR), *ėr*, *yėr* 'sedlo' (KarT), *yär* 'der Sattel' (KarTR), *yer* 'sedlo' (Kum), ? *džer* 'sedlo', Blk *iyer* 'sedlo' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *ėer* [*ėyer*] 'sedlo, sedel′nyj' (Tkm), *eyger* 'sedlo' (TkmD,

Tenišev 2001: 539), ? *yähär* ‘sedlo’ (Az), *äyär*, *yähär* ‘der Sattel’ (AzR), *eyer* ‘saddle’ (Tt), *äyär* ‘der Sattel’ (TtR), *yer* ‘sedlo’ (Gag); ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *eyer*, *eyär* ‘sedlo’ (UzbD, Tenišev 2001: 539), *ezer* ‘sedlo’ (YUygM); ***NE*** *ēr* ‘sedlo’ (Alt), *ā̆r* ‘der Sattel’ (AltR), *ēr* ‘sedlo’ (AltL), *ā̆r* ‘der Sattel’ (AltLR), *ēr* ‘sedlo’ (AltQK), *ėr*, *ēr* ‘sedlo’ (AltTK), *ā̆r* ‘der Sattel’ (AltTelR), *izer* ‘sedlo’ (Khak), *izer* ‘sedlo’ (KhakB), *ezär* ‘der Sattel’ (KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR), *äzär* ‘der Sattel’ (KhakShR), *äzär* ‘der Sattel’ (ChulR), *ėzer* ‘sedlo, sedel′nyj’ (Tuv), *ėzer* ‘verhovoe sedlo’ (Tof); ***Y*** –.

E/T The data do not allow for the reconstruction of a T etymon with an original initial PT or T **ń-* or even **y-*. Actually, one can distinguish two older bases: **ädär* (on the data, see **2**) and **ïngïr* (? **ïŋïr*) (on the data, see **1**). Separating these data is not always easy. We do not know of any evidence for **ïngïr* (? **ïŋïr*) and its ders with the suff *+čAk* in the OT corpus. On the T data of *ädär* ‘saddle’, see Clauson (1972: 63), Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 241–242) and Tenišev (2001: 539). In the latter two works, one can also find word forms which cannot possibly pertain to **ädär* and their right place would be in the entry *ïŋïr*.

The Chuv word was borrowed by some Ugr lgs. On these data, see also Ligeti (1986: 142). Ligeti (1986: 142) collected forms that correspond to LMo *yaŋgirčag* and pointed out that the T word was copied relatively early by the Mo lg. In the SH, one can find the form *iŋgirčak*. The Mo form *yaŋgirčag* goes back to an earlier form *yiŋgir+čag*, *iŋgir+čag*. The suff *+čag* is a well-known den nominal suff in Mo, and the back-vocalic forms are secondary. According to Ligeti, on the basis of the T and Mo data, one can suppose the early existence of a form **iŋir* > **ńiŋir* (perhaps **ńiŋir* > **yiŋir* > **iŋir* was intended), which may be a T dial variant of a reconstructed T form **ńeŋer* which was copied by H. Ligeti’s proposal is unacceptable. On the Cher (*örïnčak*) and Voty (*ėnerčak*) word forms of T origin, see also Fedotov (1996/1: 195).

On the basis of the T data, one has to reconstruct two independent words **ädär* and **iŋir*. Every attempt that anticipates only one reconstructed basic form must be rejected. On the basis of the T forms, Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 506–507) have indicated only one PT form **ə̈dŋe-r* ‘saddle’ and in the entry there are mixed data that go back to the different forms of **ädär* and **iŋir*. They assumed that the different reflexes of the cluster could have appeared in some T forms as a result of borrowings, Tuv *ezer*, Tof *e’zer* ← Khak, while Mo *iŋirčag* ← T. They compare the reconstructed PT form with PMo **emegel* ‘saddle’ and PTu **emu-l* ‘quiver ornamented with horse’s hair, hoop of a shaman’s drum, belt, horse or deer pack, pack strap’. According to them, PT **ə̈dŋe-r* may be a contracted form fr **emŋe-der*. This explanation is hopelessly complicated. Doerfer (1985: 21) regarded the Tu words *emegen*, *emēl*, etc. ‘saddle’ as Mo lws. Ligeti (1986: 142) considered that T *eŋer* may have had a Mo connection in an earlier T period: cf. Mo *emegel* ‘saddle’ < **eŋe+gel*, which could also be related to Man *eŋgemu* < **eŋe+mel*.

E/H According to Munkácsi (1901b: 487–488), the H word cannot be separated fr the Geor forms *unagirí*, *inqír* 'Sattel' and some similar T words. Szinnyei (1927: 142) thought that the H word may have an etymological link to the Vog and Osty data. According to Bárczi (1941: 218), the H word may be of Ugr or FUgr origin. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 481–482) believed the der of the H word to be of uncertain. He reconstructed a Ugr protoform **närkɜ* for it, but he also pointed out that the H word may have T counterparts such as Y *ïŋīr* or Chuv *yĕner*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1042–1043; 1993–1997/2: 1040), *nyereg* may be a Ugr inheritance in H and the possible T starting point for the Ugr form (**närkɜ*) calls for further investigation. László (1981: 83–84) assumed that the H words *kengyel* 'stirrup' and *nyereg* 'saddle' cannot possibly come fr FUgr but that they may be internal H developments. Ligeti (1986: 141–143) listed the H word among the words of T der of an early period under the supposition that there was a word-initial /ń/ in T and a metathesis in H and that the final /g/ may represent an older PFUgr **ŋ* here. The copied form was **ńeŋer* and was copied into PUgr. Róna-Tas (1997b: 50) rejected the T etymology of the H word. According to him, the initial /y/ in the seemingly corresponding T forms is secondary in all cases.

The H word is of PUgr origin (see § 8.5). The T starting point for the PUgr form is improbable, because there are no traces of /ń/ or even /y/ in the initial position in T.

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 487–488; Szinnyei 1927: 142; Bárczi 1941: 218; Joki 1952: 142; Poppe 1955: 39; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 128–129; Egorov 1964: 78–79; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 481–482; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1042–1043; Räsänen 1969: 166; Clauson 1972: 63; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 241–242, 658–659; László 1981: 83–84; Doerfer 1985: 21; Ligeti 1986: 141–143, 238, 523; Benkő 1993–1997/3: 1040; Fedotov 1996/1: 195; Róna-Tas 1997b: 50; Ščerbak 1997: 164; Tenišev 2001: 539; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 506–507.

nyűg [ńűg] 'hobble (of rope), burden' | c1510 *nywketh* [ńűk-et], 1524 *nyg-et* [ńīg-et], 1545 *ńügnek* [ńüg-nek] | *ńűg* ← T **ńüg* > *yüg* | EOT *yük* 'a load, burden' < **yü-* 'to load'.

E/T The T word *yük* is ubiquitous in Turcia (Chuv *śăk*) with the meaning 'burden, load, freight, baggage, luggage in many cases carried by a horse or other animal'. Munkácsi (1905: 379) tied the T word to Skrt *yugám* 'yoke', which is erroneous. T *yük* 'load, burden' has an internal T etymology. It is a der (cf. Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 225; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 262–263; Erdal 1991: 258) fr the verbal base **yü-* 'to load, to carry' (see Clauson 1972: 870). Its suff -(*O*)*k* forms dev nominals (on the suff, see Erdal (1991: 224–226)). The undocumented PT base **yü-* is related to *yüd-* 'to load something on oneself, to carry', 'to load on one's pack animal' (see Clauson 1972: 885–886; Erdal 1991: 644), which has been present in the T sources since the OT period. It is, however, absent in the ModT lgs, with the exception of the AltT.

Ramstedt (1935: 479; 1952–1966/1: 65; 1949: 31) suggested the "Altaic parallels" of T **yük-*, *yüd-*, **yü-* 'aufladen' and *yük* 'Last'. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1553) rightly reconstructed PT **yü-* 'to load, carry' on the basis of the T forms, but then they confirmed Ramstedt's "Altaic parallels". Mo *ǰöge-*, *ǰögege-* 'transport' is a T lw, PTu **ǰugu-* is a Mo lw. Dlg *ńōgu ~ ńūgu* 'Zügel' is of Evk origin (Stachowski 1993: 187). The T word was copied by Eastern Sl twice. In ORus, one has *juk* 'Traglast' and, in contemporary Rus and Ukr, *v'juk* 'Saumlast, Ballen, Packen'; cf. Fasmer (1964–1973/1: 373) and Egorov (1964: 205), among others.

E/H Vámbéry (1914: 37, 192) considered the H word as a T lw fr *yük* 'burden'. According to Bárczi (1941: 221), initial stages of the the H word are unknown and a Ugr beginning is unacceptable for phonetic reasons. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1061) regarded the der of the word as unknown and rejected its T etymology. According to Palló (1982a: 204), the H word may go back to a T form **ńǖ-g*, which is related to T *yük*, *yüd-*. She thought that the word forms part of the oldest layer of the T borrowings in H and that it belongs among the terms for horse breeding. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1050) reiterated his earlier position and added that the original vowel in the H word could be the sound /i/.

The semantic side of the T etymology is very weak. The T word carries the meaning 'load, burden' fr the verb 'to load'. The H word originally meant 'hobble (of rope)' and only later, as a secondary meaning, evolved the sense of 'burden' fr 'something which one cannot get rid of'. On the basis of the T and Mo words belonging here, one cannot reconstruct a PT form with initial **ń-*. Ligeti (1986) did not mention H *nyűg* among the H words of T origin.

◆ Munkácsi 1905: 379; Vámbéry 1914: 37, 192; Ramstedt 1935: 479; Bárczi 1941: 221; Ramstedt 1949: 31; Ramstedt 1952–1966/1: 65; Doerfer 1963–1975/4: 224–225; Egorov 1964: 205; Fasmer 1964–1973/1: 373; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1061; Räsänen 1969: 212; Clauson 1972: 870, 885–886, 893, 912; Palló 1982a: 204; Sevortjan–Levitskaja 1989: 262–263; Erdal 1991: 224–226, 258, 346, 644, 726, 815; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1050; Stachowski 1993: 187; Fedotov 1996/2: 90; Tenišev 2001: 519–520; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1553.

OCSÚDIK [očūdik], **ocsul** [očul] 'to awake' | 1508 *včodot* [očud-ott], 1700 *fel-otsoltam* [fel-očol-tam] | *očūdik-*, *očul-* < *oč* {with suffs -($\bar{V}$)*d-* and *-ik-* or -(*V*)*l-*} < **oč-* ← WOT **ač-* | EOT *ač-* 'to open, to clear (the sky)'.

OT *ač-* 'to open' (RTIrk 40), *ača* 'offen' (UTTIV A:6), *ačïl-* 'geöffnet sein' (UHeilk I:57), *ačġay bälgürtgäy* 'enthüllen und zeigen' (UMI 11:5), *közin ačïp* 'schlug seine Augen auf' (UMIII 35:29), *ač-* 'to open' (UXuanzangIndex), *ač-* 'open', *qapuġ ačdï* 'he opened the door (or other)', *qara bulïtïġ yēl ačār urunč bilä ēl ačār* 'When a black cloud covers the sky; the wind clears it away; similarly, a bribe opens the door of state' (AK), *ačtï uštmax yolï* 'opened the way of paradise' (AQB); **MT** *ač-* 'öffnen' (UOg), *ač-* 'açmak' (UY), *ačïl-* 's'ouvrir, s'éclaircir (le temps)' (UHy), *ač-* 'ouvrir' (UHyS), *ač-* 'erschließen' (UCivSa 08:9), *ač-* 'to open, to reveal (a secret, etc.)' (AGul),

ač- ‘açmak, açıklamak’, *ačïl-* ‘açılmak’ (AHMA), *ač-* ‘otwierać, odsłaniać’ (AHŠ), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ, otvorjatʹ, vskryvatʹ’ (AHŠF), *ač-* ‘otkrytʹ, izʺjasnitʹ’ (AIM), *ač-* ‘kapalı olma halini kaldırmak, açık söyleyip anlatmak, yaymak’ (AIMI), *ač-* ‘to open’ (AKD), *ač-* ‘to reveal, to conquer, gain victory, to remove’ (AKor), *ač-* (-ǰ-) ‘otkryvatʹ’, *ačïl-* (-ǰ-) ‘otkryvatʹsja’ (AM), *ač-* ‘açmak, belli etmek, ortaya çıkarmak’ (ANeh), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ, otvorjatʹ, vskryvatʹ’ (ANehF), *ač-* ‘to open, to unveil’ (ARbg), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, pokorjatʹ, pobeždatʹ’ (ATef), *ač-* ‘açmak’ (AYC), *ač-* ‘ouvrir’ (AChag), *ač-* ‘açmak’ (AChagAb), *ač-* ‘açmak’ (AChagAbA), *ač-* ‘nyit [to open]’ (AChagAbV), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ’ (AChagB), *ačïšmaq* ‘földerülés, fölvidulás [cheering up]’ (AChagBL), *ač-* ‘to open, undo’ (AChagG), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ’ (AChagLN), *ač-* ‘aufmachen’ (AChagR), *ač-* ‘to open’ (AChagS), *ačuġ* ‘enthüllt, geöffnet, klar, deutlich, frech’ (AChagŠSK), *ač-* ‘öffnen, eröffnen, entblössen’ (AChagZ), *ač-* ‘öffnen’, *ačïl-* ‘sich öffnen’ (LCCG), *ač-* ‘öffnen’ (LCCI), *ač-* ‘açmak’ (AAH), *ač-* ‘otwierać, odkryć’ (ABul), *ač-* ‘öffnen’ (AHou), *ač-* ‘kinyit, feltakar; öffnen, aufdecken’ (AKav), *ač-* ‘to open, to expose’ (AMGh), *āč-* ‘otkryvatʹ, zavoevyvatʹ’ (ATuh), *ač-* ‘açmak’ (ATuhA), *ač-* ‘ouvrir, découvrir’ (AmTr), *ačtïr-* ‘faire ouvrir’ (AmE), *ač-* ‘parlatmak, açığa vurmak, meydana koymak’ (AOtT); **NT *Chuv*** *uś-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ, raspahivatʹ, otpiratʹ, otvorjatʹ, raskryvatʹ, razvoračivatʹ, raspečatyvatʹ, vskryvatʹ, otkryvatʹ, osnovyvatʹ, učreždatʹ, sozdavatʹ, otkryvatʹ, puskatʹ, otkryvatʹ, načinatʹ, otkryvatʹ, delatʹ otkrytie, rasčiščatʹ, pahatʹ (*novʹ*), podnimatʹ, pričesyvatʹ, rasčesyvatʹ, (*peren.*) vyjavljatʹ, obnaruživatʹ, raskryvatʹ, razoblačatʹ, (*peren.*) rešatʹ, razrešatʹ, (*peren.*) razʺjasnjatʹ, obʺjasnjatʹ, raskryvatʹ, osvežatʹ, pridavatʹ bodrosti, bodritʹ’ (Chuv), *uś-*, *oś-* ‘otkryvatʹ, otvorjatʹ, raskryvatʹ, podnimatʹ novʹ, otkryvatʹsja (komu-nibudʹ), razrešatʹ, postavitʹ na nogi (v materialʹnom otnošenii), razʺjasnitʹ, vyrubatʹ (les), razčiščatʹ, davatʹ otradu, legkostʹ, prosvetitʹ, rasčesatʹ, raskrytʹ (t.e. sdelatʹ javnym)’ (ChuvA), *uś-* ‘öffnen, aufmachen’ (ChuvP); ***NW*** *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, otkrytʹ, otpiratʹ, otpereťʹ, otvorjatʹ, otvoritʹ, vskryvatʹ, vskrytʹ, raspečatyvatʹ, raspečatatʹ, otkuporivatʹ, otkuporitʹ, raskuporivatʹ, raskuporitʹ, raskryvatʹ, raskrytʹ, razevatʹ, razinutʹ, (*peren.*) razoblačatʹ, razoblačitʹ, raskryvatʹ, raskrytʹ, vydavatʹ, vydatʹ (tajnu)’ (Tat), *ač-* ‘berär närsäne yaltïrap torïrlïk itep čistartu; čistitʹ do bleska; (čäčne, materiyäne h. b.) bik čista itep yuu; promytʹ, vystiratʹ očenʹ čisto, do bleska – o volosah, materii i t.p.’ (TatD1), *ač-* ‘otkryvat’ (TatD2), *ač-* ‘nyitni; öffnen, aufmachen’ (TatB), *as-* ‘otkryvatʹ, vskryvatʹ, otkuporivatʹ, raspečatyvatʹ, otkryvatʹ, otvorjatʹ, raspahivatʹ, otkryvatʹ, orpiratʹ, otmykatʹ, otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ (čto-l. zakrytoe, složennoe, svernutoe), otkryvatʹ, pokazyvatʹ, etc.’ (Bashk), *ac-*, *ač-* ‘aču; otkryvatʹ’ (SibT), *ac-*, *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ’ (SibTBD), *ac-* ‘aufmachen, öffnen’ (SibTBR, SibTTR), *ač-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ, otpiratʹ, (*peren.*) obnaruživatʹ’ (Kirg), *ač-* ‘aufmachen, öffnen’ (KirgR), *aš-* ‘to open, reveal, unlock, uncover, discover, to ferment (of wine, etc.)’ (Kaz), *aš-* ‘vskrytʹ, otkrytʹ, obnaruživatʹ, otpiratʹ, raskryvatʹ’ (KazB), *aš-* ‘otkryvatʹ, raskryvatʹ, otpiratʹ, razvertyvatʹ, razvjazyvatʹ (*napr. svertok*)’

(Kklp), *aš-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, otpiraťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, rastvorjaťˊ, otmykaťˊ, otkuporivaťˊ, raskuporivaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, raspečatyvaťˊ, raspakovyvaťˊ, raskutyvaťˊ, raspelenyvaťˊ, razevaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ (napr. rot), obnažaťˊ, razžimaťˊ, razoblačaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ (napr. prestuplenie), uličaťˊ, izobličaťˊ, pozoriťˊ' (Nog), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, rascvetaťˊ' (CrTat), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (CrTatR), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (KarT, KarC), *ac-* 'otkryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ' (KarH), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, otpiraťˊ, otkryvaťˊ, vvoditˊ v dejstvie, raskryvaťˊ, razoblačaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, obličaťˊ, uličaťˊ, otkryvaťˊ, obnaruživaťˊ, ustanavlivaťˊ, raspuskaťˊsja, raskryvaťˊsja' (Kum), *ač-* 'öffnen' (KumN), *ač-* 'öffnen, aufmachen, aushülsen' (KrchP), *ac-* 'öffnen, aufmachen, endigen' (BlkP); ***SW*** *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, razmykaťˊ, raskuporivaťˊ, raspečatyvaťˊ, otkryvaťˊ, obnaruživaťˊ, ustanavlivaťˊ naličie *čego-l.*, otkryvaťˊ, obnaruživaťˊ, razoblačaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ' (Tkm), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, raskrytˊ, obnaruživaťˊ, obnaružitˊ, razvjazyvaťˊ, razvjazaťˊ, rasputaťˊ, rastegivaťˊ, rastegnutˊ, otprjagaťˊ, otprjačˊ, otcepljaťˊ, otcepitˊ, raskutyvaťˊ, raskutaťˊ, razvernutˊ, razvertyvaťˊ, raspakovyvaťˊ, raspakovaťˊ, raskručivaťˊ, raskrutitˊ, razmatyvaťˊ, razmotaťˊ, rassučivaťˊ, rassučitˊ, raskuporivaťˊ, raskuporitˊ, razžimaťˊ, razžaťˊ, razinutˊ, kataťˊ, raskataťˊ (testo), nravitˊsja, ustraivaťˊ, udovletvorjaťˊ (kogo), načinaťˊ (razgovor, besedu), raspuskaťˊsja, raspustitˊ, rascvetaťˊ, rascvesti' (Az), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (AzR), *aç-* 'to open, to uncover, to unfold, to spread, to shove off, to clear up (of weather), to inaugurate, to unite, to unravel, to solve, to make lighter (of colour), to disclose or mention, to let sy know sg, to make overtures, (slang) to go away' (Tt), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (TtR), *ač-* v razn. znač. 'otkryvaťˊ, prokladyvaťˊ (dorogu), vključaťˊ (svet, radio i t.p.), obnažaťˊ (suščnostˊ čego-l.), posvjaščaťˊ (napr. v dela, v tajnu), poverjaťˊ (napr. tajnu), prjam. i peren. raspuskaťˊsja, cvesti, rascvetaťˊ' (Gag), *aš-*, *ač-* 'öffnen' (Khor), *aš-* 'öffnen' (SOg); ***Kh*** *hač-* 'öffnen, ausbreiten' (Imp: *hačï*) (Kh), *hač-* 'öffnen' (KhT); ***SE*** *oč-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, otpiraťˊ, otkupirovaťˊ, otkryvaťˊ, vvoditˊ v dejstvie, položaťˊ načalo, (*peren.*) otkryvaťˊ, razoblačaťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, otkryvaťˊ, obnaruživaťˊ, ustanavlivaťˊ, vyvoditˊ (ptencov)' (Uzb), *ač-* 'to open, to uncover, to take off, to unfold, to discover, to unbolt, to unfasten, to disclose' (TurkiJ), *ach-* 'to open' (TurkiSh), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (TurkiL), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (TurkiTR), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, otpiraťˊ, (*peren.*) vskryvaťˊ, obnaruživaťˊ' (MUyg), *aç-*, *aš-*, *af-* 'otkryvaťˊ', *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ (dverˊ), otkryvaťˊ, razvjazyvaťˊ (mešok), otkryvaťˊ (glaza)' (Sal), *aš-* 'ouvrir' (SalK), *haǰ-*, *haš-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (YUyg), *ač-*, *aš-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (YUygM); ***NE*** *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, otpiraťˊ, vskryvaťˊ, otvorjaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ, obnažaťˊ' (Alt), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (AltR, AltTelR), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (AltL), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (AltQK), *ač-* 'otkryvaťˊ, otkrytˊ, raspahnutˊ, pojavljaťˊsja', *aš́-* 'otkryvaťˊ' (AltTK), *as-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ *čto-l.*, otpiraťˊ, otvorjaťˊ *čto-l.*, vskryvaťˊ *čto-l.*, obnažaťˊ *kogo-čto-l.*, raspahivaťˊ *čto-l.*' (Khak), *as-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (KhakSR), *aš-* 'öffnen, aufmachen, eröffnen, auseinandersetzen' (KhakShR), *ac-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (ChulR), *aš-* 'otkryvaťˊ, raskryvaťˊ', *ažï-*

(!) 'otkryvaťsja, byť otkrytym' (Tuv; on the latter, see Tatarincev 2000–2004/1: 65), *ač-* 'aufmachen, öffnen' (TuvSR), *a˝š-* 'otkryvať, raskryvať, listať (napr. knigu)' (Tof); ***Y*** *as-* 'otvorjať (dver′, vorota), otkryvať (kryšku, trubu), otverzať, raskryvať (*put′*), razverzať, otpirať, otmykať (zamok), ottykať (probku), snimať (karty)' (Y), *as-* 'otkryvať, raskryvať'' (YS), *ahagas* 'offen, geöffnet, aufgemacht' (Dlg), *as-* 'öffnen, aufmachen' (DlgS).

E/T Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 209–210) discussed the semantic field of the base. In some entries, Doerfer (1963–1975/2: 14–15) demonstrated the ders fr the T base which were borrowed into Pe. For semantic reasons, he rejected Ramstedt (1935: 18) and Poppe's (1960: 63) suggestion of comparing T *ač-* ~ Mo *ača* 'Gabelung' ~ Man *ača-* 'sich vereinigen'. The Mo form was otherwise borrowed into Kirg (cf. *ača* 'razvilina, razdvoennyj, (*južn.*) promežutok meždu jagodicami, meždu verhnej vnutrennej častju nog čeloveka, (*točnee kïzïl ača*) (*kart.*) červy'; and also see *ačakay*, *ačakey*, *ačekey*, *ačïkey* 'razdvoennyj'; *ačalan-* 'razvetvljatĕsja' (Kirg)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1116) confirmed Ramstedt and Poppe's comparison of the "Altaic data". Further, Räsänen (1969: 3) collected the T items, reconstructed a PT form **hač-*, and proposed a genetic connection between this form and FUgr **pančе-* 'öffnen' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 352).

E/H Budenz's (1863: 339) explanation that the H forms *ocsó* (> *ocsódni*) and some T forms could have been of onomatopoeic origin was based on data which cannot possibly be linked to each other. The T etymology of the H word that Vámbéry (1870: 166) supposed was also founded on unrelated items; Budenz (1873: 106) strongly rejected it. According to Bárczi (1941: 221), the der of H *ocsúdik-* is unknown. Benkő (1967–1984/2: 1066) accepted Bárczi's opinion and rejected the T etymology of the H verb. Palló (1982: 141–142) thought that the T verb *ač-* could already have undergone a metaphorical change in OT, one which can be found in the contemporary T lgs. The sense of the H verb 'to awake' and similar meanings come up in the ModT lgs in the passive form of *ač-*. The semantic change in the T verb *ač-* can be reconstructed in the following way: 'to open' > 'to awake' > 'to be sober' > 'to become active' > 'to become free'. The H verb *ocsúdik-* no longer denotes what the T etymon once did, thus, according to Berta, it must already have been borrowed into H with its secondary meaning. In Benkő's view (1993–1997/2: 1054), the H verb *ocsúdik-* derives fr a root in an unknown lg. A freq–refl suff was added to the fictitious stem. Ligeti (1986) did not mention *ocsúdik-* among the T borrowings in H. I have morphological and semantic concerns with this. The H suffs *-d-* and *-l-* serve a freq function. If we use the idea that *ač-* carried the metaphorical meaning 'to open the eye' (see *közin ač-* above) hence 'to awake', as a starting point, we are confronted with semantic discrepancies. One would expect 'to blink'. If we identify the H suff as *-d-ik-*, it does not help, as *-ik-* is refl. Benkő thus seems to be right.

◆ Budenz 1863: 339; Vámbéry 1870: 166; Budenz 1873: 106; Ramstedt 1935: 18; Techert 1936: 247–248; Bárczi 1941: 221; Poppe 1960: 63; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 14–15; Egorov 1964: 277; Benkő 1967–1984/2: 1066; Räsänen 1969: 3; Clauson 1972: 18–19; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 209–210; Röhrborn 1977–1998/1: 37; Palló 1982: 141–142; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 352; Erdal 1991: 57, 226, 584, 651–652, 800, 818; Stachowski 1993: 17; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1054; Fedotov 1996/2: 292–293; Tatarincev 2000–2004/1: 65; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1116.

ŐR[2] [ō̈r] 'guard', **őriz** [ō̈riz] 'to guard' | a1100 *Ewri*(*i*), *Ewr-ek* [ō̈r-ek] | *ō̈r* 'border guard, custodian, sentry, a special group of people' ⟵ T **egri* < **eg-ir-i* 'surrounding'.

E/H Hunfalvy (1864: 23–24) contended that the H words *őr*[2] and *őriz-* originated in FUgr. According to Vámbéry (1882a: 243–244), the H word may be related to the T verb *öür-* 'to circulate, skirt'; he observed that the guards in Central Asia did not keep watch at a fixed point, but regularly circulated around the army. Bárczi (1941: 228) did not accept the FUgr etymology of the word and considered it to be of unknown origin. Juhász (1948: 135–137) felt that the H noun *őr*[2] 'custos', being a T lw may be etymologically related to the H verb **őr**[1] 'to mill, grind' and one can suppose that the source of these forms was an early nomen-verbum. Juhász also pointed out that the H verb *őriz-* cannot be a den verbal form fr *őr*[2] 'custos' because H den verbs formed with the suff *-z-* never denote the action if the actor is signified by the nominal base. According to Pais (1964: 480), H *őr*[2] 'speculator, custos' goes back to a T dev noun which was formed fr T **äwir-*. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 31–32) regarded *őr*[2] as a member of a H word-family whose starting point was uncertain. He thought that the basic word of this supposed family could be the H verb *őriz-*. He did not reject the possibility, however, that the ultimate base of H *őriz-* < H *őr-*[1] could have derived fr T. He believed that **őröl**, **örvény**[2] and **őrül** (őrjöng) might also form part of this group. Benkő accepted the Juhász's objections and supposed that *őriz-* could not be a den der fr *őr*[2] 'speculator, custos'. On the basis of the older H occurrences, the meaning of the verb *őriz-* could be 'to watch, to observe' and this sense of it could perhaps be explained fr the proposed basic meaning 'to go around'. Benkő suggested that H *őr*[2] may very likely represent a back-formation fr *őriz-*. Palló (1982: 147–148) rightly observed that – despite Benkő's position – the OT forms **äbir-* > *ävir-* 'drehen' (> H *őröl-* 'mahlen') and **ägir-* 'sich um sich drehen' (> H **örvény** 'vorago') cannot be interrelated. The T verbs originally had different phonetic shapes and denoted different types of circulating movement. According to Palló, the base of the H verb *őriz-* may have been copied fr another T verb, OT *ō̈r-* 'to rise', however it cannot be ruled out that H copied the nominal pair of this verb. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1084) slightly changed his earlier view and thought that the H verb *őriz-* may be the freq form of the H verb *őr-*[1], which was copied fr T. The second-syllable *-i-* in this case may perhaps show the preserved original stem-final vowel. The noun *őr*[2] may have resulted fr a back-formation fr H *őriz-*. The nominal variant *őrj* is due to a secondary

H development (cf. *férj*, *fürj*). Ligeti made no mention of H *őr*[2] among the T lws in H.

The T etymology poses serious problems. T *äwir-* 'to turn something' is a tr verb, as is *ägir-* 'to surround' (see **örvény**). A noun fr *ägir-* with the suff *-I* exists, but denotes 'bent, crooked, hunch-backed form of camels' (Erdal 1991: 341). The semantic side of the idea of the guard 'going around' cannot be substantiated. The meaning 'the one who makes the turn' would be more probable, but, though this fits better morphologically, there are no data to bear it out. In its first occurrence, it carries the sense of 'custodian': 1100 *Custodes ... confiniorum qui vulgo Ewrii vocantur*. None of the later items point to any sort of 'going around'. See also **gyepű**. Ligeti (1986) did not consider the word have come fr T.

◆ Hunfalvy 1864: 23–24; Vámbéry 1882a: 243–244; Bárczi 1941: 228; Juhász 1948: 135–137; Pais 1964: 480; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 31–32; Palló 1982: 147–148; Erdal 1991: 341; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1084.

öreg [öreg] 'old' | p1416/c1450 *ọrèg* [öreg] | p1416/1450 'big, great', 1517 'old'.

E/T–E/H Gombocz and others connected the H word to EOT *erig* 'strong' or *irik*, *irük*, *iri* 'great, voluminous' (see Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1085).

The H word was tied to U **erɜ* 'groß, viel', which occurs in the OUgr lgs as **ə̈r, *ə̆rəɣ* and has such der forms as *ĕrəɣ* (OstyV), *ärw* (VogTJ) and *ariɣ* (VogSo) in the dials with the meanings 'überschüssig, zu viel, mehr' (Honti 1982: 129; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 75). The H word was linked to MordE *siŕe*, MordM *sirä* 'alt' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 440). There are morphological and semantic problems with both of these hypotheses.

It was Vámbéry (1870: 168) who first considered the H word to have originated in T. Gombocz (1907a: 310; 1912b: 112) reconstructed the OChuv copied form for H *öreg* 'old' as **irik*, and tied it to the T word-family *iri* 'great'. Ligeti (1935a: 212) and Németh (1935–1939: 526) accepted Gombocz's opinion, however Németh reconstructed the T copied form as **erik*. Toivonen (1936: 456–457) pointed out that the H word also has some equivalents in Mord and Sam. According to Bárczi (1941: 228–229), the source of H *öreg* is debatable and may be either T or FUgr. The fact, however, that the FUgr etymology of the word only has one supporting item in the FUgr lgs may point to a T starting point being more plausible. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 515–516) regarded the origin of the H word as dubious, as did Benkő (1967–1984/3: 34). He was of the opinion that if the H word had its start in T (**erik* or **irik*) it could have been borrowed with the meaning 'rough, harsh, large, huge' and that the sense of 'old' may have been secondary in H. Benkő did not rule out the possibility that the H word could also be a FUgr or even U inheritance in H. According to Ligeti (1986: 194), the word can be traced back to T and the final consonant in the lending form weakened to *-g* in H. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1085) later changed his position.

He believed that it is unclear where the word comes fr, but he added if it is a T lw the lending form **erig* or **irig* may be a dev nominal fr < **er-* 'erreichen' (see **ér**). Mándoky (1993: 95–96) argued that the word originated in T, perhaps Cum. He also mentioned the H dial word *ere* 'huge, extraordinary huge', which may go back to a Cum secondary form **iri*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 516) reconstructed PT **Ērig* 'rough, large' and linked it to Mo **ar-* 'to become dry', *arga-* 'to become dry or stale', etc., not to *argi-* 'to grow old, to become senile'. They suggested that H *öreg* comes fr T **erig*. The word in the form *irig*, *irik*, *iri*, *eri*, etc. carries the meaning 'great, voluminous' everywhere and the semantic chain to 'old' is not documented, though parallels such as Lat *magnus* 'great, old' exist. Kashgari has *irig är* 'A man who is steadfast and resourceful'.

The following words with which the H word was also connected do not pertain to the etymon: EOT *örüg* 'rest, repose, temporary halt', *idrig*, *irig*, *iyrig*, etc. 'anything hard', WOT **öteɣ* > Chuv *vată* 'old' (see Mo *ötegü* 'old man', *ötege* 'bear', *ötel-* 'to age', *ötüyi-*, *ötüri-* 'to shrink' < **ötö-*).

The one possible T etymon for the H word is only attested in the T lgs very sporadically. It is mainly familiar fr Chag sources (see *irk* 'ihtiyar' (AChagAbA), *irek* 'öreg, koros; old, aged' (AChagAbV), *ėrk* (spelt) 'ihtiyār' (AChagSC), *ärk* 'ihtiyar' (AAH)). This word can also be found in some SibT lgs: see *ire* 'ded, deduška, praded', *irek* 'ded, starik' (Tuv), *ire* 'deduška, otec muža, praded, predok (po mužskoj linii), medveď' (Tof). On the latter words, see Tatarincev (2000–2004/2: 378–379). In SibT, the verb *iri-* 'iske, kiselgän, tuzgan bulu; byť starym, ponošennym; to be(come) old' can be identified as the verbal base of the T nominals mentioned (SibT), while TatD *iräy-* 'vyrasti, stať boľšie, krupnee' is the verbal base of the words *irig*, *irik* 'corpulent, great, thick, strong'. However, on the morphological side, we have to distinguish between **irik* 'old' (Chag) and **irig* > *ire* 'grandfather, old man, etc.' (Sib lgs). Until we have data for this, the H word *öreg* remains of uncertain, even improbable, T origin.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 168; Gombocz 1907a: 310; Gombocz 1912b: 112; Ligeti 1935a: 212; Németh 1935–1939: 526; Toivonen 1936: 456–457; Bárczi 1941: 228–229; Joki 1952: 127–128; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 515–516; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 34; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 371–372; Honti 1982: 129; Ligeti 1986: 194; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 75, 440; Mándoky 1993: 95–96; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1085; Tatarincev 2000–2004/2: 378–379; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 516.

SZÁN[3] [sān] 'sledge' | 1263/1326 PN *Zaan-uth* [sān-ūt], c1395 *zan* [sān] | *sān* 'vehiculum' ← Sl *sani* (pl) < **sana* (sg) ← ? T *čana* | T *čana* ← ?

OT –; **MT** *čana* 'Schlitten' [written as *čapa*] (AChagR), *sanaq*, *sanaġ* 'sani' (AChagR), *čana* 'sledge' (Am; Vásáry 1969a: 168); **NT *Chuv*** *śuna* 'sani' (Chuv), *śuna*, *śona* 'sani, voz (na sanjah), voz (s senom)' (ChuvA), *śuna* Szp. id. 'szán; Schlitten' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *čana* 'sani, sanki, sannyj', dial. *čanača* 'sani (boľšie dlja perevozki

breven, dlinnyh žerdej)' (Tat), *čana* 'szán; Schlitten' (TatB), *sana* 'sani, sanki, sannyj' (Bashk), *canaq* 'čana; sani' (SibT), *čaŋġï*, *caŋġa* 'lyži' (SibTBD), *canaq* 'Schlitten' (SibTBR), *čana*, *čanā* 'sani' (Kirg), *šana* 'sledge, sled', *šaŋġï* 'skis' (Kaz), *šana* 'sani, sanki, salazki' (Kklp), *šana* 'sani, sanki, salazki, sannyj' (Nog), *čana* 'sani, sanki, salazki, tormoz' (CrTat), *čana* 'sani' (KarT, KarSh), *čanalar* 'sani' (KarT), *canalar* 'sani' (KarH), *čana* 'sani, sanki, salazki' (Kum), *čana* 'sani, drovni, sannyj' (KrchBlk), *c'ana* 'Schlitten' (KrchP), *cana* 'Schlitten' (BlkP); ***SW*** *šāna* 'sani' (TkmAB), *čāna* 'arba, povozka' (TkmD, Tenišev 2001: 535), *çana* 'kızak' (TtD); ***SE*** *čana* 'sani, salazki' (Uzb), *čana* 'rod volokuš dlja perenoski lodok po l'du' (TurkiL), *čana* 'sani, sanki' (MUyg); ***NE*** *čana* 'lyži', *čanak* 'sani' (Alt), *čanaq* 'der Schlitten' (AltR), *čana* 'Schneeschuhe', *čanaq* 'der Schlitten' (AltLR), *čanak* 'sani', *čana* 'lyži', *šana* 'ližki, sani' (AltQK), *čanak* 'sani', *čana* 'lyži, sani' (AltTK), *čana* 'Schneeschuhe', *čanaq* 'Schlitten' (AltTelR), *sana* 'lyži' (Khak), *sana* 'lyži' (KhakB), *šana* 'Schneeschuhe', *šanaq* 'die Schneeschuhe' (KhakShR), *cana* 'Schneeschuhe', *canaq* 'Schlitten' (ChulR), *šana* 'lyži', *šanaq* 'sani' (Tuv), *šana* 'Schneeschuhe' (TuvSR); ***Y*** *turkučāŋkï*, *turkusāŋkï* 'kleiner turku-Schlitten' (DlgS).

Mo *čana* 'snowshoes, sleigh, skis' (L).

E/T As Doerfer (1963–1975/3: 105–108) pointed out, the T word that means 'sledge' appears in the phonetic shape *čana* or in its corresponding forms in many T lgs. In some T lgs, however, *čanak* comes up with the same meaning, which is the dim form of the former. Some curious word forms emerge fr the Radloff dict (cf. AChagR *čapa*, *sanak*), but they seem to be misscribed forms or misreadings. According to Räsänen (1953: 23), one can find *šāna* in Tkm, which may be a Kaz lw. Tenišev (2001: 535) observed that the Tkm word *šāna* is only documented in TkmAB. The word *čana* denotes 'Schneeschuhe; lyži' in some sources. According to Ščerbak (1997: 112), the exact basic sense of the word is difficult to ascertain and it can generally be defined as 'skol'zjaščee sredstvo peredviženija'. The pl forms in some Kar dials are Rus semantic copies.

Some T lgs also contain forms which may go back thus, **čangu* > *čaŋgu*, and some of them indicate a confusion with the form *čana*, showing an older form **čaŋga* (see TatR *čaŋga* 'die Schneeschuhe' (Radloff 1893–1911/3: 1851), KhakShR *šaŋa* id. (Radloff 1893–1911/4: 942), KazR *šaŋgï* (Radloff 1893–1911/4: 944), Bashk *saŋgï*, Tat *čaŋgï*, Kirg *šaŋgï* and Uzb *čångi*, MUyg *čaŋgu*). On these data, see also Tenišev (2001: 536–537).

These latter forms can be separated fr both *čana* and *čana+k*. The T word appears as a lw in Mo and in some Cauc lgs (see Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 107). According to Doerfer, the T words that mean 'sledge', 'skis' and 'skates' may be der fr a verb **čan-* *'davongleiten'. This is unconvincing, since one would expect **čanok*. As Egorov remarked (1964: 218), the etymology of the word is obscure. According to Stachowski

(1998: 250), the second element of Dlg *turkučāŋkï* 'kleiner turku-Schlitten' is a Rus lw fr **sanki* 'kleiner Schlitten'. Stachowski's explanation for the change Rus /s/ → Dlg /č/ seems very complicated, but not impossible. He contended: "Der Lautübergang russ. *s-* > dolg. *č-* wurde durch die Angleichung des russ. Wortes an das dolg. Dimin.-Suff. *-čan* verursacht". T *čana*(*k*) cannot be linked to T *čanak* 'a cup' (see **csanak**).

E/H It was Vámbéry (1870: 173) who first compared the H word with T ones. Bárczi (1941: 281) considered the H word as a Sl copy. Kniezsa (1955: 749–750) rejected the proposed T etymology of H *szán*[3]. He pointed out that the H word has generally been thought to be of Sl origin in the etymological literature (cf. *sani*) but that this seems to be unconvincing. He suggested the Sl word may rather have come fr FUgr. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 672–673) believed that the H word was a lw fr an unknown East European lg. Later, Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1392–1393) reinforced this position, but he did not exclude the possible Sl origin of the word. He suggested that the variant *szánka* may show a Sl suff. Ligeti (1986) made no mention of *szán*[3] among the T lws in H.

The word cannot go back to T for phonological reasons. The disappearance of the final /a/ cannot be accounted for. The word seems to be of Sl der. In the Sl lgs, it is an old Eurasian cultural wandering word.

◆ Vámbéry 1870: 173; Radloff 1893–1911/3: 1851, 1855–1856, 1917; Radloff 1893–1911/4: 192, 942, 944, 948; Kalima 1910: 182; Bárczi 1941: 281; Räsänen 1953: 23; Kniezsa 1955: 749–750; Doerfer 1963–1975/3: 105–108; Egorov 1964: 218; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 672–673; Räsänen 1969: 98; Vásáry 1969a: 168; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1392–1393; Fedotov 1996/2: 136–137; Ščerbak 1997: 112; Stachowski 1998: 250; Tenišev 2001: 535–537.

SZÉKELY [sēkëy] 'name of a Hungarian ethnic group living in Transylvania' | 1131 *Scichul* [sikul], 1213/1550 GN *Scecul* [sekul], 1334 *Zekel* [sekel].

E/T The T etymology of the name of the H ethnic group living in Transylvania remains an unresolved question. The H historical and linguistic literature presents diverse suggestions about the T origin of the ethnic name *Székely* (see **E/H**), however they cannot be regarded as well-founded.

E/H The name of the *Székely*s first occurs in a description of the battles on the Rivers Olsava (1116) and Lajta (1146). The sources speak of the Székelys, together with the Pechenegs, as forming the advance guard of the H forces. The first mention in a document is an entry in the 1217 register of Várad which talks of the *székelyszáz* ('Hundred Székely' centuriatus *Sceculzaz*). Toponymic data point to the fact that the Székelys served as border guards in the 11th–12th c.s. After migrations at the end of the 13th c., the areas collectively termed Székelyföld (Székelyland) began to emerge in the Southeast part of Transylvania, now Romania. The Székelys have maintained their traditions and identity to the present day. Their dial has preserved a few old

traits of the H lg, but nothing which would point to an earlier spoken T idiom. Some H scholars, among them Kristó (1996), claim a T origin.

The question of the history of the ethnonym *Székely* enjoys a huge literature in H scholarship. Space does not permit even a sketchy review. In 1935, Németh provided a brief overview (1935: 129–156). According to him (see esp. 132–134), *székely* is an ethnonym and not a word that denotes an occupation. Therefore, it cannot possibly carry the meaning 'frontier guard' or something similar, as was supposed earlier. Németh was of the opinion that the word can be explained without any difficulty fr the T lgs. He thought that Thury (1898: 245) had already provided the correct etymological explanation. Thury called attention to AChagŠS *sikil* 'noble' as a possible source for the ethnonym. According to Pais (in Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 102), some groups of Huns who left the Hun Empire were named *sikil ~ sikül* 'qui prosiluit, [...], perfuga', which name may have originated in T. Bárczi (1941: 284) considered the der of H *székely* as unknown. He noted, however, that the explanation regarding T *sikil* 'prince' is of doubtful value because this T word is only attested in one Chag source. According to Eren (1943d: 206), the word fr AChagŠS is a ghost word. It is a misreading of Chag *silik* (see EOT *silik*, *silig*) 'clean pure'. Pais (1943b: 208–209) contended that the H word *székely*, which comes fr T in H, is a cognate of H **szökik** 'to spring, run away' (< T) and that it is a dev nominal formed with the T suff *-l*. Györffy (1958: 75) tied H *székely* to the VBulg tribal name <'SKL>. Eren (1941–1943: 141–142) compared Chuv *sakăl* 'white (of the legs of a horse)' with Tt *segül*, but did not mention the name *Székely*. According to Rásonyi (1960: 188–194), the ultimate starting point for the H word may be Kip *säkül* 'Pferd mit weissen Flecken an den Füssen', which is documented in the MT source AHou. Later, he slightly modified his earlier position (see Rásonyi (1961a: 180–187)), but he argued in favour of the T origin of the word in question. A tribe being named after the colour of its horses was a well-known custom among the T tribes. Thus Rásonyi's idea deserves attention:

MT *sekül* 'sekil [white sock on the horse]' (AHMA), *sekül* 'sekil, sekilli at' (AAHI), *sägül* (? *säkül*) 'Pferd mit weissen Flecken an den Füssen' (AHou); NT *Chuv sakăl*, *sakălta* 'pežina, pegij, beloe pjatno (na nogah u lošaď i), losaď s pežinami' (Chuv, ChuvA), *sakăl* 'fehér (a ló lábáról mondva); weiss (von den Füssen eines Pferdes)' (ChuvP → Cher *šagïl* 'belonogaja lošaď', Fedotov 1996/2: 6); *NW sekil´* 'belonogij kon´' (CrTat); *SW sekil* 'belye volosy' (Tkm, Dybo 2003: 227), *sekkil* 'belizna na nogah u domašnih životnyh' (TkmD, Dybo 2003: 226), *säkil* 'belonogij, lošaď v čulkah' (Az), *säkil* 'pežina, beloe pjatno na nogah u lošadi (i dr. životnyh)' (AzD, Dybo 2003: 226), *seki* (prov.), *sekil* 'white sock on a horse' (Tt), *sekil*, *sekül*, *sekir*, *sökül* 'at, eşek ve sığırların ayaklarındakı ak leke' (TtD).

The connection between *sekil* and Tt *seki* id. is not clear. Fedotov (1996/2: 6) compared the Chuv word with TuvR, KhakShR *sakïl* 'belka'. To date, we have no

example of it having been used as a tribal name. Benkő (1967–1984/3: 701) believed *székely* to be of unknown origin and thought its supposed T etymologies cannot be verified. The Székely were named *siculus* in the early H sources. This name emerged on the basis of the early H form **sikül* and was contaminated by the Lat *Siculus*. The latter originally denoted the people living on the bank of the River Tiber, who later settled in Sicily. This scholarly identification fr the Middle Ages, however, cannot serve as proof of the semantics of the ethnonym. Décsy (1983: 27) erroneously linked the H words *szegény* 'poor, destitute' and *székely*, and claimed that both of them may be internal developments. Benkő (in Szabó 1985: 29) stressed that the phonetic shape of *székely* may represent a typical FUgr word structure (*CVCVC*). He thought that the word-final *-ly* may be a H suff. Kordé (1991; see also Kordé (1995)) provided a succinct overview of the history of the question up to 1984. In contrast to Németh, Benkő felt that the word originally denoted an activity, occupation. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1407) considered the source of the H word to be unknown, although he confirmed that the word-final *-ly* may be a H suff. In his monograph on the origin of the Székelys (1996: 12–13), Kristó supposed a T form **eskel* ~ **eskil* and claimed that H *Székely* resulted fr metathesis: **eskel* > *sekel*. I could not accept this argumentation (Róna-Tas 1996: 187; 1999: 225). The name of the Bulgar tribe occurs in Pe and Ar transcriptions. Some of the data can be read with an internal <k>, others with a <g>, but the phonetic value of the letters, if we collect all the data, could only be /g/. Ibn Rusta's اسكل can be read as *as*(*a*)*k*(*i*)*l*, *as*(*a*)*g*(*i*)*l*, *es*(*e*)*k*(*i*)*l* or *es*(*e*)*g*(*i*)*l*, but the form اسغل can only be understood as *as*(*a*)*g*(*i*)*l* or *äs*(*ä*)*g*(*i*)*l*. In another paper (Róna-Tas 1998c: 220–221), I also stressed that the idea of the metathesis (**as* > **se*) in the word is not acceptable fr linguistic point of view. The example Rus *iskra* ⟶ H *szikra* cited by Kristó is a different case; we would need to use **skra* as our starting point, yet there was no /skr/ cluster at the time in H: Rus *iskra* < **skra* ⟶ H *sikrå*. Benkő (2002: 258–264) rejected the earlier etymologies of *székely*. The ethnonym, according to him, had the forms *sïköl* ~ *sïkël* in OH. According to Kristó (2003: 468–470), one can reconstruct the oldest known form of the ethnonym with a first-syllabic *-i-* on the basis of the OH data. Kristó thought that the *-é-* could have appeared in the first syllable under the influence of the H noun **szék** 'seat'.

Interestingly, Minorsky (1937: 461) noted that in the Shāh-nāma Afrāsiyāb was accompanied by his grandsons, ايلا استقيلا *Ila Astqilā* and برزويلا *Barzuwīla*, which remind us of the names of the two VBulg tribes *Asagal* and *Barsula*. We can add the Gr item fr Menandros (Moravcsik 1983/2: 75), *'Ασκηλ* (the Lat translation is *Ascelti regis*), prince of the "people of Hermichion", i.e. the Turks. It is possible, that **äsägäl* changed through **äsgäl* to **äskäl*. The /t/ in *Astqïla* is, if not a scribal error, a parasitic sound, on which see **koldus**. However, a form *siköl* or *sikël* in H could not have come fr T *äskäl*. We thus have to accept Benkő's argumentation.

◆ Thury 1898: 245; Németh 1935: 129–156; Minorsky 1937: 461; Szentpétery 1937–1938/1: 102; Bárczi 1941: 284; Eren 1941–1943: 141–142; Eren 1943d: 206; Pais 1943b: 208–209; Györffy 1958: 75; Szabó 1958: 103–105; Rásonyi 1960: 188–194; Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 113; Rásonyi 1961a: 180–187; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 701; Räsänen 1969: 408; Décsy 1983: 27; Moravcsik 1983/2:75; Benkő in Szabó 1985: 29; Kordé 1991; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1407; Kordé 1995; Fedotov 1996/2: 6; Kristó 1996; Róna-Tas 1996: 187; Róna-Tas 1998c: 220–221; Róna-Tas 1999: 225; Benkő 2002: 258–264; Eren 2002: 393; Dybo 2003: 226, 227; Kristó 2003: 468–470.

társ [tārš] 'companion, mate, comrade' | 1138/1329 PN *Tarſadi* [tāršådi], p1372/c1448 *tarſyrol* [tārširōl] | *tārš* < **tārč* < **tavarči* ← WOT **tavarčï* | EOT *tavarčï* < EOT *tavar* 'livestock, property' {suff +*či*}.

On the basic word *tavar*, see **tár**.

OT *tawārčï* 'an animal for carrying merchandise' (AK); **MT** –; **NT** ***NW*** *tuvaršï* 'pastuh' (Nog), *tuvarčï* 'pastuh, pastušij' (Kum), *tūarčï* 'pásztor; Hirt' (KumN), *tuŭarčï* 'pastuh (krupnogo rogatogo skota), pastušij' (KrchBlk), *tu'arcï* 'Kuhhirt' (BlkP); ***SW*** *dovarčï* 'ovcevod' (Tkm); ***NE*** *tabarïš* 'tovarišč' (AltR).

E/T H *társ* 'companion, mate, comrade' does not come with a convincing T etymology. The form **tavarčï* is problematic because of its semantics. On its base, see **tár**. The Rus word *tovarišč* has a very weak T etymology, mentioned without any comments by Fasmer (Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 68). According to this explanation, Rus *tovarišč* 'comrade' may go back to a T construction *tavar* + *ēš* 'companion, comrade'. Tenišev (2001: 314), among others, accepted this proposal. The final segment of the Rus word *-šč*, however, calls for further explanation. CT *ēš* could have had a WOT corresponding form **elč*, but this supposed WOT construction **tavar* + *elč* would present semantic problems. On the T word *ēš*, see also Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 313–315) and Tenišev (2001: 314). The etymological interrelation of *eš* 'drug, tovarišč' to a verbal base **eš-* 'byt′ takim že' is unacceptable, despite Sevortjan and Tenišev's opinion. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1121) reconstructed the PT form as **ęl′* 'friend, companion, mate'.

On the Chuv word *yïš* 'čislennost′, sovokupnost′, (ust.) hozjain, podobnyj, blizkij', see Egorov (1964: 83–84) and Fedotov (1996/1: 208). Egorov, Sevortjan and Fedotov contended that Chuv *yïš* may be interrelated with T *eš*. In this case, one could perhaps be dealing with a VKip lw in Chuv: *eš* > *iš* > **yiš* > *yïš*. The CherM dial word *yiš* comes fr Chuv (Fedotov 1996/1: 208).

E/H According to Budenz (1863a: 475; 1867b: 315), H *társ* is of Sl origin. Hunfalvy (1870: 312) accepted Budenz's etymology and pointed out that H *társ* developed fr *tovariš* (!) in the same way that H *tár* emerged fr *tovar*, *tavar*. Vámbéry (1914: 212) rejected the Sl etymology of the word and connected H *társ* with T *daš*, *taš*, which can be found in T compounds. He also claimed that the Rus word cannot possibly be interrelated with Sl *tovarišč*. According to Mészöly (1916: 66; 1919: 86), H *társ* < **továrs* occurred as early as OH and is reflected in written sources. It has its source

in the Sl word *tovarišč*. Moór (1927: 438), Bárczi (1941: 303) and then Kálmán (1950: 24–26) also argued the H word originated in Sl. Despite earlier opinions on the Sl etymology of *társ*, Kniezsa (1955: 769) thought that the H word may have had its starting point in the same lg as the Sl word. He rejected the idea that the H word could have been a H der of *tár*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 857–858; 1993–1997/2: 1486–1487), H *társ* is most probably a Sl lw. The Sl word may, however, be of T der. Benkő did not outright reject the possibility that the Sl and H words may also go back to the same sources, as it Kniezsa proposed. Ligeti (1986) did not make mention of H *társ* among the T lws in H.

As a possible solution, Berta suggested returning to Vámbéry's idea and comparing the H word with the noun fr which the suff *+dAš* evolved. The notion that *+dAš* may be a crasis of the loc suff *+dA* and the word *ēš* 'companion' is not compelling (see Clauson (1972: 253) and Erdal (1991:119–120)). The internal consonant *-r-* in the H word *társ* would be an epenthetic sound in this case (see *varsány*). The T etymon could also be a der formed with *-Xš*, but I do not know of any acceptable base for it.

At present, the Sl origin is more probable.

◆ Budenz 1863a: 475; Budenz 1867b: 315; Hunfalvy 1870: 312; Miklosich 1882: 513; Vámbéry 1914: 212; Mészöly 1916: 66; Mészöly 1919: 86; Zsirai 1926: 186; Moór 1927: 438; Bárczi 1941: 303; Kálmán 1950: 24–26; Joki 1952: 319–320; Kniezsa 1955: 769; Sulán 1957: 482; Egorov 1964: 83–84; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 857–858; Clauson 1972: 253–254, 532–533; Fasmer 1964–1973/4: 68; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 313–315; Erdal 1991: 119–120; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1486–1487; Fedotov 1996/1: 208; Tenišev 2001: 314; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1121.

VÁNYAD [vāńåd] 'to wilt, droop' | 1675 *vánnyadni* [vāńńådni], 1815 *ványodni* [vāńodni], dial *vanyiga* [vańiga], *vanyuga* [vagńuga], *vonyiga* [vońiga] 'lean, stunted, puny' | *vāń-* {with suff *-Ad-*} < *vān-* ⟵ WOT **van-* < **ōn-* < **oŋ-* | EOT *oŋ-* 'to fade'.

OT *oŋ-* 'to fade, wilt' (RTIrk 17), *oŋ-* ~ *oŋuq-* 'fade': *barčïn bodūġï oŋdï* 'the color of the brocade (or other) faded'. You may also say: *oŋuqtï*: *är yūzi oŋuqtï* 'The man's face was drawn', *barčïn oŋuqtï* 'the brocade (or the like) lost its sheen' (AK), *yüzi qïzdï oŋdï* 'his face flushed at first, then turned pale' (AQB); **MT** *oŋ-* 'blednąć, więdnać' (*sic!* according to Clauson the word actually seems to be a secondary form of *on-* 'to thrive, prosper)' (AHŠ), *oŋ-* 'blednet′' (AHŠF), *oŋ-* 'welken, erbleichen' (LCCI); **NT *Chuv*** *ĕn-* 'opaljat′sja, obgorat′, prigorat′, vygorat′, sgorat′ (na solnce)' (Chuv), *ĕn-*, *ŏn-* 'opaljat′sja, prigorat′, žit′ v skudosti' (ChuvA), *ĕn-* 'ohne Flamme brennen, gesengt werden, abfrieren, vor der Kälte verwelken, von der Kälte beschädigt werden' (ChuvP); ***NW*** *uŋ-* 'linjat′, polinjat′, vycvetat′, vycvesti, vygorat′, vygoret′' (Tat), *uŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′, vygorat′' (Bashk), *oŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′' (Kirg), *oŋ-* 'to lose colour, fade, wither' (Kaz), *oŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′' (KazB), *oŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′, bleknut′', *öŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′' (Kklp), *oŋ-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′, vygorat′, bleknut′' (Nog), *ong-* 'linjat′, vycvetat′, vygorat′ (o materii)' (Kum), *oŋ-* 'linjat′, vy-

gorat′, (peren.) vjanut′, bleknut′, vnešne stanovit′sja žute, terjat′ vid (o čeloveke), podurnet′′ (KrchBlk); ***SE*** *ŭng-* ‘linjat′, vycvetat′, terjat′ pervonačal′nyj cvet (o materii)’ (Uzb), *öŋ-* ‘vycvetat′, vygorat′, linjat′’, *öŋ-* ‘vycvetat′, linjat′’ (MUyg); ***NE*** *oŋ-* ‘linjat′, vycvetat′, terjat′ cvet, bleknut′, vjanut′’ (Alt), *oŋ-* ‘verbleichen, ausgehen, die Farbe verlieren, welken, vergehen, untergehen’ (AltR, AltLR), *uŋ-* ‘ausgehen (von Farben), die Farbe, der Glanz verlieren’ (AltLR), *oŋ-* ‘polinjat′’ (AltQK), *oŋ-* ‘verbleichen, ausgehen, die Farbe verlieren, welken, vergehen, untergehen’ (AltTelR), *oŋ-* ‘linjat′, terjat′ cvet, vjanut′’ (Khak), *oŋ-* ‘verbleichen, ausgehen, die Farbe verlieren, welken’, *uŋ-* ‘ausgehen (von Farben), die Farbe, der Glanz verlieren’ (KhakQbR), *oŋ-* ‘verbleichen, ausgehen, die Farbe verlieren, welken’ (KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR, ChulR), *oŋ-* ‘vycvetat′, linjat′, uvjadat′, bleknut′, vjanut′, menjat′ okrasku’ (Tuv), *oŋ-* ‘vycvetat′, linjat′, vygorat′, bleknut′, menjat′ okrasku (napr. želtet′ osen′ju – o list′jah)’ (Tof).

Mo *oŋġu-* ‘to burn inside (of a person), feel heat, to change colour, wither, fade’ (L).

E/T As Erdal (1991: 647) pointed out, the verbal base *oŋ-* referred to a horse exhausted in the desert in AK. In Kashgari, we can see two further entries. One of them refers to a man’s face and the other to a fabric (see also Clauson (1972: 169) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 460–461)). Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1186) reconstructed the PT form as **oŋ-*, **öŋ-* ‘to fade, become pale’ and compared it to Mo **(h)oŋgu-* without having found any evidence of /h/.

E/H According to Bárczi (1941: 332) and Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1088), H *ványad-* may be a member of an extended H word-family which is of FUgr origin. The basic word stem could be *ván-* ~ *vány-* with the presumable meaning ‘to be or become weak’. The verb *ványad-* is formed with a dev freq suff. Lakó (1967–1978/3: 671–672) linked *ványad-* to H *ványol-* ‘to full, to mill, to felt’. Palló (1982: 221) did not accept the etymological connection between H *ványol-* and *ványad-* because of their semantic differentiation. She was of the opinion that H *ványad-* may go back to BulgT **van-* ~ T *oŋ-* ‘to turn pale, fade’. Palló thought that the +back/-back vowel alternation in the T verb forms is old, but that the original vowel in this verb had a back quality (cf. also Räsänen 1969: 362). Kakuk (1985: 268) correctly noted that Palló’s proposed etymology is uncertain. Ligeti (1986) did not list *ványad-* among the T lws in H. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1605) did not exclude the etymological link between *ványad-*, *vánszorodik-* ‘to wither away, to waste away’ and *ványol-*, however their interrelation seems to be obscure. The FUgr origin is possible (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 558 **wańз-* ‘schlagen, verprügeln’ only in Finn and H), but not without problems. Its link to H *ványol-* ‘to full, mill, scour, felt’ is probable.

The H data are late. Chuv word do not contain a prothetic *v-*, though they have /n/ in place of /ŋ/. The semantic problems are not insurmountable, but will be difficult to solve.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 820; Mikó 1896: 558; Kertész 1914: 106–109; Pais 1938: 236–242; Bárczi 1941: 332; Lakó 1967–1978/3: 671–672; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1088; Räsänen 1969: 362; Clauson 1972: 169; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 460–461; Palló 1982: 221; Kakuk 1985: 268; Rédei 1986–1991/1: 558; Erdal 1991: 647; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1605; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 1186.

VERSENG [veršëng] 'to compete', **versenkedik** [veršënkedik] id., **versent**, **verset** [veršënt, veršët] 'competing' | c1395 *ve^{r}ſenkedes* [veršenkedēš], 1519 *verſenkødyk* [veršenködik] | **veršën-* < **verüš-* {with suff *-n-*} ← WOT **verüš-* < **örüš-* | EOT *ozuš-* 'to compete, race' < *oz-* 'to escape, surpass'.

OT *beš balïq anï üčẅn ozδï* 'Beš balïk therefore escaped' (RMBilg E 28), *oz-* 'to escape' (RTIrk 13), *ozmaqï* 'erlöst' (UUII 43:11), *ozqu qutrulqu yol* 'Erlösungsweg (Hend.)' (UTT III 63), *oz-* 'entgehen' (UTTIII 135), *ōz-* 'run ahead': *anïg atï ōzdï* 'His horse ran ahead (*sabaqa*)'. The same for a person who runs ahead of another, *ozuš-*: *ol mänig birlä at ozušdi* 'He competed with me in racing (*sibāq*) horses', *oza* 'time past, formerly' (AK), *ozu bolmadï* (the wicked man) 'could not win', *kamuġda oza* 'before all' (AQB); **MT** *oz-* 'geçmek', *oza* 'önce, evvel' (UY), *Ozmïš* PN (UCivEx 01:25), *oz-* 'to outstrip, leave behind' (AGul), *oz-* 'geçmek, aşmak', *ozmaq* 'yarış, ileri geçme', *ozuš-* 'yarışmak' (AHMA), *oz-* 'önce gelmek, ileri geçmek', *ozġan* '[köpek atlarınadan] koşuda birinci gelen' (AIMI), *oza* 'ranše' (ANehF), *oz-* 'to ride ahead' (ARbg), *ozġan* 'perednij, prežnij, pervonačal′nyj', *oza* 'prežde, ran′še, do' (postpos.) (ATef), *oz-* 'geçmek', *oza* 'önce, evvel' (AYC), *oz-* 'surpasser, devancer' (AChag), *oz-* 'prohodit′, minovat′, perejti, operedit′, obognat′' (AChagBud), *oz-* 'überholen, zuvorkommen, vorausgehen' (LCCG), *oz-* 'geçmek' (AAH), *oz-* 'przechodzić, przemijać' (ABul), *oz-* 'vorhergehen' (AHou), *oz-* 'zuvorkommen' (AKav), *oz-* 'operežat′, obgonjat′' (ATuh), *uz-* (r: *oz-*) 'geçmek'; **NT** ***Chuv*** [*irt-* 'obognjat′]; ***NW*** *uz-* 'prohodit′, obgonjat' (Tat), *uz-* 'vorüber-, vorbeigehen, übertreffen, überschreiten' (TatB), *uð-* 'prohodit′, proezžat′, minovat′, prohodit′, protekat′ (o vremeni), istekat (o srokah), obgonjat′, peregonjat′, ob″ezžat′, prevoshodit′ kogo v čem', *uðïš* 'sorevnovanie, sostjazanie' (Bashk), *os-* 'früher sein, zuvorkommen, sich entfernen' (SibTBR), *oz-* 'ujti vpered, operedit′, obognat′' (Kirg), *ozïs* 'race, competition, to take part in a race, to try to surpass one another in work, etc.' (Kaz), *oz-* 'operežat′, peregonjat′, obgonjat′, imet′ preimuščestvo, vyigryvat′', *ozïw* 'obgon' (Kklp), *oz-* 'operežat′, peregonjat′, obgonjat′, imet′ preimuščestvo, vyigryvat′, prohodit′' (Nog), *oz-* 'obgonjat′, operežat′' (CrTat), *oz-* 'obgonjat′, peregonjat′' (KarC, KarT), *oz-* 'obgonjat′, operežat′, perevalit′, projti, minovat′ (o vremeni, momente)' (Kum), *oz-* 'obgonjat, operežat′ kogo v čem, prohodit′, proezžat′ mimo kogo-čego, čerez čto, etc.' (KrchBlk); ***SW*** *oz-* 'obgonjat′, peregonjat′, operežat′, pobeždat′ v sorevnovanijah' (Tkm), *oz-* 'öne geçmek, yarışı kazanmak' (TtD); ***SE*** *ŭz-* 'obgonjat′, peregonjat′, operežat′, perekryvat′, prevoshodit′' (Uzb), *oz-* 'obgonjat′, operežat′, peregonjat′, uhodit′ vpered, zabegat′', *ozuš-* 'obgonjat′ drug druga, begat′ vzapuski, sorevnovat′sja v bege' (MUyg), *yoz-* 'minovat′, operežat′'

(YUyg); ***NE*** *ozo* ‘davno, prežde, vperedi, vpered, pered (poslelog)’ (Alt), *ozo* ‘prežde, vpered’, *ozïn-* ‘ujti vpered, predvarit′’ (AltQK), *ozo* ‘ran′še, prežde, vnačale, v prežnee vremja’ (AltTK), *os-* ‘spasat‘sja, izbavit′sja’ (Khak), *os-* ‘früher sein, zuvorkommen’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR).

Mo *urida* ‘before, in advance’, *uridu* ‘former, front’ (L).

E/T The verb is well-known in almost all T sources, though absent fr Chuv. The copied form of the WOT verb could perhaps be **verüš-* with a rhotacistic *-r-* and a horizontal vowel shift *o–u* to *ö–ü*, and later *ö-* > *ve-*. On this WOT characteristic feature, see **bölény**, **gödény** and § 6.4.3. In the CT lgs, one can find *ozuš-* ‘to race one another’, formed with the reciprocal suff *-(X)š-* (cf. Clauson 1972: 290; Erdal 1991: 552–583). It is worth noting that Kashgari included the infinitive form of *ozuš-* with the ending *-mäk*, but this does not seem to have any phonetic value and I view this as a misprint in AK. The base of *ozuš-* is the T verb *oz-* ‘to surpass, to run ahead’, which both Clauson (1972: 279) and Sevortjan (1974–1980/1: 425) discussed. See also *oz-ok* ‘excellent, superior’ (AK) and (AQB) in Erdal (1991: 241), the subject nominal used for a horse in AK and for a man in AQB. The primary meaning of *oz-* is, according to Clauson, ‘to outstrip (sometimes someone acc)’ and, according to Erdal, ‘to run ahead’. The petrified converb *oza* developed fr it (cf. Erdal 1991: 403). On other ders fr *oz-*, see Erdal (1991: 526, 751).

The connection between the H and T words is highly problematic, because of stumbling blocks on the T side (/o/ > /ö/, rhotacism, /š/ and the unclear origin and segmentation of the final in the H word *veršen-* ~ *veršeng-*. Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 1036) reconstructed PT *oŕ-* ‘to surpass’, while they tied Mo *urida* (2003: 623) with *urtu* ‘long’ and T *uzun* with Chuv *vărăm*. It is not evident that Mo *urtu* ‘long’ and *urida* ‘before, in advance’ belong together.

E/H It was Munkácsi (1906d: 372) who first argued for the T origin, which Gombocz (1912b: 223) then rejected. Palló later argued in favour of it (1961a: 42; 1972b: 197–199). Ligeti accepted the T starting point with some slight doubt (1986: 528). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1624), the H word forms part of a larger H word-family and the base was *veršent-* or *veršen-*.

Even less probable is the following suggestion, which came up in my talks with Árpád Berta: H *veršen-* < **verš-* {with suff *-n-*} < *vešš-* ← WOT **wečeš-* < **öčeš-* | EOT *öčeš-* ‘to wager or argue or contend with another’ < *öče-* ‘to desire revenge’ < *öč* ‘revenge, vengeance’ (? anorganic *-r-* as in **varsány**). There are additional problems with semantics.

◆ Czuczor–Fogarasi 1862–1874/6: 950–952; Simonyi 1881: 251; Simonyi 1903: 544; Munkácsi 1906d: 372; Fokos 1909: 249; Gombocz 1912a: 100; Gombocz 1912b: 223; Vámbéry 1914: 221; Bárczi 1941: 336; Palló 1961a: 42; Doerfer 1963–1975/2: 135, 139–140; Egorov 1964: 53; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1122–1123; Clauson 1972: 18, 21, 26, 32, 279, 290; Palló 1972b: 197–199; Sevortjan 1974–1980/1: 425, 558–559; Balázs 1982: 173–

175; Ligeti 1986: 41, 528; Erdal 1991: 241, 265, 309, 403, 526, 552–583, 564, 751; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1624; Fedotov 1996/1: 121; Ščerbak 1997: 131, 197; Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak 2003: 623, 1036, 1041.

8.1.2 Short notes

The Short notes contain 42 unacceptable etymologies.

AGÁR [ågār] 'greyhound' | 1193 GN *Agar* [ågår, ågār], p1395 *agar* [agār] | *ågār* ← Sl **ogar*. The hunting term may be of West Sl origin. The Sl word has some T connections. Its present form in Chuv *akar* misled some authors (Fedotov 1996/1: 32). This Chuv word goes back to a front-vocalic form: **ägär*, see Tat *igär*, Bashk *igär* T → Os *egar*, *jegar* 'borzaja sobaka' (Kniezsa 1955/2: 584; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 9). Not treated by Ligeti (1986).

BÜRÖK [bürök] 'hemlock, *Conium maculatum*' | a1405 *berwk* [berök] 'cicota' | T *bürük*, suggested by Rásonyi (1941–1943: 105). Mixing T *bür-* / *bur-* (see **borít**) with *bür* 'bud', Rásonyi reconstructed a verb *bürü-* and claimed that *bürük* carries not only the meaning 'cover', but also 'dense bush'. This is semantically and morphologically improbable. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 154) the OT origin is not convincing. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

CSABAKOS [čåbåkoš] 'a type of cap with a peak, made of cloth'. The word occurs in a MS containing linguistic material fr Szűcs and Györffy. The MS is maintained in the Museum of Karcag and was published by Agyagási (1999), who tied the word to RusD *čebak* 'mohovaja šapka s naušnikami, zavjazkami i nazatylnikom'. Agyagási claimed that the Rus word is of T origin and goes back to a Kip form *čabak* fr the verb *čap-*. The final is a H suff *+Vš*. The words belong together, but the basic word *čabak* 'a kind of cap' may be either a Sl or a Cum lw, however we do not have sufficient material to decide. A Sl starting point is more likely. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

DEGET [deget] 'tar, goudron, cart-wheel grease' | 1684 *dohot* [doχot], 1731 *gyehecesek* [d′ehets-ešek], 1767 *Deget* [deget] 'axungia, terra pingvis; Duhott, Wagenschmier' | *deget* ← Ukr *degot′* or *degъtъ* 'smola'. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 249) considers the word to be of Sl origin, and the forms with /h/ and /g/ fr different times and Sl dials. According to Agyagási (1999b: 23–27), the word is originally Sl, but came into H through Pech mediation. This would resolve questions of chronology and word geography. The problem of the late appearance of the form with /g/ remains unsolved. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

gyalu [dʹålu] ‘plane’ | p1416/1450 *galu-ltatot* [dʹålu-ltåtott] | *dʹalu* < **ǰalū* < **ǰilū* ⟵ WOT **ǰïlaγ* | T *yïškï* < **yiš-*, **iš-* ‘to plane’. Németh (1965: 55–60) suggested that the word *yïškï* ‘plane’ existing in Tat, Bashk and SibTat goes back to *yïš-* ‘to rub, scrape off’, which is acceptable. But then Németh supposed a form **yïšïγ* or **yïšaγ*, which became **ǰïlïγ* or **ǰïlaγ* in BulgT and was copied by H, where it became *ǰalu*. The long chain of hypotheses did not find acceptance. It does not occur in Ligeti (1986), and Benkő (1993–1997/1: 491) refuted the T origin.

gyula [dʹulå] ‘an old Hungarian title’ | c950 *γυλαϛ* [dʹila-s], 10th c. جله <Jlh> | *ǰula* ⟵ WOT **ǰïla* | EOT ?*yula* ‘torch, lamp’. The word is an old H title, which is fixed by the Jayhani tradition and by Constantine VII. This was the title of the second dignitary after the king; he was in charge of the military and possessed the actual power. Its origin and “meaning” is uncertain. It was tied to the word *yula* ‘torch’ but no proof for this could be put forward. Ligeti supposed a Khaz origin (1986: 253–254, 484–485), but it has not come up in the Khaz material until now. The title survived among the Hungarians, and became a PN in the Middle Ages which then fell out of use and was later revived.

hatak [håtåk] *arch* ‘stomach, pimple’ | c1405 *hatek* [hatek] | *hatak* < **χatïk* ⟵ WOT **χatïk* | T *katïk* ‘crop (of birds)’ (Tt). The H word now only has the meaning ‘pimple’ in the H dials. Its connection with ‘stomach’ is not clear, though treated as such by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 537), according to whom the word is of unknown der and a T origin is improbable. It was Eren (1944b: 58) who suggested the T starting point and linked the word to a now obsolete Tt word **katïk*, which he found in the 17th-c. work of Bernardo da Parigi. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

hattyú [håttʹū] ‘swan’ | 1282 PN *Hathias* [hattʹaš], c1395 *hatyw* [hatʹū]. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 538), the H word is of Ugr origin, but the Ugr word is a lw fr T. Ligeti hesitatingly suggests a T der (1986: 138–139). The word is not T, but a Eurasian wandering word (see § 8.5 and **gödény**, **kárókatona**).

hír [hīr] ‘news, information’ | c1350 *hyr-unc* [hīr-ünk] | *hīr* < *χīr* ⟵ T ⟵ Ar. Németh (1916: 213–215) already refuted the idea, mentioned tentatively by Gombocz (1912b: 83, 185, 193, 226), that H *hír* could be the same as Ar *χabar* ‘news’ and was copied fr a T lg which itself borrowed it fr Ar. Ligeti (1968: 27) saw many stumbling blocks, but thought that the etymology is “not impossible”. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 561), the word is of unknown origin and the T starting point is unlikely. The broader background was the question of the chronology of the T lws in H. But this would be the only Ar word transmitted through T. Further, the phonological problems are insurmountable.

HITVÁNY [hitvāń] 'worthless, of inferior quality' | 1171 PN *Hituand* [hitvan-d], c1350 *[hi]tuan* [hitvān] | *hitvāń* < **χityan* < **χatγan* ← WOT **katγan* | EOT *katkan* < *katgan* < *kat-* 'to be hard' > Chuv *χïtkan* 'lean, meagre'. The Chuv word goes back to **kïtkan* < *kat-*. The /tk/ > /tv/ change would be the same as that of **törvény**. The /i/ > /a/ change would have occurred in H, as in **tiló**. The many hypotheses make this etymology, which I proposed in an earlier phase of this work, improbable. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 563), the H word is of unknown origin.

IRGALOM [irgålom] 'mercy, compassion, pardon', **irgalmaz** 'to be merciful, have pity, etc.' | c1195 *iorgoſſun* [yorgåššon], p1372/c1448 *ÿrgalmaʒ* [irgålmåz], c1456 *ergalma* [irgålm-å] | *irgålom* < **yirgålom* < *yorgålom* ← T *yarlïga-* 'to give an order, to forgive (sins)' | EOT *yarlïg* 'order', *yargan* 'judge', MT *yargu* 'judgement', *yargula-* 'to judge' < **yar* 'order' → Mo *ǰar* 'written order'. It was Palló (1982: 117–119) who proposed the above etymology. It presents serious phonological (/yi/ ~ /i/ > /yo/ > /i/, /rg/ should be /ry/), morphological (*-l-*, *-m-* are H suffs) and semantic problems. On the FUgr origin, see § 8.7. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 648 s.v. *jorgat*), it is perhaps of FUgr origin and the T etymology is not likely. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

IRT [irt] 'to extirpate, cut down, deforest' | **irtvány** [irtvāń] 'clearing, cleared woodland', dial, arch **ort** [ort], *ortvány* [ortvāń] id. | 1298 *vrtuan* [urtvāń], 1369 *hyrtuuan* [hirtvāń], 1416/c1450 *irtom* [irt-om] | *irt-* < *art-* ← T **ar(ï)t-* | EOT *arït-*, T *art-* 'to clean'. The H word is of FUgr origin (see § 8.5). It cannot be related to **arat** (see that entry). Ligeti (1986) did not deal with this word.

JÁT [yāt] 'namesake' | 1585 *iátok* [yāt-ok], dial *l̨ét*, *lyát* [lëāt, l′āt] | *yāt* < **i̯at* ← ? WOT **i̯at* | EOT *āt* 'name', Chuv *yat* 'imja'. The H word is a secondary development fr an earlier *lyát*, *l′at*, which is frequent in the dials. The Transylvanian word comes fr Rom *leat* 'same age group (in the army)'. Bakos (1982) does not treat it. Benkő (1993–1997/1: 640) also considered a possible PUgr origin (PUgr *yŏt* 'with'), which is not acceptable. Not covered by Ligeti (1986).

NÁDORISPÁN [nādor išpān] 'Hungarian title' | c1405 *nadruſpan* [nadrušpan], 1533 *nandorespán* [nādorešpān], 16th c. *lándorispán*, 1575 *Nador Iſpant* [nadorišpān-t] ← Pannonian Sl **nandur špan* 'the Bulgarian, i.e. Danube Bulgarian *župan*'. My idea that H *nádor* in *nádorispán* is the same word as *nándor* above could not be substantiated. Kniezsa (1955: 351) tentatively suggested the current etymology Sl **nadъ-dvorjь-župan*, and Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1012) accepted it. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with this word. Balogh (2008: 20–21, manuscript) offered historical counterarguments. His main point was that there were no "Bulgar", that is DBulg, *župan*s on

the territory of early Hungary. This may be the case. He added that the overwhelming majority of the data, not cited here, show *Nador* without the second /n/ and that both those forms and *nandor-ispán* only appear late in the 16th c. Ethnonyms as titles or parts of a title exist (see ORus *boljar* 'the noble, a title' ← **bolγar*).

nándor [nāndor] *arch* 'the Hungarian name for the Danube Bulgars' | 1086 GN *Nandurdi* [Nandur-di], 1336 *Nandoralbanense* [Nandoralbanense], 1357 *Nandurfeiruar* [nandurfeyrvār], 1443 GN *Landor* [landor] | *nandur* < **vnandur* ← WOT **wnandur* < **wănandur* < **uanundur* < **onundur* < *onugundur* | EOT *onogundur* 'the name of the Danube Bulgars' < *onogur* 'tribal name' + suff +*dur*. The word was not included in the Lexicon, because there is no trace in the H documents of its use as a H common word. The H name for Belgrade was *Nándorfejérvár*, i.e. the 'White Castle of the *nandur*s'. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1014), the word was transmitted through Sl. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

óv [ōv] 'to protect from, guard, save from' | 1228/ GN *Gyznoouuel* [d'izno-ovel], 1348 *Wyzouow* [Víz-ovō] | *ōv-* < **awï-* ← WOT **awï-* | EOT *abï-* 'to hide, to conceal'. In a detailed paper, Berta (1999a) suggested that H *óv-* may be of T origin. He saw the weakness of the etymology in terms of semantics. The hitherto suggested PFUgr etymologies present various problems, which are dealt with by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1076–1077). Later, Berta withdrew the article on *óv-* fr the Lexicon. I agreed not only because of the semantics, but also because of difficulties on the H side. Most probably the segment /v/ is a hiatus filler. We find the forms *ogÿad* [od'yåd] and *ozyauala* [od'yå-vålå] fr about 1372, after 1493 *meg oonẏ* [megōńi], 1519 *oÿatok meg* [ōyåtok meg], etc. These problems can be solved only if we suppose that the /v/ in *óv-* is a hiatus filler. In this case, the original H verb is *ó-*. For the time being, I consider H *ó*(*v*)- to be of unknown origin. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

őre, **őrje** [ő̄r, ő̄rye] *dial* 'the best part of something, the fore part' | *ő̄re*, *ő̄rye* < *ő̄r* {with poss suff *-e* / *-ye*} ← T *ő̄r* 'height, high'. The word is known in the H dials (see B. Lőrinczy 1979–2002/4: 247, 257). Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1084) contends that its connection with H *őr-*[2] 'to guard' is uncertain. This type of metaphorical use has yet to be demonstrated in the T lgs. But see Chuv *var* 'lučšij sort volokna', *yětěn varě* 'lučšee l'janoe volokno'. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

por [por] 'dust' | c1200 *pur* [pur], p1395 *por* [por] | *por* ← T **por* | EOT *bor* 'dust'. The EOT word occurs, as cited by Zieme (1999: 192), in the *Maitrisimit* as *yerkä borka* '[Dinge gehen] in Erde und Staub'; this means the same as *borča-otča*. The T material was collected by Sevortjan (1974–1980/2: 192). Of the ten different meanings of the word, 'dust, powder' is only extant in TtD and Y. Sevortjan's idea of linking

T *bor* ‘clay, chalk’ with *boz* ‘grey’ is not acceptable. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with this word. This would be the only T lw with a /p/ initial. The initial /p/ in Chuv *pură* ‘chalk’ is of course a late development, but demonstrates that the meaning in WOT was ‘chalk’. Perhaps this is a lw fr the Ott period, see TtD *por* ‘bitek olmayan toprak, çorak toprak, etc.’ Among the more than 20 H words beginning with *p-* and of unknown origin, there exists another word with possible T connections (see *pőcsik* below). Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

PŐCSIK [pə̄čik] *dial* ‘gadfly’ | 1643 *petsic* [pečik], 1787 *pötsök* [pə̄čök] | *pə̄čik* ← Ott *pöček* < *böček*, see Tt *böcek* ‘insect, little creeping beast, bug’. According to Tietze (2002: 379) < **bögček*. This word does not occur in Kakuk (1973). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1198), its origin is unknown, whereas Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word at all. The word is surely of Ott origin.

SÍR [šīr] ‘tomb’ | 1055 *fyher* [šiγer], 1193 *sewer* [šewer], p1416 *fereket* [šer-ek-et]. The word is only present among the U lgs in Cher and H. On Cher *šüγär* ‘Grab, Friedhof’ < PCher **šüγer*, see Bereczki (1992: 72). The reconstructed forms are: PUgr **čiγirə* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **čiγɜ-rɜ*, **ćiγɜ-rɜ*, **čikɜ-rɜ*, **ćikɜ-rɜ*. A comparison of the Cher and H words is uncertain because of phonological problems with the initial and the vocalism (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 59). Both the Cher and H data may go back to a third source, see *śúγúr* ‘Grube’ (TatMisher, Spassk, Kecskeméti 1966: 37), *čögörmäk* ‘vpadina, ugublenie, napolnjajuščeesja vodoj vesnoj i vo vremja silnyh doždej’ (TatMinz), ’ugublenije na dne reki ili ozera’ (TatOrenb, TatD1), *čögörmek* ‘burljaščij ključ, istočnik, b´juščijsja iz-pod zemlji ključom, kipen´’ (TatMinz), ’ovrag, vozniksijsja v rezultate obvala, i vse vremja uveličivajuščijsja’ (TatMinz, Strl), *čügärmäk* ‘nizmennost, nizina, bolotistoe mesto, vpadina ili ugublenie zapolnjajuščeesja vodoj vesnoj ili vo vremja silnyx doždej’ (TatD2). The TatD words contain the den suff *+mAk*. The Tat and the Cher words are hardly independent and must be linked somehow, but the relationship is not clear. Even less clear is the origin of the H word (? EAH **čiγirə* > *šiγir* > *šīr*), though we cannot exclude a relationship between them. The original meaning may have been ‘pit, hole’.

SISAK [šišåk] ‘helmet’ | 1405 *Sysak* [šišak], 1506 *syssak* [šiššak] | *šišak* ← T *čačak*. According to Kiss (1963: 183–184), the word is related to T *čačak* “different kinds of clasps”. In fact, the latter word-family pertains to *sač* ‘hair’. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1332) considers the word to be of unknown origin. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

SÜVEG [šüveg] ‘a tall fur cap’ | +1082/1350 GN *Siwegfaam* [šiveg-fām] ‘mitra’, c1395 *fÿueg* [šüveg] | *šüveg* < **šiveg* < **šileg* ← WOT **śileg* | EOT *yilek* ‘various kinds of

caps, crown, etc.' (> Chuv *śĕlĕk* 'šapka; cap') ← Ir, cf. Pe *yäläk* 'a kind of crown'. Ligeti (1986: 23, 48, 318, 448) is hesitant about the T origin, whereas Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1375–1376) sees phonological difficulties. The initial [š] is highly problematic.

szűk [sűk] 'narrow, tight' | c1315 *Sciukfegben* [sükšēg-ben] | *sűk* < **süγük* < *siγik* ← WOT **čiγik* < **jigik* | EOT *yigi* 'close, compact'. Morphological difficulties emerge, such as T *+Ik* being a dim suff. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1664), the word is of unknown origin.

tákol [tākol] 'to piece together, fabricate', **ták** [tāk] *arch*, *dial* 'appendage, annex, added piece, tap' | 1767 *ták* [tāk], 1842 *tajkol* [tāykol], 1861 *tajak* [tayak], 1863 *tajk* [tayk] | *tākol-* < *tāk* {with suff *+(V)l-*} < *tāyk* < **tayak* | EOT *tayak* 'prop, support' < *taya-* 'to prop (something Acc.) up, to lean (it) against (something)'. The word pertains to the shoemaker's terminology and is of South Sl origin (*tāk* ← It *tacco*), see Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1470). Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

teher [teher] 'burden, load', **terhes** [terheš] 'loaded, pregnant' | 1348 PN *Terhes* [terhe-š], p1416/c1450 *tereh-nec* [tereh-nek] | *teher* < **teγer* ← T **teger* | EOT → Mo *teger* 'burden, hindrance'. The Mo word has an independent etymology (see *tege-*, *tegege-* 'to load'). There are no traces of a T background. It may go back to Bavarian–Austrian *Trächt*, as mentioned by Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1495). Not covered by Ligeti (1986).

terel [terel] 'to drive (animals)', **tereget** [tereget] 'to spread out, hang out (to dry)', **terít** [terīt] 'to spread' | The H word has to be separated fr **tér** 'to turn, change the original direction' (see p. 896). The semantic focus is not 'to change direction' but 'to have space, to find space, to spread, to bring together' which is of PFUgr origin (**terə-*, see § 8.5). The two basic words were later mixed up. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1505, 1507) is of the same opinion and rightly rules out T *tär-* 'to collect'. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word.

tilt [tilt] 'to forbid', **tilos** [tiloš] 'forbidden' | c1195 *tilutoa* [tilutoā] | *til-* ← WOT **tiyil-* | EOT *tidil-* 'to be obstructed'. The etymology, suggested by Mándoky (1979: 296–299) and Palló (1982: 194–195), presents chronological and semantic difficulties. A comparison with Vog **tuyt-* 'verbergen' is also unacceptable. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1518), the T etymology must be refuted and the word is of unknown origin. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with this word.

tok^{2} [tok] 'harness, case, box' | p1405 *tok* [tok], c1456 *tokofokath* [tok-oš-ok-åt] 'harness(ed horses)' | *tok* < **toku* ← WOT **toku* | EOT *toku* 'buckle with tongue (on

saddle girth, etc.)'. This presents semantic difficulties. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1525), the word is of unknown origin, while Ligeti (1986) did not cover it at all.

TOPORTYÁN [toporťān] in **toportyánféreg** 'bear, wolf' | 1747 *taporján féreg* [taporyān] | *toporťān* < **toporčān* ← T **topurčan*. Its connection to *topurčak* 'a good big horse' (Kirg) is not acceptable because of the opaque etymology and the semantics. Perhaps it is related to *tap-* 'to worship' > **tapurgan* (morphologically as *kečürgen* 'who pardons, etc.' < *kеč-ür-gen* (cf. also *topurgan* or *topragan* 'soft (dry) ground' < *topra-* 'to dry'). It may be a holdover fr the cult of the bear and this does not point to T. If it was an old name for 'wolf', it would be more interesting. The word only comes up fr the second half of the 18th c. This causes great difficulties. Ligeti (1986) did not cover this word and Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1530) considered it to be of unknown origin.

TOR [tor] 'feast (funeral in most cases)' | 1552 *torba* [tor-bå] | *tor* ← T *tor* | MT *tor* (Chag) 'festin'. The word is a ghost word. Pavet de Courteille (1870: 224) took it fr Vámbéry (1867: 260) and fr there it came to Budagov (1869–1871: 387) and Radloff (1893–1911/4: 1180). Ligeti (1986: 271, 594) only mentioned the word and put it in brackets. The word cannot be connected with *tod* 'satisfied (appetite)'. Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1531) linked the word to H *torok* 'throat'which is also not convincing.

TÖMÉRDEK [tömērdek] 'countless, many, heavy' | 1335 PN *Temerduk* [temērdük], c1456 *temérdëk* [temērdëk]. The word came under the influence of **töméntelen** 'many, countless, etc.' (see **tömény**). Earlier, its semantics was broader, with the word denoting 'dense, compact' even 'pregnant' as in H *teher* 'load', H *terhes* 'pregnant'. Its connection with T *temürlik* 'iron (like)' would suppose an /rl/ > /rd/ change. This shift exists in some T lgs but it is a late one and can be ruled out. In H there is no sign of such a change in the early documents. Not dealt with by Ligeti (1986).

TŐZSÉR [tȫžēr] *arch* 'merchant' | 1419 PN *Tewser* [tösher], 1506 *töfeer* [tösēr] | *tȫžēr* < **tüčer* ← T **tüččer*. Ott *tacir* id., *tüccar* 'merchant(s), tradesman, tradesmen' is of Ar origin *tājir*, pl *tujjar*, *tijār*. Because of the early occurrence, the word cannot be Ott. Ligeti suggested an Ar origin (1986: 90). A Grm starting point fr Grm *Täuscher* 'deceiver, trader' is well founded. This is also Benkő's position (1993–1997/2: 1549). Ligeti treated it as Ar word, not mentioning its T origin in H (Ligeti 1986: 90, 304).

TÚR [tūr] 'to dig, grab up' | 1519 *thwr* [tūr] | *tūr* ← WOT **tur-*. According to Palló (1982: 205–206), Chuv *tărmala-* 'jerošiť, carapať, dolbiť; to dishevel, scratch, to hollow out' is a crossing of T **tïr-* 'kratzen' and **tur-* 'graben'. The first word pertains to the well-known EOT word *tïrŋak* 'nail'. Chuv *tărmala-* is a variant of Chuv *čărmala-*

'carapat'' < WOT **tirmala-* < WOT **tïrmala-* (**tïr-ma-la-*) > Chuv *tărmala-*. The verb **tur-* would be represented only by the H word. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1561–1562), perhaps of PFUgr origin. The word seems to be onomotopoeic, see the H dial variant *dúr-* id.

tüdő [tüdő] 'lungs' | 1193 PN *Tudey* [tüdeü], c1405 *tidew* [tidő] | *tüdő* < **tütő* < **tüteɣ* ← WOT **tüteɣ* | EOT *tütek* 'spout of an urn, a ewer', MT *düdük* 'reed pipe, flute', T *tütük* 'hose, tube, etc.' According to Németh (1973: 4–5), the H word comes fr T *tüte-* 'to smoke', which is improbable for semantic and phonological (/t/ > /d/) reasons. According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1566), the H word is of unknown origin. Ligeti (1986) did not deal with the word.

unszol [unsol] 'to urge' | p1372 *onʒoljad* [onzolyád] | *on-* < *un-* ← T *um-* 'to ask, covet'. Palló's idea (1982: 269) is unlikely (see **imád**, fr the same T base). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1579), this is a H inner development fr a fictional base, a position which is also unacceptable. Ligeti (1986) did not cover the word.

üsti [üšti] *arch* 'pied, many-coloured (of horses)' | 1317/1329 *quidam equus noster famosus isty* [išti] *coloris*, c1405 *hwfti* [hüšti], 1460 *vsthy* [üšti] | *üšti* < *išti* < *esti* ← WOT **estiɣ* | T *estük* > *istek* 'name of an unknown ethnic group, later a name for the Bashkirs'. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1056; 1993–1997/2: 1590), the arch H word is of unknown origin. The interrelation of its variants is unclear and calls for further investigation. Its etymological connection with H *üst* 'silver' is unconvincing. In my discussions with Árpád Berta, the idea was raised that the word could have had the same der as the ethnonym *Ištek*, which is used by some T lgs to denote the Bashkirs. Phonologically, the match is perfect. Semantically, a tribal or ethnic name denoting the colour of a horse is possible. *Ala yuntlug* represents such a name (see **alacs**, perhaps also **székely**). However, we do not know the origin of the word, and we have no source for the semantics of the tribal name. Not covered by Ligeti (1986). On *Istek*, *Ištek*, *Ostyak*, see Róna-Tas (1982f: 59–61 and 1987: 49–58).

varsány [vâršāń] 'name of an ethnic group in Hungary' | 1075/ *vosciani* / *vossiani* [vossiani], 1219/1550 PN *Vofyan* [vošyān], 1270 GN *Varsan* [vâršān], 1319 GN *Wosyan* [vosyān] | *varšāń* < **vaššāń* < **vassian* ← WOT **vasian* < **osian* 'the Alans' < *Os* {with suff +*An*} (< *As*) > *Oset*, Georgian *Osi*). The only occurrence of the ethnic name is a Lat form. Kiss (1988/2: 737) covered the word, but Ligeti (1986) and Benkő did not include it. Uncertain is the use of the ethnic name in H.

ver[2] [ver] 'to beat' | 1138/1329 PN *Werde* [verdē], 1300 *werethul* [veretül], p1416/ c1450 *megvèr* [megver] | *ver-* ← WOT **ver-* < **ür-* | EOT *ur-* 'to strike'. The verb

ur- is present in all sources with back vocalism; Chuv has *văr-*. According to Benkő (1967–1984/3: 1115–1116; 1993–1997/2: 1620), the H verb *ver-*[2] is of unknown origin. It has a wide semantic field, thus it must be an old member of the H lexical stock and a T starting point is unlikely. The idea that the front vocalism was caused by the word *ber-* which not only carries the meaning 'to give', but also 'to strike', 'to hit' in some lgs, is chronologically impossible. See *bär-* 'udarjaťˊ, udariťˊ, bitˊ, kolotiťˊ, brosaťˊ, brositˊ, kidaťˊ, kinutˊ' (Tat), *bär-* 'schlagen' (TatB), *bär-* 'brosaťˊ, kidaťˊ, udarjaťˊ, bitˊ, udarjaťˊ, ušibaťˊ, (peren.) udarjaťˊ, bitˊ, (peren.) poražaťˊ kogo-čto, udariťˊ' (Bashk) and (→ Chuv *per-*), *ber-* 'udariťˊ, naddaťˊ, stuknutˊ' (Kirg), *bir-* 'to strike' (FY), *per-* 'bitˊ, bitˊsja (o serdce)' (YUygM). See also **ver**[1]. We should suppose that H represents the only lg with the front-vocalic form **ür-*, in this case only preserved in the source lg of H, but not in Chuv.

ZÁSZLÓ [zāslō] 'flag' | 1086 PN *Zaztou* [zastou], 1121/1420 PN *Zazlou* [zāslou], c1395 *ʒathow* [zathō] 'vexillum', *ʒaʒto viʒelew* [zāstō višelō] 'vexillifer', 1784 *áfzló* [āslō] | *zāslō* < ? *a zāslō* < *az āslō* < *aslō* < *aslū* < **asliγ* ← WOT **aslïγ* | EOT *asïl-* 'to be hung, suspended'. The idea that the H word comes fr a back-formation of *a zászló* 'the flag' < *az ászló* does not hold water because the form *ászló* appears very late and results fr the opposite change *a zászló* > *az ászló*. The word is of Sl origin **zastava* 'propped up' < *za stavatˊ* and the change /st/ > /sl/ occurred in H, as the early documents show. This is also Benkő's position (1993–1997/2: 1661). The word was not noted by Ligeti (1986).

8.2 Index of East Old Turkic words

Compiled by Mónika Biacsi

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8.5 List of Hungarian words of (Finno-)Ugric origin. A selection

On the principles of the selection see § 5.3.

1. H *acsarkodik-*, see *agyar*,
2. H *ad-* 'to give' < PUgr **antə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **amta*,
3. H *ág* 'branch (of a tree)' < **PUgr** **soγə* (> POUgr **θōγ* > PVog **tăγ*, POsty **ʌoγi̯*),
4. H *agg* 'old' < PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋka* (see also *av-ul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old'),
5. H *ágy* 'bed' < PUgr **aδ´ə-* (> PVog **al´āt*) < **PFUgr** **aδ´ɜ-*,
6. H *agyar* 'task' (see also *acsarkodik-*, *agyarkodik-* 'to have a spite, show the teeth') < PUgr **ońćarə* (> POUgr ? **ańćar* > PVog **ańśar*, POsty **ăńśar*) < **PFUgr** **ońća-rɜ*,
7. H *ágyék* 'groin, loin' (*-k* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **ańćə* (> PVog **ańś*),
8. H *aj*, *áj* '*arch* opening' (*-y-* is secondary) (> *ajak* 'lip') < PUgr **aŋə* (> POsty **oŋ*) < **PFUgr** **aŋe*,
9. H *ajt-* 'to open' in *ajtó* 'door' > PUgr **aŋtə-* (> POUgr **ūŋkət-* > PVog **īk$_o$t-*, POsty **aŋət-*) < **PFUgr** **aŋa-t-*,
10. H *akad-* 'to stick', cf. *akaszt-* 'to hang' (*-ad*, *-aszt* are H suffs) < **PUgr** **sakkə-* (> POUgr **θōk-* > PVog **tăkn-*, POsty **ʌok-*),
11. H *al* 'the lower part' < PUgr **alə* (> Vog *yalka*, Osty *i̯l*) < **PFUgr** **ala*,
12. H *áld-* 'to bless' (*-d* is a H suff) < PUgr **alə-* (> POUgr **āl-* 'to curse' (!) > POsty **āl-*) < **PFUgr** **alɜ-*,
13. H *áll-* 'to stand' (the long *-ll-* in H is the result of a change *-ll-* < *-lg-* < *-lk-*) < PUgr **salkə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **salkɜ-*,
14. H *alom* 'litter' < EAH **aləmə* < **PUgr** **alə-mə* (> POsty **i̯ʌəm*),
15. H *álom* 'dream' < PUgr **oδamə* (> POUgr **wūδəm* / **wūδmɜ* > PVog **ūlmɜ*, POsty **wuləm* ~ **aləm*) < **PFUgr** **oδa-mɜ*,
16. H *alszik-* (*-sz* and *-ik* are H suffs) (see *alvad-* 'to coagulate, curdle') < EAH **al-* < PUgr **oδə-* (> POsty **oʌ-*) < **PFUgr** **oδa-*,
17. H *ángy* 'sister of the older brother, sister of the husband' (< **angya* < **annya* < **ań*) < PUgr **ańə* (> POUgr **ań* > PVog **āńəγ*, POsty **ăńəkĭ*) < **PFUgr** **ańa*,
18. H *apad-* 'to ebb, go down' (*-ad* is a H suff, see *apály* 'ebbing') < PUgr **soppə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **šoppɜ-*,
19. H *ár*[1] 'awl' < PUgr **orə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ora*,
20. H *ár*[2] 'flood' < **PUgr** **sarə* (> POUgr **θūrɜ* > PVog **tūrɜ*, POsty **ʌar*),
21. H *ár*[3] 'price' < PUgr **arwə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **arwa*,
22. H *ara* 'betrothed, fiancée, *arch* brother of the mother or the sister' (*-a* is a petrified poss suff) < EAH **arə* < **PUgr** **arə* (> POUgr **ar* > PVog **or*, POsty **or*) (the Ir origin (Os *rvad* / *ærvæd* < **brat*) is not acceptable),
23. H *arany* 'gold' < **PUgr** **sarańə* < **sarańa* (← OIr *zaranya*) (> POUgr **θōrəń*, **θorńɜ* > PVog **tărəń*, POsty **ʌorńɜ*),
24. H *arasz* 'span' < PUgr **sorə* (> POUgr **θōrěs* > PVog **tārās*, POsty **sorěs*) < **PFUgr** **sorɜ*,

25. H *árva* 'orphan' (*-a* is a H suff) < PUgr **orpə* (> POsty **urwi*) < **PFUgr** **orpa* ~ **orwa* (← IE),
26. H *ásít-* 'to yawn' < EAH **ašə-* < **očə-* < **PUgr** **oćə-* (> POUgr **oć-* > PVog **os-*, POsty **os-*),
27. H *aszik-* 'to become dry' (*-ik* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **sośə-* (> POUgr **θōs-* > PVog **tāš-*, POsty **săsa-*),
28. H *avat-* 'to pre-shrink (textile), initiate' (*-at* is a H suff) < PUgr **soŋə-* (> POUgr **θV̄ŋ-* > PVog **tŭw-*, POsty **ʌăŋa-*) < **PFUgr** **soŋɜ-*,
29. H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff) < PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ*[1] (see also *agg* and *ó*),
30. H *az*, *a* 'definitive article', *ott* 'there', etc. < EAH **a* ~ **o* < PUgr **o* ~ **u* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **o* ~ **u*,
31. H *ázik-* 'to become wet' (*-ik* is a H suff, /z/ is the result of secondary voicing) < **PUgr** **saćə-* ~ **saśə-* (> POUgr **θaθ-* > PVog **tăt-*, POsty **ʌăl-*),
32. H *bél* 'intestines' < PUgr **pälə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pälɜ* (of debated **PFUgr** origin),
33. H *bog* 'knot' < PUgr **pūŋkĕ-l* (> PVog **pūklĕp*, POsty **puŋkel′*) < **PFUgr** **pʁŋkɜ* (but see H **bog** in the Lexicon),
34. H *bogyó* 'berry' (the final *-ó* should be a dim suff) < PUgr **polă* (> PVog **pal′*) < **PFUgr** **pola* (the *l* > *l′* > *y* > *d′* is unmotivated, uncertain etymology),
35. H *csap-* 'to strike, throw' < PUgr **ćappə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ćappa-* (an onomatopoeic word),
36. H *csillog-* 'to glitter', *csillag* 'star' < EAH **čil-* < PUgr **ćulkə-* (> POUgr **ćį̄l-* > PVog **ćį̄l-*, POsty **ćăl-*) < **PFUgr** **ćʁlkɜ-* (an onomatopoeic word),
37. H *csobolyó* 'a small wooden vessel' < **PUgr** **ćumpalə* (> POUgr **ćŭmpāl* > PVog **ćŭmpāl*, POsty **ćŏmpāl*),
38. H *csókol-* 'to kiss' < **PUgr** **ćukkə-lə-* (> Vog *śóχəl-*, *śɔkəʌ-*),
39. H *csomó* 'knot' (*-ó* is a H suff) < PUgr **ćolmə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ćolme*,
40. H *csor-* / *csur-* in *csorog-*, *csurog-*, 'to run, trickle', *csurran-* 'to spill', *csurom* 'dripping wet', etc. (*-og*, *-an*, *-om* are H suffs) < PUgr **ćorə-* (> POUgr **ćV̄rəγ-* > PVog **ćŭrγ-*, POsty **ćorəγ-*) < **PFUgr** **ćorɜ-*,
41. H *csupor* 'mug, pot' (*-r* is a H suff) < PUgr **ćuppə* (not in POUgr, only in Zyr) < **PFUgr** **ćuppɜ*,
42. H *csün-* 'to remain small, stop in growing (dial)' < PUgr **ćünĕ-* (> POsty **ćin-*) < **PFUgr** **ćënɜ-*,
43. H *daru* 'crane' < PUgr **targə* (> POUgr **tį̄rγɜ* > PVog **tį̄rəγ*, POsty **tarəγ*) < **PFUgr** **tarkɜ* (the etymology is problematic),
44. H *eb* 'dog' < **PUgr** **ämpə* (> POUgr **ā̆mpɜ* > PVog **ā̆mpɜ*, POsty **ämp*),
45. H *ed* '*arch* corn, grain' < PUgr **säntĕ* (> POsty **ʌänt*) < **PFUgr** **šäntɜ*,
46. H *édes* 'sweet' see *íz*,
47. H *edz-* 'to harden, steel' (< **ez-*) < **PUgr** **ätĕ-* (> POUgr **ā̆t-* > PVog **ā̆t*, POsty **ät-*) (rather problematic, see 1531 <egyzeth>, if this is to read *ed′zet*(*t*) rendering an older **eǰ-* [> **eǰez-* > **ed′z-* > *edz-*] stem, the etymology is hardly acceptable),

48. H *ég* 'sky' < PUgr **säŋkĕ* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **säŋke*,
49. H *ég-* 'to burn' < PUgr **äŋkə-* (> POsty *yäŋlĕl-*) < **PFUgr** **äŋɜ-*,
50. H *egér* 'mouse' < PUgr **siŋkerə* (> POUgr **θēŋkər* > PVog **tă̈ŋkər*, POsty **ʌöŋkər*) < **PFUgr** **šiŋere*,
51. H *egy* 'one' < EAH **ed´ə* < **iγə* < PUgr **iγə*, *üγə* (> POUgr **üγə*, **iγə* > PVog **ŭk*, POsty **ĕy*) < **PFUgr** **ike*, *üke* (Honti 1993: 75),
52. H *éj, é* 'night' < PUgr **yiyə* (> POUgr **yĭy* > PVog **yī*, POsty **yĕy*) < **PFUgr** **yeye* ~ **eye*,
53. H *él* 'edge' < **PUgr** **elə* (> PVog **il´ĕm*),
54. H *él-* 'to live' < PUgr **elə-* (> POUgr **yă̈l-* > PVog **yă̈lt-*, POsty **yĕlpäγlĕ-*) < **PFUgr** **elä-*,
55. H *ell-*[1] '*arch* to mount' < PUgr **sälĕ* (> POUgr **θV̄l-*, PVog **tă̄l*, POsty **ʌel-*) < **PFUgr** **säle-*,
56. H *ell-*[2] 'to bear, bring forth (animal)' < EAH **hedə-lə* < **hedə-* < **hendə-* < PUgr **sentə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **sente-*,
57. H *elő* 'forwards', *első* 'first' (*-ő, -ső* are H suffs) < PUgr **eδə* (> POUgr **yīl* > PVog **yīl*, POsty **yil*) < **PFUgr** **eδe*,
58. H *elv, elü, el* 'the other side' (see c1200 <Erdeuelu> *Erdüelü* > *Erdély* 'Transsylvania') < **älw* < EAH **älmwə* < PUgr **älə*, **ă̈ləm* (> POUgr **ă̈l*, **ă̈ləm* > PVog **ă̈l, ă̈ləm*, POsty **äləm*) (it is possible, that H *-v-* is a H development, in this case PUgr **älə* > EAH *älə* > H *el* and *-ü* / *-v* are H special secondary sounds, result of the following poss suff),
59. H *eme* 'sow', also *emse* (*-e, -še* are H suffs) < PUgr **emə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **emä*,
60. H *emel-* 'to lift' < EAH **elemə-* < **PUgr** **älĕmə-* (> POUgr **ă̈ləm-* > PVog **ă̈ləm-*, POsty **äləm-*),
61. H *emik-* 'to suck' (*-ik* is a H suff, see *emlő* 'mamma, teats') < PUgr **imə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ime-*,
62. H *ének* 'song' (*-k* is a H suff) < PUgr **änə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **äne*,
63. H *enyv* 'glue' < EAH **eńvə* < **eywə*< **PUgr** **äδ´ämə* (> POUgr **īδ´me* > PVog **īl´ĕm*, POsty *äyĕm*),
64. H *epe* 'bile' (the H *-e* is a petrified poss suff) < PUgr **säppə* (> POUgr **θäppĕ* > PVog **tă̄p*) < **PFUgr** **säppä*,
65. H *eper* 'strawberry' (the *-y-* was lost, but see *eperjes* 'place with strawberries' and *epres* id.) < **eperyə* < EAH **eperγə* < PUgr **äppärĕ-kə* (> PVog **ă̄pere-γ-*) < **PFUgr** **äppərə-kə*,
66. H *ér*[1] 'small river' > PUgr **serə* (not in POUgr) > **PFUgr** **šerɜ*,
67. H *ér*[2] 'vein, artery' < PUgr **särə* (> POUgr **θēr* > PVog **tă̄r*, POsty **ʌer*) < **PFUgr** **särɜ*,
68. H *ér-*, see *ered-*
69. H *ered-* 'to rise from, take its origin', *ér-* 'to reach', *ért-* 'to understand' (*-d* and *-t* are H suffs) < PUgr **särə-* (> POUgr **θēr-* > PVog **tă̄rĕt-*, POsty **ʌerəmt-*) < **PFUgr** **šärɜ-*,
70. H *ért-*, see *ered-*,
71. H *esik-* 'to fall' (*-ik* is a H suff), cf. *eső* 'rain, falling' < PUgr **eć́ə-* (> POUgr **is-* ~ **es-* > PVog **ĭs-*, POsty **esəl-*) < **PFUgr** **eć́ɜ-*,
72. H *eszik-* 'to eat' (*-ik* is a H suff, see *evett* 'ate', *evő* 'eating') < EAH **ewə-* < PUgr **sewə-* (> POUgr **θā̆-* > PVog **tă̄n-*, POsty **ʌĕγ-*) < **PFUgr** **sewe-*,

73. H *ev* 'pus, matter' < EAH **eyə* < PUgr **säyə* (> POUgr **θə̆y* > PVog **sə̆y*, POsty **ə̆y*) < **PFUgr** **säye*,
74. H *év* 'year' < PUgr **iɣə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **(y)ikä*,
75. H *fa* 'tree,wood' < PUgr **pawə* (> Vog *-pa*) < **PFUgr** **puwe*,
76. H *facsar-* 'to wring' < PUgr **poćarə-* (> PVog **poćăr-*) < **PFUgr** **pućɜ-rɜ-*,
77. H *fagy*(-) 'to freeze, frost' < PUgr **palə-* (> POUgr **pol´-* > PVog **pāl´-*, POsty **poy-*) < **PFUgr** **pal´a*(-),
78. H *fagyal* 'privet, *Ligustrum vulgare*' (*-l* is a H suff) < PUgr **payə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **payɜ*,
79. H *faggyú* 'suet, fat' (the *-ú* is a H suff, the gemination occurred in H) < **PUgr** **pol´ə* (> POsty **pol´*),
80. H *fáj-* 'to hurt, ache' < PUgr **poδ´ə-* (> PVog **pol´-*) < **PFUgr** **poδ´ɜ-*,
81. H *fajd* 'black grouse, capercaillie' < PUgr **paδ´ə* (> PVog **pol´tə*) < **PFUgr** **paδ´tɜ*,
82. H *fakad-* 'to spring forth (well)', *fakaszt-* (*-d*, *-aszt* are H suffs) < PUgr **pakkə-* (> POsty **poɣən-*) < **PFUgr** **pakka-*,
83. H *fal-* 'to devour', *falat* 'bite' < PUgr **palə-* (> POUgr **pūl-* > PVog **pūl-*, POsty **pul-*) < **PFUgr** **pala-*,
84. H *fal* 'wall' < PUgr **paδə* (> POsty **pal*) < **PFUgr** **paδɜ*,
85. H *falu*, acc *falvat* 'village' < EAH **φalwə* < **PUgr** **palɣə* (> POUgr **pūɣəl* > PVog **pi̯wəl ~ pə̆yl*, POsty **puɣəl*),
86. H *fan* 'pubis, thicket' < PUgr **ponə* (> POUgr **pūn* > PVog **pŭn*, POsty **pun*) < **PFUgr** **puna*,
87. H *far* 'bottom, arse', see *farok* 'tail', *farkas* 'wolf', *farol-* 'to skid' < **PUgr** **porə* (> POsty **pĭr*),
88. H *fárad-* 'to get tired', *fáraszt-* 'to tire' (*-ad* and *-aszt* are H suffs) < EAH **φarə-* < **PUgr** **poɣrə-* (> PVog **powr-*),
89. H *farag-* 'to carve (out)' (*-g* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **parə-* (> POUgr **pār-* > PVog **pār-*) (the Sam words, quoted by the literature, hardly pertain here (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 357),
90. H *fazék* 'pot', for the second vowel, see *fazekas*, *fazakas* 'potter' (*-k* is a H suff) < PUgr **patə* (> POUgr **pūt* > PVog **pŭt*, POsty **put*) < **PFUgr** **pata*,
91. H *fázik-* 'to feel cold' (*-ik* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **patə-* (> POUgr **pūt* > PVog **pŭt*, POsty **put ~ *pat*),
92. H *fëcske* 'swallow' (*-ke* is a H suff) < PUgr **päćkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **päćkɜ*,
93. H *fëd-* 'to cover' < PUgr **pentə-* (> POUgr **pēnt-* > PVog **pă̈nt-*, POsty **pent-*) < **PFUgr** **pentɜ-*,
94. H *fëdél* 'cover, roof' < **PUgr** **pentĕlə* (> POUgr **pēntel* > PVog **päntel*), see H *fëd-*,
95. H *fej*, acc *fejet*, *fő* 'head' < EAH **φe*(*w*) 'head' < PUgr **päŋə* (> PVog **päŋk*) < **PFUgr** **päŋe*,
96. H *fejt-* 'to undo, unstich, mine' (*-t* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **peyə-* (> PVog **päy-*),
97. H *fék* 'halter (of the horse), break' < **PUgr** **päkkə* (> POUgr **päk* > PVog **peχ*, POsty **päk*),

98. H *fekély* 'ulcer' (*-ély* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **päkkə* (> POUgr **päk* > PVog **päk*),
99. H *fekete* 'black' < EAH **φeketə* < **PUgr** **päkkə-ttə* (> POsty **pəɣtə* ⟶ VogN *pit*, *piti*),
100. H *föl* 'up(wards)' < PUgr **piδə* (> POUgr **pä̆l* > PVog **pä̆l′*, POsty **pel*) < **PFUgr** **piδe*,
101. H *fél-* 'to be afraid' < PUgr **pelə-* (> POUgr **pĭl-* > PVog **pĭl-*, POsty **pĕl-*) < **PFUgr** **pele-*,
102. H *fél*[1] (in *ajtófélfa* 'door-post' etc.) '(door)post, pillar', *félszer* > *fészer* 'shed' < PUgr **pelə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pele*,
103. H *fél*[2] 'half' < PUgr **pälə* (> POUgr **pēl* > PVog **pä̆l*, POsty **peḷĕk*) < **PFUgr** **pälä*,
104. H *fëlleg*, *fëlhő* 'cloud' (*-g* and *-ő* are H suffs) < EAH **φelχə* < **pelɣə* < PUgr **pilŋə* (> Osty *pĕləŋ*) < **PFUgr** **pilwe* ~ **pilŋe*,
105. H *fen-* 'to wet' < PUgr **pänə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pänɜ-*,
106. H *fenyő* 'pine-tree' (the *n* > *ń* is secondary, the *-ő* is a H suff) < PUgr **pänə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pɤ̈nɜ-*,
107. H *férëg*, acc *férget* 'worm' (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **perkə* (> PVog **pērk*) < **PFUgr** **perke* ~ **perkkɜ*,
108. H *fesel-*, *feslik-* 'to become unstitched, become loosened' (*-l* and *-ik* are H suffs) < **PUgr** **päčə-* (> POUgr **pīč-* > PVog **pīšɜt*, POsty **päč-*),
109. H *fészek* 'nest' (*-ek* is a H suff, /s/ under influence of *f-*) < PUgr **päsə* (> POUgr **pīθ* > PVog ** pīt*, POsty **pi*) > **PFUgr** **pesä*,
110. H *figyel-* 'to listen', see *fül*,
111. H *fiú* 'boy, son', see *fi* in *baromfi* 'poultry' < EAH **φiy* < **poy* (the *-u* is a H suff, see H *faggyú* < PUgr **pal′ă*) < PUgr **poykə* (> POUgr **pŏyɣ* > PVog **pŏyɣ* > **püw*, POsty **pŏɣ*) < **PFUgr** **poyka*,
112. H *fog-* 'to hold, catch' < OH *fug-* < PUgr **puŋkə-* (> PVog **puɣ-*) < **PFUgr** **puŋɜ-*,
113. H *fog* 'tooth' < EAH **φuŋgə* < PUgr **piŋkə* (> POUgr **pēŋkɜ* > PVog **pä̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **pöŋk*) < **PFUgr** **piŋke*,
114. H *fogoly* 'partridge' (*-ly* is a H suff, the vocalism is irregular) < PUgr **püŋkə* (> PVog **pĕŋk*) < **PFUgr** **püŋe*,
115. H *fojt-* 'to choke' see *fúl-*,
116. H *fok* 'cap, eye of a needle' < OH *fuk* < PUgr **pukkə* (> POUgr **pŭɣ-* > PVog **pŭp*, POsty **pŏɣ*) < **PFUgr** **pukkɜ*,
117. H *folyik-* 'to flow, run (water)' < **PUgr** **polə-* (> POUgr **pŏl-* > PVog **pɔl-*, POsty **pă̆ḷ-* / **pŏḷ*,
118. H *fon-* 'to spin' < PUgr **ponə-* (> POUgr **pōn-* > PVog **pŏn-*, POsty **pon-*) < **PFUgr** **puna-*,
119. H *forog-* 'to turn, revolve' (*-g* is a H suff, the word is onomatopoeic) < PUgr **porɣə* (> PVog **powrit-*) < **PFUgr** **pɤrkɜ-* (~ **pɤrɣɜ-*),
120. H *fos*(-) 'to shit, diarrhoea' < PUgr **poćkə*(-) (> POUgr **pŏć* > PVog **pŏć*, POsty **pŏć*) < **PFUgr** **pućka-*,
121. H *foszlik-*, *foszt-* 'to fray, strip, pick', *fosztogat* 'to loot' < **PUgr** **pośə-* (> POUgr **pos-* > PVog **pasl-*, POsty **pus* 'abgenutzes Kleid',

122. H *fő-* to boil (intr)', *fövök* 'I swelter', *főz-* 'to cook' < EAH **φewə-* < **pewĕ-* < PUgr **peyə-* (POUgr **päy-* > PVog **pay-*) < **PFUgr** **peye-*,
123. H *fú* '*arch*, *dial* a kind of duck' < (OH acc *fuat*, *fuvat* <) EAH **φow* < **pow* < **PUgr** **poyə* (> PVog **pay*) (U **pɐyɜ* is reconstructed (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 4) because of a similar Selk word, the word is onomatopoeic and came under the influence of H *fú-* 'to blow'),
124. H *fú-*, *fúvott* (past 3rdP), *fúj-* 'to blow' < PUgr **puwə-* (> POUgr **pūγ-* (?), PVog **pŭv-*, POsty **pŏγ-*) < **PFUgr** **puwɜ-*,
125. H *fúl-* 'to be choked', *fujt-*, *fojt-* 'to choke' (*-l* and *-t* are H suffs) < EAH **φuvə-* < PUgr **puwə-* (not in POUgr, the words with the meanings like 'sauer werden, etc.' do not pertain here because of semantic reasons) < **PFUgr** **puwe*,
126. H *fullánk* (the long /l/ is a H development, *-nk* is a H suff) < PUgr **pulə* (> POUgr **pūl* > PVog **pŭlĕp*, POsty **pul*) < **PFUgr** **pulɜ-*,
127. H *fúr-* 'to bore' < PUgr **purə-* (> POUgr **pŏr* > PVog **pŏri*, POsty **pŏr* nominal stems) < **PFUgr** **pura-*,
128. H *fut-* 'to run' < PUgr **puktə-* (> POsty **pot-*) < **PFUgr** **pukta-*,
129. H *fű* 'grass' < EAH **φiü* < **piwə* < **PUgr** **pimə* (> POUgr **pūmɜ* > PVog **pŭmɜ*, POsty **pam* ~ **pɔm*),
130. H *fül* 'ear', *figyel-* 'to listen' < OH *fil* < EAH **φelə* ~ *φelyə-* < PUgr **pelə* ~ **pelyə* (> POUgr **păl* ~ **pĕl* > PVog **păl*, POsty **pĕl*) < **PFUgr** **pelyä*,
131. H *fűl-* 'to become warm' < EAH **fülə-* < **PUgr** **pilə-* (> PVog **pīl-*) (*fűt-* 'to heat' developed by analogy fr *fujt-*, there is no base like **fű-*, not related to *fő-* under No. 122),
132. H *fürt* 'bunch (of fruits)' (*-t* is a H suff) < PUgr **pürə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pərɜ*,
133. H *füst* 'smoke' < OH *fišt* (*-t* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **pućə* (> POUgr **pōs* > PVog **păšĕm*, POsty **pɔšĕŋ* / *pošĕŋ*),
134. H *fűz-* 'to string' < EAH **φiz-* < PUgr **pitə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **pitɜ-*,
135. H *gyalog* 'by foot' (the *gy-* is irregular, the *-g* is a H suff) < ? EAH **yalog* < PUgr **yalkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **yalka*,
136. H *hab* 'foam, wave' < PUgr **kumpə* (> POUgr **kŭmp* > PVog **kŭmp*, POsty **kump*) < **PFUgr** **kumpa*,
137. H *had* 'army, *arch* clan' < OH *hadu* < PUgr **kontə* (> POUgr **kont* > PVog **kānt*, ? Osty *χanti*) < **PFUgr** **kunta*,
138. H *hág-* 'to step up' < PUgr **kaŋkə-* (> POUgr **kīŋk-* > PVog **kīŋk*, POsty **kaŋk-* / **kɔŋk-*) < **PFUgr** **kaŋkɜ-*,
139. H *hagy-* 'to leave (something somewhere)' < PUgr **kaδ′ə-* (> POUgr **kūδ′* ~ **kī̯δ′* > PVog **kūl* ~ **kŭl′t*, POsty **kī̯y*) < **PFUgr** **kaδ′a-*,
140. H *hagyap-* '*arch* to spit' < EAH **χad′ə-ap* < **PUgr** **koδ′ə* (> POUgr **kol′* > PVog **kul′*),
141. H *hagyma* 'onion' (*-a* is a H suff) < EAH **hajmə* < PUgr **koćmə* (> PVog **kośĕm*) < **PFUgr** **koćma*,
142. H *haj* 'hair' < **PUgr** **kayə* (> PVog **koy*),
143. H *háj* 'fat' < PUgr **koyə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kuye*,
144. H *hajnal* 'dawn' < EAH **χoyə* < PUgr **koyə* (> POUgr **koy* > PVog **koy*, POsty **koyn* > **kuń-t′əl′*) < **PFUgr** **koye* (the composit H suff is of unclear origin),

145. H *hajít-* 'to throw (away)' < PUgr **kayə-*[1] (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kaya*,
146. H *hajol-*, *hajlik-* 'to bend' < **PUgr** **kayə-*[2] (> PVog **kay-* > **χoy-t-*),
147. H *hal* 'fish' < PUgr **kalə* (> POUgr **kūl* > PVog **kūl*, POsty **kūl*) < **PFUgr** **kala*,
148. H *hal-* 'to die' < PUgr **kolə-* (> POUgr **kōl-* > PVog **kāl-*, POsty **kăla-* ~ **kol-*) < **PFUgr** **kola-*,
149. H *hál-* 'to pass the night, sleep' < PUgr **kalə-* (> POUgr **kūl-* > PVog **kūl-*, POsty **kal-*) < **PFUgr** **kalɜ-*,
150. H *halad-* 'to go ahead, progress' (*-ad* is a H suff) < PUgr **kolkə-* (> POsty **koγăl*) < **PFUgr** **kulkɜ-*,
151. H *hall-*[1] 'to hear' < OH *hadl-* < EAH **χadlə-* < **PUgr** **kuntălə-* (> POUgr **kūntɜ(γ)l-* > PVog **kₒāntɜl-*, POsty **kuntĕγl-*) (late contamination with the following),
152. H *hall-*[2] 'to hear' < PUgr **kulə-* (> POUgr **kūl-* > PVog **kūl-*, POsty **kɔl-*) < **PFUgr** **kulɜ-*[2] (perhaps in contamination with the former),
153. H *háló* 'net' < EAH **halăw* < PUgr **kalăpə* (> POUgr **kūlăp* > PVog **kūləp*, POsty **kaləp*) < **PFUgr** **kalɜ*,
154. H *halok* '*arch* triangular outcut (in wood), shavings (of wood) < EAH **χalə* < PUgr **kolə* (> POUgr **kāl* / **kōl* > PVog **kăl*, POsty **kol* / **kɔl*) < **PFUgr** **kolɜ*,
155. H *hályog* 'cataract' (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **kal′wə* (> POUgr **kăl′əp* > PVog **kăl′əp*, POsty **kăl′i̯-*) < **PFUgr** **kal′wɜ*,
156. H *hámlik-* 'to peel' (*-l* and *-ik* are H dev suffs), *hámoz-* 'to peel (tr)' (*-z* is a H den suff), *háncs* 'bark' (H *hám* 'scarfskin, epithellum' is a late neologism) < EAH **χāmə* < PUgr **kamə* (> PVog **kam* only as second part of compositions and alternating with *-ŋk-*) < **PFUgr** **kama*,
157. H *hamu*, acc *hamvat* 'ash', *hamvaz-* 'to sprinkle with ashes' (the *-u* / *-v* may be a H suff, or a remnant of the /mv/) < OH *homo͡u* < PUgr **kuδ′mə* (> POUgr *kūδ′mɜ* > PVog **kul′mɜ*, POsty **kayəm*) < **PFUgr** **kuδ′mɜ*,
158. H *hangya* 'ant' (*-a* is a H suff) < PUgr **końćə* (the POUgr equivalents are dubious) < **PFUgr** **kuńća*,
159. H *hány-* 'to throw, vomit' < PUgr **kanə-* (> POUgr **kūn-* / **kį̄n-* > PVog **kūn-*, POsty **kį̄ṇ-* ~ *kaṇ-*) < **PFUgr** **kanɜ-*,
160. H *hanyatt* 'on one's back' (*-att* is a complex H suff) < PUgr **konə* (> POUgr **kV̄n(č)ɜγ* > PVog **kānəγ*, POsty **koṇčaγ*) < **PFUgr** **konɜ*,
161. H *harag* 'anger' (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **korə* (> POUgr **kōr* > PVog **kŏr*, POsty **korəm-*) < **PFUgr** **kore*,
162. H *harkály* 'woodpecker' (*-kály* is a complex H suff) < **PUgr** **karə* (> POUgr **kōrγāy* > PVog **karkay*, POsty **kărŋay*) (the word is onomatopoeic, see H **herjó** and **karvaly** in the Lexicon; T *kirguy*, etc., but the two words are hardly connected),
163. H *három*, acc *hármat* 'three', *harminc* 'thirty' < PUgr **kormə* ~ **kolmə* (> POUgr **kūrmə* ~ **kulmə* > PVog **kūrəm*, POsty **kɔləm*) < **PFUgr** **kolme*,
164. H *hás*, *hárs* 'lime tree, earlier and *dial* bark' (the H *-r-* is a late inorganic intrusion) < EAH **χaš* < PUgr **koćkə* (the POsty word **kį̄ńt′* 'Saftschicht (der Kiefer, Birke)' hardly peratains here) < **PFUgr** **koćkɜ*,

165. H *hasad-* 'to split (intr)', *hasít-* 'to split (tr)' (*-ad*, and *-ít* are H suffs) < **PUgr** **kaćə-* (> PVog **kaś-*),
166. H *hát* 'back' < PUgr **kuttə* (> POUgr **kūt* > PVog **kūtɜɣ*, POsty **kutəl*) < **PFUgr** **kuttɜ*,
167. H *hat* 'six' < PUgr **kottə* (> POUgr **kV̄t* > PVog **kāt*, POsty **kut*) < **PFUgr** **kutte*,
168. H *hat-* 'to effect on, impress' < PUgr **kattə-* (> POsty **kat-*) < **PFUgr** **kattɜ-*,
169. H *hattyú* 'swan', (the palatalisation of the H word is a H development, as is the *-ăŋ* > *aɣ* > *ū* change) < EAH **χottăɣ* < **PUgr** **kottăŋ* (> POUgr **kŏtɜŋ* > PVog **kŏtāŋ*, POsty **kŏtəŋ*) (the word is not a T lw, but a Nordic cultural wandering word, see Y *kutaŋ* 'kakaja-to ptica, *kutan* 'caplja'),
170. H *ház* 'house' < PUgr **katə* (> POUgr **katə* > POsty **kat*) < **PFUgr** **kota*,
171. H *héj* 'skin, peel, husk', see *héja* 'its peel' < EAH **χeyə* < **χayə* < **χoyə* < PUgr **koyə* (> POsty **koy*) < **PFUgr** **koya*,
172. H *here* 'testicle', dial *hőrő*, *hörö* (the final *-e* is a petrified poss suff) < PUgr **koyărə* (> POUgr **kə̯ɪ̄rɜ* > PVog **kə̯ɪ̄r*, POsty **kar*) < **PFUgr** **koye-rɜ*,
173. H *hërvad-*, dial *hirvad-* 'to fade, whither' (*-d* is a H suff) < EAH **χurwə* < **χirwə-* < PUgr **korpə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **korpe-*,
174. H *hét* 'seven' (*h-* is secondary, system adaptation under the influence of *hat* 'six') < EAH **ätə* < **PUgr** **säptə* (← IE **septa*) (> POUgr **sə̄t* > PVog **sāt*, POsty **ʌäpĕt*),
175. H *hím* 'male' < EAH **hïmə* < **hoymə* < PUgr **koymə* < **koyămə* (> PVog **kom*) < **PFUgr** **koye-mɜ*,
176. H *híz-* 'to became fat, corpulent' < **PUgr** **kūtə* (> POUgr **kūt-* > PVog **kūt-*, POsty **kat-*),
177. H *hó*, acc *havat* 'snow', LAH **χo̯u̯* < EAH **χavə* < PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kuma*[2],
178. H *hó* 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon' < EAH **χō* ~ **χaw* < PUgr **koŋə* (> POsty **χăw*) < **PFUgr** **kuŋe*,
179. H *hód* 'beaver' (not a T lw) < OH *hud* < **PUgr** **kuntə* (> PVog **kunt-ĕl*),
180. H *hol-* in *holnap* 'to-morrow' < PUgr **koδə* (> POUgr **kŏl* > PVog **kŏl*, POsty **kŏltəŋ*) < **PFUgr** **kuδɜ*,
181. H *holló* 'raven' (the gemination and the suff *-ó* are H developments) < PUgr **kulă-k* (> POUgr **kūlkɜ* > PVog **kŭlāk*, POsty **kɔl̩ək*) < **PFUgr** **kulɜ*,
182. H *hólyag* 'bladder, blister' (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **kuplə* (> POUgr **kăl′əp* > PVog **kăl′əp*, POsty **kal′əp*) < **PFUgr** **kupla*,
183. H *homály* 'obscurity, fog' (*-ály* is a H suff) < PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kuma*[3],
184. H *homlok* 'forehead' (*-l* and *-ok* are H suffs, see *homorú* 'concave', *homorít-* 'to make concave') < PUgr **komə* (> POUgr **kōm*(*t*)*ɜɣ* > PVog **kɔměɣ*, POsty **komtaɣ*) < **PFUgr** **kuma*[1],
185. H *hón* 'armpit' < PUgr **konə* (> POUgr **kV̄n* > PVog **kăn-ĕl*, POsty **kun-ĕŋ*) < **PFUgr** **konɜ*,
186. H *horhó* 'track through the gully' < EAH **horăɣə* < PUgr **korə* (> POsty **kor*) < **PFUgr** **kurɜ*,

187. H *horol-* ‘*arch* to scratch, scrape’ (*-l* is a H suff) < EAH **χorə-* < PUgr **korə-* (> PVog **kar-* > VogKM **karśəl-*) < **PFUgr** **korɜ-*,
188. H *horony* ‘groove, notch’ < PUgr **kurńə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kurńa*,
189. H *hosszú* ‘long’ (the gemination /ss/ is secondary) < PUgr **koćə* (> PVog **košə*) < **PFUgr** **koćɜ*,
190. H *hoz-* ‘to bring’, H *húz-* ‘to pull, pull here, drag’ (the two H words are the result of a split) < **PUgr** **kupătə* (> ? POUgr **kupăt-* / **kapăt-* > PVog **kapt-*, POsty **kăpət-*),
191. H *hozzá* ‘to somebody’, *+hoz* ‘loc suff, to’ < OH suff *-huz* < **PUgr** **kućə* (> POsty **kuś*),
192. H *hölgy* ‘lady, woman’ (the *-l-* is secondary in H) < EAH **χə̄d′ə* < PUgr **kaδ′ə* (> POUgr **kēδ′* > PVog **kāl*, POsty **köyəγ*) < **PFUgr** **kaδ′wa*,
193. H *hős* ‘hero, young unmarried man’ < PUgr **kaćə* (> PVog **kuś*) < **PFUgr** **kaća*,
194. H *húgy*[1] ‘urine’ < PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kŭńć* > PVog **kŭńć-*, POsty **kŏs-*) < **PFUgr** **kuńćɜ*[1],
195. H *húgy*[2] *arch* ‘star’ < PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kūńćɜ* > PVog **kūńćɜ*, POsty **kɔs*) < **PFUgr** **kuńćɜ*[2] (‘urine’ and ‘star’ became homophonous and *húgy* ‘star’ disappeared, instead *csillag* emerged as the word for ‘star’ (see above), but *húgy* ‘star’ is present in the dials and GNs),
196. H *hull-* ‘to fall (off)’ (the long *-ll-* is a H secondary development) < EAH **χulə-* < PUgr **kulə-* (> POUgr **kŏlā-* > PVog **kɔl-a-*, POsty **kŏla-*) < **PFUgr** **kulɜ-*[1],
197. H *huny-* ‘to close the eyes’ < PUgr **kuńə-* (> POUgr **kŏń-* > PVog **kɔń-*, POsty **kŏń-*) < **PFUgr** **kuńa-*,
198. H *húsz* ‘twenty’ < PUgr **kuśə* (> POUgr **kūsɜ* > PVog **kŭs*, POsty **kɔs*) < **PFUgr** **kuśɜ*,
199. H *húz-* ‘to pull, pull here, drag’, *hoz-* ‘to bring’ (the two H words are the result of a split) < **PUgr** **kupătə* (> ? POUgr **kupăt-* / **kapăt-* > PVog **kapt-*, POsty **kăpət-*),
200. H *ideg* ‘nerve, bowstring’ (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **yäntə* (> POUgr **yV̄ntəγ* > PVog **yə̄ntəγ*, POsty **yŏntəγ*) < **PFUgr** **yänte*,
201. H *igyekszik-* ‘to be industrious, endeavour’, *ügyes* ‘to be clever’ (*-k*, *-sz*, *-ik* and *-s* are H suffs) < EAH **hiδ′ə-* < PUgr **siδ′ə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **siδ′ɜ-*,
202. H *íj* ‘bow’, see *ív*,
203. H *ín*, acc *inat* ‘sinew’ < EAH **hinə* < PUgr **θi̯nə* (> POUgr **θi̯nɜ* > PVog **ti̯n*, POsty **ʌan*) < **PFUgr** **sẹne*,
204. H *íny* ‘gum’ < EAH **īńə* < **iγěńə* < PUgr **iγěńə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ike-ńe*,
205. H *ipa* ‘father-in-law’ (*-a* is a H petrified poss suff) < PUgr **uppə* / **ippə* (> POUgr **up* > Vog *up*, Osty *up*) < **PFUgr** **appe*,
206. H *iránt*, dial *aránt* ‘towards, in the direction’ (*-n* and *-t* are H suffs, *aránt* is the older form) < EAH **arə* < **PUgr** **orə* (> POUgr **(w)ūr* > PVog **ŭr*, POsty **wur*),
207. H *irt-* ‘to extirpate’, *irtok-* ‘I extirpate’ < PUgr **θar-tə* (> POUgr **θart-* > POsty **ʌart-*) < **PFUgr** **šurɜ*,
208. H *isz*, *iz* ‘cancer, malignous illness’, the /s/ is the original, cf. *iszony* ‘terror, dread, repulsion’ < PUgr **ićə* ~ **iśə* (> POUgr **īs* > PVog **ĭs*, POsty **is*) < **PFUgr** **iśe* (~ **iće*),
209. H *iszik-* ‘to drink’, *ivott* ‘drank’ (the H base is *i-*) < EAH **ī-* < **yi-* < PUgr **yukə* (> ? PVog **ay-*) < **PFUgr** **yuke*,

210. H *ív* ‘arch, bow’ (see also *íj*) < EAH **yīwə* < **yīwəh*, *yiyeh* < PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ*) < **PFUgr** **yoŋksɜ*,
211. H *iz* ‘cancer, malignous illness’, see *isz*,
212. H *íz* ‘taste’ < **is* < EAH **eǫsə* (fr the same base *édes* ‘sweet’ ~ *ízes* ‘tasty’, see T *tatlïg* ‘sweet’ < *tat-* ‘to taste’) < PUgr **epsə* (> POUgr **ēpĕθ* > PVog **āt*, POsty **epĕʌ*) < **PFUgr** **ipse*,
213. H *íz* ‘joint, *arch* branch of the family’, see *hetedíziglen* ‘all until the seventh grade of the family’ < **PUgr** **yitə-* (> POsty **yit*) (the comparison with other FUgr words is less probable),
214. H *jég* ‘ice’ < PUgr **yäŋkə* (> POUgr **yēŋk* > PVog **yā̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **yöŋk*) < **PFUgr** **yäŋe*,
215. H *jel* ‘sign’ < PUgr **yälkə* (> POsty **yäɣĕl*) < **PFUgr** **yälke*,
216. H *jó*[1] ‘river (*arch* today only in river-names as *Sajó*, *Hejő*, *Sió*, etc.)’ < PUgr **yoɣə* (> POUgr **yīɣ̄(ɜ)* > PVog **yī̆*, POsty **yī̆ɣ*, **yaɣ*) < **PFUgr** **yoke*,
217. H *jó*[2] (with H poss suff: *java*) ‘good’ < EAH **yaw* < **PUgr** **yomə* (> POUgr **yōm* (?) > PVog **yomās*, POsty **yăm*),
218. H *jön-* ‘to come’, cf. *jő* ‘he comes’, *jössz* ‘you come’, *jövő* ‘the coming’ < OH *yev-* < EAH **yüvə-* < **PUgr** **yüɣə-* (> POUgr **yŭ̆-*, **yŭ̆ɣ-* > PVog **yĭ̆-*, **yĭ̆w-*, POsty **yĕ-* / **yŏ̆-*),
219. H *jut-* ‘to get to, arrive at’ < **PUgr** **yuktə-* (> POUgr **yŏkət-* > PVog **yɔkt-*, POsty **yŏɣət-*),
220. H *kedv* ‘mood’ (*-v* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **käntə* (> POUgr **kĕnt* / **kă̆nt* > PVog **kă̆nt*, POsty **kĕnt*),
221. H *kecs* in *isten kecskéje* ‘rainbow’, *kegy-* in *kegyelet* id. < EAH **kečə* < PUgr **kećə* (> POsty **kŏ̆s*) < **PFUgr** **kećä*,
222. H *kéj* ‘lust, pleasure’ < **PUgr** **keyə* (> POUgr **kēy* / **kŏ̄y* > PVog **kă̆y*, POsty **köy*),
223. H *kel-* ‘to rise’ < PUgr **kälə-* (> POUgr **kŭ̄l* > PVog **k$_{o}$ă̆l-*, POsty **kül-*) < **PFUgr** **kälä-*,
224. H *kell-* ‘must, to be necessary’ < PUgr **kelkə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kelke-*,
225. H *kemény* ‘hard, stiff’ (*-ény* is a H suff) < PUgr **kämə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kämä*,
226. H *kér-* ‘to ask for’ < PUgr **kerə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kerä-*,
227. H *kéreg* ‘bark’ (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **kerə* (> POUgr **kīrĕ* > PVog **kīr*, POsty **kir* ~ **kär*) < **PFUgr** **kere*,
228. H *kés* ‘knife’ < PUgr **kečə* (> POUgr **kēčĕɣ* > PVog **kā̆škā̆y*, POsty **köčĕy*) < **PFUgr** **kečɜ*,
229. H *keserű* ‘bitter’ (the *-ű* is a H suff, cf. *kesered-* ‘to became embittered’) < OH *kešeröü* < **PUgr** **kećə-rə* (> ? PVog **kwaś*),
230. H *keshed-* ‘to become seedy, shabby’ (*-hed* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **käćə* ~ **käńćə* (> POUgr **käńć* > PVog **käńś*, POsty **käńć*),
231. H *keszeg* ‘bream’ < PUgr **kećə* (> POUgr **kV̄̆səɣ* > PVog **kā̆səɣ*, POsty **kŏ̆səɣ*) < **PFUgr** **kećä*,
232. H *két*, *kettő* ‘two’ < PUgr **käktə* (> POUgr **kīt(ĕ)* > PVog **kĭtɜ*, POsty **kit* ~ **kät*) < **PFUgr** **käktä*,
233. H *kevés* ‘few, little’ (*-és* is a H suff) < PUgr **kepə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kepä*,

234. H *kéz* 'hand' < PUgr **ketə* (> POUgr **kēt*(*ɜ*) > PVog **kātɜ*, POsty **kit* ~ **kät*) < **PFUgr** **käte*,
235. H *ki* 'somebody, who', *valaki* 'somebody', *senki* 'nobody' < EAH **ki* < PUgr **ki* (not in POUgr) > **PFUgr** **ke*, **ki*,
236. H *kígyó*, arch *kíjó* 'snake' (*-ó* is a H suff) < PUgr **kiyə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kiye* ~ **küye*,
237. H *kísér-* 'to escort', cf. dial *késér-*, *kísért-* < **PUgr** **kećə-* (> POsty **kŏć-*),
238. H *kisz*, *küsz* 'a small fish, blake, ablen, *Alburnus alburnus*' < EAH **kisə* < PUgr **kiskə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kiśkɜ*,
239. H *kívül* 'outside', cf. *ki*, *kint* 'out', etc., also *kilenc* (< **kivələ-nc* 'outside 10') < EAH **kiwə* < **kimə* < **PUgr** **kimə* ~ **kümə* (> POUgr **kűm*, **kűn* or ? POUgr **kümən* > **küwən* > **kűn* (but this would be the only /m/ > /w/ in POUgr) > PVog **kű̇n*, POsty **küm*),
240. H *kő*, acc *követ* 'stone', dial *keve* < PUgr **kiwə* (> POUgr **kə̄γ* > PVog **kā̆w*, POsty **köγ*) < **PFUgr** **kiwe*,
241. H *köcsög* 'jug, jar' (*-g* is a H suff) < PUgr **küćə* (> POUgr **kű̇čəm* > PVog **kű̇šəm*, POsty **kŏčəm*) < **PFUgr** **küće*,
242. H *köd* 'fog' < PUgr **kintə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **kintɜ*,
243. H *köles* 'millet' < OH *küles* < **PUgr** **köläćə* (> PVog **kolas*),
244. H *könny* 'tear' (the length of the second consonant is a H development) < OH *kun*, *kewn* < PUgr **künə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **küńe*[2],
245. H *könnyed*, *könnyű* 'light, easy' (*-d* and *-ű* are H suffs) < OH *kenyid* < **PUgr** **künə* (> POUgr **kə̄n* > PVog **kün*, POsty **kə̄n*),
246. H *könyök* 'elbow' (*-k* is a H dim suff) < PUgr **küńə* (> POUgr **kű̇n* > PVog **k*$_{o}$*änyĕl′*, POsty **köṇŋey*, POUgr is depalatized) < **PFUgr** **küńä*[1],
247. H *köré* 'around', *körül* 'around' (*-é* and *-ül* are H loc suffs) < PUgr **kerə* (not in POUgr, but see **kīr-* 'umgehen') < **PFUgr** **kere*,
248. H *köszörű* 'grinder' (*-ör*, *-ű* are H suffs) < OH *kwzereu*, *kezerew* < **PUgr** **köśə-* [written with ӧ and misprinted in Rédei 1986–1991/2: 862 with *-s-*] (> ? PVog **kes-*),
249. H *köszvény* 'gout' < PUgr **keśĕ-* (> POsty **kŏs-*) < **PFUgr** **keśɜ-*,
250. H *köt-* 'to bind', dial *ket-* < OH *ket-* < PUgr **kütkə* (> PVog **köt-*) < **PFUgr** **kütke-*,
251. H *köved-* 'to become cooked, boiled', *köveszt-* 'to boil' < EAH **köw-* < PUgr **keyə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **keye-*,
252. H *követ-* 'to follow' < EAH **köwə-* < PUgr **küyə-* (> POUgr **köy-* > PVog **köy-*, POsty **köy-*) < **PFUgr** **küye-*,
253. H *köz* 'interval, space between' < OH *küzü* < PUgr **kütə* (> POUgr **kŏt* > PVog **kŏt′əl′*, POsty **kŏt*) < **PFUgr** **kütɜ*,
254. H *közép* 'the middle' < **PUgr** **kütĕppə* (> POUgr **kütĕp* > POsty **kütəp*), see *köz*,
255. H *küzd-* 'to struggle, contend', /z/ is due to secondary voicing, *-d* is a H suff) < EAH < **küzə* < **küsə-* < **PUgr** **küśə-* (> POUgr **kēs-* > PVog **kās-*, POsty **kĕs-*), (Finn, Est and Saami parallels are uncertain, because of semantic reasons),
256. H *lágy* 'soft' < PUgr **lońćə* (> POUgr **lōńć* > PVog **lańć*, POsty **lons*) < **PFUgr** **lońća*,
257. H *lak*(-) 'home, to have one's home' < PUgr **lakkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **lakka*,

258. H *láp* 'marsh' < PUgr **loppə* (> PVog **lūp*) < **PFUgr** **lɤppɜ*,
259. H *lapos* 'flat' (*-os* is a H suff, H *lap* 'page' is a neologism) < PUgr **lappə* (> POUgr **lap* > PVog **lop*, POsty **lap-*) < **PFUgr** **lappɜ*,
260. H *lë-* 'to be, exist' (in *lenni* (infinitive), see *lesz* 'will be', *levő* 'existing', etc.) < PUgr **le-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **le-*,
261. H *lé, lev-* 'juice' see *leves* 'soup'< PUgr **lämə* (> PVog **lā̈m*) < **PFUgr** **leme*,
262. H *lebëg-* 'to float' (*-g* is a H suff) < EAH **lebə-* < PUgr **lempə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **lempe-*,
263. H *légy* 'fly' < PUgr **läńćə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **lɤ̈ńćɜ*,
264. H *lélek* 'soul' (*-k* is a H suff, originally 'breath', see *lélekzet* 'breath') < PUgr **lelə* (> POUgr **līl* > PVog **lil*, **lā̈l*, POsty **lil*, **läl*) < **PFUgr** **lewlɜ*,
265. H *lép* 'spleen' < PUgr **läppə* (> PVog **lēp*, ? POsty **läpətne*) < **PFUgr** **läppɜ*,
266. H *lep-* 'to cover', cf. *lepel* 'veil', *meglep-* 'to surprize', etc. < PUgr **läppə-* (> POUgr **lēp-* > PVog **lēp-*, POsty **tep-*) < **PFUgr** **läppɜ-*,
267. H *lép-* 'to step' < **PUgr** **läppə-* (> POUgr **lēp-* > PVog **lā̆p-*, POsty **lep-*),
268. H *lepke* 'butterfly' (*-ke* is a H suff) < PUgr **läppə* (> POUgr **lā̆ppe* > PVog **lāpəχ*, POsty **läpente*) < **PFUgr** **lɤ̈ppɜ*,
269. H *les-* 'to watch, lie in a wait' < **PUgr** **läćə* (> Vog *läć* ⟶ POsty **lāsi-*),
270. H *levél* 'leaf' (*-l* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **lepə* (> POUgr **lüpe* > PVog **lupta*, POsty **lipət*),
271. H *ló*, acc *lovat*, dial *lú* 'horse' < EAH **low* < **PUgr** **loɣə* (> POUgr **lōɣ* > PVog **lŭw*, POsty **loɣ*) (the connection with OT *ulag* 'post horse, transport animal' is very uncertain, see § 8.1),
272. H *lóg-* 'to hang', *lódít-* 'to toss' (*-g* and *-dít* are H suffs) < EAH **law-* < PUgr **loŋə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **loŋe-*,
273. H *lom*, dial *lam* 'dew, sludge' < EAH **lomə* < PUgr **lomə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **lume*,
274. H *lő-* 'to shoot', see *lövök* (1ndP sg) < OH *lev-* < PUgr **lewə-* (> PVog **läɣ-*) < **PFUgr** **lewe-*,
275. H *lök-* 'to push' < OH *lük-* < PUgr **lükkə-* (> POUgr **lŭk-* > PVog **lā̆k-*, POsty **lŭkəmə-*) < **PFUgr** **lükkɜ-*,
276. H *lúd* 'goose' < PUgr **luntə* (> POUgr **lūntɜ* > PVog **lūntɜ*, POsty **lɔnt*) < **PFUgr** **lunta*,
277. H *lyuk* 'hole' < OH *liku ~ luk* < *l'uk* < EAH **lïuk* < **lūk* < PUgr **lowkkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **lowkkɜ*,
278. H *mag* 'grain, seed, semen, kernel' < PUgr **moŋkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **muŋkɜ*,
279. H *magy* in *magyar* 'Hungarian' < **PUgr** **mańćə* (> POUgr **mā̄ńć*, **mā̆ńć* > PVog **mā̆ńśi*, POsty **mańć*),
280. H *máj* 'liver' (the final *-y* is a petrified remnant of the poss suff) < PUgr **maɣθə* (> POUgr **mīɣ̆ĕθ* > PVog **mī̯ĕt ~ mă̆jt*, POsty **muɣĕʌ*) < **PFUgr** **maksa*,
281. H *mál* 'fur on the bosom of animals' < PUgr **malə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mɤ̈lɜ*,
282. H *malát, malád* '*dial* place where after flood different bushes grow, weed, etc.' (*-d, -t* are H suffs) < PUgr **malkə* (> POsty **maklă*) < **PFUgr** **malkɜ*,
283. H *mar-* 'to bite, fret' < PUgr **murə-* (> POUgr **mūr-* > PVog **mŭr-*, POsty **mɔrəy-*) < **PFUgr** **mura-*,

284. H *mar* 'withers' < EAH **marə* < PUgr **marə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mɜrɜ*,
285. H *marok*, acc *markot* 'the hollow of the hand, handful' (the *-k* is a H suff, *tantum singulare*), see also *marék* id. < **PUgr** **murə* (> POUgr **mūrəs* > POsty **mūrəs*),
286. H *márt-* 'to immerse' (*-t* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **morə-* (> POUgr **mV̄r-* > PVog **mūr-*, POsty **măra-* ~ **mor-*),
287. H *más* 'different', *másik* 'the other' (*-š* and *-ik* are H suffs) < **PUgr** **ma* (> POUgr **mā-* / **mį̄* > PVog **māt* ~ **mį̄t*, POsty **makay*),
288. H *mëggy* 'sour-cherry' (the length of the second consonant is a secondary H development) < PUgr **mol′ə* (> POsty **moʌ′*) < **PFUgr** **mol′ɜ* (? **moδ′ɜ*),
289. H *mënni-* 'to go', cf. *mëgy* 'he goes', *mënő* 'going', *mënt* 'went', etc. < PUgr **menə-* (> POUgr **mĭn-* > PVog **mĭn-*, POsty **mĕn-*) < **PFUgr** **mene-*,
290. H *mëny* 'daughter-in-law' < PUgr **meńə*[1] (> POUgr **mēń* > PVog **mā̆ń*, POsty **meń*) < **PFUgr** **mińä*[1],
291. H *mënny* 'heaven, sky' (the length of the second consonant is a secondary H development) < PUgr **meńə*[2] (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mińä*[2],
292. H *mënül-*, *mënyül-*, *kimënül-*, *kimënyül-* '*dial* to become strained, dislocated' (*-ül* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **menə-* (> POUgr **mēn-* > PVog **mă̆n-*, POsty **meṇ-*),
293. H *méh* 'bee' (*-h* is not pronounced, but see *méhes*) < PUgr **mekθə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mekše*,
294. H *meleg* 'warm' (*-g* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **mälə* (> POUgr **mēl* > PVog **mā̆lɜt*, POsty **melək*),
295. H *mell* 'bosom' < EAH **mäγlə* < PUgr **mäγəl* < **mälγə* (> POUgr **mēγəl* > PVog **mā̆γəl*, POsty **möγəl*) < **PFUgr** **mälke*,
296. H *mély* 'deep' < **PUgr** **melə* (> POUgr **mĭl* > PVog **mĭl*, POsty **mĕl*),
297. H *ment-* 'to rescue', *menekül-* 'to rescue him / her / itself' (*-t* and *-kül* are H suffs) < PUgr **mänə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mänɜ-*,
298. H *mer-*[1] 'to draw, scoop out' < **PUgr** **märə-*[1] (> POUgr **mēr-* > PVog **mā̆rəkt-*, POsty **merət-*),
299. H *mer-*[2] 'to dare' < **PUgr** **märə*[2] (> PVog **mär-*),
300. H *mered-* 'to stare, gaze', *merő* 'sheer', *meren*, *merőben* 'entirely, etc.' < EAH **merə-* < PUgr **märə-* (> POUgr **mă̆r-*, *měr-* > PVog **mă̆r-*, POsty **měr-*) < **PFUgr** **märɜ-*,
301. H *messze* 'far' (the length of *ssz* is secodary and *-e* is a H suff, see *messzi* id.) < PUgr **meća* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mećä*,
302. H *meztelen*, *mezítelen* 'naked' (*-telen* is a privative suff) < **meseγ* < EAH **mes-* < **PUgr** **meśə-* (> PVog **mes-*) (H *mez* '(sport) dress' is a neologism, first recorded in 1770; the word was originally a verb, with the meaning 'to dress', fr this **meseγ* 'dress' and *meseytelen* > *mezítelen* > *meztelen* 'without dress, naked' all stages recorded),
303. H *méz* 'honey' < PUgr **metə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **mete*,
304. H *mi*[1] 'what, a thing', *valami* 'something', *semmi* 'nothing' < EAH **mi* < PUgr **me* (> POUgr **mă̆*, **mĕ* > PVog **mă̆nā̆*, POsty **mĕ*) < **PFUgr** **mɜ*,
305. H *mi*[2] 'we' < EAH **mi* < PUgr **mi* (> POUgr **mV̄ŋ*, **mV̄n* > PVog **mā̆n*, POsty **mĕŋ*) < **PFUgr** **mɜ̈*,

306. H *mög, meg* 'what is behind', see *mögött* 'behind', etc. < PUgr **müŋkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **müŋke*,
307. H *mony* '*arch* egg, testicle' < PUgr **monə* (> POUgr **mōn* > PVog **măn*, POsty **moṇ*) < **PFUgr** **muna*,
308. H *mos-* 'to wash' < PUgr **muśkə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **muśke-*,
309. H *múlik-* 'to pass (time)' (*-ik* is a H suff) < PUgr **mulə-* (> PVog **mūl-*) < **PFUgr** **mulɜ-*,
310. H *mutat-* 'to show, point' (*-tat* is a H complex suff) < EAH **mū-* < **muyə-* < PUgr **muyə-* (> POUgr **muy-* > POsty **muy-*) < **PFUgr** **muya-*,
311. H *négy* 'four' < PUgr **ńelyə* (> POUgr **ńilɜ* > PVog **ńĭlɜ*, POsty **ńĕlä*) < **PFUgr** **ńelyä*,
312. H *név* 'name' < PUgr **nemə* (> POUgr **nēm* > PVog **nămɜ*, POsty **nem*) < **PFUgr** **nime*,
313. H *nevet-* 'to laugh' (*-t* is a H suff) < MH, OH *mevet-* < EAH **mevə* < **PUgr** **mäγə-* (> PVog **măγə-*),
314. H *néz-* 'to look, look at, see' (*-z* is a H suff) < PUgr **näγə-* (> POUgr **nīγ-*, **nī-* > PVog **nīγl-*, POsty **nü-*, **nüγ-*) < **PFUgr** **näke-*,
315. H *nő* 'woman', see *neje* 'his wife' < **ne ~ nö* < EAH **new-* < PUgr **neŋə* (> POUgr **nīγ* > PVog **nī*, POsty **ni*) < **PFUgr** **niŋä*,
316. H *nyál* 'saliva' < PUgr **ńolkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ńolke*,
317. H *nyal-* 'to lick' < PUgr **ńolə-* (> POUgr **ńōl-* ~ **ńălā-* > PVog **ńăl-*, POsty **ńăla-*) < **PFUgr** **ńole-*,
318. H *nyár*(*fa*) 'poplar (< "marsh-tree")', ? *nyír* in *nyirok* 'moist, humid', *nyír*(*fa)* 'birch', *Nyírség* 'name of a Hungarian region' (it is debated, but possible that H *nyár* 'summer' pertains here, in any case *nyár* 'summer' is not a T lw) < PUgr **ńarə* (> PVog **ńār* 'marsh') < **PFUgr** **ńorɜ* 'Sumpf; swamp',
319. H *nyél* 'handle' < PUgr **näδə* (> POUgr **nă̆δ*, **nĕδ*, **nŏ̆δ* > PVog **nŏ̆δ*, POsty **nŏ̆l*) < **PFUgr** **niδe ~* **nüδe*,
320. H *nyel-* 'to swallow' < PUgr **ńälə-* (> POUgr **ńäl-* > PVog **ńel-*, POsty **ńäl-*) < **PFUgr** **ńele-*,
321. H *nyelv* 'tongue' < PUgr **ńälmə* (> POUgr **ńīlmɜ* > PVog **ńīlmɜ*, POsty **ńälĕm*) < **PFUgr** **ńälmä*,
322. H *nyer-* 'to gain, win' < **PUgr** **ńerə-* (> POUgr **ńĭr-* > PVog **ńĭr-*, POsty **ńĕr-*),
323. H *nyereg* 'saddle' (*-g* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **närkə* (> POUgr **nī̯γrĕ* > PVog **nī̯r*, POsty **naγər*) (not a T lw),
324. H *nyes-* 'to prune, cut off, shear' < EAH **ńešə-* < PUgr **ńečə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **nečɜ-*,
325. H *nyíl* 'arrow' < PUgr **ńilə* (> POUgr **ńī̯lɜ* > PVog **ńī̯lɜ*, POsty **ńal*) < **PFUgr** **ńe̯le*,
326. H *nyír* 'birch(-tree)' < **PUgr** **ńirə* (> POUgr **ńĭr* > PVog **ńĭr*, POsty **ńĕr*), see *nyár* in § 8.1.1,
327. H *nyirok* 'wetness, lymph', see *nyár*,
328. H *nyolc* 'eight' (*-c* appeared in analogy with *kilenc* 'nine') < **PUgr** **ńalə* (> POUgr **ńī̯ləγ* > PVog **ńăləɣ*/*l*, POsty **ńi̯ləγ*),
329. H *nyom-* 'to press', *nyom* 'trace, track', *nyomorék* 'crippled', *nyomorog-* 'to live in misery' < EAH **ńolmə-* < **PUgr** **ńolə-mə-* (> POUgr **ńŏl-* / **ńăl-* > PVog **ńăl-*, POsty **ńúlt-*),

330. H *nyug-* ‘*arch* to rest’ in *nyugszik-* ‘to rest’ (-s and *-ik* are H suffs), *nyugodt* ‘restful’, *nyugalom* ‘rest’, etc. < PUgr **ńuŋkə-* (> POsty **ńoɣol-*) < **PFUgr** **ńuŋe*,
331. H *nyújt-* ‘to stretch, provide’ (*-t* is a H suff, see *nyúl-* ‘to put one’s hand out, reach’, *nyúlik-* ‘to stretch, extend’) < PUgr **ńuyə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ńɤyɜ-*,
332. H *nyúl* ‘rabbit’ < EAH **ńuwul* < PUgr **ńomul(ə)* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **ńoma-le*,
333. H *nyúl-* ‘to put one’s hand out, reach’, see *nyújt*,
334. H *nyuszt* ‘pine-marten’ (*-t* is a H suff) < PUgr **ńukśə* (> POUgr **ńŏkəs* > PVog **ńɔkəs*, POsty **ńŏɣəs*) < **PFUgr** **ńukśe*,
335. H *nyúz-* ‘to skin’ (*-z* is a H suff, see *tűz-*) < EAH **ńuw-* < PUgr **ńuyə-* (> POUgr **ńuy-* > PVog **ńuy-* ~ **nuy-*) < **PFUgr** **ńuyɜ-*,
336. H *nyű*, acc *nyűvet*, dial *nyiv*, *nyűv* ‘maggot, worm’ < **PUgr** **ńiŋə* (> POUgr **ńīŋk* ~ **ńuŋk* > PVog **ńĭŋₒkₒ*, POsty **ńiŋk*),
337. H *nyű-* ‘to wear down’, see *nyüvök* ‘I wear down’ < EAH **ńüw-* < PUgr **ńükə-* (> PVog **ńüɣ-*) < **PFUgr** **ńükɜ-*,
338. H *ó* ‘old’ < PUgr **θoŋkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋkɜ²* (see also *agg*, *avul-*),
339. H *odú* ‘hollow, cavity’ (the *-ú* is a H suff), see *odvas* ‘hollow, rotten’ < PUgr **ontə* (> POUgr **ōnt*, **ōnter* > PVog **āntĕr*, POsty **ont*, **ontĕr*) < **PFUgr** **omte* or **oŋte*,
340. H *old-* ‘to untie, dissolve’ (*-d* is a H suff, *-l-* is a H compensative consonant in place of the length of the vowel) < OH *ōd-* < **ovd-* < PUgr **aŋə-* (> POUgr **ūŋk-* / **i̯ŋk-* > PVog **i̯ŋₒkₒ-*, POsty **i̯ŋk-* ~ **aŋk-*) < **PFUgr** **aŋa-*,
341. H *oldal* ‘side’ < EAH **ōdalə* (*-l* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **oŋtə* (> POUgr **V̄ŋt-* > PVog **āŋtəl*, POsty **ăŋti̯*),
342. H *olt-* ‘to graft, bud’ < **PUgr** **alə-ttə-* (> POUgr **ālt-* > PVog **ālt-*, POsty **alt-*),
343. H *olvad-* ‘to melt (intr)’ (*-v-* and *-ad* are H suffs) < EAH **olə-* < PUgr **solə-* (> POUgr **θŏlā-* > PVog **tăl-ā*, POsty **ʌŏla-*) < **PFUgr** **sula*,
344. H *ón* ‘tin’ (the *-l-* disappeared in H and caused the length of the vowel) < EAH **olnə* < PUgr **wolnə* (> POUgr **ōlnɜ* > PVog **ălnɜ*, POsty **olna*) < **PFUgr** **wolnɜ*,
345. H *ostor* ‘whip’ < OH *ustor* < **PUgr** **oštărə* (← MIr, see Pehl *aštar*) (> PVog **ośtă*),
346. H *óv-* ‘to protect’ (/v/ is the result of an inner H process) < EAH **owə-* < **oyə-* < PUgr **wiyə-* (> POUgr **wi̯ī* ~ **wīɣ-* / **wīɣ-* > PVog **wĭ*, *wĭɣ-*, **wäy-*, POsty **wĕ-*, **wĕy-*) < **PFUgr** **wɜyɜ-*,
347. H *ő* ‘he, she’, *övé* ‘his, hers’ < EAH **hö* < **PUgr** **sä* (> POUgr *θV̄* > PVog **tā̈n*, POsty **ʌĕɣ*),
348. H *öcs* ‘younger brother’ (~ *ecs*) < PUgr **ećə* (> POUgr **ić́* > PVog **ić́(ɜ)*, POsty **ić́-*) < **PFUgr** **eć́ɜ*,
349. H *öl* ‘lap (body part), fathom (measurement)’ < OH *ül* < PUgr **sülə* (> POUgr **θŏl* > PVog **tă̈l*, POsty **ʌŏ̈l*) < **PFUgr** **süle*,
350. H *öl-* ‘to kill’ < EAH **ü̯elə-* < PUgr **weδə-* (> POUgr **wēl-* / **wōl-* > PVog **ă̈l-*, POsty **wel-*) < **PFUgr** **weδɜ-*,
351. H *őn* ‘bream (fish)’ < EAH **eü̯nə* < PUgr **säwnə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **säwnä*,
352. H *ős* ‘ancestor’ < OH *īs* < PUgr **ićə* (> POUgr **ă̄ć* > PVog **ă̄ć(ɜ)*, POsty **ǟći*) < **PFUgr** **ićä*,

353. H *ősz* ‘autumn, fall’ < PUgr **sükśə* (> POUgr **θŭγěs* > PVog **tŭkəs*, POsty **söγəs*) < **PFUgr** **sükśe*,
354. H *össze* ‘together’ < OH *öszve* (the stem is **ös*, the gemination is secondary, *-ve* is the H lative suff) < EAH **wösə* < PUgr **wećə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **weće*,
355. H *öt* ‘five’ < EAH **ṷ̈ötə* < PUgr **wüttə* (> POUgr **wõt* > PVog **ăt*, POsty **wet*) < **PFUgr** **witte*,
356. H *öv* ‘girdle’ < EAH **wüγə* < PUgr **wüŋə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **wüŋä*,
357. H *ravasz* ‘*arch* fox, cunning’ (the vocalism is irregular, the *-s* is a H suff) < OH *ruoz*, *ruvoz* (< EAH **ruwoz* < **rowos* < EAH **row* > **rowka* >) *róka* ‘fox’ (the *-ka* is a H suff) < PUgr **repə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **repä*, but more probable: H *ravasz* ‘cunning, fox’ ← Al **rowas* (< **raupasa-*) > Os *rūvas* / *robas* ‘lisa’, see Pehl *rōbāh*, Sogd *rupas*, Parthian *rōbās*, Khot *rūvāsa*, Khwar *rwbs*, etc. (see Abaev 1958–1989/2: 433–434 with long bibliography; Gharib 1995: 345) (according to Rédei 1986–1991/1: 423 PFUgr **repä*(~*ćɜ*), see also Rédei (1986: 46) ← „vorarisch oder früharisch”, **reupōśo*, Wanderwort ?),
358. H *rá* ‘upon’, *rajta* ‘atop’, suff *+rA*, etc. < EAH **rā* < **raγə* < **PUgr** **raŋə* (> PVog **raŋ*),
359. H *rég* ‘long ago’ < PUgr **reŋkə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **reŋkɜ*,
360. H *rejt-* ‘to hide’ (*-t* is a H suff) < PUgr **reγə-* (> POUgr **rV̄γ-* > PVog **rīγ-*, POsty **rŏγ-*) < **PFUgr** **reke-*,
361. H *rés* ‘rift, split’ (the vocalism is irregular) < PUgr **raćə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **raćɜ*,
362. H *rész* ‘part’ < PUgr **räćə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **räćɜ*,
363. H *ró-* ‘to carve’, *rovok* ‘I carve’, OH *rav-*, see *ravatal* ‘catafalque’ < EAH **raw-* < PUgr **roγə* (> POsty **roγ*) < **PFUgr** **rokɜ-*,
364. H *róka* ‘fox’, see *ravasz*,
365. H *rokkan-* ‘to come down, became cripled, bent’ (*-an* is a H suff) < EAH **rok-* < **PUgr** **rokkə-* (> POUgr **roka-* > PVog **rak-*, POsty **raγ-*),
366. H *rokon* ‘relative, kinship (*-n* is a H loc suff)’ < PUgr **rakkə* (> POUgr **rōγ-* > PVog **rāw-*, Osty **rəγ-*) < **PFUgr** **rakka*,
367. H *rossz* ‘bad’ (the length of /s/ is secondary) < PUgr **roćə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **roćɜ*,
368. H *sápad-* ‘to turn pale’ < PUgr **čappə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **čappɜ-*,
369. H *savanyú* ‘sour’ (*-ny* and *-ú* are H suffs) < PUgr **čawə* (> POUgr ? **čaw* > PVog **šaγ*, POsty **čuw*) < **PFUgr** **čawɜ*,
370. H *segg* ‘bottom’ (the initial consonant is irregular, perhaps *šegg* < **seg*, the final long *-gg-* is secondary) < PUgr **śeŋkĕ* (> PVog **sə̃ŋk*) < **PFUgr** **śeŋkɜ*,
371. H *-seg* ‘small hill’ < EAH **šeŋgə* < PUgr **ćiŋkə* (> POUgr **ćŭŋk* > PVog **sŭŋk*, POsty **ćŏŋk*) < **PFUgr** **ćiŋkä*,
372. H *sötét*, *sötét* ‘dark’ (*-ét* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **čettə* (> POUgr **čĕt* / **čät-* > PVog **šə̆tĕp-*, POsty **četime-*),
373. H *siet-* ‘to hurry, hasten’ (*-t* is a H suff) < EAH **šiyə-* < PUgr **čiyə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **čiyɜ-*,
374. H *sok* ‘many, much’ < PUgr **čokkə* (> PVog **šaw*) > **PFUgr** **čokka* (see H **sok** in the Lexicon),
375. H *sovány* ‘lean, thin’ (*-ány* is a H suff) < PUgr **čopə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **čupa*,

376. H *sörény* ‘mane’, see *szőr*,
377. H *sövény* ‘hedge’, see *sző-*,
378. H *sün* ‘hedgehog’, see *szül*,
379. H *süpped-* ‘to sink’ (*-d* is a H suff, the *-pp-* is secondary) < OH *šepped-* < **PUgr** **čeppə-* (> PVog **šēp-*),
380. H *süt-* ‘to bake (tr)’ (*-t* is not a suff), (*sül-* ‘to bake (intr)’ is the result of an analogy process) < **PUgr** **čittə-* (> PVog **šit-*),
381. H *száguld-* ‘to run at utmost speed, race’ (*-uld* is a complex H suff) < EAH **sāgə-* < **saɣăg-* < **śaɣə-gə* < **śaŋgə-* < **PUgr** **śaŋə-* / **śaŋkə-* (> POUgr **sūɣ-* > PVog **šūm-*, POsty **saɣəl-* ~ **sɻ̯ɣəl-* ~ **suɣəm-*),
382. H *szaj*, see *zaj*,
383. H *száj, szám, szád*, etc. ‘mouth, my mouth, your mouth’ < EAH **sā* < PUgr **śuwə* (> PVog **sū* in *sūnt*, *sūp*) < **PFUgr** **śuwe*,
384. H *szak* ‘*dial* a small piece’, *szakít-* ‘to tear (into peaces)’, *szakgat-*, *szaggat-* ‘freq of the former’ etc. < **PUgr** **śakkə* (> POUgr **sak* > POsty **sak*),
385. H *szál*(*fa*) ‘timber’, *szálka* ‘splinter’ < PUgr **śalkə* (> POUgr **sɻ̯ɣlɜ* > PVog **sɻ̯ɣlā* , POsty **saɣəl*) < **PFUgr** **śalkɜ*,
386. H *szalag* ‘ribbon, band’ (*-g* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **śalə* (> POUgr **śal* > POsty **saʌ*),
387. H *szalad-* ‘to run’ (*-ad* is a H suff) < EAH **sal-* < PUgr **śaδə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śaδa-* ~ **ćaδa-*,
388. H *száldok* ‘*dial* lime, linden-tree’, *száldob arch* id. (*-dok*, *-dob* are complex H suffs) < EAH **śalə* < **śal′ə* < PUgr **śal′ə* (> PVog **sal′t′*) > **PFUgr** **śal′ɜ*,
389. H *szalu* ‘plane’ < EAH **saləw* < **PUgr** **śalyə* (> POUgr **sV̄yəl* > PVog **sɻ̯ylā*, POsty **saɣəl*),
390. H *szar*(-) ‘(to) shit’ < PUgr **śarə* (> POUgr **śar* ~ **ćar* > POsty **ćar* (?)) < **PFUgr** **śarɜ*,
391. H *szár* (in *lábszár*, etc.) ‘stem, leg’ < **PUgr** **śorə* (> POUgr **sōr* > PVog **sŏr*, POsty **sor*),
392. H *szárad-* ‘to dry (intr)’ (*-ad* is a H suff, see *szárít-* ‘to dry (tr)’) < PUgr **śorə-* (> POUgr **sūr-* > PVog **šur-* / **šŭr-*, POsty **sar-*) < **PFUgr** **śarɜ-*,
393. H *szárny*, see *szár*,
394. H *szarv* ‘horn’, *szaru* ‘horny’, *szarvas* ‘deer’ < PUgr **śorwə* (> POUgr **śor* (?) > PVog **šorp*, POsty **śărp*) < **PFUgr** **śorwa*,
395. H *száz* ‘hundred’ < PUgr **śatə* (> POUgr **sɻ̯tɜ* > PVog **šɻ̯tɜ*, POsty **sat*) < **PFUgr** **śata* (← Ancient Ir **śata* < IE),
396. H *szédül-* ‘to feel faint’ (*-d* and *-ül* are H suffs) < EAH **sē-* < **seye-* < **PUgr** **śeyə-* (> POUgr **sēyəɣ-* > PVog **sə̆yɣ-*, POsty **seyeɣ-*),
397. H *szeg-* ‘to break (bread), cut, hem’ < PUgr **śäŋkə-* (> POUgr **śēŋk-* > PVog **sə̄ŋk-*, POsty **söŋk-*) < **PFUgr** **śäŋkɜ-* ~ **ćäŋkɜ-*,
398. H *szög, szög* ‘nail, pin’ < **PUgr** **śeŋkə* (> PVog **seŋk*),
399. H *szögy, szegy* ‘breast, chest (of animals)’, *szügy* id. < EAH **śejə* < **śiŋ̍jə* < PUgr **śińćə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śińćä ~ śićä*,
400. H *szél* ‘edge’ < **PUgr** **śelə* (> POUgr **sīl* > PVog **sīl*, POsty **sil*),

401. H *szel-* 'to slice' < PUgr **śälə-* (> POUgr **sīl-* / **sūl-* > PVog **šīl-*, POsty **sül-*) < **PFUgr** **śälä-*,
402. H *szëm* 'eye' < PUgr **śelmə* (> POUgr **sēm* > PVog **šăm*, POsty **sem*) < **PFUgr** **śilmä*,
403. H *szër* in *szërét ejteni* 'to manage do something, bring oneself to do something, mode' (in the literature more homophonous words have been mixed up) < PUgr **śerə* (> POUgr **sīr* 'Art und Weise' > PVog **sĭr*, POsty **sir*) < **PFUgr** **śerɜ*[1],
404. H *szil* 'elm', (originally back-vocalic, see *szilas*, *Szilágy*) < OH *zilu* < PUgr **śalə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śala*,
405. H *szirony* 'rime, hoar-frost, granular snow, etc.' (*-ony* is a H suff) < EAH **śirə* < **śarə* < PUgr **śarə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śarɜ*,
406. H *szív* 'heart' (*-v* is the continuation of *-m-*) < PUgr **śiδmə* (> POUgr **sĭm* > PVog **šĭm*, POsty **sĕm*) < **PFUgr** **śiδämä*,
407. H *szom* in *szomjú* 'thirsty' (*-jú* is going back to OH *jonh* 'inner part of the body) < PUgr **śomə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śomɜ*,
408. H *szomorú* 'sad' (*-ú* is a H suff) < PUgr **śomărə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śomɜ-rɜ*,
409. H *szorul-* 'to be squeezed', *szorít-* 'to compress' (*-ul* and *-ít* are H suffs) < PUgr **śorə-* (> POUgr **sor-* 'confined (place)' > PVog **sar-*, POsty **sărt*) < **PFUgr** **śorɜ-*,
410. H *sző-* 'to weave' < EAH **sevə-* < PUgr **śăŋə-* (> POUgr **sēγ-*, **sə̄γ-* > PVog **sə̆γ-*, POsty **söγ-*) < **PFUgr** **śäŋe-* (the /š/ in H *sövény* 'hedge' is the result of a secondary development, if the two words pertain together),
411. H *szőke* 'blond' (*-ke* is a H suff, see *szürke*) < EAH **sewĕ-ke* < **śeγe* < **PUgr** **śäŋə* (> POsty **säŋkɜ*),
412. H *szőr* 'bristle, hair' < EAH **sewrə* < **sewərə* < **PUgr** **śäγərə* ~ **sēγər* (?) (> PVog **säγər*, see Honti (1999: 128) and not **säγɜrɜ* or **säkrɜ* (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 886)) (the /š/ in *sörény* 'mane' is a H secondary development),
413. H *szú* 'wood worm' < PUgr **śuγə* (> POUgr **suγ* > PVog **sou*, POsty **saγ*) < **PFUgr** **śukɜ*,
414. H *szúr-* 'to prick, sting' < PUgr **śurwə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śurwa-*,
415. H *szurok* 'pitch, tar' (*-k* is a H suff) < PUgr **śurə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **śurɜ*,
416. H *szül* (14th c.) > *sün* 'hedgehog' < PUgr **śiyelĕ* (> PVog **suole* > Vog *suolə*) < **PFUgr** **śiyele*,
417. H *szürke* 'gray' (*-ke* is a H suff, in OH *szür* existed separately) < PUgr **śerĕ* (> PVog **śir*) < **PFUgr** **śerɜ*[2] ~ **ćerɜ*,
418. H *szűz* 'virgin' < PUgr **śüćə* (> PVog **śśś*) < **PFUgr** **süćɜ* (PUgr /ś/ under the influence of *-ć-*), but see **szűz** in the Lexicon,
419. H *táj* 'region, land' < EAH **tā* < **taγə* < **PUgr** **takə* (> POUgr **taγă* > POsty **taγ*) (the H /y/ is a H development resulting fr a remorphologisation *tā-ya* 'its region' > *tāy-a*, the weakness of the etymology is, that e.g. in case of *száj* we have *szám*, *szád*, *szánk*, etc. and the base *sā* can be detected, in case of *táj* there is no evidence of a former **tā*; perhaps *tág* 'wide', *tát-* 'to open wide', *tár-* 'to open' (*-r* is problematic) < **tā*),
420. H *tál* 'dish' < **PUgr** **tāl*(*ă*) (← Pe *tāl*) (> PVog **tul*),

421. H *talál-* ‘to find’, *kitalál-* ‘to find out’ (*-l* is a H suff) < EAH **tolə-* < PUgr **tolə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **tule-* (the semantic change PFUgr ‘to come’ > H ‘to find’ is the same as in H *jön-* ‘to come’ > H *rájön-* ‘to find out’),
422. H *táltos* ‘sorcerer, medicine-man’ (*-š* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **toltə* (> POUgr **tV̄lt* ‘leicht, Fieber’ > PVog **tūlt* ‘leicht’, POsty **tolt* / *tɔlt*) (‘Fieber, Hilfe’, in folklore texts of Reguly *toltn*, *tolten* ‘mit Zauberkraft’, see **táltos** in the Lexicon),
423. H *tanul-* ‘to learn’, *tanít-* ‘to teach’ < EAH **tanə-* < PUgr **tonə-* (not in POUgr) > **PFUgr** **tuna-*,
424. H *tarja* ‘spare rib’ (*-ja* is a H poss suff, 3rdP) < EAH **tarə* < PUgr **toryə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **turya* (for the base **tar*, see also *tarkó* ‘nape’, the word is only present in Finn and Est, the PFUgr *ry* > H *-r-* is problematic, this is the only case for PFUgr *-ry-*),
425. H *tap-* (*top-*, etc.) ‘to step’, *tapos-* ‘to tread on’ < EAH **tapə-* < PUgr **tapə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **tappa-* (of uncertain origin because of the onomatopoeic character),
426. H *tat* ‘stern, croosbeam’ < PUgr **toktə* (> POUgr **tŏkĕt* > PVog **tɔkĕt*, POsty **tŏɣĕt*) < **PFUgr** **tuktɜ*,
427. H *tat*(*hal*) ‘a kind of fish, *Tinca vulgaris*’ < PUgr **totkə* (> PVog **taɣət*) < **PFUgr** **totkɜ*,
428. H *tavasz* ‘spring’ (*-asz* is a H suff) < EAH **tavə* < PUgr **towkə* (> POUgr **tōw* > PVog **tūyā*, POsty **toɣ*) < **PFUgr** **towkɜ*,
429. H *të* ‘you (sg)’ < EAH **te* < PUgr **te* (not in POUgr, but see **tī* ‘that’) < **PFUgr** **tɜ*,
430. H *tegëz*, *tëgëz* ‘quiver’ < **PUgr** **täŋkət* (> POUgr **tű̄ɣət* > PVog **tă̄wət*, POsty **tüɣət*),
431. H *tekint-* ‘to look at, cast a look’ (*-int* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **täkkə-* (> POsty **tā̆ɣə-*),
432. H *tél* ‘winter’ < PUgr **tälə* (> POUgr **tăl* > PVog **tă̄l*, POsty **tĕləɣ*) < **PFUgr** **tälwä* ~ **tälä*,
433. H *tele*, *teli* ‘full’ (*-e* and *-i* are H suffs) < PUgr **tälkə* (> POUgr **tēɣəl* > PVog **tā̆ɣəl*, POsty **tel*) < **PFUgr** **tälkɜ*,
434. H *temet-* ‘to bury’, see *töm-*,
435. H *tér* ‘space’ < **PUgr** **tärə* (> POsty **tär* / **tir*),
436. H *tér-* ‘to have place, find place, go in’ < PUgr **terə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **terɜ-*,
437. H *tësz-*, *tëtt-* ‘to make, place’ < PUgr **teɣə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **teke-*,
438. H *tetem* ‘corpse, remains’ (*-m* is a H suff) < EAH **tätə* < PUgr **täktə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **täktä*,
439. H *tetű*, acc *tetvet* ‘louse’ < EAH **tätwə* < **tă̄twə* < PUgr **täyə-ktəm* (> POUgr **tēk*(*t*)*əmɜ* > PVog **tă̄kmɜ*, POsty **töɣtəm*) < **PFUgr** **täye*,
440. H *téved-* ‘to err, mistake’ (*-ed* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **tepə-* (> POUgr **tĭp-* > PVog **tĭp*, POsty **tĕp-*),
441. H *tidó* ‘*dial* birch bark’ < **PUgr** **tontəɣ* (> POUgr **tōnt* > PVog **tānt*, POsty **tontəɣ*),
442. H *titok* ‘secret’ (*-ok* is a H suff) < EAH **tit-* < **tiyt-* < **PUgr** **tayə-ttə* (← Ancient Ir **tāyā* ‘heimlich’) (> POUgr **tuytə-* > PVog **tuyt-*),
443. H *tó*, acc *tavat* ‘lake’ < PUgr **towə* (> POUgr **tŏɣ* > PVog **tɔw*, POsty **tŏɣ*) < **PFUgr** **towɜ*,
444. H *toll* ‘feather’ < PUgr **tulkə* (> POUgr **tuɣl* > **tŏɣĕl* > PVog **tɔwəl*, POsty **tŏɣəl*) < **PFUgr** **tulka*,

445. H *torok* 'throat' < OH *turuk* (*-k* is a H suff) < **PUgr** **turə* (> POUgr **tūr* > PVog **tŭr*, POsty **tur*),
446. H *tő*, acc *tövet* 'stem' < EAH **tüwe* < PUgr **tüŋĕ* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **tüŋe*,
447. H *több* 'more' < **tëpəb* (*-b* is a H comp suff, see *szép* 'beautiful' > *szebb* 'more beautiful') < EAH **tepə* < PUgr **teppə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **teppɜ*,
448. H *tőgy* 'udder' < EAH **töd′ə* < PUgr **tuδ′kə* (> POUgr **tõʌ′* > PVog **tăl′ək*, POsty **tŏy*, **tŏy*) < **PFUgr** **tuδ′ka*,
449. H *töm-* 'to stuff' (see *temet-* 'to bury') < EAH **tem-* < PUgr **temə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **temɜ-*,
450. H *tőr* 'dagger' < PUgr **terə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **terä*,
451. H *tud-* 'to know' < PUgr **tuntə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **tumte-*,
452. H *tűz-* 'to stitch', MH **tövik-* id., now obsolete (*-z* and *-ik* are H suffs, see also *tövis* 'thorn', *tű* 'needle') < EAH **tëwə-* < PUgr **teɣə-* (> POUgr **tēk-*, **tə̄k-* > PVog **tă̆ɣ-*, POsty **tök-*) < **PFUgr** **tekɜ-*,
453. H *tűz*, dial *tíz* 'fire' < EAH **täwzə* < **PUgr** **täɣtə* (> POUgr **tə̄ɣət* > PVog **tă̄wət*, POsty **tŏ̄ɣət*),
454. H *új* 'new' < PUgr **wuδ′ə* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **wuδ′e*,
455. H *ujj*[1] 'finger' (the length of the consonant is due to a secondary H development) < PUgr **suδ′ə* (> POUgr **θūʌ′(ɜ)* > PVog **tŭl′ā*, POsty **ʌuy*) < **PFUgr** **suδ′ɜ*,
456. H *ujj*[2] 'sleeve' < PUgr **suyə* (> POUgr **θi̯yət* > PVog **tī̯yət* ~ **tăyt*, POsty **ʌi̯t*) < **PFUgr** **soya*,
457. H *úszik-* 'to swim' (*-sz* and *-ik* are H suffs) < EAH **ū-* < PUgr **uyə-* (> POUgr **wūy-* > PVog **(w)ŭy-*, POsty **uy-*) < **PFUgr** **uye-*,
458. H *út* 'road' < OH *utŭ* < EAH **uwtə* < **uɣtə* < PUgr **uktə* < **utkə* (> POUgr **i̯ktɜ* > PVog **i̯kət*, POsty **ɔɣət*) < **PFUgr** **utka*,
459. H *utál-* 'to detest' (*-l* is a H suff) < EAH **oṷtə* < **awtə-* < **PUgr** **aktə-* (> POUgr **i̯ɣtɛ-*, **i̯ɣət-* > PVog **i̯yət-*, **ăyt-*, POsty **aɣət-*),
460. H *ük* 'great-great grandfather/mother' < OH *ik* < **PUgr** **ikkə* (> POUgr **V̆kɜ* > PVog **ăkī*, POsty **iki*),
461. H *üsző* 'helfer' < OH *isző* < EAH **iseɣ* < **PUgr** **iśə* (> POsty **ā̆s*),
462. H *űz-* 'to drive, chase, pursue', *üzekedik-* 'to be in heat' < EAH **üδə-* < **PUgr** **ütə-* (> POUgr **ū̆t-* > PVog **ĭtɣəl-*, POsty **ät-* ~ **itəp-*),
463. H *vad* 'wild' < PUgr **wantə* (> POUgr **wV̄nt* > PVog **wā̆nt*, POsty **wänt*) < **PFUgr** **wamta*,
464. H *vág-* 'to cut' < **PUgr** **waŋkə-* (> POUgr **wāŋk-* > PVog **wāŋk-*, POsty **waŋk-*),
465. H *vaj* 'butter' < PUgr **woyə* (> POUgr **wōy* > PVog **wāy*, POsty **woy*) < **PFUgr** **woye*, see T *may* id.,
466. H *válik-* 'to separate, divorce' (*-ik* is a H suff) < PUgr **walkə-* (> POUgr **wi̯ɣəl-* 'hinabsteigen, hinablassen' > PVog **wĭɣəl-* / **wāyl-*, POsty *wī̯ɣəl-* (semantic problems)) < **PFUgr** **walka-*,
467. H *váll* 'shoulder' < PUgr **wolkə* (not in POUgr, ? VogSo, VogKU, VogP *wāɣlap* 'Schulterriemen, etc.') < **PFUgr** **wolka*,

468. H *van-* 'to be', *volt* 'he / she / it was' < PUgr **wolə-* (POUgr **wōl-* > PVog **āl-*, POsty **wol-*) < **PFUgr** **wole-*,
469. H *-van* in *negyven* 'forty', *ötven* 'fifty', *hatvan* 'sixty', *hetven* 'seventy, *nyolcvan* 'eighty', *kilencven* 'ninety', 'the unit ten' < EAH **wanə* < PUgr **monə* (> PVog **-man*) < **PFUgr** **mone*,
470. H *vár-* 'to wait' < **PUgr** **warə-* (> PVog **wār-*),
471. H *varjú*, acc *varjat* 'crow' (*-jú* is a H suff) < PUgr **warə* (> POUgr **wūr* > PVog **ūrɜn*, POsty **wurŋay*) < **PFUgr** **warɜ*,
472. H *varr-* 'to sew' < PUgr **workă-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **workɜ-*,
473. H *vas* 'iron' (originally a kind of metal) < PUgr **waśkĕ* (> POUgr **vokś* > **voks* > POsty **vŏχ*, PVog **wəs*) < **PFUgr** **waśke*,
474. H *vásik-* 'to wear away, wear off, make blunt' (*-ik* is a H suff) < PUgr **wačə-* (> POUgr **wōč-* > PVog **ăšə-*, POsty **woč-*) < **PFUgr** **wačɜ-*,
475. H *véd-* 'to defend' < PUgr **wäntə-* (> POsty **wänt-*) < **PFUgr** **wäntɜ-*,
476. H *vékony* 'thin' (*-ony* is a H suff) < PUgr **wekkĕ* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **wekkɜ*,
477. H *velő* 'marrow' < EAH **welewə* < PUgr **weδĕmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wāləm*, POsty **weləm*) < **PFUgr** **wiδɜmɜ*,
478. H *vér* 'blood' < PUgr **werə* (> POUgr **wĭr* > PVog **wĭɣər*, POst **wĕr*) < **PFUgr** **were*,
479. H *vés-* 'to engrave' < EAH **wäɣćə-* < PUgr **wäŋćə-* (> POsty **wäŋć-* > **weńć* > **wäńt´-*) < **PFUgr** **wäŋćɜ-*,
480. H *vese* 'kidney' < **PUgr** **wäćĕ* (POUgr is semantically problematic, see Vog *väśi* 'penis'),
481. H *vész-* 'to take away, buy' (*-s* is a H suff), see *vett-* 'he bought', *vevő* 'buying, the buyer' < EAH **vewə-* < PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə-* (> POUgr **wĭy-* / **wĭɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) < **PFUgr** **wiɣe-* (see *visz-*),
482. H *vessző* 'twig' (the final /ō/ and the front-vocalism are secondary H developments) < EAH **vasə* < PUgr **waćə* (> POUgr **wasə* > PVog **wošə*, POsty **wăs*) < **PFUgr** **waćɜ*,
483. H *vezet-* 'to lead' (*-t* is a H suff) < PUgr **wetə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **wetä-*,
484. H *vigyáz-* 'to take care' (*-z* is a H suff) < EAH **viǰə-* < PUgr **wičə* < **PFUgr** **wića-* (phonologically unclear because of the H /d´/),
485. H *világ* 'world', *világos* 'bright' < EAH **wilə* < **walə* < PUgr **wal´ə* (> POUgr **wal´əɣ* > PVog **wal´əɣ*, POsty **wal´əɣ* / **wŏl´əɣ*) < **PFUgr** **wal´e*,
486. H *visz-* 'to take, carry (away)' (*-s* is a H suff see *vitt* (past tense 3rdP), *vivő* (participle)) < PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə* (> POUgr **weɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) < **PFUgr** **wiɣe-* (see *vész-*),
487. H *ví-*, *vív-* 'to fight' < EAH **wayə-* < **woyə-* < PUgr **woyə-* (not in POUgr) < **PFUgr** **woye-*,
488. H *víz* 'water' < PUgr **wetĕ* (> PVog **wit, wüt´*) < **PFUgr** **wete*,
489. H *vő* 'son-in-law', see *veje* 3rdP poss < EAH **wewə-* ~ *weyə-* < PUgr **wäŋə* (> POsty **wäŋ*) < **PFUgr** **wäŋɜ*,
490. H *vöcsök*, dial *vecsek* 'grebe (a kind of water bird)' < PUgr **wäyćə* (> POUgr **wäs* > PVog **wãsɜ*, POsty **wäsəɣ*) < **PFUgr** **wayće*,

491. H *völgy* ‘valley’ (/l/ is secondary in H) < EAH *võd′* < PUgr **woδ′kə* (> PVog **wōl*) < **PFUgr** **waδ′kɜ*,
492. H *zaj*[1], *szaj* in *zajlik-* ‘to break up of ice’ (final *-y-* is secondary) < EAH **sayə* < PUgr **śakə* (> POUgr **say* > PVog **sai*, POsty **toγ*) < **PFUgr** **śaka* ~ **ćaka*,
493. H *zaj*[2] ‘noise’ < EAH **sayə* < PUgr **śoyə* (> POUgr **sŭy* > PVog **sŭy*, POsty **sŏy*) < PFUgr **śoye*(-),
494. H *zug* ‘corner, nook’ < OH *sug* < **PUgr** **śuŋkə* (> POsty **sŏŋ*).

8.6 List of Proto-Finno-Ugric and Proto-Ugric words in Hungarian

This list contains 344 Hungarian words the origin of which can be traced back to the Finno-Ugric protolanguage, or in some cases to the Uralic protolanguage, but the latter is not marked. I included further 121 etymologies which, at my present knowledge, I can trace back only to the Ugric protolanguage. These 465 etymologies do not exhaust the Finno-Ugric stock of the Hungarian lexicon, but may be of help for the reconstruction of the changes of the early period of Hungarian. See § 5.3 (pp. 1013–1014) on the details.

1. **PFUgr** **alʒ-* > PUgr **alə-* (> POUgr **āl-* 'to curse' (!) > POsty **āl-*) > EAH **alə-* > OH *aldut* > H *áld-* 'to bless' (*-d* is a H suff),
2. **PFUgr** **ala* > PUgr **alə* (> Vog *yalka*, Osty *i̯l*) > EAH **alə* > H *al* 'the lower part',
3. **PFUgr** **amta-* > PUgr **antə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **andə-* > **adə-* > H *ad-* 'to give',
4. **PFUgr** **ańa* > PUgr **ańə* (> POUgr **ań* > PVog **āńəɣ*, POsty **ăńəkĭ*) > EAH **ańńə* > H *ángy* 'sister of the older brother, sister of the husband' (**ań* > **annya* > **angya* > *ángy*),
5. **PFUgr** **aŋa-* > PUgr **aŋə-* (> POUgr **ūŋk-* / **ī̯ŋk-* > PVog **ī̯ŋ*$_{o}$*k*$_{o}$*-*, POsty **i̯ŋk-* ~ **aŋk-*) > EAH **aɣə-* > **awə-* > **ō* > OH *ovd-* > *ōd-* > H *old-* 'to untie, dissolve' (*-d* is a H suff, *-l-* is a H compensative consonant in place of the length of the vowel),
6. **PFUgr** **aŋa-t* > PUgr **aŋtə-* (> POUgr **ūŋkət-* > PVog **īk*$_{o}$*t-*, POsty **aŋət-*) > EAH **aɣtə-* > H *ajt-* 'to open' in *ajtó* 'door',
7. **PFUgr** **aŋe* > PUgr **aŋə* (> POsty **oŋ*) > EAH **aɣə* > H *aj*, *áj* '*arch* opening' (*-y-* is secondary) (> *ajak* 'lip'),
8. **PFUgr** **appe* > PUgr **uppə* / **i̯ppə* (> POUgr **up* > Vog *up*, Osty *up*) > EAH **ipə* > H *ipa* 'father-in-law' (*-a* is a H petrified poss suff),
9. **PFUgr** **arwa* > PUgr **arwə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **arwə* > **arə* > H *ár*[3] 'price',
10. **PFUgr** **aδ́ʒ-* > PUgr **aδ́ə-* (> PVog **aĺāt*) > EAH **ad́ə* > H *ágy* 'bed',
11. **PFUgr** **äne* > PUgr **änə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **änə* > H *ének* 'song' (*-k* is a H suff),
12. **PFUgr** **äŋʒ-* > PUgr **äŋkə-* (> POsty *yäŋlĕl-*) > EAH **äŋkə* > **ägə-* > H *ég-* 'to burn',
13. **PFUgr** **äppörö-kö* > PUgr **äppärĕ-kə* (> PVog **āpere-ɣ-*) > EAH **eperɣə* > **eperyə* > H *eper* 'strawberry' (the *-y-* was lost, but see *eperjes* 'place with strawberries' and *epres* id.),
14. **PFUgr** **čappʒ-* > PUgr **čappə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **šapə-* > H *sápad-* 'to turn pale' (*-d* is a H suff),
15. **PFUgr** **čawʒ* > PUgr **čawə* (> POUgr ? **čaw* > PVog **šaɣ*, POsty **čuw*) > EAH **šawə* > H *savanyú* 'sour' (*-ny* and *-ú* are H suffs),
16. **PFUgr** **čiyʒ-* > PUgr **čiyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **šiyə-* > H *siet-* 'to hurry, hasten' (*-t* is a H suff),
17. **PFUgr** **čokka* > PUgr **čokkə* (> PVog **šaw*) > EAH **šokə* > H *sok* 'many, much' (see H **sok** in the Lexicon),
18. **PFUgr** **čupa* > PUgr **čopə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **šowə* > H *sovány* 'lean, thin' (*-ány* is a H suff),

19. **PFUgr** **ćslkɜ-* > PUgr **ćulkə-* (> POUgr **ćy̆l-* > PVog **ćy̆l-*, POsty **ćăl-*) > EAH **čil-* > **čillə-* > H *csillog-* ‘to glitter’, *csillag* ‘star’ (an onomatopoeic word),
20. **PFUgr** **ćënɜ-* > PUgr **ćünə-* (> POsty **ćin-*) > EAH **čünə-* > H *csün-* ‘to remain small, stop growing (dial)’,
21. **PFUgr** **ćappa-* > PUgr **ćappə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **čapə-* > H *csap-* ‘to strike, throw’ (an onomatopoeic word),
22. **PFUgr** **ćiŋkä* > PUgr **ćiŋkə* (> POUgr **ćŭŋk* > PVog **sŭŋk*, POsty **ćŏŋk*) > EAH **šeŋgə* > H -seg ‘small hill’,
23. **PFUgr** **ćolme* > PUgr **ćolmə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **čolmə* > H *csomó* ‘knot’ (*-ó* is a H suff),
24. **PFUgr** **ćorɜ-* > PUgr **ćorə-* (> POUgr **ćV̄rəγ-* > PVog **ćŭrγ-*, POsty **ćorəγ-*) > EAH **čorə-* > H *csor-* / *csur-* in *csorog-*, *csurog-* ‘to run, trickle’, *csurran-* ‘to spill’, *csurom* ‘dripping wet’, etc. (*-og*, *-an*, *-om* are H suffs),
25. **PFUgr** **ćuppɜ* > PUgr **ćuppə* (not in POUgr, only in Zyr) > EAH **čupə* > H *csupor* ‘mug, pot’ (*-r* is a H suff),
26. **PFUgr** **ećɜ* > PUgr **ećə* (> POUgr **ić* > PVog **ić(ɜ)*, POsty **ić*) > EAH **ečə* > H *öcs* (~ *ecs*) ‘younger brother’, most probable through EAH **ečče* >> H *öccse* ‘younger brother’,
27. **PFUgr** **ećɜ-* > PUgr **ećə-* (> POUgr **is-* ~ **es-* > PVog **ĭs-*, POsty **esəl-*) > EAH **ečə-* > **ešə* > H *esik-* ‘to fall’ (*-ik* is a H suff, cf. *eső* ‘rain, falling’),
28. **PFUgr** **elä-* > PUgr **elə-* (> POUgr **yă̆l-* > PVog **yă̆lt-*, POsty **yĕlpäγlĕ-*) > EAH **elə* > H *él-* ‘to live’,
29. **PFUgr** **emä* > PUgr **emə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə* > H *eme* ‘sow’, also *emse* (*-e*, *-se* are H suffs),
30. **PFUgr** **eδe* > PUgr **eδə* (> POUgr **yīl* > PVog **yīl*, POsty **yil*) > EAH **elə* > H *elő* ‘forwards’, *első* ‘first’ (*-ő*, *-ső* are H suffs),
31. **PFUgr** **ićä* > PUgr **ićə* (> POUgr **ā̆ć* > PVog **ā̆ć(ɜ)*, POsty **äći*) > EAH **ičə* > **išə* > OH *īs* > H *ős* ‘ancestor’,
32. **PFUgr** **ike*, *üke* > PUgr **iγə*, *üγə* (> POUgr **üγə*, **iγə* > PVog **ŭk*, POsty **ĕy*) > EAH **iγə* > **ed′ə* > H *egy* ‘one’ (Honti 1993: 75),
33. **PFUgr** **ike-ńe* > PUgr **iγəńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **iγəńə* > **ińə* > H *íny* ‘gum’,
34. **PFUgr** **ime-* > PUgr **imə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **emə-* > H *emik-* ‘to suck’ (*-ik* is a H suff, see *emlő* ‘mamma, teats’),
35. **PFUgr** **ipse* > PUgr **epsə* (> POUgr **ēpəθ* > PVog **ă̆t*, POsty **epəʌ*) > EAH **eφsə* > **isə* > **izə* (fr the same base *édes* ‘sweet’ ~ *ízes* ‘tasty’, MH *ézes*, see T *tat-* ‘to taste’ > T *tatlïg* ‘sweet’) > H *íz* ‘taste’),
36. **PFUgr** **iśe* (~ **iće*) > PUgr **ićə* ~ **iśə* (> POUgr **īs* > PVog **ĭs*, POsty **is*) > EAH **isə* > H *isz*, *iz* ‘cancer, malignous illness’ (the /s/ is the original, cf. *iszony* ‘terror, dread, repulsion’),
37. **PFUgr** **kaća* > PUgr **kaćə* (> PVog **kuś*) > EAH **χočə* > **χöšə* > H *hős* ‘hero, young unmarried man’,
38. **PFUgr** **kal′wɜ* > PUgr **kal′wə* > **kal′əw* (> POUgr **kăl′ĕp* > PVog **kăl′ĕp*, POsty **kăl′i̯-*) > EAH **χal′əw* > H *hályog* ‘cataract’ (*-g* is a H suff),

39. **PFUgr** **kalɜ-* > PUgr **kalə-* (> POUgr ? **kūl-* > PVog **kūl-*, POsty **kal-*) > EAH **χalə-* > H *hál-* 'to pass the night, sleep',
40. **PFUgr** **kalɜ* > PUgr **kalăpə* (> POUgr **kūlăp* > PVog **kūləp*, POsty **kaləp*) > EAH **halăw* > H *háló* 'net',
41. **PFUgr** **kala* > PUgr **kalə* (> POUgr **kūl* > PVog **kūl*, POsty **kūl*) > EAH **χalə* > H *hal* 'fish',
42. **PFUgr** **kama* > PUgr **kamə* (> PVog **kam* only as second part of compositions and alternating with *-ŋk-*) > EAH **χāmə* > H *hámlik-* 'to peel' (*-l* and *-ik* are H dev suffs), *hámoz-* 'to peel (tr)' (*-z* is a H den suff), (H *hám* 'scarfskin, epithelium' is a late neologism),
43. **PFUgr** **kanɜ-* > PUgr **kanə-* (> POUgr **kūn-* / **kį̄n-* > PVog **kūn-*, POsty **kį̄ṇ-* ~ **kaṇ-*) > EAH **χanə-* > **χańə-* > H *hány-* 'to throw, vomit',
44. **PFUgr** **kaŋkɜ-* > PUgr **kaŋkə-* (> POUgr **kī̯ŋk-* > PVog **kī̯ŋk*, POsty **kaŋk-* / **kɔŋk-*) > EAH **χaŋgə-* > **χagə* > H *hág-* 'to step up',
45. **PFUgr** **kattɜ-* > PUgr **kattə-* (> POsty **kat-*) > EAH **χatə-* > H *hat-* 'to have an effect on, impress',
46. **PFUgr** **kaya-* > PUgr **kayə-*[1] (not in POUgr) > EAH **χayə-* > H *hajít-* 'to throw (away)' (*-ít* is a H suff),
47. **PFUgr** **kaδ′a-* > PUgr **kaδ′ə-* (> POUgr **kūδ′* ~ **kį̄δ′* > PVog **kūl* ~ **kŭl′t*, POsty **kī̯y*) > EAH **χad′ə-* > H *hagy-* 'to leave (something somewhere)',
48. **PFUgr** **kaδ′wa* > PUgr **kaδ′ə* (> POUgr **kēδ* > PVog **kā̆l*, POsty **köyəγ*) > EAH **χawəd′ə* > **χŏ̄d′ə* > H *hölgy* 'lady, woman' (the *-l-* is secondary in H),
49. **PFUgr** **käktä* > PUgr **käktə* (> POUgr **kīt(ĕ)* > PVog **kĭtɜ*, POsty **kit* ~ **kät*) > EAH **ketə*, **kettə* > H *két*, *kettő* 'two',
50. **PFUgr** **kälä-* > PUgr **kälə-* (> POUgr *kū̆l* > PVog **k$_o$ā̆l-*, POsty **kül-*) > EAH **kälə-* > H *kel-* 'to rise',
51. **PFUgr** **kämä* > PUgr **kämə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kämə* > H *kemény* 'hard, stiff' (*-ény* is a H suff),
52. **PFUgr** **käte* > PUgr **ketə* (> POUgr **kēt(ɜ)* > PVog **kā̆tɜ*, POsty **kit* ~ **kät*) > EAH **keδə* > H *kéz* 'hand',
53. **PFUgr** **ke*, **ki* > PUgr **ki* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ki* > H *ki* 'somebody, who', *valaki* 'somebody', *senki* 'nobody',
54. **PFUgr** **kečɜ* > PUgr **kečə* (> POUgr **kēčĕγ* > PVog **kā̆škā̆y*, POsty **köčĕγ*) > EAH **kečə* > **kešə* > H *kés* 'knife',
55. **PFUgr** **kećä* > PUgr **kećə* (> POsty **kŏ̄s*) > EAH **kečə* > H *kecs* in *isten kecskéje* 'rainbow', *kegy-* in *kegyelet* id.,
56. **PFUgr** **kećä* > PUgr **kećə* (> POUgr **kV̄̆səγ* > PVog **kā̆səγ*, POsty **kŏ̄sĕγ*) > EAH **keśəg* > H *keszeg* 'bream' (→ Os *kæsag* 'ryba', no convincing Ir etymology), cf. Harmatta (1997: 79).
57. **PFUgr** **kelke-* > PUgr **kelkə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kellə-* > H *këll-* 'must, to be necessary',

58. **PFUgr** **kepä* > PUgr **kepə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kewə* > H *kevés* 'few, little' (*-és* is a H suff),
59. **PFUgr** **kerä-* > PUgr **kerə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kerə* > H *kér-* 'to ask for',
60. **PFUgr** **kere* > PUgr **kerə* (not in POUgr, but see **kīr-* 'umgehen') > EAH **kerə* > H *köré* 'around', *körül* 'around' (*-é* and *-ül* are H loc suffs), *kerek* 'round',
61. **PFUgr** **kere* > PUgr **kerə* (> POUgr **kīrə* > PVog **kīr*, POsty **kir* ~ **kär*) > EAH **kerə* > H *kéreg* 'bark' (*-g* is a H suff),
62. **PFUgr** **keśɜ-* > PUgr **keśə-* (> POsty **kŏs-*) > EAH **kesə* > H *köszvény*, dial *këszvény*, 'gout' (*-vény* is a H suff),
63. **PFUgr** **keye-* > PUgr **keyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **köw-* > H *köved-* 'to become cooked, boiled', *köveszt-* 'to boil',
64. **PFUgr** **kintɜ* > PUgr **kintə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kində* > **kidə* > H *köd* 'fog',
65. **PFUgr** **kiśkɜ* > PUgr **kiskə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kisə* > H *kisz*, *küsz* 'a small fish, blake, ablen (*Alburnus alburnus*)',
66. **PFUgr** **kiwe* > PUgr **kiwə* (> POUgr **kə̄γ* (?) > PVog **kə̄w*, POsty **köγ*) > EAH **kewə* > H *kő*, acc *követ* 'stone', dial *keve*,
67. **PFUgr** **kiye* ~ **küye* > PUgr **kiyə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **kiyə* > H *kígyó*, arch *kíjó* 'snake' (*-ó* is a H suff),
68. **PFUgr** **koćɜ* > PUgr **koćə* (> PVog **košə*) > EAH **χosə* > H *hosszú* 'long' (the gemination /ss/ is secondary),
69. **PFUgr** **koćkɜ* > PUgr **koćkə* (the POsty word **kiṇt´* 'Saftschicht (der Kiefer, Birke) likely does not belong here) > EAH **χočə* > **χaš* > H *hás*, *hárs* 'lime tree, earlier and dial: bark' (the H *-r-* is a late inorganic intrusion),
70. **PFUgr** **koćma* > PUgr **koćmə* (> PVog **kośĕm*) > EAH **hajmə* > H *hagyma* 'onion' (*-a* is a H suff),
71. **PFUgr** **kolɜ* > PUgr **kolə* (> POUgr **kāl* / **kōl* > PVog **kăl*, POsty **kol* / **kɔl*) > EAH **χalə* > H *halok* '*arch* triangular cutout (in wood), shavings (of wood)' (*-k* is a H suff),
72. **PFUgr** **kola-* > PUgr **kolə-* (> POUgr **kōl-* > PVog **kāl-*, POsty **kăla-* ~ **kol-*) > EAH **χolə-* > H *hal-* 'to die',
73. **PFUgr** **kolme* > PUgr **kormə* ~ **kolmə* (> POUgr **kūrmə* ~ **kulmə* > PVog **kūrəm*, POsty **kɔləm*) > EAH **χorəm* > H *három* 'three', acc *hármat*, *harminc* 'thirty',
74. **PFUgr** **konɜ* > PUgr **konə* (> POUgr **kV̄n* > PVog **kăn-ĕl*, POsty **kun-ĕŋ*) > EAH **χonə* > H *hón* 'armpit',
75. **PFUgr** **konɜ* > PUgr **konə* (> POUgr **kV̄n(č)ɜγ* > PVog **kānəγ*, POsty **koṇčaγ*) > EAH **χonə-* > **χańə* > H *hanyatt* 'on one's back' (*-att* is a complex H suff),
76. **PFUgr** **korɜ-* > PUgr **korə-* (> PVog **kar-* > VogKM **karśəl-*) > EAH **χorə-* > H *horol-* '*arch* to scratch, scrape' (*-l* is a H suff),
77. **PFUgr** **kore* > PUgr **korə* (> POUgr **kōr* > PVog **kŏr*, POsty **korəm-*) > EAH **χorə* > H *harag* 'anger' (*-g* is a H suff),
78. **PFUgr** **korpe-* > PUgr **korpə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χurwə* > **χirwə-* > H *hërvad-*, dial *hirvad-* 'to fade, whither' (*-d* is a H suff),
79. **PFUgr** **kota* > PUgr **katə* (> POsty **kat*) > EAH **χaδə* > H *ház* 'house',

80. **PFUgr** **koya* > PUgr **koyə* (> POsty **koy*) > EAH **χoyə* > **χayə* > **χeyə* > H *héj* 'skin, peel, husk', see *héja* 'its peel',
81. **PFUgr** **koye* > PUgr *koyə* (> POUgr **koy* > PVog *koy*, POsty **koyn* > **kuń-t′əl′*) > EAH **χoyə* > H *hajnal* 'dawn' (the composite H suff is of unclear origin),
82. **PFUgr** **koye-mɜ* > PUgr **koyəmə* > **koymə* (> PVog **kom*) > EAH **χoymə* > **hïmə* > H *hím* 'male',
83. **PFUgr** **koye-rɜ* > PUgr **koyărə* (> POUgr **kə̄rɜ* > PVog **kə̄r*, POsty **kar*) > EAH **χoyrə* > **χayrə* > **χērə* > H *here*, dial *hőrő*, *hörö* 'testicle' (the final *-e* is a petrified poss suff),
84. **PFUgr** **kulɜ* > PUgr **kulə-k* (> POUgr **kūlkɜ* > PVog **kŭlāk*, POsty **kɔlək*) > EAH **χuləγə* > OH *hollo* > H *holló* 'raven' (the gemination is a H development),
85. **PFUgr** **kulɜ-*[1] > PUgr **kulə-* (> POUgr **kŏlā-* > PVog **kɔ̄l-a-*, POsty **kŏla-*) > EAH **χulə-* > H *hull-* 'to fall (off)' (the long *-ll-* is a H secondary development),
86. **PFUgr** **kulɜ-*[2] > PUgr **kulə-* (> POUgr **kūl-* > PVog **kūl-*, POsty **kɔl-*) > EAH **χolə-* > H *hall-*[2] 'to hear', perhaps in contamination with PUgr **kuntələ-*,
87. **PFUgr** **kulkɜ-* > PUgr **kolkə-* (> POsty **koγăl*) > EAH **χolə-* > H *halad-* 'to go ahead, progress' (*-ad* is a H suff),
88. **PFUgr** **kuma*[1] > PUgr **komə* (> POUgr **kōm(t)ɜγ* > PVog **kɔměγ*, POsty **komtaγ*) > EAH **χomə* > H *homlok* 'forehead' (*-l-ok* are suffs, see *homorú* 'concave', *homorít-* 'to make concave',
89. **PFUgr** **kuma*[2] > PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χavə* > LAH **χou̯* > H *hó*, acc *havat* 'snow',
90. **PFUgr** **kuma*[3] > PUgr **komə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χomə* > H *homály* 'obscurity, fog' (*-ály* is a H suff),
91. **PFUgr** **kumpa* > PUgr **kumpə* (> POUgr **kŭmp* > PVog **kŭmp*, POsty **kump*) > EAH **χombə* > **χobə* > H *hab* 'foam, wave',
92. **PFUgr** **kuńa-* > PUgr **kuńə-* (> POUgr **kŏń-* > PVog **kɔń-*, POsty **kŏń-*) > EAH **χuńə-* > H *huny-* 'to close the eyes',
93. **PFUgr** **kuńća* > PUgr **końćə* (the POUgr equivalents are dubious) > EAH **χanǰə* > H *hangya* 'ant' (*-a* is a H suff),
94. **PFUgr** **kuńćɜ*[1] > PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kŭńć* > PVog **kŭńć-*, POsty **kŏs-*) > EAH **χunǰə* > **χuǰə* > H *húgy*[1] 'urine',
95. **PFUgr** **kuńćɜ*[2] > PUgr **kuńćə* (> POUgr **kūńćɜ* > PVog **kūńćɜ*, POsty **kɔs*) > EAH **χunǰə* > **χuǰə* > H *húgy*[2] *arch* 'star' ('urine' and 'star' became homophonous and *húgy* 'star' disappeared, instead *csillag* emerged as the word for 'star' (see above), but *húgy* 'star' is present in the dials and GNs),
96. **PFUgr** **kunta* > PUgr **kontə* (> POUgr **kont* > PVog **kānt*, ? Osty *χanti*) > EAH **χandə*> **χadə* > OH *hadu* > H *had* 'army, *arch* clan',
97. **PFUgr** **kuŋe* > PUgr **koŋə* (> POsty **χăw*, **χŭw*) > EAH **χō* ~ **χaw* > H *hó* 'month', *hava* 'its month', *hold* 'Moon',
98. **PFUgr** **kupla* > PUgr **kuplə* (> POUgr **kăl′əp* > PVog **kăl′əp*, POsty **kal′əp*) > EAH **χowlə* > H *hólyag* 'bladder, blister' (*-g* is a H suff),

99. **PFUgr** **kurɜ* > PUgr **korə* (> POsty **kor*) > EAH **χorăɣə* > H *horhó* ‘track through the gully’,
100. **PFUgr** **kurńa* > PUgr **korńə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χorońə* > H *horony* ‘groove, notch’,
101. **PFUgr** **kuśɜ* > PUgr **kuśə* (> POUgr **kūsɜ* > PVog **kŭs*, POsty **kɔs*) > EAH **χusə* > H *húsz* ‘twenty’,
102. **PFUgr** **kuttɜ* > PUgr **kuttə* (> POUgr **kūt* > PVog **kūtɜɣ*, POsty **kutəl*) > EAH **χotə* > H *hát* ‘back’,
103. **PFUgr** **kutte* > PUgr **kottə* (> POUgr **kV̄t* > PVog **kāt*, POsty **kut*) > EAH **χotə* > H *hat* ‘six’,
104. **PFUgr** **kuye* > PUgr **koyə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **χayə* > H *háj* ‘fat’,
105. **PFUgr** **kuδ´mɜ* > PUgr **kuδ´mə* (> POUgr **kūδ´mɜ* > PVog **kul´mɜ*, POsty **kayəm*) > EAH **χomə*, **χomwə* > OH *homoų* > H *hamu*, acc *hamvat* ‘ash’, *hamvaz-* ‘to sprinkle with ashes’ (the *-u* / *-v* may be a H suff, or a remnant of the /mv/),
106. **PFUgr** **kuδɜ* > PUgr **koδə* (> POUgr **kŏl* > PVog **kŏl*, POsty **kŏltəŋ*) > EAH **χol* > H *hol-* in *holnap* ‘to-morrow’,
107. **PFUgr** **künä*[1] > PUgr **künə* (> POUgr **kŭ̈n* > PVog **k$_{o}$änɣĕl*, POsty **köṇŋey*, POUgr is depalatalized) > EAH **künə* > H *könyök* ‘elbow’ (*-k* is a H dim suff),
108. **PFUgr** **künä*[2] > PUgr **künə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **künə* > OH *kun*, *kewn* > H *könny* ‘tear’ (the length of the second consonant is a H development),
109. **PFUgr** **kütɜ* > PUgr **kütə* (> POUgr **kŏt* > PVog **kŏt´əl´*, POsty **kŏt*) > EAH **küδə* > OH *küzü* > H *köz* ‘interval, space between’,
110. **PFUgr** **kütke-* > PUgr **kütkə-* (> PVog **köt-*) > EAH **küttə-* > OH *ket-* > H *köt-*, dial *ket-* ‘to bind’,
111. **PFUgr** **küye-* > PUgr **küyə-* (> POUgr **köy-* > PVog **köy-*, POsty **köy-*) > EAH **köwə-* > H *követ-* ‘to follow’ (*-t* is a H suff),
112. **PFUgr** **lëppɜ* > PUgr **läppə* (> POUgr **lā̈ppə* > PVog **lāpəχ*, POsty **läpente*) > EAH **läpə* > H *lepke* ‘butterfly’ (*-ke* is a H suff),
113. **PFUgr** **lĕńćɜ* > PUgr **läńćə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lenĭə* > **leĭə* > H *légy* ‘fly’,
114. **PFUgr** **lɛppɜ* > PUgr **loppə* (> PVog **lūp*) > EAH **lopə* > H *láp* ‘marsh’,
115. **PFUgr** **lakka* > PUgr **lakkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lakə*(-) > H *lak*(-) ‘home, to have one’s home’,
116. **PFUgr** **lappɜ* > PUgr **lappə* (> POUgr **lap* > PVog **lop*, POsty **lap-*) > EAH **lapə* > H *lapos* ‘flat’ (*-os* is a H suff, H *lap* ‘page’ is a neologism),
117. **PFUgr** **läppɜ* > PUgr **läppə* (> PVog **lēp-*, ? POsty **läpətne*) > EAH **läpə* > H *lép* ‘spleen’,
118. **PFUgr** **läppɜ-* > PUgr **läppə-* (> POUgr **lēp-* > PVog **lēp-*, POsty **tep-*) > EAH **läpə* > H *lep-* ‘to cover’, cf. *lepel* ‘veil’, *meglep-* ‘to surprize’, etc.,
119. **PFUgr** **le-* > PUgr **le-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **le-* > H *lë-* ‘to be, exist’ (in *lenni* (infinitive), see *lesz* ‘will be’, *levő* ‘existing’, etc.),
120. **PFUgr** **leme* > PUgr **lämə* (> PVog **lā̈m*) > EAH **läwə* > H *lé*, *lev-* ‘juice’, see *leves* ‘soup’,

121. **PFUgr** **lempe-* > PUgr **lempə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lebə-* > H *lebëg-* 'to float' (*-g* is a H suff),
122. **PFUgr** **lewe-* > PUgr **lewə-* (> PVog **läγ-*) > EAH **lewə-* > OH *lev-* > H *lő-* 'to shoot', see *lövök* (2p.sg),
123. **PFUgr** **lewlɜ* > PUgr **lelə* (> POUgr **līl* > PVog **lil*, **lāl*, POsty **lil*, **läl*) > EAH **lelə* > H *lélek* 'soul' (*-k* is a H suff, originally 'breath', see *lélekzet* 'breath'),
124. **PFUgr** **lońća* > PUgr **lońćə* (> POUgr **lōńć* > PVog **lańć*, POsty **lons*) > EAH **lonǰə* > **loǰə* > H *lágy* 'soft',
125. **PFUgr** **loŋe-* > PUgr **loŋə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lawə-* > H *lóg-* 'to hang', *lódít-* 'to toss' (*-g* and *-dít* are H suffs),
126. **PFUgr** **lowkkɜ* > PUgr **lowkkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lūk* > **lïuk* > OH *l´uk* > *liku* ~ *luk* > H *lyuk* 'hole',
127. **PFUgr** **lume* > PUgr **lomə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **lomə* > H *lom*, dial *lam* 'dew, sludge',
128. **PFUgr** **lunta* > PUgr **luntə* (> POUgr **lūntɜ* > PVog **lūntɜ*, POsty **lɔnt*) > EAH **lundə* > **ludə* > H *lúd* 'goose',
129. **PFUgr** **lükkɜ-* > PUgr **lükkə-* (> POUgr **lŭk-* > PVog **lāk-*, POsty **lŭkəmə-*) > EAH **lükə-* > OH *lük-* > H *lök-* ' to push',
130. **PFUgr** **mɜ̈* > PUgr **mi* (> POUgr **mṼŋ*, **mṼn* > PVog **mā̆n*, POsty **měŋ*) > EAH **mi* > H *mi*[2] 'we',
131. **PFUgr** **mɜ* > PUgr **me* (> POUgr **mă̆*, **mĕ* > PVog **mă̆nă̆*, POsty **mĕ*) > EAH **mi* > H *mi*[1] 'what, a thing', *valami* 'something', *semmi* 'nothing',
132. **PFUgr** **mɜlɜ* > PUgr **malə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **malə* > H *mál* 'fur on the bosom of animals',
133. **PFUgr** **mɜrɜ* > PUgr **marə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **marə* > H *mar* 'withers',
134. **PFUgr** **maksa* > PUgr **maγθə* (> POUgr **mīγĕθ* > PVog **mīĕt* ~ **măjt*, POsty **muγĕʌ*) > EAH **maγ* > **mā* > H *máj* 'liver' (the final *-y* is a petrified remnant of the poss suff),
135. **PFUgr** **malkɜ* > PUgr **malkə* (> POsty **maklă̆*) > EAH **malə* > H *malát*, *malád* '*dial* place where after flood different bushes grow, weeds, etc.' (*-d*, *-t* are H suffs),
136. **PFUgr** **mälke* > PUgr **mälγə* > **mäγəl* (> POUgr **mēγəl* > PVog **mā̆γəl*, POsty **möγəl*) > EAH **mäγlə* > **mällə* > H *mell* 'bosom',
137. **PFUgr** **mänɜ-* > PUgr **mänə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mänə-* > H *ment-* 'to rescue', *menekül-* 'to rescue him / her / itself' (*-t* and *-kül* are H suffs),
138. **PFUgr** **märɜ-* > PUgr **märə-* (> POUgr **mă̆r-*, **mĕr-* > PVog **mă̆r-*, POsty **mĕr-*) > EAH **merə-* > H *mered-* 'to stare, gaze', *merő* 'sheer', *meren*, *merőben* 'entirely, etc.',
139. **PFUgr** **mećä* > PUgr **mećə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mesə* > H *messze* 'far' (the gemination /ss/ is secodary and *-e* is a H suff, see *messzi* id.),
140. **PFUgr** **mekše* > PUgr **mekθə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **mehə* > **mē* > H *méh* 'bee' (*-h* is not pronunced, but see *méhes*),
141. **PFUgr** **mene-* > PUgr **menə-* (> POUgr **mĭn-* > PVog **mĭn-*, POsty **mĕn-*) > EAH **menə-* > H *mënni-* 'to go', cf. *mëgy* 'he goes', *mënő* 'going', *ment* 'went', etc.,
142. **PFUgr** **mete* > PUgr **metə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **meδə* > H *méz* 'honey',

143. **PFUgr** *mińä[1] > PUgr *meńə[1] (> POUgr *mēń > PVog *mā̆ń, POsty *meń) > EAH *meńə > H *mëny* 'daughter-in-law',
144. **PFUgr** *mińä[2] > PUgr *meńə[2] (not in POUgr) > EAH *meńə > H *mënny* 'heaven, sky' (the length of the second consonant is a secondary H development),
145. **PFUgr** *mol′ɜ (? *moδ′ɜ) > PUgr *mol′ə (> POsty *moʌ′) > EAH *meǰə > H *mëggy* 'sour-cherry' (the length of the second consonant is a secondary H development),
146. **PFUgr** *mone > PUgr *monə (> PVog *-*man*) > EAH *monə > *wanə > H *-van* in *negyven* 'forty', *ötven* 'fifty', *hatvan* 'sixty', *hetven* 'seventy, *nyolcvan* 'eighty', *kilencven* 'ninety' 'the unit ten',
147. **PFUgr** *mulɜ- > PUgr *mulə- (> PVog *mūl-) > EAH *mulə- > H *múlik-* 'to pass (time)' (*-ik* is a H suff),
148. **PFUgr** *muna > PUgr *monə (> POUgr *mōn > PVog *mă̆n, POsty *moṇ) > EAH *monə > H *mony* '*arch* egg, testicle',
149. **PFUgr** *muŋkɜ > PUgr *moŋkə (not in POUgr) > EAH *mongə > *mogə > H *mag* 'grain, seed, semen, kernel',
150. **PFUgr** *mura- > PUgr *murə- (> POUgr *mūr- > PVog *mŭ̆r-, POsty *mɔrəy-) > EAH *morə- > H *mar-* 'to bite, fret',
151. **PFUgr** *muśke- > PUgr *muśkə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *mušə- > H *mos-* 'to wash',
152. **PFUgr** *muya- > PUgr *muyə- (> POUgr *muy- > POsty *muy-) > EAH *muyə- > *mū- > H *mutat-* 'to show, point' (*-tat* is a H complex suff),
153. **PFUgr** *müŋke > PUgr *müŋkə (not in POUgr) > EAH *müŋgə > *mügə > H *mög, meg* 'what is behind', see *mögött* 'behind', etc.,
154. **PFUgr** *näke- > PUgr *näyə- (> POUgr *nīγ-, *nī- > PVog *nīγl-, POsty *nü-, *nüγ-) > EAH *nā̆- > H *néz-* 'to look, look at, see' (*-z* is a H suff),
155. **PFUgr** *nečɜ- > PUgr *ńečə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *ńešə- > H *nyes-* 'to prune, cut off, shear',
156. **PFUgr** *nime > PUgr *nemə (> POUgr *nēm > PVog *nă̆mɜ, POsty *nem) > EAH *newə > H *név* 'name',
157. **PFUgr** *niŋä > PUgr *neŋə (> POUgr *nīγ > PVog *nī, POsty *ni) > EAH *neγə > *new > *ne ~ *nö > H *nő* 'woman', see *neje* 'his wife',
158. **PFUgr** *niδe ~ *nüδe > PUgr *näδə (> POUgr *nă̆δ, *nĕδ, *nŏ̆δ > PVog *nŏ̆δ, POsty *nŏ̆l) > EAH *ńälə > H *nyél* 'handle',
159. **PFUgr** *ńʁyɜ- > PUgr *ńuyə- (not in POUgr) > EAH *ńuyə- > H *nyújt-* 'to stretch, provide' (*-t* is a H suff, see *nyúl-* 'to put one's hand out, reach', *nyúlik-* 'to stretch, extend'),
160. **PFUgr** *ńälmä > PUgr *ńälmə (> POUgr *ńīlmɜ > PVog *ńīlmɜ, POsty *ńälĕm) > EAH *ńälwə > H *nyelv* 'tongue',
161. **PFUgr** *ńele- > PUgr *ńälə- (> POUgr *ńäl- > PVog *ńel-, POsty *ńäl-) > EAH *ńälə- > H *nyel-* 'to swallow',
162. **PFUgr** *ńelyä > PUgr *ńelyə (> POUgr *ńilɜ > PVog *ńĭlɜ, POsty *ńĕlä) > EAH *ńeǰə > *neǰə > H *négy* 'four',
163. **PFUgr** *ńɐ̯le > PUgr *ńilə (> POUgr *ńɪ̯lɜ > PVog *ńɪ̯lɜ, POsty *ńal) > EAH *ńelə > H *nyíl* 'arrow',

164. **PFUgr** **ńole-* > PUgr **ńolə-* (> POUgr **ńōl-* ~ **ńălā-* > PVog **ńăl-*, POsty **ńăla-*) > EAH **ńolə-* > H *nyal-* 'to lick',
165. **PFUgr** **ńolke* > PUgr **ńolkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ńolə* > H *nyál* 'saliva',
166. **PFUgr** **ńoma-le* > PUgr **ńomul(ə)* (not in POUgr) > EAH **ńuwul* > H *nyúl* 'rabbit',
167. **PFUgr** **ńorɜ* 'Sumpf; swamp' > PUgr **ńarə* (> PVog **ńār* 'marsh') > EAH **ńarə* > H *nyár(fa)* 'poplar (< "marsh-tree")', ? *nyír* in *nyirok* 'moist, humid', *nyír(fa)* 'birch', *Nyírség* 'name of a Hungarian region' (it is debated, but possible that H *nyár* 'summer' belongs here, in any case *nyár* 'summer' is not a T lw),
168. **PFUgr** **ńukśe* > PUgr **ńukśə* (> POUgr **ńŏkəs* > PVog **ńɔkəs*, POsty **ńŏγəs*) > EAH **ńuśə* > H *nyuszt* 'pine-marten' (*-t* is a H suff),
169. **PFUgr** **ńuŋe* > PUgr **ńuŋkə-* (> POsty **ńoγol-*) > EAH **ńuŋgə-* > **ńug-* > H *nyug-* '*arch* to rest' in *nyugszik-* 'to rest' (-s and *-ik* are H suffs), *nyugodt* 'restful', *nyugalom* 'rest', etc.,
170. **PFUgr** **ńuyɜ-* > PUgr **ńuyə-* (> POUgr **ńuy-* > PVog **ńuy-* ~ **nuy-*) > EAH **ńuw-* > **ńū-* > H *nyúz-* 'to skin' (*-z* is a H suff, see *tűz-*),
171. **PFUgr** **ńükɜ-* > PUgr **ńükə-* (> PVog **ńüγ-*) > EAH **ńüw-* > H *nyű-* 'to wear down', see *nyüvök* 'I wear down',
172. **PFUgr** **o* ~ **u* > PUgr **o* ~ **u* (not in POUgr) > EAH **a* ~ **o* > H *az*, *a* 'definitive article', *ott* 'there', etc.,
173. **PFUgr** **ońća-rɜ* > PUgr **ońćarə* (> POUgr ? **ańćar* > PVog **ańśar*, POsty **ăńśar*) > EAH **onǰarə* > H *agyar* 'tusk', see also *acsarkodik-*, *agyarkodik-* 'to have a spite, show the teeth',
174. **PFUgr** **ora* > PUgr **orə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **orə* > H *ár*[1] 'awl',
175. **PFUgr** **orpa* ~ **orwa* (← IE) > PUgr **orpə* (> POsty **urwi*) > EAH **orwə* > H *árva* 'orphan' (*-a* is a H suff),
176. **PFUgr** **oδa-* > PUgr **oδə-* (> POsty **oʌ-*) > EAH **al-* > H *alszik-* 'to sleep' (*-sz* and *-ik* are H suffs), see *alvad-* 'to coagulate, curdle',
177. **PFUgr** **oδa-mɜ* > PUgr **oδamə* (> POUgr **wūδəm* / **wūδmɜ* > PVog **ūlmɜ*, POsty **wuləm* ~ **aləm*) > EAH **olomə* > H *álom* 'dream',
178. **PFUgr** **oŋte* or **omte* > PUgr **ontə* (> POUgr **ōnt*, **ōnter* > PVog **āntĕr*, POsty **ont*, **ontĕr*) > EAH **ondə* > **odə* > H *odú* 'hollow, cavity' (the *-ú* is a H suff), see *odvas* 'hollow, rotten',
179. **PFUgr** **pörɜ* > PUgr **pürə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φürə* > H *fürt* 'bunch (of fruits)' (*-t* is a H suff),
180. **PFUgr** **pönɜ-* > PUgr **pänə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φänə* > H *fenyő* 'pine-tree' (the *n* > *ń* is secondary, the *-ő* is a H dim suff),
181. **PFUgr** **pɤrkɜ-* (~ **pɤrγɜ-*) > PUgr **porγə-* (> PVog **powrit-*) > EAH **φorə-* > H *forog-* 'to turn, revolve' (*-g* is a H suff, the word is onomatopoeic),
182. **PFUgr** **pakka-* > PUgr **pakkə-* (> POsty **poγən-*) > EAH **φakə-* > H *fakad-* 'to arise from, to spring forth (well)' (*-d*, *-aszt* are H suffs),
183. **PFUgr** **pal′a(-)* > PUgr **pal′ə-* (> POUgr **poľ* > PVog **pāl′-*, POsty **poy*) > EAH **φad′(-)* > H *fagy(-)* 'to freeze, frost',

184. **PFUgr** **pala-* > PUgr **palə-* (> POUgr **pūl-* > PVog **pūl-*, POsty **pul-*) > EAH **φalə-* > H *fal-* ‘to devour’, *falat* ‘bite’,
185. **PFUgr** **pata* > PUgr **patə* (> POUgr **pūt* > PVog * *pŭt*, POsty **put*) > EAH **φaδə* > H *fazék* ‘pot’ for the second vowel see *fazekas*, *fazakas* ‘potter’ (*-k* is a H suff),
186. **PFUgr** **payɜ* > PUgr **payə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φad´ə* > H *fagyal* ‘privet, *Ligustrum vulgare*’ (*-l* is a H suff),
187. **PFUgr** **paδ´tɜ* > PUgr **paδ´ə* (> PVog **pol´tə*) > EAH **φaytə* > H *fajd* ‘black grouse, capercaillie’,
188. **PFUgr** **paδɜ* > PUgr **paδə* (> POsty **pal*) > EAH **φalə* > H *fal* ‘wall’,
189. **PFUgr** **päćkɜ* > PUgr **päćkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φečə* > H *fëcske*, *dial fëske* ‘swallow’ (*-ke* is a H suff),
190. **PFUgr** **pälä* > PUgr **pälə* (> POUgr **pēl* > PVog **pā̆l*, POsty **peḷĕk*) > EAH **φälə* > H *fél*[2] ‘half’,
191. **PFUgr** **pänɜ-* > PUgr **pänə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φänə-* > H *fen-* ‘to wet’,
192. **PFUgr** **päŋe* > PUgr **päŋə* (> PVog **päŋk*) > EAH **φeγ* > **φe*(*w*) > H *fej*, acc *fejet*, *fő* ‘head’,
193. **PFUgr** **pele-* > PUgr **pelə-* (> POUgr **pĭl-* > PVog **pĭl-*, POsty **pĕl-*) > EAH **φelə-* > H *fél-* ‘to be afraid’,
194. **PFUgr** **pele* > PUgr **pelə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φelə* > H *fél*[1] ‘(door)post, pillar’ (in *ajtófélfa* ‘door-post’, etc., *félszer* > *fészer* ‘shed’, etc.),
195. **PFUgr** **pelyä* > PUgr **pelə* ~ **pelyə* (> POUgr **pā̆l* ~ **pĕl* > PVog **pā̆l*, POsty **pĕl*) > EAH **φelə* ~ **φelyə-* > OH *fil* > H *fül* ‘ear’, *figyel-* ‘to listen’,
196. **PFUgr** **pentɜ-* > PUgr **pentə-* (> POUgr **pēnt-* > PVog **pă̆nt-*, POsty **pent-*) > EAH **φendə-* > **φedə-* > H *fëd-* ‘to cover’,
197. **PFUgr** **perke* ~ **perkkɜ* > PUgr **perkə* (> PVog **pērk*) > EAH **φerə* > H *férëg*, acc *férget* ‘worm’ (*-g* is a H suff),
198. **PFUgr** **pesä* > PUgr **päsə* (> POUgr **pīθ* > PVog **pīt*, POsty **pi*) > EAH **φesə* > H *fészek* ‘nest’ (*-ek* is a H suff, /s/ under influence of *f-*),
199. **PFUgr** **peye-* > PUgr **peyə-* (> POUgr **päy-* > PVog **pay-*) > EAH **pewə-* > **fewə-* > H *fő-*, *fövök* ‘to boil (intr), *főz-* ‘to cook’,
200. **PFUgr** **pilwe* ~ **pilŋe* > PUgr **pilŋə* (> Osty *pĕləŋ*) > EAH **pelyə* > **φelχə* > H *fëlleg*, *fëlhő* ‘cloud’ (*-g* and *-ő* are H suffs),
201. **PFUgr** **piŋke* > PUgr **piŋkə* (> POUgr **pēŋkɜ* > PVog **pă̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **pöŋk*) > EAH **φuŋgə* > **φugə* > H *fog* ‘tooth’,
202. **PFUgr** **pitɜ-* > PUgr **pitə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **φiδə-* > **φiz-* > H *fűz-*, dial *fíz-* ‘to string’,
203. **PFUgr** **piδe* > PUgr **piδə* (> POUgr **pā̆l* > PVog **pā̆l´*, POsty **pel*) > EAH **φelə* > H *fël*, *föl* ‘up(wards)’,
204. **PFUgr** **poyka* > PUgr **poykə* (> POUgr **pŏyγ* > PVog **pŏyγ* > **püw*, POsty **pŏγ*) > EAH **φoyə* > **φiyə* > H *fiú* ‘boy, son’, H *fi*, see *fi* in *baromfi* ‘poultry’ (the *-u* is a H suff),
205. **PFUgr** **poδ´ɜ* > PUgr **poδ´ə-* (> PVog **pol´-*) > EAH **φoyə-* > H *fáj-* ‘to hurt, ache’,

206. **PFUgr** **puć3-r3-* > PUgr **poćarə-* (> PVog **poćăr-*) > EAH **φočarə-* > H *facsar-* 'to wring',
207. **PFUgr** **pućka-* > PUgr **poćkə(-)* (> POUgr **pŏć* > PVog **pŏć*, POsty **pŏć*) > EAH **φočə(-)* > **φošə(-)* > H *fos(-)* 'to shit, diarrhoea',
208. **PFUgr** **pukk3* > PUgr **pukkə* (> POUgr **pŭγ-* > PVog **pŭp*, POsty **pŏγ*) > EAH **φukə* > OH *fuk* > H *fok* 'cap, eye of a needle',
209. **PFUgr** **pukta-* > PUgr **puktə-* (> POsty **pot-*) > EAH **φutə-* > H *fut-* 'to run',
210. **PFUgr** **pul3-* > PUgr **pulə-* (> POUgr **pūl* > PVog **pŭlĕp*, POsty **pul*) > EAH **φulə* > H *fullánk* (*-nk* is a H suff),
211. **PFUgr** **puna-* > PUgr **ponə-* (> POUgr **pōn-* > PVog **pŏn-*, POsty **pon-*) > EAH **φonə-* > H *fon-* 'to spin',
212. **PFUgr** **puna* > PUgr **ponə* (> POUgr **pūn* > PVog **pŭn*, POsty **pun*) > EAH **φonə* > H *fan* 'pubis, thicket',
213. **PFUgr** **puŋ3-* > PUgr **puŋkə-* (> PVog **puγ-*) > EAH **φugə-* > OH *fug-* > H *fog-* 'to hold, catch',
214. **PFUgr** **pura-* > PUgr **purə-* (> POUgr **pŏr* > PVog **pŏri*, POsty **pŏr* nominal stems) > EAH **φurə-* > H *fúr-*'to bore',
215. **PFUgr** **puw3-* > PUgr **puwə-* (> POUgr **pūγ-* (?), PVog **pŭv-*, POsty **pŏγ-*) > EAH **φuwə-* > LAH **φou-* > H *fú-*, *fúvott-* (past 3p.sg), *fúj-* 'to blow',
216. **PFUgr** **puwe* > PUgr **pawə* (> Vog *-pa*) > EAH **φawə* > **φā* > H *fa* 'tree,wood',
217. **PFUgr** **puwe* > PUgr **puwə-* (not in POUgr, the words with meanings like 'sauer werden, etc.' do not pertain here because of semantic reasons) > EAH **φuwə-* > H *fúl-* 'to be choked', *fujt-*, *fojt-* 'to choke' (*-l* and *-t* are H suffs),
218. **PFUgr** **püŋe* > PUgr **püŋkə* (> PVog **pĕŋk*) > EAH **φuŋgə* > **φugə* > H *fogoly* 'partridge' (*-ly* is a H suff, the vocalism is irregular),
219. **PFUgr** **rać3* > PUgr **rać3* (not in POUgr) > EAH **račə* > **räšə* > H *rés* 'rift, split' (the vocalism is irregular),
220. **PFUgr** **rakka* > PUgr **rakkə* (> POUgr **rōγ-* > PVog **rāw-*, Osty **răγ-*) > EAH **rokə-* > H *rokon* 'relative, kinship' (*-on* is a H suff),
221. **PFUgr** **räć3* > PUgr **räćə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **resə* > H *rész* 'part',
222. **PFUgr** **reke-* > PUgr **reγə-* (> POUgr **rṼγ-* > PVog **rīγ-*, POsty **rṍγ-*) > EAH **reγə-* > **reγə-tə-* > **reγtə* > H *rejt-* 'to hide' (*-t* is a H suff),
223. **PFUgr** **reŋk3* > PUgr **reŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **reŋgə* > **regə* > H *rég* 'long ago',
224. **PFUgr** **roć3* > PUgr **roćə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **rosə* > H *rossz* 'bad' (the length of /s/ is secondary),
225. **PFUgr** **rok3-* > PUgr **roγə-* (> POsty **roγ-*) > EAH **rawə* > H *ró-* 'to carve', *rovok* 'I carve', OH *rav-*, see *ravatal* 'catafalque',
226. **PFUgr** **salk3-* > PUgr **salkə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **halgə-* > H *áll-* 'to stand' (the long *-ll-* in H is the result of a change *-lk-* > *-lg-* > *-ll-*),
227. **PFUgr** **säle-* > PUgr **sälə* (> POUgr **θṼl-* > PVog **tăl*, POsty **ʌel-*) > EAH **hälə-* > H *ell-*[1] '*arch* to mount',
228. **PFUgr** **säŋke* > PUgr **säŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **häŋgə* > **hägə* > H *ég* 'sky',

229. **PFUgr** **säppä* > PUgr **säppə* (> POUgr **θäppĕ* > PVog **tā̆p*) > EAH **häpə* > H *epe* 'bile' (the H *-e* is a petrified poss suff),
230. **PFUgr** **särɜ* > PUgr **särə* (> POUgr **θēr* > PVog **tā̆r*, POsty **ʌer*) > EAH **härə* > H *ér*[2] 'vein, artery',
231. **PFUgr** **säwnä* > PUgr **säwnə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hewnə* > **e̯u̯nə* > H *őn* 'bream (fish)',
232. **PFUgr** **säye* > PUgr **säyə* (> POUgr **θā̆y* > PVog **sā̆y*, POsty **ʌŏy*) > EAH **eyə* > H *ev* 'pus, matter',
233. **PFUgr** **sɇne* > PUgr **sɪ̯nə* (> POUgr **θɪ̯nɜ* > PVog **tɪ̯n*, POsty **ʌan*) > EAH **hinə* > H *ín* 'sinew' (acc *inat*),
234. **PFUgr** **sente-* > PUgr **sentə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hendə-* > **hedə-* > **hedə-lə* > H *ell-*[2] 'to bear, bring forth (animal)',
235. **PFUgr** **sewe-* > PUgr **sewə-* (> POUgr **θā̆-* > PVog **tā̆n-*, POsty **ʌěɣ-*) > EAH **ewə-* > H *eszik-* 'to eat' (*-sz-* and *-ik* are H suffs, see *evett* 'ate', *evő* 'eating'),
236. **PFUgr** **siδ´ɜ-* > PUgr **siδ´ə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hid´ə-* > H *igyekszik-* 'to be industrious, endeavour', *ügyes* 'to be clever' (*-k*, *-sz*, *-ik* and *-s* are H suffs),
237. **PFUgr** **soŋɜ-* > PUgr **soŋə-* (> POUgr **θV̄ŋ-* > PVog **tŭw-*, POsty **ʌăŋa-*) > EAH **hoɣə-* > **hawə-* > H *avik-* '*arch* to penetrate, condense, thicken', *avat-* 'to pre-shrink (textile), initiate' (*-ik*, *-at* are H suffs),
238. **PFUgr** **soŋkɜ*[1] ~ **soŋɜ* > PUgr **soŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *avul-* 'to become old' (*-ul* is a H suff) (see also *agg* and *ó*),
239. **PFUgr** **soŋkɜ*[2] ~ **soŋɜ* > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hoɣə* > **hawə* > H *ó* 'old', see *avul-*, see also *agg*,
240. **PFUgr** **soŋɜ* ~ **soŋka* > PUgr **soŋkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hoŋgə* > **hogə* > **hagə* > H *agg* 'old', see also *avul-* 'to become old' and *ó* 'old',
241. **PFUgr** **sorɜ* > PUgr **sorə* (> POUgr **θōrĕs* > PVog **tārās*, POsty **sorĕs*) > EAH **horə* > H *arasz* 'span',
242. **PFUgr** **soya* > PUgr **suyə* (> POUgr **θɪ̯yət* > PVog **tɪ̯yət* ~ **tăyt*, POsty **ʌi̯t*) > EAH **huyə* > H *ujj*[2] 'sleeve' (the length of the consonant is the result of a secondary H development),
243. **PFUgr** **sula* > PUgr **solə-* (> POUgr **θŏlā-* > PVog **tăl-ā*, POsty **ʌŏl-a-*) > EAH **holə-* > H *olvad-* 'to melt (intr)' (*-v-* and *-ad* are H suffs),
244. **PFUgr** **suδ´ɜ* > PUgr **suδ´ə* (> POUgr **θūʌ´(ɜ)* > PVog **tŭl´ā*, POsty **ʌuy*) > EAH **huyə* > H *ujj*[1] 'finger' (the length of the consonant is the result of a secondary H development),
245. **PFUgr** **süćɜ* > PUgr **śüćə* (PUgr /ś/ under the influence of *-ć-*) (> PVog **śšś*) > EAH **süsə* > **süzə* > H *szűz* 'virgin', but see **szűz** in the Lexicon,
246. **PFUgr** **sükśe* > PUgr **sükśə* (> POUgr **θŭɣĕs* > PVog **tŭkəs*, POsty **söɣəs*) > EAH **hüsə* > H *ősz* 'autumn, fall',
247. **PFUgr** **süle* > PUgr **sülə* (> POUgr **θŏl* > PVog **tăl*, POsty **ʌŏl*) > EAH **hülə* > OH *ül* > H *öl* 'lap (body part), fathom (measurement)',

248. **PFUgr** **śaka* ~ **ćaka* > PUgr **śakə* (> POUgr **say* > PVog **sai*, POsty **toγ*) > EAH **saγə* > **sā* > H *zaj*[1], *szaj* in *zajlik-* 'to break up of ice' (the *z-* is the result of a late voicing, the final *-y-* is secondary),
249. **PFUgr** **śal′ɜ* > PUgr **śal′ə* (> PVog **sal′t′*) > EAH **śal′ə* > **śalə* > H *száldok* '*dial* lime, linden-tree', *száldob arch* id. (*-dok*, *-dob* are complex H suffs),
250. **PFUgr** **śaδa-* ~ **ćaδa-* > PUgr **śaδə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śal-* > H *szalad-* 'to run' (*-ad* is a H suff),
251. **PFUgr** **śala* > PUgr **śalə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śalə* > **śilə* > OH *zilu* > H *szil* 'elm', (originally back-vocalic, see *szilas*, *Szilágy*),
252. **PFUgr** **śalkɜ* > PUgr **śalkə* (> POUgr **sɨ̯γlɜ* > PVog **sɨ̯γlā*, POsty **saγəl*) > EAH **śalə* > H *szál*(*fa*) 'timber', *szálka* 'splinter', to be separated fr H **szál** 'raft',
253. **PFUgr** **śarɜ* > PUgr **śarə* (> POUgr **śar* ~ **ćar* > POsty **ćar* (?)) > EAH **śarə*(-) > H *szar*(-) '(to) shit',
254. **PFUgr** **śarɜ-* > PUgr **śorə-* (> POUgr **sūr-* > PVog **šur-* / **šŭr-*, POsty **sar-*) > EAH **śarə-* > H *szárad-* 'to dry (intr)' (*-ad* is a H suff, see *szárít-* 'to dry (tr)'),
255. **PFUgr** **śarɜ* > PUgr **śarə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śarə* > **śirə* > H *szirony* 'rime, hoar-frost, granular snow, etc.' (*-ony* is a H suff),
256. **PFUgr** **śata* > PUgr **śatə* (> POUgr **sɨ̯tɜ* > PVog **šɨ̯tɜ*, POsty **sat*) > EAH **śaδə* > H *száz* 'hundred',
257. **PFUgr** **śälä-* > PUgr **śälə-* (> POUgr **sīl-* / **sűl-* > PVog **šīl-*, POsty **sül-*) > EAH **śälə-* > H *szel-* 'to slice',
258. **PFUgr** **śäŋe-* > PUgr **śäŋə-* (> POUgr **sēγ-*, **sȫγ-* > PVog **sǎγ-*, POsty **söγ-*) > EAH **säγə-* > **sevə-* > H *sző-* 'to weave' (the /š/ in H *sövény* 'hedge' is the result of a secondary development, if the two words pertain together),
259. **PFUgr** **śäŋkɜ-* ~ **ćäŋkɜ-* > PUgr **śäŋkə-* (> POUgr **śēŋk-* > PVog **sǎ̃ŋk-*, POsty **söŋk-*) > EAH **śäŋgə-* > **śägə-* > H *szeg-* 'to break (bread), cut, hem',
260. **PFUgr** **śerɜ*[1] > PUgr **śerə* (> POUgr **sīr* 'Art und Weise' > PVog **sĭr*, POsty **sir*) > EAH **śerə* > H *szër* in *szërét ejteni* 'to manage to do something, bring oneself to do something, mode' (in the literature more homophonous words have been mixed up),
261. **PFUgr** **śerɜ*[2] ~ **ćerɜ* > PUgr **śerə* (> PVog **śir*) > EAH **śirə* > H *szürke* 'gray' (*-ke* is a H suff, in OH *szür* existed separately),
262. **PFUgr** **śilmä* > PUgr **śelmə* (> POUgr **sēm* > PVog **šǎ̃m*, POsty **sem*) > EAH **śemə* > H *szëm* 'eye',
263. **PFUgr** **śińćä* ~ **śićä* > PUgr **śińćə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śiňjə* > **śejə* > H *szëgy*, *szegy* 'breast, chest (of animals)', *szügy* id.,
264. **PFUgr** **śiyele* > PUgr **śiyelə* (> PVog **suole* > Vog *suolə*) > EAH **śīlə* > H *szül* (14th c.) > *sün* 'hedgehog',
265. **PFUgr** **śiδämä* > PUgr **śiδmə* (> POUgr **sĭm* > PVog **šĭm*, POsty **sĕm*) > EAH **śilmə* > **śiwə* > H *szív* 'heart' (*-v* is the continuation of *-m-*),
266. **PFUgr** **śomɜ* > PUgr **śomə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śomə* > H *szom* in *szomjú* 'thirsty' (*-jú* goes back to OH *jonh* 'inner part of the body),

267. **PFUgr** **śomɜ-rɜ* > PUgr **śomărə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śomərə* > H *szomorú* 'sad' (*-ú* is a H suff),
268. **PFUgr** **śorɜ-* > PUgr **śorə-* (> POUgr **sor-* > PVog **sar-*, POsty **sărt*) > EAH **śorə-* > H *szorul-* 'to be squeezed', *szorít-* 'to compress' (*-ul* and *-ít* are H suffs),
269. **PFUgr** **śorwa* > PUgr **śorwə* (> POUgr **śor* (?) > PVog **šorp*, POsty **śărp*) > EAH **śorwə* > H *szarv* 'horn', *szaru* 'horny', *szarvas* 'deer',
270. **PFUgr** **śoye(-)* > PUgr **śoyə* (> POUgr **sŭy* > PVog **sŭy*, POsty **sŏy*) > EAH **śayə* > H *zaj*[2] 'noise' (the *z-* is the result of a late voicing),
271. **PFUgr** **śukɜ* > PUgr **śuɣə* (> POUgr **suɣ* > PVog **sou*, POsty **saɣ*) > EAH **śuwə* > H *szú* 'wood worm',
272. **PFUgr** **śurɜ* > PUgr **śurə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śurə* > H *szurok* 'pitch, tar' (*-k* is a H suff),
273. **PFUgr** **śurwa-* > PUgr **śurwə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **śurə-* > H *szúr-* 'to prick, sting',
274. **PFUgr** **śuwe* > PUgr **śuwə* (> PVog **sū* in *sūnt*, *sūp*) > EAH **śō* > **śā* > H *száj*, *szám*, *szád*, etc. 'mouth, my mouth, your mouth', the base is *sā*,
275. **PFUgr** **šäntɜ* > PUgr **säntə* (> POsty **ʌänt*) > EAH **händə* > **hädə* > H *ed arch* 'corn, grain',
276. **PFUgr** **šärɜ-* > PUgr **särə-* (> POUgr **θēr-* > PVog **tā̆rĕt-*, POsty **ʌerĕmt-*) > EAH **härə-* > H *ér-* 'to reach, touch, be worth', *ért-* 'to understand', *ered-* 'to rise from, take its origin' (*-t*, *-d* are H suffs),
277. **PFUgr** **šerɜ* > PUgr **serə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **herə* > H *ér*[1] 'small river',
278. **PFUgr** **šiŋere* > PUgr **siŋkerə* (> POUgr **θēŋkər* > PVog *tă̆ŋkər*, POsty **ʌöŋkər*) > EAH **hegerə* > H *egér* 'mouse',
279. **PFUgr** **šoppɜ-* > PUgr **soppə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **hopə-* > H *apad-* 'to ebb, go down' (*-ad* is a H suff, see *apály* 'ebbing'),
280. **PFUgr** **šurɜ* > PUgr **sar-tə-* (> POUgr **θart-* > POsty **ʌart-*) > EAH **hirtə-* > H *irt-*, *irtok* 'to extirpate, I extirpate', also arch., dial *ort-*,
281. **PFUgr** **tï* > PUgr **te* (not in POUgr, but see **tī* 'that') > EAH **te* > H *të* 'you (sg)',
282. **PFUgr** **tappa-* > PUgr **tapə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tapə-* > H *tap-* (*top-*, etc.) 'to step', *tapos-* 'to tread on' (of uncertain origin because of the onomatopoeic character),
283. **PFUgr** **täktä* > PUgr **täktə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tätə* > H *tetem* 'corpse, remains' (*-m* is a H suff),
284. **PFUgr** **tälkɜ* > PUgr **tälkə* > **täylə* (> POUgr **tēɣəl* > PVog **tā̆ɣəl*, POsty **tel*) > EAH **täɣlə* > **tälə* > H *tele*, *teli* 'full' (*-e* and *-i* are H suffs),
285. **PFUgr** **tälwä* ~ **tälə* > PUgr **tälə* (> POUgr **tā̆l* > PVog **tā̆l*, POsty **tĕləɣ*) > EAH **tälə* > H *tél* 'winter',
286. **PFUgr** **täye* > PUgr **täyə-ktəm* (> POUgr **tēk*(*t*)*əmɜ* > PVog **tā̆kmɜ*, POsty **töɣtəm*) > EAH **tā̆tmə* > **tā̆twə* > **tätwə* > H *tetű*, acc *tetvet* 'louse',
287. **PFUgr** **tekɜ-* > PUgr **teɣə-* (> POUgr **tēk-*, **tŏ̄k-* > PVog **tă̆ɣ-*, POsty **tök-*) > EAH **tëwə-* > H *tűz-* 'to stitch', MH **tövik-* id., now obsolete (*-z* and *-ik* are H suffs, see also *tövis* 'thorn', *tű* 'needle'),

288. **PFUgr** **teke-* > PUgr **teɣə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tëi* > **té-* > H *tész-*, *tësz-*, *tëtt-*, *tënni-* 'to make, place',
289. **PFUgr** **temɜ-* > PUgr **temə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **temə-* > H *töm-* 'to stuff', see *temet-* 'to bury',
290. **PFUgr** **teppɜ* > PUgr **teppə* > EAH **tepə* > H **tëpəb* > *többe* 'more' (*-b* is a H comp suff, see *szép* 'beautiful' > *szebb* 'more beautiful'),
291. **PFUgr** **terɜ-* > PUgr **terə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **terə-* > H *tér-* 'to have place, find place, go in',
292. **PFUgr** **terä* > PUgr **terə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **terə* > H *tőr* 'dagger',
293. **PFUgr** **totkɜ* > PUgr **totkă* (> PVog **taɣət*) > EAH **totə* > H *tat* (*hal*) 'a kind of fish, *Tinca vulgaris*',
294. **PFUgr** **towɜ* > PUgr **towə* (> POUgr **tŏɣ* > PVog **tɔw*, POsty **tŏɣ*) > EAH **tawə* > H *tó*, acc *tavat* 'lake',
295. **PFUgr** **towkɜ* > PUgr **towkə* (> POUgr **tōw* > PVog **tūyā*, POsty **toɣ*) > EAH **towə* > H *tavasz* 'spring' (*-asz* is a H suff),
296. **PFUgr** **tuktɜ* > PUgr **toktə* (> POUgr **tŏkĕt* > PVog **tɔkĕt*, POsty **tŏɣĕt*) > EAH **tottə* > H *tat* 'stern, crossbeam',
297. **PFUgr** **tule-* > PUgr **tolə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tolə-* > H *talál-* 'to find', *kitalál-* 'to find out' (*-l* is a H suff, the semantic change PFUgr 'to come' > H 'to find' is the same as in H *jön-* 'to come' > H *rájön-* 'to find out'),
298. **PFUgr** **tulka* > PUgr **tulkə* (> POUgr **tuɣl* > **tŏɣĕl*) > EAH **tullə* > H *toll* 'feather',
299. **PFUgr** **tumte-* > PUgr **tuntə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tundə-* > **tudə-* > H *tud-* 'to know',
300. **PFUgr** **tuna-* > PUgr **tonə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tanə-* > H *tanul-* 'to learn', *tanít-* 'to teach' (*-ul* and *-ít* are H suffs),
301. **PFUgr** **turya* > PUgr **toryə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tarə* > H *tarja* 'spare rib' (*-ja* is a H poss suff, 3p.sg, for the base **tar* see also *tarkó* 'nape', the word is only present in Finn and Est, the PFUgr *ry* > H *-r-* is problematic, this is the only case for PFUgr *-ry-*),
302. **PFUgr** **tuδ́ka* > PUgr **tuδ́kə* (> POUgr **tŏʌ́* > PVog **tăĺək*, POsty **tŏy*, **tŏy*) > EAH **tuδ́əɣ* > **tuɣeδ́* > **töd́ə* > H *tőgy* 'udder',
303. **PFUgr** **tüŋe* > PUgr **tüŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **tüɣə* > **tüwə* > H *tő*, acc *tövet* 'stem',
304. **PFUgr** **utka* > PUgr **utkə* > **uktə* (> POUgr **ī̆ktɜ* > PVog **ī̆kət*, POsty **ɔɣət*) > EAH **uɣtə* > **uwtə* > OH *utŭ* > H *út* 'road',
305. **PFUgr** **uye-* > PUgr **uyə-* (> POUgr **wūy-* > PVog **(w)ŭy-*, POsty **uy-*) > EAH **ū-* > H *úszik-* 'to swim' (*-sz* and *-ik* are H suffs),
306. **PFUgr** **wɜyɜ-* > PUgr **wiyə-* (> POUgr **wī̆* ~ **wīy-* / **wī̆ɣ-* > PVog **wĭ*, *wĭɣ-*, **wäy-*, POsty **wĕ-*, **wĕy-*) > EAH **oyə-* > **owə-* > H *óv-* 'to protect' (/v/ is the result of an inner H process),
307. **PFUgr** **waćɜ* > PUgr **waćə* (> POUgr **wasə* > PVog **wošə*, POsty **wăs*) > EAH **vasə* > H *vessző* 'twig' (the gemination /ss/ is secondary, the final /ő/ and the front-vocalism are secondary H developments),

308. **PFUgr** **wačɜ-* > PUgr **wačə-* (> POUgr **wōč-* > PVog **ăšə-*, POsty **woč-*) > EAH **wačə-* > **vašə-* > H *vásik-* 'to wear away, wear off, make blunt' (*-ik* is a H suff),
309. **PFUgr** **wal′e* > PUgr **wal′ə* (> POUgr **wal′əɣ* > PVog **wal′əɣ*, POsty **wal′əɣ* / **wŏl′əɣ*) > EAH **walə* > **wilə* > H *világ* 'world', *világos* 'bright',
310. **PFUgr** **walka-* > PUgr **walkə-* (> POUgr **wi̯ɣəl-* 'hinabsteigen, hinablassen' > PVog **wi̯ɣəl-*, **wāyl-*, POsty *wi̯ɣəl-* (semantic problems)) > EAH **walə-* > H *válik-* 'to separate, divorce' (*-ik* is a H suff),
311. **PFUgr** **wamta* > PUgr **wantə* (> POUgr **wV̄nt* > PVog **wā̆nt*, POsty **wänt*) > EAH **wandə* > **wadə* > H *vad* 'wild',
312. **PFUgr** **warɜ* > PUgr **warə* (> POUgr **wūr* > PVog **ūrɜn*, POsty **wurŋay*) > EAH **warə* > H *varjú*, acc *varjat* 'crow' (*-jú* is a H suff),
313. **PFUgr** **waśke* > PUgr **waśkə* (> POUgr **vokś* > **voks* > POsty **vŏχ*, PVog **wəs*) > EAH **waskə* > **waškə* > **wašə* > H *vas* 'iron' (originally a kind of metal),
314. **PFUgr** **wayće* > PUgr **wäyćə* (> POUgr **wäs* > PVog **wā̆sɜ*, POsty **wäsəɣ*) > EAH **wäyčə* > **večə* > H *vöcsök*, dial *vecsek* 'grebe (a kind of water bird)' (*-k* is a H suff),
315. **PFUgr** **waδ′kɜ* > PUgr **woδ′kə* (> POUgr **wăɣəl′* > PVog **wāl′*, POsty **wăɣɜl′*) > EAH **woɣəδ′* > **võd′* > H *völgy* 'valley' (/l/ is secondary in H),
316. **PFUgr** **wäntɜ-* > PUgr **wäntə-* (> POsty **wänt-*) > EAH **wändə-* > **wädə-* > H *véd-* 'to defend',
317. **PFUgr** **wäŋɜ* > PUgr **wäŋə* (> POsty **wäŋ*) > EAH **weɣə* > **wewə-* ~ **weyə-* > H *vő* 'son-in-law', see *veje* 3p.sg poss,
318. **PFUgr** **wäŋćɜ-* > PUgr **wäŋćə-* (> POsty **wäŋć-* > **weńć* > **wänt′-*) > EAH **wäɣćə* > **wešə* H *vés-* 'to engrave',
319. **PFUgr** **weće* > PUgr **wećə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wösə* > OH *öszve* > H *össze* 'together' (the stem is **ös*, the gemination is secondary, *-ve* is the H lative suff),
320. **PFUgr** **wekkɜ* > PUgr **wekkə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wekə* > H *vékony* 'thin' (*-ony* is a H suff),
321. **PFUgr** **were* > PUgr **werə* (> POUgr **wĭr* > PVog **wĭɣər*, POst **wĕr*) > EAH **werə* > H *vér* 'blood', *veres*, *vörös* 'red',
322. **PFUgr** **wetä-* > PUgr **wetə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **weδə-* > H *vezet-* 'to lead', *vezér* 'leader' (*-t* and *-r* are is a H suff),
323. **PFUgr** **wete* (← Indo Aryan **wed*, Rédei 1986: 43) > PUgr **wetə* (> PVog **wit*, **wüt′*) > EAH **wiδə* > H *víz* 'water',
324. **PFUgr** **weδɜ-* > PUgr **weδə-* (> POUgr **wēl-* / **wō̆l-* > PVog **ăl-*, POsty **wel-*) > EAH **ü̯elə-* > H *öl-* 'to kill',
325. **PFUgr** **witte* > PUgr **wüttə* (> POUgr **wō̆t* > PVog **ăt*, POsty **wet*) > EAH **ü̯ötə* > H *öt* 'five',
326. **PFUgr** **wiɣe-* > PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə* (> POUgr **wĭy* / **wĭɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) > EAH **weɣə-* > **vewə-*, **wē-* > H *vész-* 'to take away, buy' (*-s* is a H suff), see *vett-* 'he bought', *vevő* 'buying, the buyer'), see the next item,

327. **PFUgr** **wiɣe-* > PUgr **wiɣə-* / **weɣə* (> POUgr **weɣ-* > PVog **wĕɣ-*, POsty **wĕy-*) > EAH **wiɣə-* > **wī-* > H *visz-* 'to take, carry (away)' (*-s* is a H suff, see *vitt* 'he took away', *vivő* 'taker, who takes'), see the previous item,
328. **PFUgr** **wiδɜmɜ* > PUgr **weδĕmə* (> POUgr **wēδəm* > PVog **wā̆ləm*, POsty **weləm*) > EAH **weləwə* > H *velő* 'marrow',
329. **PFUgr** **wole-* > PUgr **wolə-* (> POUgr **wōl-* > PVog **āl-*, POsty **wol-*) > EAH **wolə* > *wol'ə* > H *volt* 'he/she/it was', *van-* to be',
330. **PFUgr** **wolka* > PUgr **wolkə* (not in POUgr, ? VogSo, VogKU, VogP *wāylap* 'Schulterriemen, etc.') > EAH **wallə* > H *váll* 'shoulder',
331. **PFUgr** **wolnɜ* > PUgr **wolnə* (> POUgr **ōlnɜ* > PVog **ălnɜ*, POsty **olna*) > EAH **olnə* > H *ón* 'tin' (the *-l-* disappeared in H and caused the length of the vowel),
332. **PFUgr** **workɜ-* > PUgr **workə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **worə-* > H *varr-* 'to sew',
333. **PFUgr** **woye-* > PUgr **woyə-* (not in POUgr) > EAH **woyə-* > **wayə-* > H *ví-*, *vív-*'to fight',
334. **PFUgr** **woye* > PUgr **woyə* (> POUgr **wōy* > PVog **wāy*, POsty **woy*) > EAH **wayə* > H *vaj* 'butter', see T *may* id.,
335. **PFUgr** **wuδ́e* > PUgr **wuδ́ə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wuyə* > **uyə* > H *új* 'new',
336. **PFUgr** **wüŋä* > PUgr **wüŋə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **wüɣə* > H *öv* 'girdle',
337. **PFUgr** **yälke* > PUgr **yälkə* (> POsty **yäɣĕl*) > EAH **yälə* > H *jel* 'sign',
338. **PFUgr** **yänte* > PUgr **yäntə* (> POUgr **yṼ̄ntəɣ* > PVog **yā̆ntəɣ*, POsty **yŏntəɣ*) > EAH **yində* > **idə* > H *ideg* 'nerve, bowstring' (*-g* is a H suff),
339. **PFUgr** **yäŋe* > PUgr **yäŋkə* (> POUgr **yēŋk* > PVog **yā̆ŋkɜ*, POsty **yöŋk*) > EAH **yäŋgə* > **yägə* > H *jég* 'ice',
340. **PFUgr** **yeye* ~ **eye* > PUgr **yiyə* (> POUgr **yĭy* > PVog **yī*, POsty **yĕy*) > EAH **eyə* > H *éj*, *é* 'night',
341. **PFUgr** **(y)ikä* > PUgr **iɣə* (not in POUgr) > EAH **evə* > H *év* 'year',
342. **PFUgr** **yoke* > PUgr **yoɣə* (> POUgr **yī̯ɣ(ɜ)* > PVog **yī̯*, POsty **yī̯ɣ*, **yaɣ*) > EAH **yoɣə* > **yowə* > H *jó*[1] 'river (*arch* today only in river-names like *Sajó*, *Hejő*, *Sió*, etc.)',
343. **PFUgr** **yoŋksɜ* ~ **yoksɜ* > PUgr **yoɣəs* (> POUgr **yōɣəθ* > PVog **yaɣət*, POsty **yaɣəʌ*) > EAH **yīwəh*, **yıyəh* > **yīwə* > H *ív* 'arch, bow' (see also *íj*),
344. **PFUgr** **yuke* > PUgr **yukə-* (> ? PVog **ay-*) > EAH **yuɣə-* > **yī-* > **ī-* > H *iszik-* 'to drink', *ivott* 'drank' (the H base is *i-*),
345. **PUgr** **aktə-* (> POUgr **ī̯ɣtɛ-*, **ī̯ɣət-* > PVog **ī̯ɣət-*, **ăyt-*, POsty **aɣət-*) > EAH **awtə-* > **o̯u̯tə-* > H *utál-* 'to detest' (*-l* is a H suff),
346. **PUgr** **alə-mə* (> POsty **i̯ʌəm*) > EAH **aləmə* > H *alom* 'litter',
347. **PUgr** **alə-ttə-* (> POUgr **ālt-* > PVog **ālt-*, POsty **alt-*) > EAH **olətə-* > H *olt-* 'to graft, bud',
348. **PUgr** **ańćə* (> PVog **ańś*) > EAH **anǰə* > H *ágyék* 'groin, loin' (*-k* is a H suff),
349. **PUgr** **arə* (> POUgr **ar* > PVog **or*, POsty **or*) > EAH* *arə* > H *ara* 'betrothed, fiancée, *arch* brother of the mother or the sister' (*-a* is a petrified poss suff) (the Ir origin (Os *rvad* / *ærvæd* < **brat*) is not acceptable),

350. **PUgr** **äδ′ämə* (> POUgr **īδ′me* > PVog **īl′ĕm*, POsty **äyĕm*) > EAH **eywə* > **eńvə* > H *enyv* ‘glue’,
351. **PUgr** **älə*, **äləm* (> POUgr **āl*, **āləm* > PVog **āl*, *āləm*, POsty **äləm*) > EAH **älmwə* > **älw* > H *elv*, *elü*, *el* ‘the other side’ (see c1200 *Erdeuelu* > *Erdüelü* > *Erdély* ‘Transylvania’) (it is possible, that H *-v-* is a H development, in which case PUgr **älə* > EAH **älə* > H *el*, and *-ü* / *-v* are H special secondary sounds, the result of the following poss suff),
352. **PUgr** **älĕmə-* (> POUgr **āləm-* > PVog **āləm-*, POsty **äləm-*) > EAH **elemə-* > H *emel-* ‘to lift’,
353. **PUgr** **ämpə* (> POUgr **āmpɜ* > PVog **āmpɜ*, POsty **ämp*) > EAH **ämbə* > **äbə* > H *eb* ‘dog’,
354. **PUgr** **čeppə-* (> PVog **šēp-*) > EAH **šepə-* > OH *šepped-* > H *süpped-* ‘to sink’ (*-d* is a H suff, the *-pp-* is secondary),
355. **PUgr** **čettə* (> POUgr **čĕt* / **čät-* > PVog **šātĕp-*, POsty **četime-*) > EAH **šetə* > H *sötét*, *sötét* ‘dark’ (*-ét* is a H suff),
356. **PUgr** **čittə-* (> PVog **šit-*) > EAH **šitə-* > OH *sit-* > H *süt-* ‘to bake (tr)’ (*-t* is not a suff, *-l* in *sül-* ‘to bake (intr)’ is the result of an analogy process),
357. **PUgr** **ćukkə-lə-* (> Vog *śôχəl-*, *śɔkəʌ-*) > EAH **čukalə-* > H *csókol-* ‘to kiss’,
358. **PUgr** **ćumpalə* (> POUgr **ćŭmpāl* > PVog **ćŭmpāl*, POsty **ćŏmpāl*) > EAH **čubolə* > H *csobolyó* ‘a small wooden vessel’ (*-ó* is a H suff),
359. **PUgr** **elə* (> PVog **il′ĕm*) > EAH **elə* > H *él* ‘edge’,
360. **PUgr** **ikkə* (> POUgr **V̄kɜ* > PVog **ăkī*, POsty **iki*) > EAH **ikə* > OH *ik* > H *ük* ‘great-great grandfather/mother’,
361. **PUgr** **iśə* (> POsty **ās*) > EAH **iseγ* > OH *isző* > H *üsző* ‘helfer’,
362. **PUgr** **kaćə-* (> PVog **kaś-*) > EAH **χačə* > **χašə* > H *hasad-* ‘to split (intr)’, *hasít-* ‘to split (tr)’ (*-ad*, and *-ít* are H suffs),
363. **PUgr** **karə* (> POUgr **kōrɣāy* > PVog **karkay*, POsty **kărŋay*) > EAH **χarə* > H *harkály* ‘woodpecker’ (*-kály* is a complex H suff) (the word is onomatopoeic, see H **herjó** and **karvaly** in the Lexicon; T *kïrguy*, etc., but the two T words are hardly connected with the PUgr one),
364. **PUgr** **kayə*[1] (> PVog **koy*) > EAH **χayə* > H *haj* ‘hair’,
365. **PUgr** **kayə-*[2] (> PVog **kay-* > **χoy-t-*) > EAH **χayə-* > H *hajol-*, *hajlik-* ‘to bend’ (*-l* and *-ik* are H suffs),
366. **PUgr** **käćə* ~ **käńćə* (> POUgr **kā̆ńć* > PVog **käńś*, POsty **käńć*) > EAH **kećə* > **kešə* > H *keshed-* ‘to become seedy, shabby’ (*-hed* is a H suff),
367. **PUgr** **käntə* (> POUgr **kĕnt* / **kă̆nt* > PVog **kă̆nt*, POsty **kĕnt*) > EAH **kändə* > **kädə* > H *kedv* ‘mood’ (*-v* is a H suff),
368. **PUgr** **kećə-* (> POsty **kŏć-*) > EAH **kešə-* > H *kísér-* ‘to escort’, cf. dial *késér-*, *kísért-* (*-r* is a H suff),
369. **PUgr** **kećə-rə* (> ? PVog **kwaś*) > EAH **kešerə-γ* > OH *kešeröű* > H *keserű* ‘bitter’ (the *-ű* is a H suff, cf. *kesered-* ‘to became embittered’),
370. **PUgr** **keyə* (> POUgr **kēy* / **kŏ̄y* > PVog **kă̆y*, POsty **köy*) > EAH **keyə* > H *kéj* ‘lust, pleasure’,

371. **PUgr** **kimə* ~ **kümə* (> POUgr **kűm*, **kűn* > PVog **kűn*, POsty **küm*) (or > ? POUgr **kümən* ? > **küwən* > **kűn* (but this would be the only /m/ > /w/ in POUgr) > EAH **kimə* > **kiwə* > H *kívül* 'outside', cf. *ki* 'out', *kint* 'outside', etc., also *kilenc* (< **kivələ-nc* '9, outside 10'),
372. **PUgr** **kottăŋ* (> POUgr **kŏtɜŋ* > PVog **kŏtāŋ*, POsty **kŏtəŋ*) > EAH **χottăγ* > H *hattyú* 'swan' (the palatalisation of /t/ is a H development, as is the *-ăŋ* > *ăγ* > *ū* change, the word is not a T lw, but a Nordic cultural wandering word, see → Y *kutaŋ* 'kakaja-to ptica, *kutan* 'caplja'),
373. **PUgr** **koδ′ə* (> POUgr **kol′* > PVog **kul′*) > EAH **χad′ə-ap-* > H *hagyap-* '*arch* to spit',
374. **PUgr** **köläćə* (> PVog **kolas*) > EAH **küläčə* > **külešə* > OH *küleš* > H *köles* 'millet',
375. **PUgr** **köśə-* [written with ӧ and misprinted in Rédei (1986–1991/2: 862) with *-s-*] (> ? PVog **kes-*) > EAH **keserey* > OH *kwzereu*, *kezerew* > H *köszörű* 'grinder',
376. **PUgr** **kućə* (> POsty **kuś*) > EAH **χusə* > **χuzə* > OH *-huz* > *hozzá* 'to somebody', see loc suff *-hoz*,
377. **PUgr** **kuntə* (> PVog **kunt-ěl*) > EAH **χundə* > **χudə* > OH *hud* > H *hód* 'beaver' (not a T lw),
378. **PUgr** **kuntălə-* (> POUgr **kuntɜγ*(*l*) > PVog **k̥āntɜl-*, POsty **kuntĕγl-*) > EAH **χondə-lə-* > **χadlə-* > OH *hadl-* > H *hall-*[1] 'to hear' (late contamination in H with PFUgr **kulɜ-*),
379. **PUgr** **kupătə* (> ? POUgr **kupăt-* / **kapăt-* > PVog **kapt-*, POsty **kăpət-*) > EAH **χuwδə-* > **χūδə-* > H *hoz-* 'to bring', H *húz-* 'to pull, pull here, drag' (the two H words are the result of a split),
380. **PUgr** **kūtə* (> POUgr **kūt-* > PVog **kūt-*, POsty **kat-*) > EAH **χiδə-* > H *híz-* 'to became fat, corpulent',
381. **PUgr** **künə* (> POUgr **kə̈n* > PVog **kün*, POsty **kə̄n*) > EAH **künə* > OH *kenyid* > H *könnyed*, *könnyű* 'light, easy' (*-d* and *-ű* are H suffs),
382. **PUgr** **küśə-* (> POUgr **kēs-* > PVog **kās-*, POsty **kĕs-*) > EAH **küsə-* > **küzə* > H *küzd-* 'to struggle, contend', /z/ is due to secondary voicing, *-d* is a H suff, Finn, Est and Saami parallels are uncertain because of semantic reasons),
383. **PUgr** **kütĕppə* (> POUgr **kütəp* > POsty **kütəp*) > EAH **küδəpə* > H *közép* 'the middle', the *-p* is of POUgr origin, see PFUgr **kütɜ* >> H *köz*,
384. **PUgr** **läćə* (> Vog *läć-*, ? → POsty **lāsi-*) > EAH **läčə-* > **läšə-* > H *les-* 'to watch, lie in a wait',
385. **PUgr** **läppə-* (> POUgr **lēp-* > PVog **l̄ăp-*, POsty **lep-*) > EAH **läpə* > H *lép-* 'to step',
386. **PUgr** **lepə* (> POUgr **lüpe* > PVog **lupta*, POsty **lipət*) > EAH **lewə* > H *levél* 'leaf' (*-l* is a H suff),
387. **PUgr** **loγə* (> POUgr **lōγ* > PVog **lŭw*, POsty **loγ*) > EAH **low* > H *ló* acc *lovat*, dial *lú* 'horse' (the connection with OT *ulag* 'post horse, transport animal' is very uncertain, see § 8.1),
388. **PUgr** **ma* (> POUgr **mā-* / **m̥ī* > PVog **māt* ~ **m̥īt*, POsty **makay*) > EAH **mā* > H *más* 'different', *másik* 'the other' (*-š* and *-ik* are H suffs),
389. **PUgr** **mańćə* (> POUgr **māńć*, **m̄āńć* > PVog **m̄āńśi*, POsty **mańć*) > EAH **manǰə* > **maǰə* > H *magy* in *magyar* 'Hungarian',

390. **PUgr** **mälə* (> POUgr **mēl* > PVog **mā̆lɜt*, POsty **melək*) > EAH **mälə* > H *meleg* ‘warm’ (*-g* is a H suff),
391. **PUgr** **märə-*[1] (> POUgr **mēr-* > PVog **mā̆rəkt-*, POsty **merət-*) > EAH **märə-* > H *mer-*[1] ‘to draw, scoop out’,
392. **PUgr** **märə*[2] (> PVog **mär-*) > EAH **märə-* > H *mer-*[2] ‘to dare’,
393. **PUgr** **mäyə-* (> PVog **mā̆yə-*) > EAH **mewə-* > OH, MH *mevet-* > H *nevet-* ‘to laugh’,
394. **PUgr** **melə* (> POUgr **mĭl* > PVog **mĭl*, POsty **mĕl*) > EAH **melə* > H *mély* ‘deep’,
395. **PUgr** **menə-* (> POUgr **mēn-* > PVog **mă̆n-*, POsty **meṇ-*) > EAH **menə-* > H *mënül-*, *mënyül-*, *kimënül-*, *kimënyül-* ‘*dial* to become strained, dislocated’ (*-ül* is a H suff),
396. **PUgr** **meśə-* (> PVog **mes-*) > EAH **mesə-* > *mesəɣ* > H *meztelen*, *mezítelen* ‘naked’ (*-telen* is a privative suff, the word was originally a verb, with the meaning ‘to dress’, fr this **meseɣ* ‘dress’ and *meseytelen* > *mezítelen* > *meztelen* ‘without dress, naked’ with all stages recorded),
397. **PUgr** **morə-* (> POUgr **mV̄r-* > PVog **mūr-*, POsty **măra-* ~ **mor-*) > EAH **morə-* > H *márt-* ‘to immerse’ (*-t* is a H suff),
398. **PUgr** **murə* (> POUgr **mūrəs* > POsty **mūrəs*) > EAH **morə* > H *marok*, acc *markot* ‘the hollow of the hand, handful’ (the *-k* is a H suff, *tantum singulare*), see also *marék* id.,
399. **PUgr** **ńalə* (> POUgr **ńi̯ləɣ* > PVog **ńăləɣ/l*, POsty **ńi̯ləɣ*) > EAH **ńolə-c* > H *nyolc* ‘eight’ (*-c* appeared in analogy with *kilenc* ‘nine’),
400. **PUgr** **närkə* (> POUgr **nī̯yrĕ* > PVog **nī̯r*, POsty **naɣər*) > EAH **ńerə* > H *nyereg* ‘saddle’ (*-g* is a H suff) (not a T lw),
401. **PUgr** **ńerə-* (> POUgr **ńĭr-* > PVog **ńĭr-*, POsty **ńĕr-*) > EAH **ńerə-* > H *nyer-* ‘to gain, win’,
402. **PUgr** **ńiŋə* (> POUgr **ńīŋk* ~ **ńuŋk* > PVog **ńĭŋₒkₒ*, POsty **ńiŋk*) > EAH **ńiɣə* > **ńiwə* > H *nyű*, acc *nyűvet*, dial *nyiv*, *nyűv* ‘maggot, worm’,
403. **PUgr** **ńirə* (> POUgr **ńĭr* > PVog **ńĭr*, POsty **ńĕr*) > EAH **ńirə* > H *nyír* ‘birch(-tree)’, see *nyár* § 8.1.1,
404. **PUgr** **ńolə-mə-* (> POUgr **ńŏl-* / **ńăl-* > PVog **ńăl-*, POsty **ńŏlt-*) > EAH **ńolmə-* > **ńomə* > H *nyom-* ‘to press’, *nyom* ‘trace, track’, see *nyomorék* ‘crippled’, *nyomorog-* ‘to live in misery’,
405. **PUgr** **ośə-* (> POUgr **oś-* > PVog **os-*, POsty **os-*) > EAH **očə-* > **ašə-* > H *ásít-* ‘to yawn’,
406. **PUgr** **oŋtə* (> POUgr **V̄ŋt-* > PVog **āŋtəl*, POsty **ăŋtį*) > EAH **oŋdə* > **oɣdə* > **ōd* > H (*ōdal* >) *oldal* ‘side’ (the final *-l* is a H suff),
407. **PUgr** **orə* (> POUgr **(w)ūr* > PVog **ŭr*, POsty **wur*) > EAH **arə* > H *iránt*, dial *aránt* ‘towards, in the direction’ (*-n* and *-t* are H suffs, *aránt* is the older form),
408. **PUgr** **oštărə* (← MIr, see Pehl *aštar*) (> PVog **oštă*) > EAH **oštarə* > OH *ustor* > H *ostor* ‘whip’,
409. **PUgr** **palyə* (> POUgr **pūɣəl* > PVog **pį̄wəl* ~ **păyl*, POsty **puɣəl*) > EAH **φalwə* > H *falu*, acc *falvat* ‘village’,

410. **PUgr** **parə-* (> POUgr **pār-* > PVog **pār-*) > EAH **φarə-* > H *farag-* 'to carve (out)' (*-g* is a H suff, the Sam words, quoted by the literature, hardly pertain here, see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 857),
411. **PUgr** **patə-* (> POUgr **pūt* > PVog **pŭt*, POsty **put* ~ **pat*) > EAH **φaδə-* > H *fázik-* 'to feel cold' (*-ik* is a H suff),
412. **PUgr** **päčə-* (> POUgr **pīč-* > PVog **pīšɜt*, POsty **päč-*) > EAH **φäčə* > **φäšə-* > H *fesel-*, *feslik-* 'to become unstitched, become loosened' (*-l* and *-ik* are H suffs),
413. **PUgr** **päkkə* (> POUgr **päk* > PVog **päk*) > EAH **φäkə* > H *fekély* 'ulcer' (*-ély* is a H suff),
414. **PUgr** **päkkə* (> POUgr **päk* > PVog **peχ*, POsty **päk*) > EAH **φekə-* > H *fék* 'halter (of the horse), brake',
415. **PUgr** **päkkə-ttə* (> POsty **pəɣtə* → VogN *pit*, *piti*) > EAH **φeketə* > H *fekete* 'black',
416. **PUgr** **pentĕlə* (> POUgr **pēntel* > PVog **päntel*) > EAH **φendələ* > **φedələ* > H *fëdél* 'cover, roof', see H *fëd-* 'to cover' < **PFUgr** **pentɜ-*,
417. **PUgr** **peyə-* (> PVog **päy-*) > EAH **φeyə-* > H *fejt-* 'to undo, unstitch, mine' (*-t* is a H suff),
418. **PUgr** **pilə-* (> PVog **pīl-*) > EAH **φülə-* > H *fűl-* 'to become warm' (*fűt-* 'to heat' developed by analogy fr *fújt-*, there is no base like **fű-*, not related to *fő-*),
419. **PUgr** **pimə* (> POUgr **pūmɜ* > PVog **pŭmɜ*, POsty **pam* ~ **pɔm*) > EAH **φiwə* > **fiü* > H *fű* 'grass',
420. **PUgr** **pol′ə* (> POsty **pol′*) > EAH **φod′ə* > H *faggyú* 'suet, fat' (the *-ú* is a H suff, the gemination occurred in H),
421. **PUgr** **polə-* (> POUgr **pŏl-* > PVog **pɔl-*, POsty **pă̮l-* / **pŏ̮l-*) > EAH **φolə-* > H *folyik-* 'to flow, run (water)',
422. **PUgr** **porə* (> POsty **pĭr*) > EAH **φorə* > H *far* 'bottom, arse', see *farok* 'tail', *farkas* 'wolf', *farol-* to skid',
423. **PUgr** **pośə-* (> POUgr **pos-* > PVog **pasl-*, POsty **pus* 'abgenutzes Kleid') > EAH **φosə-* > H *foszlik-*, *foszt-* 'to fray, strip, pick', *fosztogat-* 'to loot',
424. **PUgr** **poyə* (> PVog **pay*) > EAH **φow* > OH acc *fuat*, *fuvat* > H *fú* '*arch*, *dial* a kind of duck' (U **pɤyɜ* is reconstructed (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 4) because of a similar Selkup word, the word is onomatopoeic and came under the influence of H *fú-* 'to blow'),
425. **PUgr** **poɣrə-* (> PVog **powr-*) > EAH **φarə-* > H *fárad-* 'to get tired', *fáraszt-* 'to tire' (*-ad* and *-aszt* are H suffs),
426. **PUgr** **pućə* (> POUgr **pōs* > PVog **păšĕm*, POsty **pɔšĕŋ* / **pošĕŋ*) > EAH **φič-t* > **φišt* > OH *fišt* (*-t* is a H suff) > H *füst* 'smoke',
427. **PUgr** **raŋə* (> PVog **raŋ*) > EAH **raɣə* > **rā* > H *rá* 'upon', *rajta* 'atop', suff *+rA*, etc.,
428. **PUgr** **rokkə-* (> POUgr **roka-* > PVog **rak-*, POsty **raɣ-*) > EAH **rokə-* > H *rokkan* 'to come down, become crippled, bent' (*-an* is a H suff),
429. **PUgr** **saćə-* ~ **saśə-* (> POUgr **θaθ-* > PVog **tăt-*, POsty **ʌăl-*) > EAH **hasə-* > H *ázik-* 'to become wet' (*-ik* is a H suff, /z/ is the result of secondary voicing),
430. **PUgr** **sakkə-* (> POUgr **θōk-* > PVog **tăkn-*, POsty **ʌok-*) > EAH **hakə-* > H *akad-* 'to stick', cf. *akaszt-* 'to hang' (*-ad*, *-aszt* are H suffs),

431. **PUgr** **sarańə* (< **sarańa* ← OIr *zaranya*) (> POUgr **θōrəń*, **θorńɜ* > PVog **tărəń*, POsty **ʌorńɜ*) > EAH **harańə* > H *arany* ‘gold’,
432. **PUgr** **sarə* (> POUgr **θūrɜ* > PVog **tūrɜ*, POsty **ʌar*) > EAH **harə* > H *ár*[2] ‘flood’,
433. **PUgr** **säptə* (← IE **septa*) (> POUgr **sə̄t* > PVog **sə̄t*, POsty **ʌäpĕt*) > EAH **häwtə* > **ätə* > H *hét* ’seven’ (*h-* is secondary, system adaptation under the influence of *hat* ‘six’),
434. **PUgr** **soγə* (> POUgr **θōγ* > PVog **tăγ*, POsty **ʌoγi̯*) > EAH **hog* > H *ág* ‘branch (of a tree)’,
435. **PUgr** **sośə-* (> POUgr **θōs-* > PVog **tāš-*, POsty **săsa-*) > EAH **hośə-* > H *aszik-* ‘to become dry’ (*-ik* is a H suff),
436. **PUgr** **sä* (> POUgr **θV̄* > PVog **tə̄n*, POsty **ʌĕγ*) > EAH **hö* > H *ő* ‘he, she’, *övé* ‘his, hers’,
437. **PUgr** **śakkə* (> POUgr **sak-* > POsty **sak*) > EAH **śakə* > H *szak* ‘*dial* a small piece’, *szakít-* ‘to tear (into pieces)’, *szakgat-*, *szaggat-* ‘freq of the former’, etc.,
438. **PUgr** **śalə* (> POUgr **śal* > POsty **saʌ*) > EAH **śalə* > H *szalag* ‘ribbon, band’ (*-g* is a H suff),
439. **PUgr** **śalγə* (> POUgr **sV̄γəl* > PVog **sī̯γlā*, POsty **saγəl*) > EAH **śaləγə* > **śaləwə* > H *szalu* ‘plane’,
440. **PUgr** **śaŋə-* / **śaŋkə-* (> POUgr **sūγ-* > PVog **šūm-*, POsty **saγəl-* ~ **si̯γəl-* ~ **suγəm-*) > EAH **śaŋgə-* > **śaγə-gə-* > **sāgə-* > H *száguld-* ‘to run at utmost speed, race’ (*-uld* is a complex H suff),
441. **PUgr** **śäŋə* (> POsty **säŋkɜ*) > EAH **śeγə* > **śewə-ke* > H *szőke* ‘blond’ (*-ke* is a H suff, see *szürke*),
442. **PUgr** **śäγərə* (> PVog **säγər*, see Honti (1999: 128)) and not **säγɜrɜ* or **säkrɜ* (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 886) > EAH **śewərə* > **śewrə* > H *szőr* ‘bristle, hair’ (the /š/ in *sörény* ‘mane’ is a H secondary development),
443. **PUgr** **śelə* (> POUgr **sīl* > PVog **sīl*, POsty **sil*) > EAH **śelə* > H *szél* ‘edge’,
444. **PUgr** **śeŋkə* (> PVog **seŋk*) > EAH **śeŋgə-* > **śegə-* > H *szög*, *szög* ‘nail, pin’,
445. **PUgr** **śeyə-* (> POUgr **sēyəγ-* > PVog **sə̆yγ-*, POsty **seyeγ-*) > EAH **seyə-* > **sē-* > H *szédül-* ‘to feel faint’ (*-d* and *-ül* are H suffs),
446. **PUgr** **śorə* (> POUgr **sōr* > PVog **săr*, POsty **sor*) > EAH **śorə* > H *szár* (in *lábszár*, etc.) ‘stem, leg’, see also *szárny* ‘wing’,
447. **PUgr** **śuŋkə* (> POsty **sŏŋ*) > EAH **śuŋgə* > **śugə* > OH *sug* > H *zug* ‘corner, nook’ (the *z-* is the result of a late voicing),
448. **PUgr** **takə* (> POUgr **taγă* > POsty **taγ*) > PUgr **takə* (> POUgr **taγə* > POsty **taγ*) > EAH **taγə* > **tā* > H *táj* ‘region, land’ (the H *y* is a H development resulting fr the remorphologisation: *tā-ya* ‘its region’ > *tāy-a*, the weakness of the etymology is, that e.g. in case of *száj* we have *szám*, *szád*, *szánk*, etc. and the base *sā* can be detected, in case of *táj* there is no evidence of a former **tā*; perhaps *tág* ‘wide’, *tát-* ‘to open wide’, *tár-* ‘to open’(*-r* is problematic) < **tā*),
449. **PUgr** **tāl*(*ə*) (← Pe *tāl*) (> PVog **tul*) > EAH **talə* > H *tál* ‘dish’,

450. **PUgr** **tayə-ttə* (← Ancient Ir **tāyā* 'heimlich') (> PVog **tuyt-*) > EAH **tiyt-* > **tit-* > H *titok* 'secret' (*-ok* is a H suff),
451. **PUgr** **täkkə-* (> POsty **tə̄γə-*) > EAH **täkə-* > H *tekint-* 'look at, cast a look' (*-int* is a H suff),
452. **PUgr** **täŋkət* (> POUgr **tə̄γət* > PVog **tə̆wət*, POsty **tüγət*) > EAH **täŋgəδə* > **tägəδə* > H *tegëz*, *tëgëz* 'quiver',
453. **PUgr** **tärə* (> POsty **tär* / **tir*) > EAH **tärə* > H *tér* 'space', same as *tér-* (n. 298) above,
454. **PUgr** **täγtə* (> POUgr **tə̄γət* > PVog **tə̆wət*, POsty **tə̆γət*) > EAH **täwzə* > H *tűz*, dial *tíz* 'fire',
455. **PUgr** **tepə-* (> POUgr **tĭp-* > PVog **tĭp*, POsty **tĕp-*) > EAH **tewə-* > H *téved-* 'to err, mistake' (*-ed* is a H suff),
456. **PUgr** **toltə* (> POUgr **tV̄lt* 'leicht, Fieber' > PVog **tūlt* 'leicht', POsty **tolt* / **tɔlt*) 'Fieber, Hilfe' > EAH **toltə* > H *táltos* 'sorcerer, medicine-man' (*-š* is a H suff), in folklore texts of Reguly *toltn*, *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft',
457. **PUgr** **tontəγ* (> POUgr **tōnt* > PVog **tānt*, POsty **tontəγ*) > EAH **tundəγ* > **tudəγ* > **tudəwə* > H *tidó* '*dial* birch bark',
458. **PUgr** **turə* (> POUgr **tūr* > PVog **tŭr*, POsty **tur*) > EAH **turə* > OH *turuk* > H *torok* 'throat' (*-k* is a H suff),
459. **PUgr** **ütə-* (> POUgr **ű̆t-* > PVog **ĭtγəl-*, POsty **ät-* ~ **itəp-*) > EAH **üδə-* > H *űz-* 'to drive, chase, pursue', *üzekedik-* 'to be in heat',
460. **PUgr** **waŋkə-* (> POUgr **wāŋk-* > PVog **wāŋk-*, POsty **waŋk-*) > EAH **waŋgə* > **wagə* > H *vág-* 'to cut',
461. **PUgr** **warə-* (> PVog **wār-*) > EAH **warə-* > H *vár-* 'to wait',
462. **PUgr** **yitə-* (> POsty **yīt*) > EAH **iδə* > **yiδə* > H *íz* 'joint, *arch* branch of the family', see *hetedíziglen* 'up to the seventh generation of the family' (the comparison with other FUgr words is less probable),
463. **PUgr** **yomə* (> POUgr **yōm* (?) > PVog **yomās*, POsty **yăm*) > EAH **yaw* > H *jó*[2] (with H poss suff: *java*) 'good',
464. **PUgr** **yuktə-* (> POUgr **yŏkət-* > PVog **yɔkt-*, POsty **yŏγət-*) > EAH **yutə-* > H *jut-* 'to get to, arrive at',
465. **PUgr** **yüγə-* (> POUgr **yű̆-*, **yű̆γ-*, PVog **yĭ-*, **yĭw-*, POsty **yĕ-* / **yŏ-*) > EAH **yüwə-* > OH *yev-* > H *jön-* 'to come', cf. *jő* 'he/she comes', *jössz* 'you (sing) come', *jövő* 'coming, who comes'.

8.7 Hungarian words with problematic Finno-Ugric and Ugric etymologies

Many of the following words may well turn out to be of Finno-Ugric or Ugric origin, but I have excluded them from the corpus (see § 5.3 as well as § 8.5 and § 8.6, respectively) on which I based the historical phonology of the Early Ancient Hungarian language. This is because I prefer to follow the rule of proceeding "from the certain to the uncertain".

ÁRIK [ārik] *arch* 'to decay, putrefy, go bad (of food and water), *árt-* 'to harm' < PFUgr **arɜ* 'reissen, abreissen, zerreissen'. H **ár-* in the two former words has been compared with FUgr **arɜ-*, which occurs in Vog with the meaning 'müde werden', in Osty in the sense of 'zerbrechen, zerreissen (ein Kleidungstück)', in Zyr denoting 'abreissen, matt werden, ermüden', and in Voty signifying 'abreissen, jäten, ausjäten'. The basic definition is 'to deteriorate by falling into pieces'. The Vog word looks like a lw fr T, though Honti (1982: 129) was certain that the Vog word pertains to the other FUgr words. Unlike to the FUgr words, the H word *ár-ik-*, which is now obsolete, carries the basic meaning 'to deteriorate by growing foul'. The link between 'deteriorating by growing foul' and 'deteriorating by falling into pieces' is not impossible, but not obvious. According to this etymology, H *árt-* 'to harm' derived fr the basic *ár-* with the old H suffix *-t-*, which forms tr verbs fr intr ones. The semantic development 'to deteriorate by growing foul' > 'to harm' (without any relationship to making something foul) also poses problems. The basic sense of the T word *ar-* is 'to be exhausted'. FUgr **arɜ-* and T *ar-* have been linked by Munkácsi (1902: 272), and Németh (1928–1930: 72–73) and others, but, as was pointed out in Róna-Tas (1983a: 337), semantic and phonetic challenges would prove difficult to overcome. The OT verb contains an initial /h/. The initial /h/ would be reflected in the H word if the word were an early borrowing, however this is not the case. I suggest that H *ár-* 'to become putrified' and *árt-* 'to harm (somebody)' represent two independent words that each go back to a different T word. The archaic H *ár-* is a copy of T **ar-* 'to become putrified', which only exists in OT as *arta-*, while H *árt-* 'to do harm' was copied from T *artat-* 'to damage' and was simplified in H. On the details, see **árik** in the Lexicon.

BÉL 'intestines' < AH **pälə* < PUgr **pälə* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **pälɜ* is knotty because of its initial *b-*. The *b-* would seem to be a voiced continuation of PFUgr *p-* before *-l-*, but see *fél*[2] 'half', *fél*[1] in *ajtófélfa*, *fül* and *felhő* in § 8.5. See also Benkő (1993–1997/1: 92).

BOG ‘knot’ < AH **pugə* < **puŋgə* < PUgr **pūŋkə-l* (> Vog **pūklĕp*, Osty **puŋkel′*) < PFUgr **pʁŋkɜ*, but see H **bog** in the Lexicon and in Benkő (1993–1997/1: 115–116).

BOGYÓ ‘berry’ < PUgr **polă* (> PVog **pal′*) < PFUgr **pola*. The final *-ó* should be a dim suff, but the *l* > *l′* > *y* > *ǰ* shift is unjustified, and *b-* is irregular.

CSUHÉ *dial* ‘a kind of fishing net’ < AH **ćuyay* < PUgr **ćayə* (> POUgr **sāy*, **sāyəp* > PVog **sāy*, **sāyəp*, POsty **sayəp*) is unacceptable because PUgr *ć-* > POUgr *s-*. The correspondence PUgr *a* > AH, H *u* is not justified. It is not even contained in Rédei (1986–1991).

DARU ‘crane’ (< AH **tarəɣ*) < PUgr **targə* (> POUgr **tī̮rɣɜ* > PVog **tī̮rəɣ*, POsty **tarəɣ*) < PFUgr **tarkɜ*. The etymology is problematic for phonetic reasons; *t* > *d* may be a late H change, but there are no data available for *t-*.

EDZ ‘to harden, to steel’ < AH **eδə-* < PUgr **ätə-* (> POUgr **ät-* > PVog **ät*, POsty **ät-*). This is rather thorny (see AD 1531 <egyzeth>). If this is to read *eǰzet*(*t*), rendering an older **eǰ-* [> **eǰez-* > **eǰz-* > *edz-*] stem, the etymology is hardly acceptable.

EZÜST ‘silver’ (⟵ Perm ? **ez-vɜśkɜ*) ⟵ ? Al **äzvist*, cf. Os *ævzīst* / *ævzestæ* ‘serebro’ (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 212). See § 8.9.

FEJ ‘to milk’ < EAH **feyə-* < PUgr **piyə-* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **piye-* ‘to milk’ (> ? Fi, Est) ⟵ Ir; cf. PIA *páyas-* ‘Milch’, AI Avesta *paiiō-* ‘Milch’, *paēman-* ‘Muttermilch’. The Ir word denotes ‘milk’ and is not a verb. The Ir verb for ‘to milk’ is **dauč*, **dauxš-*. The Finn and Est comparisons are doubtful due to concerns over the vocalism.

GYALOG ‘on foot’ < ? AH **yalog* < PUgr **yalkə* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **yalka*. The /d′/ in place of /y/- is rare, but not impossible, AD 1553 *jalogot* (read *yalog-ot* acc), see *jó* ‘good’ and *gyógyít-* ‘to cure’, *jég* ‘ice’ dial *gyég*. The suff is also not clear.

GYÖKÉR ‘root’ < PUgr **yekkərə* (> PVog **yekwer*). This is problematic because of morphology (the base is *yekkĕ*) as the Vog word contains *-kw-*. The initial is also irregular.

HAJÓ ‘boat’ is of T origin; see the Lexicon.

HARAP *arch* ‘dry leaves, etc.’ < PFUgr **korɜ*, **korwa*. Rédei (1986–1991/1: 187–188) has also noted morphological and semantic stumbling blocks.

harap ‘to bite’ << PFUgr **karɜ-* ~ **korɜ-*. There are uncertain parallels in the Perm lgs.

hord ‘to carry’ < PUgr **kur-* (> PVog **kort-* ‘to draw, trigger’) < PFUgr **kurɜ-*. The Vog *-t* is unclear (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 860), and the semantic side is also challenging. The *-d* is a H suff.

igen ‘yes, affirmative particle; very’. Neither the hitherto suggested FUgr etymology, nor the T one is acceptable; see **igen** in the Lexicon.

ír ‘to write’ is of T der. See **ír** in the Lexicon.

irgalom ‘mercy, pity’ < PFUgr **yʁrɜ-* ‘sich verirren’. The semantic side is unclear, see § 8.1.2.

kengyel ‘stirrups’ < PFUgr **kećä* ‘Kreis, Ring, Reifen’. The word offers a great many yet unsolved problems, on which see Rédei (1986–1991/1: 142). None of the hitherto suggested etymologies is convincing.

kérődzik ‘to ruminate’ < PFUgr **kerɜ-* ‘rülpsen’. According to Rédei (1986–1991/1: 151), this is of T origin. See **kérődzik** in the Lexicon.

kerül ‘to go around, to get somewhere, to avoid, to have a price, etc.’ The H word covers an extremely wide semantic field. This may have resulted fr the merger of various words. The sense of the word may be tied to the basic meaning of H *kör* ‘round, circle’ (see also in other lgs, where we find words with *kVr* for round objects as in Lat *circus*, Tib *khor* id., etc.), but the details are unclear.

köcsög ‘jug, jar’ < AH **küčə* < PUgr **küćə* (> POUgr **kŭ̈čəm* > PVog **kŭ̈šəm*, POsty **kŏ̈čəm*) < PFUgr **küče*. H /č/ corresponds irregularly with PFUgr /č/.

láb ‘foot’ < PFUgr **luwe* ‘Knochen’ or < PFU **lʁmpɜ* ‘Fläche’. The starting point for *-b* in the first etymology and the semantic part of the second etymology are obscure (see Rédei 1986–1991/2: 255).

lék ‘hole in the ice’, most probably of T origin, see **vék** in the Lexicon.

lel ‘to find, to come across’ (< AH **lelə-*) < PUgr **lewδə-* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **lewδä-*. The disappearance of PUgr *-w-* in this form is unusual. The Finn and Est parallels are phonologically unclear, while the word is absent fr the OUgr lgs. Also,

-w- is not represented in H. The H dial variants *lűtt-*, *lőtt-* come fr *lelt-*, while *lött-* has a short vowel.

MÉN 'stallion'. The Osty word denotes 'Herde'. The comparison is also uncertain due to phonological hurdles. The der fr *mony* 'egg, testicle' is also unacceptable because of the different vocalism.

MÉREG 'poison' < PFUgr **mirkk3*. The Finn and Est words are separate copies. The H word is of Al der. The Os word *marg* 'poison' goes back to an IE base **mer-* 'to die', *o*-grade *mor-* (see Lat *morior-*, *mors*, etc.). In the IIr lgs, it became **mar-* (see Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 318). The Ir word *marg* means 'death' everywhere (Avestan, MPe, Pehl, Per *marg* 'death'), and this was what the Os word denoted early on (see Abaev 1958–1989/2: 72–73). Its secondary meaning 'what causes death, poison' only developed in Os, but the original sense could be detected in OOs. The word is back-vocalic in most Ir lgs. It is front-vocalic in Kurdish (*merk*), which cannot be the starting point for the H word. The only possibility would be that a T lg copied Al **marg* as **märg* because of the final *-g*, which it considered to be front-vocalic. But in none of the lgs investigated could a reflex of a supposed **merg*, **mereg* be found. Finn *myrkky*, Est *mürk* may pertain to the same word family, but no acceptable background could be found, see § 8.9.

MESE 'tale; (OH) riddle' < PUgr **maćă* ~ **mańćă* (> POU **mańć* > POsty **mańć*). The etymology is problematic for phonological and semantic reasons. The word only exists in Osty, where it may have taken on a secondary *-n-* in some dials or have lost the *-n-* in others. In any case, both the H front vocalism and the /š/ are irregular. The regular H form is the *magy-* segment of H *magyar* < *maǰer*. The Osty word does not denote 'to speak', which was suggested as the primary meaning of the word ('to speak' > 'people who speak (our language)' and 'to speak' > 'to tell tales'. Nor is Rédei's suggestion (1979: 353–354; 1986–1991/2: 867) convincing that the word was used in a construction like "Manysi-Word" (*mańt´ köl*), the legends about the Voguls, and that the first part became independent while it took over the semantics of the second part. The first part was indeed independent. It carried the sense of Vogul and we have no reason to suppose that a name for an ethnic group became a word denoting 'tale'. The Voty example cited *vi̯ži̯-kil* 'tale legend' from *vi̯ži̯* 'root, clan' and *kil* 'word' is interesting, but cannot be used here. The Voty word *vi̯ži̯* never adopted the meaning 'tale'.

MŰ 'work', *művel-*, *mível-* 'to do, to work' (< AH **miw*) < PFUgr *meke* 'Sache, Tat, Handlung'. The suggested parallels are only present in Sam (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 270). The H word, as also noted by Rédei, is of Al origin, see § 8.9.

nyék 'wattle, wicker-work' < PUgr **näkɜ-* > (POU **nēγ-* 'binden' > PVog **nēγ-*, POsty **nēγ-*). This is very uncertain and, most probably, wrong. Perhaps Vog TJČ *nā̆k* 'Schneller, Hahn, Drücke', Osty Kaz *nekĭ* 'Band Pflock zur Befestigung' (Honti 1982: 202 No. 782) < *PUgr **näkkə*.

ólom 'lead' < PUgr *wɜlmɜ* 'Blei'. The connection with *ón* 'tin' is unclear; VogT *wōlėm* 'Blei' is isolated, see Rédei (1986–1991/2: 899).

orvos 'physician', see **orvos** in the Lexicon.

ravasz 'fox (arch.), cunning' (the vocalism is irregular, the *-s* is a suff) < OH *ruoz*, *ruvoz* < AH **ruwoz*, see § 8.9.

rúg 'to kick (with one's foot)'. The suggested POsty **roŋk-* 'waten' is semantically too distant.

segg 'bottom' < AH **šeg* < **seŋgə*) < PUgr **śeŋkĕ* (> PVog **sā̆ŋk*) < PFUgr **śeŋkɜ*. The initial consonant is irregular; perhaps *šegg* < **seg*. The final long *-gg-* may be secondary.

segít 'to help' < PFUgr **čäŋkɜ-* 'helfen'. The vowel correspondence with the solitary, isolated EMord word is irregular and thus hardly acceptable (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 56).

sér in *sért-* 'to harm, to hurt' (*-t* is a H suff), *sérül-* 'to become hurt' (*-ül* is a H suff), the initial consonant is irregular (< ? AH **šerə-* < **śerə-*) < PUgr **ćärkə* (> POUgr **ćereγ-* (?) > PVog **ćärγ-*, POsty **ćereγ-*) < PFUgr **ćärke*. The word is of T der, see **sért** in the Lexicon.

sima 'smooth, flat', not in Rédei (1986–1991). The word is T in origin, see **sima** in the Lexicon.

sír 'tomb', see § 8.1.2.

süly 'scurvy' < AH **šülə* < PUgr **ćüklə* (not in POUgr) < PFUgr **ćüklä*. The palatalization of /l/ in H is secondary, whereas the initial consonant is irregular. The word is originally T, see **süly** in the Lexicon.

szekér 'cart' < PUgr **säkɜrɜ*. The Osty (V *liker*, Vj *ikər*, VK *jikər* 'Schlitten, Narte') and the H words may be independent borrowings fr an unknown Ir source. However,

the background of the oft cited Skrt *śakaṭī-* is, according to Mayrhofer (1992–2001/2: 601) "Nicht zufriedenstellend erklärt".

SZÉN 'coal' < PFUgr **śine* 'Holzkohle', which is only extant in Saami. In the case of the other PFUgr etymology, < PFUgr **śs̈ne* 'Zunder, Baumschwam; tinder'. The PFUgr origin is semantically doubtful, the H word carried the initial meaning 'gloving embers, fire'.

SZÉP 'beautiful' < PFUgr **śäppä*. The comparison with Finn and Saami words is thorny. Problematic is also its comparison with T words, see **szép**, **sebes** in the Lexicon. Perhaps it is a quasi-onomatopoeic word.

SZÍK 'soda, sodic soil' < PUgr **ćs̈kkɜ* 'Salz' > PVog **ćäk* > TJ *ćik*, K U P *śäχ* 'Salz', cf. **čeχ* > Os *cæxx, cænxæ* 'sol'' (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 839). The Os word has no Ir etymology. The *-χχ-* was originally *-nχ-* (cf. Avar *can*, Anda *con*). The *-n-* may, nonetheless, be secondary (see many Cauc lgs which have the word, but without the nasal (for all the data, see Abaev 1958–1989/1: 310–311). The words must be linked in one way or another, but the phonological background is obscure. The H word has to go back to an earlier **śek* and not **čeχ* or **ćek*. Most probably, it is an old substrate word.

SZÓ, acc *szavat* 'word' (< AH **saw*) < ? PUgr **soγă* (> POUgr **sōγ* > PVog **săw*, POsty **soγa*). The *-γ* in POUgr **sōγ* is only based on the Tremyugan form *săγₒə*. All other Osty dials contain *-w-*, while in the case of POUgr **soγ* 'Fell, Haut' only Yugan features *-w* and all other dials use *γ* or *γ* > *χ*, see also Honti (1999: 77). In the case of an earlier **s-*, it would have disappeared in H. There is no reason to suppose a PFUgr *ś-* here. In the case of a common POUgr borrowing, the POsty *-γ* is not justified. The T word *saw* 'word' was independently copied by the OUgr and the H lgs. See **szó** in the Lexicon. Osty **saw*, Vog **saw* ⟵ WOT **saw* ⟶ (AH **saw* >) H *szó, szavat*. This was suggested early on by Ramstedt (1922–1923: 18). According to Gombocz (1924: 174), both are equally possible, but, according to Rédei (1986–1991/2: 885), "ist nicht akzeptabel" though he offered no reasoning.

SZÜL 'to bear, to give birth' < PUgr **silə* > Vog KM *sēl-* 'beschaffen', N *sēl-* 'suchen, erwerben, kaufen'. The comparison with Vog *sēl-* 'erwerben, suchen, kaufen, etc.' (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 888) is scarcely acceptable semantically. The Eng *get ~ beget* cited is an erroneous parallel. The Eng word *beget* carries the meaning 'to procreate or generate (offspring), esp. of a male parent, to cause to produce as an effect'. Words cited by Rédei (1974: 364–365) with the semantic change 'to bring' > 'to bring a child' > 'to give birth' are valid examples, but while the female 'brings', the male 'makes or obtains' a child. The semantic field of the Vog words is 'to obtain' > 'to search,

to buy'. This is also the case with Eng *get* and *beget*, i.e. to get or make, obtain a child. On the other hand, Rédei is right to reject Vog **sūl-* 'zur Welt bringen, sich vermehren' as a parallel to H *szül-* because of the back vocalism.

táltos 'sorcerer, medicine man' < PUgr **tultɜ* 'Zauberei, Zauberkraft' (*-š* is a H suff) (> POUgr **tV̄lt* 'leicht, Fieber' > PVog **tūlt* 'leicht', POsty **tolt* / *tɔlt* 'Fieber, Hilfe'). In folklore texts collected by Reguly, we find *toltn*, *tolten* 'mit Zauberkraft'. This is the only example of the /lt/ cluster. The PUgr **u* > H *a* shift is rare but not unprecedented, see *hall* and *mag*. On the T origin, see **táltos** in the Lexicon.

tár 'to open' < PFUgr **tara-* 'offen, öffnen'. The FUgr and T etymologies hitherto suggested are not convincing. The Zyr word cited was initially front vocalic. Cher J *tara-*, U B *tora-* 'abgelegen, entfernt, weit, fern', B *tore-* 'wegrücken' is semantically problematic. It is not, as has been argued elsewhere, a lw fr a Chuv word that is only attested in Tat (see Rédei 1986–1988/1: 510). The verb T *tara-* 'auseinandergehen, etc.', cited by Beke (1918a: 204) fr Radloff (1893–1911/3: 837–838), goes back to OT *tar-* 'to disperse' (see also TatD1 *tarau* 'razbrosannyj'), but this comparison is hardly acceptable in terms of semantics. Perhaps the word goes back to a base **tā-*, see *tág* 'wide', *tát-* 'to open wide'. In this case, the *-r* is difficult to explain as it was remarked also by Rédei (1986–1991/2: 510).

tojik 'to lay eggs' < PFUgr **toge-* 'bringen, holen, geben'. The FUgr words that have been compared (see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 528–529) cover a very different semantic field 'to bring, to bring in, to give, etc.' Another etymology linked the word to PFUgr **toyɜ-* 'stossen', which has been compared with H *tol-*, *tosz-*, *taszít-* 'to move forward' and H *tojik-* (on the details, see Rédei 1986–1991/1: 528). The word is of T der, see **tojik** in the Lexicon.

úr 'Sir, Mister' < PFUgr **urɜ* 'Mann, Männchen'. Uncertain equivalents can be found in Finn (*uros* 'erwachsener Mann') and Saami, see Rédei (1986–1991/1: 545). The word is of T origin, see **úr** in the Lexicon.

üt, dial *it-* 'to hit' < PFUgr **äktɜ-* 'schlagen' (Rédei 1986–1991/1: 23). There are several phonological problems with a comparison of these words; Vog contains *y-* (TJ *yikt-*, KU *yäχt-*, P *yäkt-*, So *yakt-* 'schneiden') and one should suppose an *ä* > *i* change in H. The semantics ('to cut') render a comparison difficult.

8.8 Hungarian semantic copies

Semantic copy (SC) is a kind of selective copy, where the "denotative or connotative content elements of model code units serve as models and are copied onto units of the basic code. (The content is specified in communication by applying pragmatic and interactive rules that take into consideration relevant elements from the context)" (Johanson 2002: 292). Called earlier *mirror translation* or *calque*, *semantic copy* is a linguistic feature describing a case when a special semantic function of a word, of a phrase or of a sentence is copied fr lg A to lg B without copying its phonetic body.

The literature on H SCs fr T is scattered and meager. The most important works Erdődi (1976: 213–15; 1978: 76–79), Bereczki (1981: 281–283) and Ligeti (1986: 192), altogether less than ten pages, are available only in H.

In this subchapter beside the Eng I give the Grm and the Rus respective translations. In the latter two cases I tried to find out whether the H word may or may not be a SC fr a Sl or Grm lg. Of course I could not go into the details on the Sl or Grm side.

Elaborating on the following samples I made use of a seminar work of my PhD student Szonja Schmidt, for which I would like to offer her my thanks.

ADÓ [adō] 'tax; Steuer, Abgabe; nalog, dan′' | 1359 PN *Ados* [adōš], p1416 *ado* [adō] < *ad-* 'to give' {with suff *-Ó*}, the word is of PFUgr origin.

NT *NW* *bergi* 'nalog'; ***SW*** *bergi* 'dolg' (Tkm), *vergi* 'gift, tax' (Tt) < *ber-* 'to give'.

As we see the semantic component 'to give' is present in Grm Ab*gabe* and Rus *dan′*.

BÉR 'wage, rent', see **bér**.

DÉL 'south, noon', see **dél**.

EBIHAL [ebihål] 'tadpole; Kaulquappe; malëk, golovastik' | 1568 *eb halac* [eb halak], 1590 *ebhal* [ebhal], 1600 *ebihal* [ebihal] < *eb* 'dog' + *hal* 'fish', both are of PFUgr origin.

NT *Chuv* *yĕt pulli* 'golovastik' (Chuv); ***NW*** *et balïgï* 'v′jun; loach, *Cobitis sp.*, or meadow loach [a small fish] [*Misgurnus fossilis*]' (Tat), *et balïk* 'yïlan balïq' (BashkD1), *et balïgï* 'ugor′ [eel], golovastik [= sümespaš]' (BashkD2), *et balïgï* 'ugor′, peskar, golovastik' (BashkD3), *it balïgï* 'peskar′' (SibTat), *it balïk* 'golec (ryba)' (Kirg), *it balïk* 'seal' (?) (Kaz), *itbalïk* 'tjulen, golovastik', *itšabaq* 'golovastik' (KazB), *iytbalïk* 'golovastik' (Kklp), *ïyt balïk* 'golovastik'(Nog), [*maqa bala* 'golovastik' (KrchBlk)]; ***SW*** *ešek bālïk* 'golovastik [„donkey fish"]' (Tkm), *it balığı* 'durgun sularda yaşayan çok ayaklı, küçük bir çeşit su böceği'(TtD), ***Kh*** –; ***SE*** *itbaliq* 'golovastik' (Uzb).

The composition "dog-fish" denoting the tadpole is present in Chuv, BashkD, Kaz, Kklp, Nog and Uzb. In other T lgs it denotes several kinds of small fish 'kinds of loach' (Tat, Kirg), 'eel' (BashkD2, BashkD3), 'gudgeon' (BashkD3, SibTat), or a kind of small polypod creeping beast living in stagnant water. It is a typically old SC fr the region where Oguric was spoken. I don't understand how the expression may denote the seal (tjulen) in Kaz, this must be a learned identification.

édes [ēdeš], *ízes* [īzeš] 'sweet; süß; sladkij' | 13th c. *ezef* [ēzeš], 1290 *ydesuyz* [idešvīz] < *íz* 'taste', of PFUgr origin.

The T equivalent is in all sources WOT *tatlïγ* > Chuv *tutlă*, EOT **tatïglïg* or **tatlïg* < **tatïg* '(good, pleasent) taste' < *tat-* 'to taste'. Mo *amta* 'taste' > *amtatay*, *amtatu* 'sweet, tasty', see Grm *schmäkhaft*, Eng *tasty*. A denotion is general and the narrowing to 'sweet' may be a late H development.

éjfekete [ēyfekete] 'very black; sehr schwarz; prečernyj' < *éj* 'night' + *fekete* 'black', both are of PFUgr origin.

See Chuv *tĕm χura* < WOT *tün kara* 'night black', in *tĕm χura yïtă* 'černaja-prečernaja sobaka'. According to Ašmarin (1928–1950/15: 46) *tĕm χura* 'černyj, prečernyj. Oboznačaet vyssšuju stepen′ černoty i vyražaet ee sil′nee čem *χup-χura*'. Räsänen (1969: 504) and following him Fedotov (1996/2: 215) tied Chuv *tĕm* to Tt *tüm*, *düm* 'whole, entire, round (thing)', cf. *töm tügärek* id. (TatE), *döm karaŋgi* 'sovsem (soveršenno) temnyj' (Tat), *töm* 'sploš' (BashkD2), *tömey* 'qara körtmele, černaja černika; black bilberry' (BashkE), *tüm kara*, *kara tüm*, *kap-kara* 'černyj-prečernyj' (MUyg), *dümbey* 'dremučij, gluhoj, temnyj' (Tuv), *tüm* 'sploš, soversenno' (Y). This is a possible, alternative solution. The word is not identical with Chuv *tĕnĕ* 'dymovoe okno v stene, dymovaja truba, otverstie s zadvižkoj v stene vyše peči (v kurnyh izbah)' < WOT **tünük* < *tünlük* < *tütünlük*, see Tat *tönlek*, Bashk *tönlök* < *tünlük*. In Turcia we find *tütünlük*, *tügünük*, *tüŋlük*, etc., see Róna-Tas (1961: 94). In Chuv *tĕm* sometimes alone denotes blackness: *tĕm karăk* 'očen′ černyj gluhar′', *tĕm tupălχa* 'očen černaja tavolga'. If fr 'night' then only Chuv and H. See Mo *tünen kara* 'jet-black, completly black' (L).

farkas [fårkåš] 'Wolf; wolf; volk' | 1086 GN *Forkosig* [fårkåš-ig], p1372 *farkas* [fårkåš] < *farok* 'tail' {with suff +*š*}, the word and the suff are of PUgr origin. Also an Ir origin was suggested.

In Turcia the word *böre* denotes the wolf, Chuv has *kaškăr* and *tukmak*, both tabooistic denotations. Sz. Schmidt found in Tof: *quduruqtug* beside *börü* and *dag ï'tï*, *dag čïtï*, *čeler aŋ*. Tof *quduruqtug* 'xvostatyj, volk' < *qudurug* 'hvost; tail'. It is a tabooistic denotion. The H and Tof parallel may be due to mere chance.

FIAL [fiål] 'to farrow, littel, kidding, etc., bring forth an animal, said also of money' | The H word originally meant also 'stepson', p1395 *fÿal*, the verb appeared only at the end of the 19th c., it is of PFUgr origin.

In Turcia verbs formed fr EOT *enük* and *yavru* with the suff *+lA-* denote the action. Sz. Schmidt found in Tuv *ōlda-* 'prinosiť detenyšej, kotit'sja', Tof *ōlla-* id. both fr EOT **ogulla-*. Chuv has *parula-* 'teliťsja', see H **borjú** > *borjadzik-*, Grm *kalben*, Eng *foal* and *to foal*. A general idea is expressed in the same way in many lgs.

FOKHAGYMA [fokhåďmå] 'garlic; Knoblauch; česnok' | p1395 *fog hagma* [fog håďmå] | *foghagyma* < *fog* 'tooth' + *hagyma* 'onion', both are ? of PFUgr origin.

See Chuv *šăl oχra* 'dikij luk' (Sergeev 1968: 89), further *ïχra šălĕ* 'doľka česnoka', *ïχra* 'česnok'. CherH *oχïra* 'lukovica, lukovka; onion, bulb', CherM *ukra* 'ukrop; dill'. The data published by Sergeev is noted fr Maloe Karačkino. Otherwise in Chuv only the expression *ïχra* / *uχra šalĕ* 'clove' is known, and 'garlic' is *uχra*/ *ïχra* (*uti*) or *uχruti*, etc. The word is noted, but not dealt with by Dmitrieva (2000: 175). The denotation of the clove of the garlic is in other T lgs with EOT **tiš* 'tooth' mostly with *sarïmsak* as *sarïmsak tiš* 'doľka česnoka', see *bir diš sarïmsak* 'zubčik česnoka' (Tkm), *sarïmsak dişi* 'a clove of garlic' (Tt) and Erdődi (1979: 72–76). The metaphoric name "tooth" originally denoted the clove of the garlic. The H name of the clove is *gerezd*, a word of Sl origin. The old T composition was copied early. The change /k/ fr /g/ ocurred before the unvoiced /h/.

FŐ [fȍ] 'source, origin, well; Quelle; istočnik, ključ', in GN as in *disznófő* [disnōfȍ] 'pig-well' (see **disznó**), *ménfő* [mēn-fȍ] 'stallion-well', *kútfő* [kūt-fȍ] 'well' | 1193 *cutfev* [kūtfeu̯] < *kút* 'well' + *fő*, *fej* 'head', *kút* is of unknown origin, its connection with T *kudug* 'well' is erroneous. *Fő*, *fej* is of PFUgr origin.

Chuv has *puś*, *šïv puśĕ* 'verhovʹe reki, istok reki'. In most T lgs PT *baš* 'head' also denotes alone the highest place, the origin (of a river)', the 'well'. See *bas* 'istok (reki, ručʹja)' (Nog), *baš* id. (Kum), *bas* id. (Kklp), in most cases the context or the word for 'water', 'river' specifies it. See *su baše* 'istok' (Tat), *yïlga bašï* 'istok, verhovʹe' (Bashk), etc., *ürex basa* 'verhovʹje, istok reki, veršina reki' (Y). This is also the function of the H word *fej*, *fő* 'head'. The metaphoric use of the anatomical words is a very common feature, see Eng *head* (quarters), Lat *caput*, Mo *terigün*, Tib *mgo*, *dbu*, etc. but its use as 'well' and the composit "head+water" is rare. The sceptic view of Benkő (1993–1997/2: 854) seems to be unfounded. The special use of the composition is common to H and the VT lgs.

HALAT FOG [hål-åt fog] 'to fish; Fische fangen, angeln; loviť rybo, rybolovat' < *hal* 'fish' + *fog-* 'catch', both are of PFUgr origin.

See Chuv *pulă tït-* 'rybačit′', *pulă* 'ryba' + *tït-* 'deržat′', in other T lgs EOT **balïk tut-* 'to catch fish'. A general notion fr the old times, when fish was caught by hand.

házas [hāz-åš] 'married; geheiratet; ženatyj, bračnyj-' | p1416 *hazafság* [hāzåš-šāg] | < *ház* [hāz] 'house', of PFUgr origin.

EOT *evle-* has since OT times not only the meaning 'to live in a house' but also 'to marry'. The verb 'to marry' is mostly EOT **evlen-* < *ev+lA-(X)n-* as H *házasodik-* with the suffs *+Od-ik-*. This is present in Chuv as *avlan-* 'ženit′sja'. EOT **evlen-* is present in all branches of the T lgs, but Y *oyox ïl-* 'ženit′sja' < *oyox* 'dyra, žena', *ïl-* 'brat′'. A T–H semantic isogloss.

nincstelen [ninčtelen] 'poverty-stricken, penniless, pauper; Habenichts, arm, mittellos; niščij, neimjuščij, bednij' | 1874 *nincstelenség* [ninčtelen-šēg] | < *nincs* 'there is no(t); and has predicative function (*ninč* < **ninčen* < *nem+š+An*)' + *tAlAn* privative suff.

As Németh (1920: 91) pointed out the double negation in this word does not give a confirmation, it is a SC of T *yoksïz*. The form *yoksuz* occurs in EOT, MT and in some ModT lgs. It had the meaning 'ineffective, to no purpose', in MT it had come to mean 'poor, destitute', see Clauson (1972: 907). The form *yoksuz* was replaced by the form *yoksul* in most lgs. Chuv *śuk* has not only the meaning of T *yok*, but also 'pustjak, yerunda, bednost′, bednyj'. It can function as adj as in *śuk sïn* 'bednjak', but Chuv has no **śuksăr*. EOT **yoksïz* was preserved e.g. in *joksuz* 'bednyj' (Kirg), *yoksuz*, *yoksul* 'possessing nothing, destitute' (Tt), *yū°qsuz* 'arm, mittellos' (Kh), etc. A special T–H semantic isogloss.

szélhűdik [sēlhūdik] 'to become paralytic, get a stroke', earlier 'to get raged' | c1519 *zelhwth* [sēlhūt] > ModH *szélhűdés* > *szélütés* 'stroke'. The basic H word is **szél** 'wind' {with suffs *+hŪd-ik-* and *-š*}.

The change *szélhűdés* > *szélütés* "wind stroke" ocurred under the influence of Grm *Schlag* around the end of the 18th c. EOT *yel* had also the meaning 'demonical possession, illness caused by the wind'. Hence *yelpin-* 'to be possessed by the evil (or illness)'. It is highly possible that Chuv *śil* 'wind' and *śil* 'anger, rage' pertain together and H preserved a special meaning if WOT *śēl* < *yēl*, see further **szél** and **gyűlöl**.

szín [sīn] 'colour, face, external appearance, the best part of something, the upper part of something (of water, material, earth)' | end of 12th c. *fcine* [sin-e].

The extremely wide semantics of the H word is old and shared with T *öŋ*. According to Clauson (1972: 167) *öŋ* 'the front' and *öŋ* 'colour' are homophonous words and where it has the meaning 'face, complexion' it is due to confusion with *eŋ* 'face,

cheek'. I cannot agree with him. Chuv *um* 'pered, grud′, učastok' has a narrowed semantics, but see Mo *öngge*(*n*) 'color, exterior, appearance, lust, sexual passion'. We have to suppose that WOT **öŋĕ* influenced the semantics of the H word, itself a T lw, see **szín** ← WOT *sïn* 'external appearance, body' > Chuv *sănˑ*.

TERHES [terheš] 'pregnant; schwanger; beremennaja', see also 'razrešitsja ot bremeni' | 1348 PN *Therhes* [terheš] | < *teher* [teher] 'burden, load, weight' {with suff +*š*}.

Among the T lgs only the NW lgs have the expression *yökle* 'beremennaja' (Tat), *yöklö* 'beremennaja' (Bashk), *ǰüktű* id. (Kirg), *ǰükti* 'pregnant' (Kaz), *yükli* id. (Nog), *ǰükli* id. (Kklp), other T lgs (including Kh) have *bogaz* 'pregnant' fr the *Oguz-name* on, and other expressions. Chuv has *yïvar*, *yăvar* 'tjaželyj, beremennaja' < WOT **agïr* 'heavy'. A semantic isogloss common only to Chuv, the northern and middle NW lgs.

TESTET ÖLT [teštet ölt] 'to embody, incarnate; verkörpern, inkarniert; voploščat'sja, voplotit′' | < *test* 'body' {with suff of acc +*t*} + *ölt-*, see **illik**. H **ölt** has the meaning 'to stitch, put on a dress', *test* is of unknown origin.

Here we find a semantic shift like in *kädil-*, on which see Özertural (2005: 65–71) and **ködmön**. The notion 'to dress; bekleiden; pereodet′sja', etc. changes to 'to embody' in T and H.

VAGYON [våd′on] 'wealth, property, having; Vermögen, Habe; imuščestvo, dobro' | 1590 *vagyon* [våd′on] | < *vagy-* 'to exist, be' {with suff -*n*}, it is of PFugr origin.

The word has in recent H the forms *én vagyok* 'I am', *te vagy* 'you are (sg)', *ő van* 'he / she / it is', *mi vagyunk* 'we are', *ti vagytok* ' you are (pl)', *ők vannak* 'they are'. In OH and in MH the form *vagyon* had the meaning 'he / she / it is', hence 'what exists, wealth, property'. The IE lgs express the object with the nominal stem of 'to have, possess', i.e. possession. The T lgs form the word fr the ancient verbal base *bar-* which has the connotation 'existence' and has now no conjugation, though it functions as predicative. On details, see **barom**. Most T lgs have the continuation of EOT *barlïk* ~ WOT **barlïk* > Chuv *purlăχ* 'imuščestvo'. It is an old H–T semantic isogloss.

VAKONDOK [våkondok] 'mole; Maulwurf; krot' | c1395 *vakondok* [våkondok], 1676 *vakond* [våkond] | < *vak* 'blind' {with suff +*nd*, +*k*}, it is of unknown origin.

The name of the animal is expressed by many T lgs with the notion of blindness. In AK we find *kösürge*, *kösürgen* 'a type of mole, a type of rat' < PT **köz-süz-gen*. MT *kösiz* [read *kössiz*] *säbäk* 'mole' (AKD), *közsüz* 'blind', *közsüz säbäk* 'mole' (AAH), *köstäbäk* 'mole' (ATuh), *köstäbäk* 'mole' (AChag). In some *NW* lgs the 'mole' is

the 'blind mouse': **sokur sïčgan*. See *sukïr tïčkan* (Tat), *hukïr sïčgan* (also *seben*, *teke*) (Bashk), *sokïr umïran* (Nog), *sokur čïčkan* (Kum). In Kirg we find *sokur čïčkan* 'slepyš (zverek)', see further *karigu čaškan* 'mole' (MUyg, Khadir Khawuz 2002: 609). Interesting are *körtïškan* 'mole' (Kaz) to which pertains *korsičkån* id. (Uzb), *kõrsïčan* 'krot' (Tkm), *köstäbäk*, *kor sïčan* 'krot' (Az), *kör sıçan* 'mole' (Tt). The first part is Pe *kūr* 'blind', see *kūršabak* 'the mole' (Steingass 1981: 1060), *kör* 'blind' (Tt, Gag), *kör̆* 'blind' (MUygTY), *koru* 'slepoj' (Sal), etc. all fr Pe. The SC is also present in Os: *k$_o$yrm myst* / *qæræw mistæ* 'krot', see *k$_o$yrm* / *kurmæ* ~ *qæræw* 'slepoj', *myst* / *mistæ* 'myš̆' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 611; 1958–1989/2: 142). The Tuv expression *χey küske* 'krot' (RTuv) is in fact "blank mouse". In Chuv one would expect **kuśsăr* or **sukkăr šaši*. *kuśsăr* is now the blind by incident, *sukkăr* is the blind by birth (Ašmarin 1928–1950/7: 32), originally the second is a lw in Chuv. This means that we would expect **kuśsăr šaši* or the like. The 'mole' is *kayura*, *kayri ura* 'krot'. In addition we find in Ašmarin (1928–1950/6: 8) other meanings: *kayura* 'zemlerojka [*Sorex*, see **cickány** 'shrew, *Soricidæ*']', 'tuškančik' that is 'zemljanoj zajac'. The last one is the "jumping mouse" or 'jerboa, *Dipus sagitta Aegyptus*' the name of which occurs in some NW lgs: *kušayak* 'tuškančik' (Tat), *košayak* 'tuškančik' (Kirg), *kosayak* 'jerboa' (Kaz), that is the "double-feet", EOT **koš adak*. Egorov (1964: 96) and following him Fedotov (1996/1: 244–245) derives the Chuv word fr *kay* 'backward' and *ura* 'foot'. To this idea, see Alt *tersek* < *terse ayak* 'krot' (Alt *teskeri* 'naoborot'), *tisker azaχ*, *tödir azaχ*, *oyda tamas* 'krot' (Khak, *tisker* 'naiznanku, v protivopoložnuju storonu', *tödir* 'obratnyj', *oyda* 'navznič', *tamas* 'lapa' [paw]), *dedir-davand* 'krot' (Tuv *dedir* 'obratnyj', *davan* 'konečnosť, noga (čeloveka)'). The names "backward feet" and "double feet" are interesting, but do not pertain to the idea that the animal is blind. Cher *kayïra* 'nyrok; mergenser, *Mergus sp.*' though denoting the doving or ducking duck, may come fr Chuv *kayura*, which is interesting for the semantic history of the denotions of the mole. This duck goes under the water as the mole under the earth. Chuv *kay* may pertain to EOT *kedin* 'behind', through a form WOT **käy*. See also Levitskaja in Blagova (1997: 197). *loban* 'krot' (Krch), *loban* 'krysa; rat', *loban tešik* 'krysnaja norka, mink' (Kum) are the same as MMo *mo*[*nan*] 'al-huld; mole' (AKD), *noman* 'taupe, *Mus talpinus*' (Hy), Mo *nomin*, *nomon* 'mole', also *sokur nomon* (L), *soχ^{o}r nomn̥* id. (Kalm), *soχor nomin* id. (KhalK), *mana hoχor* 'krot' (Bur), *nomoŋ*, *numuŋ*, *nomūŋ* 'taupe' (Ord). Spoken Man *meŋə* 'mole' (Yamamoto 1969: 7). On the /l/ ~ /n/ alternation, see *način* ~ *lačin* 'falcon' Mo → Os *lacin* 'sokol' (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 11). SY *manan suʁur* 'mole' (Nugteren–Roos 1996: 64) is, as correctly stated by the authors, a Mo lw, see also (SYM). The Voty word for 'mole' is *mudi̯ś*, or *mudi̯śšïr* 'mole, the "digging mouse"', see Voty *mudi̯-* 'to dig', which pertains to the IE expression, see IE **ākhu* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 446 s.v. KHAN 'graben'). Other FUgr names are: Mord *kažvarč*, *maksaka*, *maksazey*, *modamaksaka* 'krot',

moda ‘poćva, zemlja’, Perm *mu-kań* ‘Maulwurf’, *mu* ‘Erde’, *kań* ‘Katze’ (Rédei 1986: 59).

Conclusions

Hungarian compositions, expressions or words pertaining to the *first group*, have a semantic function which is general and reflects a natural concept of the human being. Its presence is the result of old semantic structures as ‘to catch fish’, or tax as something “given”, the metaphoric use of ‘head’. The fact that the semantic unit is present in T and in H is, or may be due to independent processes. To a *second group* pertain those semantic features which are present in most or all of the T lgs and in H. Such are the words with the meaning “to house”, i.e. ‘to marry’ as H *házasodik-*, T *evlen-* or the case where the word denotes the external appearance, the face and the color as in H *szín*, T *öŋ*. Here pertains the word for ‘to embody’ fr the notion ‘to dress’, or the expression for ‘having’ which is not formed fr the words denoting ‘to possess, have’ but fr the word ‘to exist, be’ as H *vagyon*, T *barlïk*, *barïm* ⟶ H **barom**, or the word denoting the absence of wealth, the denotation of the pauper, poor: H *nincstelen*, T *yoksïz*. To a *third group* pertain those H SCs which are present only in one group of the T lgs, typically in the NW. The name of the pregnant as ‘burdened, loaded, heavy’ is present only in the NW lgs and a special form exists in Chuv. The name of the tadpole is “dogfish”. It exists in Chuv and in this meaning in some NW lgs, hence also in Uzb. This looks like an old Oguric name, while Trkm has the funny denotation “donkey fish”. The use of the word for ‘head’ to denote ‘well’ is present only in Chuv and the VKip lgs. Finally in the *fourth group* occur expressions which are present only in H and Chuv as the name of the garlic as “tooth”, i.e. “clove” onion, H *fokhagyma*, ChuvD *săl oχra* and perhaps H *éjfekete* ‘very black, “night” black’, Chuv *tĕm χura*. The material is not enough to make definite conclusions, but on the whole it reflects features common with the lexical copies.

8.9 List of Alanian and other Middle Iranian loanwords in Hungarian

This selection of Al and other MIr lws was reviewed by Roland Bielmeier, who made important remarks on the list in his letter of 17 December 2007, which I have included. I am also grateful to Doug Hitch for his comments in a letter dated 27 February 2008. The list was revised and important data added or corrected by Zsolt Simon, in a letter dated 17 December 2009. The list is in no way exhaustive, but it does serve to facilitate the reconstruction of changes during the early period of H.

ASSZONY 'lady, dame' < AH **aχsïnə* ← Al **aχsina* (cf. Os *χsin*, *æχsijnæ*) < **χšinya* (see Tzetzes *χσινα* 'arhontissa') < Ir **χšayna* < **χšaiθnī-*; cf. **OIr** Avestan *χšaya* 'prince', **MIr** Sogd (*ə*)*xšāwanā* 'rule, power' (Gharib 1995: 28).

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 315; Sköld 1925: 17; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 236; Bielmeier 1993: 13; Gharib 1995: 28; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 169.

BŰZ 'stink, foul smell', *büdös* 'stinky, having a foul smell' < AH **būδə* ← Al **būda* (cf. POs **baudā* > OsI *būd*, D *bōdæ* 'blagovonie, ladan' < 'zapah') < **OIr** **bauda-* (see Late Avestan *baoda*, *baoδi-*) 'guter Geruch, Wohlgeruch, Räucherwerk' > **MIr** Pehl *boy* 'smell, scent' (MacKenzie 1986: 19), Sogd *βōδ* 'incense' (Gharib 1995: 113), Khot *ƀū* 'incense, perfume' (Bailey 1979: 294), Khwar *βūδ* 'Duft, Wohlgeruch' (Benzing 1983: 204) > **NIr** Pe *boy*, *būy* 'odour, fragance, perfume', Baluchi *bod* id. It looks as if the feminine stem suggests a 'good smell'.

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 181–182; Sköld 1925: 17–18; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 269; Bailey 1979: 294; Benzing 1983: 204; Ligeti 1986: 149; MacKenzie 1986: 19; Gharib 1995: 113; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 173.

EGÉSZ 'whole, entire' < EAH **egesə* ← Al **äges* (cf. Os *ægas*, *igas* 'ves′, celyj, zdorovyj') < OIr **a-kāsa-*, *ui-kāsa-* 'to **kāsa-* 'deficient'', Os *kæstær* 'mladšij', **OIr** **a-kas-*, Avestan *kasu* 'klein, gering' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 330), **MIr** Pehl *kās-* 'to decrease' (MacKenzie 1986: 50), Sogd *kəs* 'thin', *əkasā* 'small, thin' (Gharib 1995: 195), Khwar *akas*, *akys* 'mager' (Benzing 1983: 46), **NIr** Pe *kāh-*, *kāstan-* 'to diminish, decrease'. The H form is nearer to the Digor form.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 315–316; Sköld 1925: 18–19; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 119; Benzing 1983: 46; MacKenzie 1986: 50; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 330; Gharib 1995: 195; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 158.

EZER 'thousand' < AH **ezerə* ← Al **äzärä* (cf. Os *ærze*, *ærʒæ* 'nesmetnoe čislo, tysjača'), cf. **OIr** **hazahrā* (< PIIr ? **sahásra* < IE **g′heslo*) > **OIr** Avestan *hazaŋra-*, **MIr** Khot *ysāra* (Bailey 1979: 349), Sogd *zār* (Gharib 1995: 454), Pehl *hazār* (MacKenzie 1986: 43), **NIr** Pe *hazār* | Ir **z′hasra* → Vog, Zyr.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1: 186–187; Korenchy 1972: 71; Bailey 1979: 349; MacKenzie 1986: 43; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 719; Bielmeier 1989: 241; Gharib 1995: 454; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 163.

EZÜST 'silver' < AH **ezvist˙* (← Perm ? **ez-vɜśkɜ* > Zyr *ezyś*, Voty *azveś*) ← ? Al **äzvist* (cf. Os *ævzīst* / *ævzestæ* 'serebro', Abaev 1958–1989/1: 212). The first part

of the Perm words should be 'white' but this cannot be substantiated. The second part would be PFUgr **waśke* > PUgr **waśkă* (> POUgr **vokś* > **voks* > POsty **vŏχ*, PVog **wəs*) > H *vas* [våš] 'iron' (originally a kind of metal), that is 'white, or a kind of metal'. It is only Os fr which the /t/ in H can be explained. The Os word has no etymology within the Ir or even IE lgs. It has been compared with PSl **gvězda* > *zvezda* 'star' by Petersson, cited by Abaev and later by Trubačev (1974–1995/7: 181–182) and others. In this case, *æ-* would be a prothetic vowel, and the *zv-* > *vz-* change would have occurred in Os. The semantic part would require associations like *sun* ⟶ *gold* and *moon* ⟶ *silver*. This is hardly acceptable. At any rate, the Perm, Os and H words cannot be separated, and H and Os contain the final *-t*, which is absent fr the Perm words. See also the Ir word for 'silver' **arzata* 'silver' > Os *ærzæt* 'ruda' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 187–188); cf. **OIr** Avestan *ərəzata* 'silver', OPe (*a*)*rdata*, **MIr** Khot *āljsata* (Bailey 1979: 25), Khwar *ažyd* (Benzing 1983: 136), **NIr** Yazdi *āldi* < IE **Hark´-* 'white, silver' > Lat *argentum*, Arm *arcat*. There are a few other words that pertain to metallurgy and are common to Os and some FUgr lgs. On these, see Abaev (1958–1989/1: 212).

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 316–317; Sköld 1925: 20; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 187–188, 212; Trubačev 1974–1995/7: 181–182; Bailey 1979: 25; Benzing 1983: 136; Helimski 2001: 4; Cheung 2002: 164; Testen 2003: 100–103.

FIZET 'to pay' < EAH **fizə-* < **fiδə-* ⟵ Al **fīda-* < *pati-dā* (cf. Os *fīdyn:fyst*, *fedun:fist* Abaev (1958–1989/1: 473–474)) < PII **prati-dā* 'entgegen geben' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 713, 1986–2001/2: 167). *-t* is a H suff. According to Cheung (2002: 189), in disagreement with Abaev (see above), according to whom this is a denominal fr **paida-*. According to Cheung, Khot *piha-* 'price' (Bailey 1979: 242), TochB *pīto* 'price, cost' peratin together. According to Adams (1999: 385), the TochB item is a lw fr Khot **pīθä-* > *pīha-*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 317; Sköld 1925: 20–21; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 473–474; Bailey 1979: 242; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 713; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 167; Adams 1999: 385; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 189.

GAZDAG 'rich' < AH **gazdagə* ⟵ Al **gazdïg* (cf. Os *qæznyg*, *qæzdig*, *ğæzdug* 'bogatyj', Digor *ğæzdæ* 'bogatstvo'); cf. MIr **gazn-* / **ganz-*: **MIr** Sogd *gazn* 'treasure' (Gharib 1995: 182), Khwar *gazdïk* 'reich' (Benzing 1983: 305), Pehl *ganǰ* 'treasure, treasury' (MacKenzie 1986: 35), **NIr** Pe *ganj* 'treasure, store', not in Cheung (2002, 2007). According to Henning (1963: 195–199), the metathetic form **gazn-* > **ganz-* comes fr Medic (Bielmeier); see *kincs*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 317; Sköld 1925: 22; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 302; Henning 1963: 195–199; Benzing 1983: 305; MacKenzie 1986: 35; Gharib 1995: 182; Helimski 2001: 3.

HÍD 'bridge' < AH **χīdə* ⟵ Al **χīd* (cf. Os *χīd*, *χed* 'most') < PIr **haitu* (< PIIr **saitu* > *sétu*) ⟶ Mord *sed´*, *säd´* (Rédei 1986: 59) < PIE **seh₂(i̯)-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 745) > **OIr** Avestan *haātu*, **MIr** Khot *hī* (Bailey 1979: 481), Sogd *itku* (< **haituka*)

(Gharib 1995: 448), **NIr** Yagn *etk*, Yidga *yɛya*, Shugni *yād*. The /h/ > /χ/ shift before **ai* in Os is odd (Cheung 2002: 248, Bielmeier 1989: 241). According to Thordarson (1999: 282), it is not related to Geor *xid-i*, OGeor *qid-i* 'bridge'. According to Abaev (1958–1989/4: 199) and Andronikašvili (1966: 128), the Geor word is of Os origin, whereas Klimov (1998: 338) believes the word is of Geor der.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 318; Sköld 1925: 23; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 199; Andronikašvili 1966: 128; Bailey 1979: 481; Schmid 1979: 266; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 745; Rédei 1986: 59; Bielmeier 1989: 241; Thordarson 1989: 465; Gharib 1995: 448; Klimov 1998: 338; Thordarson 1999: 282; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 248.

káliz 'name of the Kwarezmians' < EAH **kālisə* (← ? T) ← Al **kālīs* < **kvalins* (cf. → ORus *χwalinskoe more*) < *Xwarizm*. The H word may be of immediate T origin; see **káliz** in the Lexicon.

◆ Harmatta 1997: 79.

kard 'sword' < AH **kartə* ← Al **kard* (cf. Os *kard* 'nož, sablja, (v épose) meč) < PIr **kart-* < PIE **(s)kert-* 'to cut' (> IAryan > Ind *kṛtí-* Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 316, 390) (→ Osty *karta*, Vog *kort*, Zyr *kört*, Cher *kerdo*) > **OIr** Avestan *karəta*, **MIr** Khot *kaḍara* (< **kartara-*) 'sword' (Bailey 1979: 58), Pehl *kārd* 'knife' (MacKenzie 1986: 49), Sogd *kart* (Gharib 1995: 194), Khwar *karc* 'Messer' (Benzing 1983: 360), **NIr** Pašto *čāṛ́ə* (< **kartyā*) (Morgenstierne 2003: 21), Shugn *čā̄d*, Yagn *kɛṛo*, Munji *kāṛa*, Baluchi *karč*, Pe *kārd* (cf. TochB *kertte* (Adams 1999: 197)).

◆ Sköld 1925: 24–25; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 571; Bailey 1979: 58; Benzing 1983: 360; MacKenzie 1986: 49; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 316, 390; Rédei 1986: 71; Gharib 1995: 194; Adams 1999: 197; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 196; Morgenstierne 2003: 21; Cheung 2007: 244.

kert 'garden, place for animals' < AH **kärtə* (← ? T) ← Al **kärtä* (cf. Os *kært* 'dvor'); cf. Ir **karta* (< IE **garda*) → VBulg **kärtä* → Vog, Osty *karda*, Zyr *karda*, Tat *kirte*, Bashk *kärtä*, etc. See Lexicon s.v. **kert**.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 318; Sköld 1925: 23; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 586–587; Harmatta 1997: 78; Helimski 2001: 4.

kincs 'treasure' < AH **kenčə* ← MIr **genč*; cf. **MIr** Pehl *ganǰ* 'treasure, treasury' (MacKenzie 1986: 35), **NIr** Pe *ganj* 'treasure, store'. The word is not Al; see *gazdag*. It was copied after Ugr *nč* > *nǰ* > *ǰ*.

◆ Ligeti 1986: 151; MacKenzie 1986: 35; Helimski 2001: 5.

legény 'lad, young man' < AH **legwen* ← Al **läkwen* (cf. OsD *læqwæn* 'junoša, malʹčik, syn', according to Abaev (1958–1989/2: 19, 31–32). Os *læg* 'mužčina' *+gwe +n* 'mužčina+ditja'; both words are of Cauc origin. According to Bielmeier (1977: 180–185), the starting point for the word, which is present in several Cauc lgs (cf. the ethnonyms *Lakk* and *Lezg* < *lägzi*), is obscure. According to him, we have to assume two possibilities, either Os *læg* < **wlag* < **wryak* < **wiryaka* following Sköld (1925:

29), according to whom the Digoron form is of Iron origin, because of the /q/, or the word is of Cauc der. In any case, the word can be found in Os, and it is less probable that H only copied *leg* and added a H suff +*n* > *ny*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 318; Sköld 1925: 29; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 19, 31–32; Bielmeier 1977: 180–185; Helimski 2001: 3.

MÉREG 'poison' < AH **mergə* ← Al **märg* (cf. Os *marg*), **MIr** **marg* (< PIE **mer-*, Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 318) > **OIr** **mar-* 'to die' > **marka-* 'death', Avestan *mahrka* 'death' (< *mark-* 'to kill'), **MIr** Pehl *marg* 'death' (MacKenzie 1986: 54), **NIr** Pe *marg*, Kurd *merg*, Baluchi *mərk* 'death' → ? Finn *myrkky*, Est *mürk* 'death'; see also Os *mælæt* 'smert'', see also § 8.7.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 319; Sköld 1925: 31; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 72, 86; MacKenzie 1986: 54; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 318; Harmatta 1997: 80; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 202; Katz 2003: 275; Cheung 2007: 264–265.

MŰ, acc *művet* 'work' < EAH **mīwə* ← Al **mīwa* (cf. Os *mi*, *mivæ* 'delo, dejanie, postupok, zanjatie, rabota') < **miHu* 'to move' < PIE **mi̯euH_1* > **MIr** Khot *mvīr-* 'to move' (Bailey 1979: 341).

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 319; Sköld 1925: 31; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 112–113; Bailey 1979: 341; Helimski 2001: 4; Cheung 2007: 273.

NÁD 'reed' < AH **nadə* ← Al **nada* (< **OIr** **nada*, Parthian *nad* 'Flöte' (cf. PIA *nad'á-* id. < PIE, cf. Hettite *nāta-*, *nati-* 'Schilfrohr, Trinkrohr, Pfeil') > **MIr** Pehl *nāy* 'tube, flute, pole' (MacKenzie 1986: 58) > **NIr** Pe ? *nay* 'pipe, flute, reed, cane', Pe *nāl* 'reed' (← Sogd **nal* < **naδ*); see also RgV *nadá* 'Schilfrohr' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 7).

◆ Ligeti 1986: 148; MacKenzie 1986: 58; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 7; Helimski 2001: 5.

NEMËZ 'felt' < AH **nämeδə* < AH **nämetə* ← Al **nämet* (cf. Os *nïmæt*, *nimæt*) < **OIr** **nimata*, Avestan *nəmata*, *nimata*, **MIr** Khot *namta-* (Tumshuk), *nimata*, *namadə* 'felt' (Bailey 1979: 173), Pehl *namad* (MacKenzie 1986: 57), Sogd *namat* 'felt' (Gharib 1995: 240), Khwar *namad* 'Filz' (Benzing 1983: 473), **NIr** Pashto *naml'a* 'felt saddle pad', Munji *n'āmyo*, Shugni *namad* (Morgenstierne 2003: 57) → VogKV *nāment*, OstyN *nāmėl* 'felt', Zyr *ńamöd* 'foot-cloth'. This is a cultural wandering word. See Skrt *namata* 'Filz'.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/2: 202–203; Bailey 1979: 173; Benzing 1983: 473; MacKenzie 1986: 57; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/3: 283; Gharib 1995: 240; Cheung 2002: 209–210; Morgenstierne 2003: 57.

ÖZVEGY 'widow' < AH **eδved'* ← Al **idwej* (cf. Os *idæʒ* 'vdovyj') < **vidava-či* (< PIr **Huid^{h}auáH* < PIE **H$_u̯$id^{h}e$_u̯$eh$_2$-*) > **OIr** Avestan **viδauuā*, **MIr** Pehl *wāwag* 'widow' (MacKenzie 1986: 90), **NIr** Pe *bēwa* id.; cf. Lat *vidua*.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1: 539; MacKenzie 1986: 90; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 556; Helimski 2001: 4; Cheung 2002: 192.

ravasz 'cunning, fox' < AH **rowasə* ← Al *rowasa* (cf. Os *ruvas*, *rubas*, *robas* 'lisa'), **OIr** **raupāsa* > OPe in an Elamite transcription **raupāθa-* (Gershevitch–Hinz, cited by Cheung 2002: 221) > **MIr** Khot *rrūvāsa-* 'jackal' (Bailey 1979: 367), Sogd *rūpas*(*ah*) (Gharib 1995: 345), Khwar *rūbas* (Benzing 1983: 562), Pehl *rōbah* (MacKenzie 1986: 221), **NIr** Pe *rōbāh*, Baluchi *rōba*, Kurd *rovī*, Ormuri *rawas*, Munji *ráūso*; cf. Skrt *lopāśa* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 482), see § 8.7.

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 520–522; Sköld 1925: 32; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 433; Bailey 1979: 367; Benzing 1983: 562; MacKenzie 1986: 221; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 482, Gharib 1995: 345; Cheung 2002: 221.

rég 'a long time ago, formerly', *régen* id., *reggel* 'in the morning' < EAH **regə* ← MIr **räg* (cf. Os *rag* 'rannyij, rano, davno' > *ragon* 'davno, starinnyj, drevnij' < PIr **frāk*(*a*)- < PIE **prō*); cf. Os *æræg* 'pozdnij' (< **a-rag*), **MIr** Sogd *βr˝k* /frāk/ 'morning, early' (Gharib 1995: 106, 153); cf. Skrt *prātár-* 'früh, morgens'. PIE **pró* > **OIr** OPe *fra-*, **MIr** Khot *ha-* (Bailey 1979: 438), Pehl *fradāg* 'tomorrow' (MacKenzie 1986: 33), **NIr** Pe *far-*, Wahi *ra-*, *re-*, Os *rag* 'rannij, rano' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 171; 1958–1989/2: 340). There are serious problems with the vocalism. As a prefix, PIE *pró-* provided *ræ-* in Os, but Os *rag* has to go back to *frāk*(*a*) with long *ā*, as *prāta* does. If the second /æ/ in *æræg* is due to a late assimilation, **a-frak* < **afrāka*, the H word cannot be of Al origin. The H word was formerly related to H *rejt-* 'to hide' etc.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 319; Sköld 1925: 34; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 171; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 340–341; Bailey 1979: 438; MacKenzie 1986: 33; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 174, 188; Gharib 1995: 106, 153; Helimski 2001: 4.

réz 'copper' < AH **rezə* < **reδə* ← Al **redV* ← Cauc (Avar *rez*) ← IIr **Hraud^{h}a* (< PIE **h$_1$reud^h*-) > **OIr** Parthian *rōδ*, **MIr** Pehl *rōy* 'copper, brass' (MacKenzie 1986: 72), Sogd *rōd* 'copper, brass' (Gharib 1995: 344), **NIr** Baluchi *rōd*, Pe *roy*, IIr > Skrt *lohá* 'rötliches Metall, Kupfer' (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 484–485). The Al word may be of immediate Cauc origin because of the vocalism. In any case, this is an old cultural word. Munkácsi (1901b: 527) cites Uslar–Schiefner's Awar[ische] Stud[ien] for Avarian *rez* 'Messing'. Bielmeier remarked: "Kauk. Avarisch *red* 'Kupfer' ist unbekannt. Es gibt auch in den anderen kauk. Sprachen kein solches Etymon. Nach Klimov/Chalilov, Slovar' kavkazskix jazykov, Moskva 2003: 148f. ist avar. *pax* 'Kupfer' (ähnlich auch andere Dagestansprachen) aus dem Türkischen entlehnt, vgl. ttürk. *baxyr* 'Kupfer'. Iranischer Herkunft (aus parthisch *rōδ*) sind armenisch *aroyr* und georgisch *rvali* (Bielmeier 1990 und ausführlicher 1994)".

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 527; MacKenzie 1986: 72; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 484–485; Bielmeier 1990: 34; Bielmeier 1994: 434; Gharib 1995: 344.

sajt 'cheese' < LAH ** šaχtə* < EAH **čiγtə* ← Al or Khwar **čïgt* (cf. Os *cyχt*, *ciğd*) → VBulg > Chuv *čăkăt* (→ Cher), KarT *čïgït*. Vsevolod Miller (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 325) compared the word with an Ir **tïgït*; see **OIr** **tikta*; see Avestan *bi-taāγa-* 'zwei Schneide habend', Avestan *tiγra-* 'scharf', **MIr** Khot *ttīra* 'bitter' (Bailey 1979: 129),

Pehl *tāz* ‘sharp’ (MacKenzie 1986: 83), Khwar *cyɣ* ‘Schneide’, *čaχaθ* ‘Quarkkäse’ (Benzing 1983: 228, 237), **NIr** Os *cyrğ* / *cirg* ‘ostryj’, Pe *tez* ‘sharp, acrid’, Munji *tīrgo*, *tərɣa* ‘sharp’, Yagn *tirɣ* id., Pashto *tārə* id. Though the H, Chuv, Khwar and Os words are surely related, the history of the word remains unclear, even if the etymology suggested by Vsevolod Miller turns out to be possible. The H form 1566 Heltai *šohayt* is a hapax; see 1368 PN *Šaytaš*, 1372 *šaytott*, 1553 *šaidlā*, 1563 *šaytvat*, etc. See Lexicon s.v. **sajt**.

◆ Sköld 1925: 80; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 325, 328; Bailey 1979: 129; Benzing 1983: 228, 237; Ligeti 1986: 129, 185, 542; MacKenzie 1986: 83; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 668; Cheung 2002: 177.

TEHÉN ‘cow’ < AH **täyinə* ← Al **däyin* (cf. Os *dæyïn dad*, *dæyun dad* ‘sosatʹ grudʹ, vymja’) < OIr **dainu* < PIAryan **dʰainu* > Skrt *dhenú-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 797); cf. **OIr** Avestan *daānu*, **MIr** Khot *dīnū* ‘cow’ (Bailey 1979: 159), Pehl *dānōdag* ‘female, milk’ (MacKenzie 1986: 26); H *-y-* > *-h-*.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/351; Harmatta 1977: 171; Bailey 1979: 159; Ligeti 1986: 146; MacKenzie 1986: 26; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 797; Cheung 2007: 47.

TEJ ‘milk’ < AH **teyə* ← Al **däy*. See H **tehén**.

◆ Harmatta 1977: 171; Ligeti 1986: 147.

TÍZ ‘ten’ < AH **tisə* ← Al **des* (cf. Os *dæs*) < **MIr** **dasa*, Sogd *dasa*, *das* (Gharib 1995: 143), Pehl *dah* (MacKenzie 1986: 23), etc. < PIAryan **dáća* (< PIE **dekʹm̥*). There are problems with the vocalism; see also *kilenc*, *harminc* (Honti 1993: 192).

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1:359; Harmatta 1977: 171; MacKenzie 1986: 23; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 708–709; Honti 1993: 192; Gharib 1995: 143.

TÖLGY ‘oak’ < AH **tülǰə* ← Al **tulǰə* (cf. Os *tūlʒ*, *tolʒæ*) < ? OIr **tauriči*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 320; Sköld 1925: 36; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 315; Helimski 2001: 4; Róna-Tas 2004: 419–422.

TÜL ‘*arch* oak’ < AH **tülə* ← Ir **tolə* (→ PPerm **tӧlʹ₃* > Zyr *tilʹ*, Voty *telʹ*).

◆ Róna-Tas 2004: 419–422.

ÜVEG ‘glass’ < AH **evegə* ← Al **äväg* (cf. Os *avg*, *avgæ* ‘steklo’) < **abga* (cf. **āp*(*a*)*kā* ‘waterlike, glass’). **OIr** **āp-* ‘water’ (cf. PIIr **áp-* ‘Wasser’ < PIE **h₂ep-*), **MIr** Khwar *ābkīn*(*n*)*ak* ‘Glas’ (Benzing 1983: 11), Pehl *ābgānag* ‘crystal, glass’ (MacKenzie 1986: 4), Sogd *āpkān* ‘crystal’ (Gharib 1995: 8), Bact **apāmitaka-*, **NIr** Pe *ābgīna* id. (cf. Arm *apʼakʼi* ‘glass, crystal’).

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 321; Sköld 1925: 38; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 84; Benzing 1983: 11; MacKenzie 1986: 4; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 81; Gharib 1995: 8; Harmatta 1997: 80; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 155.

VÁM ‘customs’ < AH **wāmə* ← Pe *wām* (< PIIr **apa-Hmai-* < PIE **h₂meiˌ*), **OIr** Avestan *maii-* ‘to change’, Parthian *abamyẖ* ‘loan’, **MIr** Sogd *pāmītā* ‘loan’ (Gharib

1995: 258), Pehl *abām* 'loan, debt' (MacKenzie 1986: 1), Bact *βαμδδιγο* 'loan', **NIr** Pe *ābam*, *āwam*, *āwām*, *wām* 'debt, loan' (cf. Skrt *may-* 'tauschen, leihen').

◆ MacKenzie 1986: 1; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 314–315; Gharib 1995: 258; Cheung 2007: 177–178.

vár 'castle' < AH **warə* ← Al **warə* (cf. Os *wart* 'ščit') (< PIr **Hu̯ar-* 'to ward off, defend, protect (from)'), **OIr** Ancient Pe *vāra*; **MIr** Pehl *war* 'shelter, enclosure' (MacKenzie 1986: 87), Khot *vara* 'court' (Bailey 1979: 376), **NIr** Pe *bār* 'fortification' (see Os *wærm*, *wærm* 'jama' under *verëm*, and see also *vért*).

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/4: 50–51; Bailey 1979: 376; MacKenzie 1986: 87; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 512–513; Cheung 2007: 207–208.

vásár 'market' < AH **wašarə* < **wačarə* ← Al **wačarə* > (cf. Os **wacar* in *wacayrag* 'rab', Abaev 1958–1989/4: 30) < **wahācarana* < PIr **û̯aha-čārana*, **MIr** Pehl *wāzār* 'market' (MacKenzie 1986: 89), Sogd *wāčaran* 'market, bazaar' (Gharib 1995: 396, 398), **NIr** Pe *bāzār* id.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/4: 30; MacKenzie 1986: 89; Gharib 1995: 396, 398.

verëm 'pit, hole' < AH **wermə* ← Al **wärmə* (cf. Os *wærm*, *wærmæ* 'jama, pogreb') (< PIr **Hu̯ar-* 'to ward off, defend, protect (from)'). **OIr** Avestan *warəmi*, **MIr** Pehl *warm* 'pool, reservoir' (MacKenzie 1986: 87), Sogd *warmayca* (read *warmecyā*?) 'surf, hole' (Gharib 1995: 411), Khot *bārman* 'enclosure, prison, reservoir' (Bailey 1979: 278), **NIr** Pe *barm* 'reservoir for rain water' (see *vár*).

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 321; Sköld 1925: 39; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 95; Bailey 1979: 278; MacKenzie 1986: 87; Gharib 1995: 411; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2007: 207–208.

vért 'armour, cuirasse' < AH **wärtə* ← Al **wärt* (cf. Os *wart* 'ščit') (< PIr **varəδra* < **var-δra-* < PIE **Hu̯ar-* 'to ward off, defend, protect (from)'). **OIr** Avestan *vərəθra*, **MIr** Khot *baṭha-* 'cuirass' (Bailey 1979: 266), also *bę̣sa-* 'shield' (Bailey 1979: 305), **NIr** Pashai *báṛo* id., Ashkun *baḍa* id. Ir → Arm *vert* 'mail'; see also *vár* and *verem*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 321; Sköld 1925: 39; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 50–51; Bailey 1979: 266, 305; Harmatta 1997: 80; Helimski 2001: 3; Cheung 2002: 237; Cheung 2007: 207–208.

zöld 'green' (OH also *zeld*) < AH **zeldə* ← Al **zäldə* 'yellow, green' (> OsD *zældæ* 'molodaja trava') < OIr **zarita-* < *zar-* 'yellow, green'; see Avestan *zairita-*, **MIr** Pehl *zard* 'yellow' (MacKenzie 1986: 98), Sogd *zārtā* 'yellow' (Gharib 1995: 472), **NIr** Pe *zard* 'yellow'; see Skrt *hári-* 'fahl, gelblich, grünlich' < PIE **g´elh₃-*.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 321; Sköld 1925: 40; Abaev 1958–1989/4: 295; MacKenzie 1986: 98; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 805; Gharib 1995: 472; Helimski 2001: 3.

Problematic comparisons include:

GAZ 'weed', dial 'small, bushy forest' < EAH **gazə* ← Al **gazə* (cf. Os *qæz*, *qæzæ* 'trostnik, kamyš'), **MIr** Khot *gaysa-* (= *gaza*) 'reed' (Bailey 1979: 80), **NIr** Pe *gaz* 'tamarisk tree', Pashto *ɣaz* 'tamarisk, Digor *q-* is secondary fr *ğ-*. Even in Os earlier: 'wood, tree', see *qæzyn k'ūs* 'derevjannaja myska', *qæzyn wīdyg* 'derevjannaja ložka' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 302). There are semantic problems, which can only be eliminated if the dial meaning 'bushy forest' was the original one. See **gaz** in the Lexicon.

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 289–291; Sköld 1925: 22; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 302; Bailey 1979: 80; Harmatta 1997: 81; Morgenstierne 2003: 34.

IDEGEN 'alien' < EAH **endegen* ← Al **andagan* (cf. Os *æddagon*, *ændagon* 'čužoj' < *ædæ*, *ændæ* 'snaruži, vne' < PIIr **anta* < PIE **h₂ent-* > Grm *Ende*, etc.). Chronological /nt/ > /d/ and phonetic /a/ ⟶ /e/i/, which present problems.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1: 104; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/1: 75; Harmatta 1997: 80.

RÉSZEG 'drunken' < EAH **resegə* ← Al **rasïg* (cf. Os *rasyg*, *rasug* Abaev 1958–1989/1: 352). The Ir etymology is unacceptable due to problems with the vocalism. See OT *esür-* 'to be or become drunk' > *esirik*. The H word has been linked to the stem of *révül-*, *regél-*, etc. and considered a H lw in Os.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 320; Sköld 1925: 34; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 352; Helimski 2001: 5.

SZÓ 'word' < EAH **sawə* ← Ir **srawa* (< PIE **k'léu̯es* 'Gehörtes'), cf. Avestan *srauuah-* 'Ruhm, Ansehen, Lobspruch, Spruch', **OIr** Ancient Pe *śavah-* 'Ruhm' in personal names; **MIr** Pehl *sraw* 'word, spell' (MacKenzie 1986: 76), Sogd *srwk* (srok) 'speech, hymn' (< **sruka*) (Gharib 1995: 362). *sr* ⟶ *s* unlikely; see **szó** in the Lexicon.

◆ MacKenzie 1986: 76; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 667–668; Gharib 1995: 362; Harmatta 1997: 74.

VÁSZON 'linen' < AH **vasanə* ← IAryan **vasana*, see Skrt *vásana-* 'Kleid' (Rgveda) < **vas-* 'bekleidet sein' (< IE **u̯es-*). Cf. **OIr** Avestan *vastā*, *vaste* 'ist gekleidet', *vastra* 'kleid, Gewandt', **MIr** Khot *vāsta* 'clothes' (Bailey 1979: 385); cf. TochB *wäs-* 'to be dressed in' (Adams 1999: 597). The /s/ in the intervocalic position changes to /h/ very early. The verb is dealt with by Cheung (2007: 405 s.v. **u̯ah* 'to be dressed'). According to Gershevitch (1952: 483), cited by Cheung here, the word pertains to OsD *ræwæg*, *ræwon* 'povod, predlog, praetextus, excuse, pretence, pretext' (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 389), fr **fra-u̯ah*. The only possibility would be that the word is a cultural migrating word of IIr origin which was mediated by an Ir lg with a secondary /s/. This is similar to H **bors** 'pepper' ← T ← Ir ← Ind.

◆ Gershevitch 1952 483; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 389; Bailey 1979: 385; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 529; Adams 1999: 597; Cheung 2007: 405.

Unacceptable comparisons include:

agyar 'tusk', *dob* 'drum', *édes* 'sweet', *ember* 'man', *esztendő* 'year', *fék* 'halter', *fény* 'light', *fésű* 'comb', *gond* 'trouble', *hang* 'voice, sound', *has* 'stomach', *hús* 'meat; flesh', **imád** 'to adore', *in*(*as*) 'servant', **ing** 'shirt', *kedv* 'mood, pleasure', *kéj* 'pleasure, lust', *keszeg* 'a fish name', *köles* 'millet', *mag* 'kernel, stone', *mély* 'deep', *mén* 'stallion', *menny* 'heaven', *nép* 'people', **nyereg** 'saddle', *ördög* 'devil', *öszvér* 'mule', *rés* 'rift, slit, split', **sátor** 'tent', *szekér* 'cart', **tinó** 'young ox', **úr** 'lord', *üstök* 'forelock, tuft', *üsző* 'heifer', *zsineg* 'string'.

As an example:

üstök 'forelock, tuft'; the MH form is *išteg*. Munkácsi (1904b: 320) cited Os *stug* 'Locke, Büschel Haare' (see Os *styg* / (*æ*)*stug* 'klok', kudrja, lokon, čelka', Abaev 1958–1989/3: 156) and compared it with OInd *stukā-* 'Zotte, Flocke' (see Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 760, where only the Os word is cited fr the Ir lgs.) According to Mayrhofer, the OInd word should be connected to *stupá-* 'Schopf, Haarschopf > Stupa, Grabmal', perhaps "Wurzelverwandt". Munkácsi (1904b: 320) suggested that the H final /k/ preserved an older Os /k/. Ásbóth (1905: 61) rejected this comparison because of the final H /k/ ~ Os /g/. According to Benkő, neither the Ir nor the T origin of the word is acceptable; he believes the word is of unknown der in H (Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1056 citing Ásbóth; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1590). Harmatta (1997: 74) suggested another etymology. He cited East Ir *ūšt* (should be **ūst*) and Wanetsi *ūšt* 'hair', however we find (*w*)*ušt* (with secondary loss of *w*-), which pertains to Pashto *weẋt́em* 'hair' (Morgenstierne 2003: 94) < **wṛsiya-* and is present in Avestan as *varəsa*, **MIr** Sogd *wrs* (Gharib 1995: 412), Pehl *wars* (MacKenzie 1986: 87), **NIr** Pe *gurs* 'curled hair' < PIE **u̯olḱo-* > Skrt *válsa-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 526–527); see Rus *vólos*, etc.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 320; Asbóth 1905: 61; Abaev 1958–1989/3: 156; Benkő 1967–1984/3: 1056; MacKenzie 1986: 87; Mayrhofer 1992–2001/2: 526–527, 760; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1590; Gharib 1995: 412; Harmatta 1997: 74; Helimski 2001: 5; Morgenstierne 2003: 94.

8.10 List of Cumanian words

The list contains only those reconstructed Cuman words which are treated in the Lexicon.

1. **Cum** **akïš*, **agïš* (< **ak-* 'to flow' {with suff *-Xš*}) ⟶ H **ákos** [ākoš], **ágos** [āgoš] *dial* 'stream, current' | T *akïš* 'flow, current',
2. **Cum** **arkan* (< **ar-* {with suff *-gAn*}) ⟶ H **arkan* > **árkány** [ārkāń] *dial* 'a type of lasso' | T *arkan* 'rope, lasso',
3. **Cum** **baldaw* (⟵ Mo *baldag* 'knob, hilt of a sword') ⟶ H **baldaw* > **bolda* > **bóda** [bōdå] *arch* 'buckler with handle, handle of different arms' | MT **baldag* id.,
4. **Cum** **barag* (⟵ Ir) ⟶ H **barág** [bårāg] *dial* 'hairy, bushy (of dogs) (as adj), a big hairy dog (as noun)' | *bårāg* < **barag* | T *barak* 'a shaggy dog' ⟵ Ir,
5. **Cum** **baysa* (⟵ Mo ⟵ Ch 牌子 *pai-zi* 'a written tablet, a label' (M 4871)) ⟶ **bāsa* > H **bárca** [bārcå] 'label, tag' | MT *bayza ~ bayǰa ~ baysa* ⟵ Ch, of possible T origin,
6. **Cum** **boza* ⟶ H **boza** [bozå] *dial*, *arch* 'a kind of beer, alcoholic beverage' | MT *boza* 'a kind of beverage',
7. **Cum** **buzgan* (< *buz-* 'to destroy' {with suff *-gAn*}) ⟶ H **buzgan* > **buzogány** [buzogāń] 'club, mace, reed-mace' | T **buzgan* 'mace' < EOT,
8. **Cum** **čabak* (< **čapV-* 'to move quickly' {with suff *-gAk*}) ⟶ **csabak** [čåbåk] 'a fish, *Leuciscus souffia agassizi*' | EOT *čapak* 'a small freshwater fish, the bream' < ? **čapV-gAk*,
9. **Cum** **čolak* (< **čolak*) ⟶ H **csolák** 'squint-eyed, blind in one eye' | EOT **čoluk* 'with one arm',
10. **Cum** **čeüdür*, **čäüdär*, **čewdür* ⟶ H **čeüdür* > **csődör** [čȫdör] 'stallion' | MT *čawdur* 'stallion', of uncertain T origin,
11. **Cum** **daku* (⟵ Mo *daku*) ⟶ H **daku* > **daku** [dåku] *dial* 'a short fur coat' | EOT *yaku* 'raincoat', cf. Cum **ǰaku*,
12. **Cum** **ǰakšï* ⟶ H **ǰakši* > **daksi** [dåkši] *dial* 'excellent, worthless' | EOT *yaxšï* 'good, fine',
13. **Cum** **kabak* (< **kapak* < **kap* {with suff *+Ak*}) ⟶ H **kåbåk* > **kobak** [kobåk] 'gourd, calabash, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, head, billy-cock-hat' | EOT *kāpak* 'gourd, pumpkin' < *kāp* 'container' {with suff *+Ak*},
14. **Cum** **kamči* (< **kam-* {with suff *-I* and *+čI*} ⟶ H *kåmči*, *kåmši*, *kåmži* > **kamcsi** [kåmči] *dial* 'whip, lash' | EOT *kamčï* 'whip' < **kamïčï* < *kam-* 'to strike down, hit',
15. **Cum** **kanǰïka* (⟵ Mo *ganǰuga*) ⟶ H *kånd′ikå* > *kånd′īk* > **kangyík** [kånd′īk], *kangyika* [kånd′ika] *dial* 'saddle strap' | MT *kanǰuga* 'saddle strap',
16. **Cum** **karampil*, *karamfil* (⟵ Pe) ⟶ H **karampil* > **karambél** [kåråmbēl] *dial* 'pink, several kinds of pink, *Danthus*, *D. caryophyllus*, several members of the caryophillaceae' | EOT *karanfil* 'clove',
17. **Cum** **kaytar* (< **kayt-* {with suff *-(A)r*}) ⟶ H *kåytār* > **kajtár** [kåytār] *dial* 'do-less, do-little', *kajtár madár* 'migrating bird, birds which come back every year' | EOT *kadït-* 'to turn back, return',

18. **Cum** **kiyiz* ⟶ H **kiyiz* > **kiyits* > *kīyts* {with prefix and suffs *meg-*, *+(V)š*, *+(V)d-* and *-ik-*} > *megkīytsešedik* > **kíjc** [kīyts] ‘felt’ *dial* in **megkíjcesedik** [megkīytsešedik] ‘to become felty (of the hair of dogs)’ | EOT *kidiz* ‘felt’,
19. **Cum** **kobuz* (< **kopuz*) ⟶ H **kobuz* > **koboz** [koboz] ‘lute, cittern’ | EOT *kopuz* ‘a stringed instrument’,
20. **Cum** **kolavuz* ⟶ H *kalavuz* > **kalauz** [kålåuz] ‘guide, pilot, conductor, ticket inspector’ and **kalóz** [kålōz] ‘pirate’ | EOT *kolavuz*, *kulavuz* ‘guide’ | Cf. Khwar *xl‘wr* ‘Fremdenführer’ (Benzing 1983: 671), DBulg 9th c. *kolowr-os* (Moravcsik 1958/2: 162),
21. **Cum** **kowaz* (< *kov-* {with suff *-(X)z*}) ⟶ H *kuwaz* > *kuvas* > **kuvasz** [kuvås] ‘a kind of dog, a Hungarian breed of sheepdog’ | EOT *kovuz* ‘chasing (a demonic stroke)’ < *kov-* ‘to follow, pursue, chase (also of a dog chasing game)’,
22. **Cum** **kumandur* (**kuman* {with suff *+dUr*}) ⟶ H **kumåndur* > **komondor** [komondor] ‘a kind of Hungarian sheepdog’ | T **kumandur* ‘an ethnic name’ < *kuman* ‘Cuman’, not in the T sources,
23. **Cum** **küdägü* ⟶ H **küdeɣü* > **küd′eü* > **küd′ū* > **gügyű** [güd′ū] ‘matchmaker’ | EOT *küdägü* ‘son-in-law’,
24. **Cum** **munar* (< *mun-* {with suff *-(A)r*}) ⟶ H **munar* > *mōnār* > **mónár köd** [mōnār köd] *dial* ‘dry summer fog, rainbow’ | T *munar* id. < EOT *bun-*, *mun-* ‘to be mentally disturbed’,
25. **Cum** **nögär* (⟵ Mo *nöker*) ⟶ H **nöger* > *ńögēr* > **nyögér** [ńögēr], *nyőgér* [ńőgēr] ‘the name of a group of military people in Hungary, Cuman bodyguard of the Hungarian king’ | MT *nögär* < *nökär* ‘comrade, member of the retinue of a military leader’,
26. **Cum** **ontok* (< *un+tA-* and *-(O)k*) ⟶ H **ontok**, **ontog** *dial* ‘crumble of bread, morsel, a small piece of bread’ | T *untak* ‘powder, groots, powdery grist’,
27. **Cum** *özän* ⟶ H **üzen* > **özön** [özön] ‘flood, deluge, stream’ | EOT *öz* ‘valley with river’, MT *özän* ‘brook, river’,
28. **Cum** **sagïm* ⟶ H **sagum* > **szágom** [sāgom] *dial* ‘mirage’ (Mándoky 1993: 129) | MT *sakïm* id.,
29. **Cum** **sanduk* (⟵ Ar *ṣandūq*) ⟶ H **szándok** [sāndok] in *szándok-láda* ‘trousseau-box’ | T *sandïk* ‘chest, box’,
30. **Cum** **soŋkur* ⟶ H **sonkor* > **szongor** [songor] *arch* ‘a kind of falcon, *Pielfalcus*, *Gyrfalco*’ | EOT *siŋkur*, *suŋkur* ‘the gerfalcon, *Falco gyrfalco*’,
31. **Cum** **sütkän*, **süttägän* (< **süt* {with suff *+gAn* or *+A-gAn* or *+lA-gAn*} ⟶ **cötkény** [tsötkēń] ‘a kind of wolf’s milk, Easter flower, *Euphorbia*’ | EOT **sütgän*, **sütägän*, **sütlägän* < *süt*,
32. **Cum** **tabur* (< **tabgur* < **tabkur* ⟵ Mo *dabkur*) ⟶ H **tabur* > **tábor** [tābor] ‘camp, military camp’ | MT *tabur*, of debated origin,
33. **Cum** **tezek* ⟶ H *tözek* > **tőzeg** [tőzeg] ‘peat, turf, dried dung’ | EOT *täzäk* ‘animal dung’, MT ‘dry dung’,
34. **Cum** **toklu* ⟶ H *toklu* > *tokl′u* > **toklyó** [tokyō] ‘one year old lamb’ | EOT *toklï* ‘a lamb of few months old’,
35. **Cum** **untak* see Cum **ontok* under 26.

Dubious or not treated as an independent entry:

1. **Cum** or **WOT** **čök* → **csök**[2] [čök] *dial* 'feast, christening feast (at baptism)' | *čök* < **čük* | EOT **čök* '(libation) offering',
2. **Cum** **kantarga* (← Mo *kantarga*) → H *kentreg*, see **kömődörög**.

8.11 Index of Slavic words

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Chapter Ten

Abbreviations

10.1 Alphabetical list of abbreviations

a	(Latin) *ante*, 'before'
a.	(Mongolian) *aymag*, 'county'
acc	accusative
A.D.	(Latin) *Anno Domini*, 'in a specified year of the Christian era'
adj	adjective, adjectival
arch	archaic
B.C.	Before Christ
c	circa
c.	century
caus	causative
cf.	(Latin) *confer*, 'compare'
chap	chapter
coll	collective
comp	compound
conv	converb(al)
co-op	co-operative
c.s	centuries
d.	died
dat	dative
den	denominal
der	derivative, derivation
dev	deverbal
dial	dialect, dialectal
dict	dictionary
dim	diminutive
ed.	edited, editor

eds	editors
e.g.	(Latin) *exempli gratia*, 'for example'
etc.	(Latin) *et cetera*, 'and others'
fr	from
freq	frequentative
gen	genitive
haz.	hazırlayan
hend	(Latin from Greek) *hendiadys*, 'two for one'
hist	historical
hrsg	herausgegeben von
id.	(Latin) *idem*, 'the same'
i.e.	(Latin) *id est*, 'that is'
instr	instrumental
intr	intransitive
l.	line
lg	language
lit	literal, literally
loc	locative
lrnd	learned
lw	loanword
n.	note
orth	orthography, orthographical, orthographically
p	(Latin) *post*, 'after'
P	person
pass	passive
pass.	(Latin) *passim*, 'throughout, frequently'
phr	phrase
pl	plural
PN	personal name
poss	possessive
r	(Latin) *recte*, 'correctly'
red.	redacted
reg	(Latin) *regnavit*, 'reigned'
refl	reflexive
resp	respectively
s.	(Mongolian) *sumun*, 'district'
sem	semantic(ally)
sg	singular
suff	suffix
s.v.	(Latin) *sub voce*, 'under the word…'
tech	technical (term)
tr	transitive

unorg	unorganic
vs.	(Latin) *versus*, 'as opposed to'
5D	The Manchu pentaglott dictionary 1-3, *Yuzhi wuti Qingwen jian*, Beijing 1957. Index ed. Tamura–Imanishi–Sato 1966.
A	Altaic
A	Prefix for Arabic script used before OT and MT sources
A5D	Uyghur data in Arabic script in the Pentaglott Dictionary (*Yuzhi wuti Qingwen jian*) ◆ Index ed. Tamura–Imanishi–Sato 1966.
AAH (= AId)	The Kipchak wordlist in the Arab language manual Šaraf ad-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān al-Garnaṭī (1256–1345): *Kitāb al-Idrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk*, 1313 ◆ ed. Caferoğlu 1931.
AAHI	Istanbul copy of AAH, 1402 ◆ ed. İzbudak 1936.
AAHÖ	New edition of the verbs in AAH ◆ ed. Özyetgin 2001.
ABF	The Turkic material in Badr ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm: *Farhang-i Zafān-gūyā va Ǯahān-pūyā*, 14th c., after the *Tashkent codex* copied in 1711 ◆ ed. Dankoff 1987; facsimile: Baevskij 1974.
ABul	Jamāladdīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalāh at-Turkī: *Bulġat al-muštaq fī luġat at-turk wa'l-qifǰāq*, 1344–1451 ◆ ed. Zajączkowski 1954; 1958.
AChag	The Chagatay dictionary of Pavet de Courteille ◆ ed. Pavet de Courteille 1870.
AChagAb	Anonymous Chagatay–Ottoman dictionary, compiled during the first half of the 16th c. and named after its first item "Abuška" ◆ Russian ed. Velʹjaminov–Zernov 1868; French ed. Veliaminof–Zernof 1869.
AChagAbA	The edition of "Abuška" ◆ ed. Atalay 1970.
AChagAbV	The edition of "Abuška" ◆ ed. Vámbéry 1862.
AChagB	The dictionary of Ṭāliʿ Īmānī of Herat, the so called *Badā'iʿ al-Luġat*, early 16th c. (before 1506), after the copy of 1705/1706 ◆ ed. Borovkov 1961.
AChagBL	Selected data from the Sanglax reduction of Fethali Kaǰar Kazvīni: *Bahǰat-ul-Lugat*, 1861 ◆ ed. Thúry 1903.
AChagBud	The Chagatay material of Budagov's dictionary ◆ ed. Budagov 1869–1871.
AChagG	The Chagatay material in Gada'i: *Dīvān* ◆ ed. Eckmann 1971.
AChagLN	The Chagatay material of Hoǰandi: *Latafat-Name* ◆ ed. Fazylov 1976.
AChagMA	The Chagatay translation of Zamahšarī (1075–1144): *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, copy from the second half of the 15th c. ◆ ed. Poppe 1938–1939; 1951.
AChagML	Nevāyi: *Muhakkamatu'l Luġatayn*, 1499 ◆ ed. Barutçu-Özönder 1996.

AChagR	The Chagatay material (= Dsch.) of Radloff's dictionary ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AChagS	Muhammad Mahdī Xān: *Chagatay–Persian Dictionary* called *Sanglax*, 1759 ◆ facsimile, indexes: Clauson 1960.
AChagSC	AChagS ◆ cited after Clauson 1972.
AChagŠS	Šeyx Süleymān Buxarī: *Chagatay–Ottoman Dictionary*, 1881, based primarily on the "Abuška", Pavet de Courteille 1870 and the author's own collected material ◆ ed. Šeyx Süleymān 1881.
AChagŠSK	The edition of ChagŠS by Kúnos 1902, with Ottoman in Latin script and German translation ◆ ed. Kúnos 1902.
AChagZ	The Chagatay material (= "to") of Zenker's dictionary ◆ ed. Zenker 1866–1876.
ADur	The Florence MS of the *Kitāb ad-durraᵗ al-muḍī'a fī-l-luġat at-turkīya*, 15th c. ◆ ed. Zajączkowski [1.] 1965; [2] 1965; [3] 1969; [K] 1968; Toparlı 1991.
Afg	Afghan
AGul	The Turkic translation of Saʿdī: *Gulistān*, late 14th c. ◆ ed. Bodrogligeti 1969; facsimile: Uzluk 1954.
AH	Ancient Hungarian
AHMA	The Hwarezmian Turkic translation of Zamahšarī (1075–1144) before 1257: *Mukaddimat al-Adab* ◆ ed. Yüce 1993; 2000.
AHou	The Leiden MS of the Anonymous (perhaps by Xalil ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Qunavī): *Kitāb majmūʿ tarǰumān turkī wa ʿaǰamī wa muġalī wa fārsī*, 1343, written in Egypt ◆ ed. Houtsma 1894; Kuryšžanov 1970; Toparlı–Çögenli–Yanık 2000; Flemming 1968.
AHŠ	Turkic translation by Quṭb of the *Ḫusrav ve Šīrīn*, 1341 ◆ ed. Zajączkowski 1961.
AHŠF	Turkic translation by Qutb of the *Ḫusrav ve Šīrīn*, 1341 ◆ ed. Fazylov 1966–1971.
AIM	The Turkic material from Jamāl ad-Dīn Ibn al-Muhanna: *Ḥilyat al-insān wa ḥalbat al-lisān*, 14th c., based on the Oxford T MS (Thurston 14) and with use of the Oxford L (Laud B 98), M (Marsh 238), B (Berlin), P (Paris) MSs ◆ ed. Melioranskij 1900.
AIMI	The Istanbul MS of Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn al-Muhanna: *Ḥilyat al-insān wa ḥalbat al-lisān*, 15–16th c. ◆ facsimile: Kilisli Rifat 1919–1921; Malov 1928; Battal 1934, 1997³.
AK	Mahmūd al-Kāsġārī: *Dīvān luġāt at-turk*, 1072–1078, copy from 1266 ◆ ed. Dankoff–Kelly 1982–1985.
AKav	Abū Hayyān (attributed): *Al-Qawānīn al-kullīya li-ḍabṭ al-luġat at-turkīya*, but written after his death in the 15th c. in Egypt ◆ ed. Telegdi 1937; Toparlı 1993; facsimile: Kilisli Rifat 1928.
AKavT	The edition of AKav ◆ Toparlı–Çögenli–Yanık 1999.

AKD	The Turkic material from "*The King's Dictionary*", the Hexaglott of Yemen, compiled by Al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī, 1383–1377 ◆ ed. Golden 2000.
Akk	Akkadian
AKor	Middle Turkic glosses of an interlinear *Koran* translation, late 12th–early 13th c., John Rylands Library, Manchester ◆ ed. Eckmann 1976; Dankoff 1978; Menges 1978; Dankoff 1981.
Al	Alan(ian)
Alb	Albanian
Alt	Altay Turkic or Oyrot, Oyrot–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov–Toščakova 1947.
AltL	Altay Turkic, Lebed or Qū-kiži [Chalkan] Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1985 (Leb.).
AltLR	Altay Turkic, Lebed dialect ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AltQK	Altay Turkic, Qumandï-kiži Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1972.
AltQKR	Altay Turkic, Qumandï-kiži dialect (= Kumd.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AltR	Altay Turkic (= Alt.) ◆ ed. Radloff 1893–1911.
AltTelR	Altay Turkic, Teleut dialect (= Tel.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AltTK	Altay Turkic, Tuba-kiži dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1966.
AltTKR	Altay Turkic, Tuba-kiži dialect (= Tub.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AltTölR	Altay Turkic, Tölös dialect (= Töl.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
AM	Hwārizmi: *Muhabbat nāma* 1353, copy in Arabic script from Herat of 1509, British Museum, London ◆ ed. Nadžip 1961.
Am	Prefix for Armenian script used before OT and MT sources
AmCh	Armeno-Kipchak texts of the *Kamenets Chronicle*, 17th c. ◆ ed. Schütz 1968.
AmD	Middle Kipchak records in Armenian script, 1559–1567 ◆ ed. Grunin 1967.
AmE	Armeno-Kipchak ephemerides of the years 1604–1613 ◆ ed. Deny 1957.
AMGh	The only MS of *Munyatu'l-Ġuzāt* written in 1446–1447 in Egypt is a copy of a Mamluk–Kipchak text of the 14th c. ◆ ed. Öztopçu 1989; Uğurlu 1987.
AmTr	The Armeno-Kipchak material of the most valuable Armenian–Armeno-Kipchak dictionaries ◆ ed. Tryjarski 1968–1972.
ANeh	Mahmūd ibn ʿAlī: *Nehcü'l-feradis*, written in Hwārezm or Saray, first half of the 14th c. ◆ Glossary: Ata 1998; facsimile: Eckman 1956.
ANehF	Mahmūd ibn ʿAlī: *Nehcü'l-feradis*, first half of the 14th c. ◆ ed. Fazylov 1966–1971.
AOtT	Ottoman sources according to the ◆ Tarama Sözlüğü 1963–1977.
AQB	Jusuf Hass Hajib: *Qutadgu bilig*, 1068 ◆ ed. Arat 1947; 1959; 1979; Tezcan 1981; Dankoff 1983.

AQBK	Kairo MS of the *Qutadgu bilig*, 1069, copy from the 14th c.
AQBN	Namagan (Fergana) MS of the *Qutadgu bilig*, 1069, copy from the 12–13th c.
Ar	Arabic
ARbg	Al-Rabghūzī: *Qisas al-Anbiya*, written in Khwarezmian Turkish in 1310, copy from the end of the 15th c. ◆ ed. Boeschoten–Vandamme–Tezcan 1995; facsimile: Grønbech 1948.
Arm	Armenian
ArmKip	Armeno-Kipchak
AT	Ancient Turkic
ATef	Turkic *Tefsir*, a Koran translation and its commentaries, 12–13th c., copy from the second half of the 15th c. ◆ ed. Borovkov 1963.
ATuh	The anonymous work (? Ṣakalaḥ ad-Din Ḫalīl ibn Aybeg aṣ-Ṣafadī, 1362) *Kitāb at-tuḥfa az-zakīya fī luġat at-turkīya* written in the 14th c. in Syria ◆ ed. Fazylov–Zijaeva 1978; facsimile: Halasi-Kun 1942; Atalay 1945.
AVB	The Volga Bulgar material of the Volga Bulgar inscriptions ◆ ed. Erdal 1993; Róna-Tas–Fodor 1973; Hakimzjanov 1978; Tekin 1988c.
AYar	Old Turkic text from Yarkand ◆ ed. Erdal 1984; Gronk 1986; Osmanov–Li–Jin 1999.
AYC	Fragments of Adib Aḥmad ibn Maḥmud Yugnaki: *Atabat al Ḥaqayiq*, 13th c., fragments in a copy in Arabic script (MS C) from the second half of the 15th c. ◆ ed. Arat 1951.
Az	Azeri, Azerbaijanian–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Azizbekov 1965.
AzD	Azeri, Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Rüstämov–Širälijev 1964.
AzM	Azeri, Azerbaijanian–English Dictionary ◆ ed. Musaev 1998.
AzR	Azerbaijanian (= Ad.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
B	Prefix for Brāhmī script used before OT and MT sources
B1-79	Old Turkic monuments in Brāhmī script ◆ Maue 1996 (on p. 265 see the concordances with BA-BP).
BA-BP	Old Turkic monuments in Brāhmī script ◆ as published by A. von Gabain 1954 (= TTTVIII).
Bact	Bactrian
Bain/Bayan Tsokto	see RMTon
Bashk	Bashkir, Bashkir–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Uraksin 1996.
BashkA	Bashkir, Bashkir–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Ahmerov *et al.* 1958.
BashkD1-3	Bashkir, Dialect Dictionary ◆ *Bašqort höyleštereněŋ hüδlěgě* 1967–1987/1–3.
BashkE	Bashkir, Explanatory Dictionary ◆ *Bašqort tělěněŋ hüδlěgě* 1993/1–2.
BashkP	Bashkir Wordlist ◆ ed. Pröhle 1903–1905.
Bayan chor	see RMShin

Belor	Belorussian
Blg	Bulgarian
Blk	Balkar in KrchBlk
BlkN	Balkar Wordlist ◆ ed. Németh 1911–1912.
BlkP	Balkar Wordlist ◆ ed. Pröhle 1914–1915.
Bulg	Bulgar
BulgT	Bulgar Turkic
Bur	Buryat ◆ Čeremisov 1973
C	Prefix before sources written in Cyrillic script
Cagan Tolgoi	see RMBais
Cauc	Caucasian
CC	Codex Cumanicus, see LCC
Cenher Mandal	see RMBur
Ch	Chinese
Ch	Prefix for sources written in Chinese script
Chag	Chagatay
Chagan-nuur	see RMTerh
Cher	Cheremis
CherH	Cheremis, Hill dialect
CherM	Cheremis, Meadow dialect
ChSl	Church Slavonic
ChulR	Chulym Turkic, Küerik dialect (= Küär.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Chuv	Chuvash, Chuvash–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Skvorcov 1982.
ChuvA	Chuvash, Ašmarin's *Thesaurus* ◆ ed. Ašmarin 1928–1950.
ChuvP	Chuvash, Paasonen's *Vocabulary* ◆ ed. Paasonen 1908.
Class	Classical
CrKar	Crimean Karaim
Croat	Croatian
CrTat	Crimean Tatar, Crimean Tatar–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Asanov *et al.* 1988.
CrTatR	Crimean Tatar (= Krm.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
CT	Common Turkic
Cum	Cuman(ian)
DAI	*De administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII ◆ ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins 1967.
Darvi	see RMBais
Dig, Digor	Digoron
DBulg	Danube Bulgar(ian)
Dlg	Dolgan, Dolgan–German Dictionary ◆ ed. Stachowski 1993.
DlgS	Dolgan, Dolgan–German Dictionary, Supplement ◆ ed. Stachowski 1998.
Dzüriyn ovoo	see RMTesII

EAH	Early Ancient Hungarian
EMCh	Early Middle Chinese
Eng	English
EOT	East Old Turkic
Est	Estonian
Evn	Even
Evnk	Evenki
FB1-2	Kalai–Bolo (Isfahara 2-3) ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
Finn	Finnish
Fr	French
FUgr	Finno-Ugric
FY	Fu-yü Wordlist ◆ ed. Hu–Imart 1987.
G	Prefix for sources written in Greek script
Gag	Gagauz, Gagauz–Russian–Moldavian Dictionary ◆ ed. Gajdarǰi *et al.* 1973.
Geor	Georgian
GN	geographic name
Gr	Greek
Grm	German
H	Hungarian
Hanan had	see RMYam
Heb	Hebrew
HeGP	Old Turkic proper names, titles and glosses scattered in the Hebrew sources ◆ Golb–Pritsak 1982.
Hentei	see RMBur, RMBin
Höl Asgatu	see RMIhe
Hosho Tsaidam	see RMBilg
Hovd	see RMAru
Hutugtu uula (Kutug ula)	see RMHut
Hy	Hua-yi yiyü
IE	Indo-European
Ihe Höshütü (Ihe Höshöötü)	see RMKöl
IIr	Indo-Iranian
Ind	Indic/Indian
Ir	Iranian
It	Italian
Jpn	Japanese
Ju	Jurchen
Kab	Kabard
Kalm	Kalmuck ◆ Ramstedt 1935

Kam	Kamass
Kar	Karaim, Karaim–Russian–Polish Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1974.
KarC	Karaim, Crimean dialect, Karaim–Russian–Polish Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1974.
KarCR	Karaim, Crimean dialect (= Kar.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KarH	Karaim, Halič dialect, Karaim–Russian–Polish Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1974.
KarLR	Karaim, Luck dialect (= Kar. L.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KarSh	Karaim, Old Karaim Collection of Shapshal ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1974.
KarT	Karaim, Trakai dialect, Karaim–Russian–Polish Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1974.
KarTR	Karaim, Trakai dialect (= Kar. T.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Kaz	Kazakh, Kazakh–English Dictionary ◆ ed. Shnitnikov 1966.
KazB	Kazakh, Kazakh–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Bektaev 1999.
KazR	Kazakh (= Kir.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Kh	Khalaj, Kharrab dialect, Khalaj–German Dictionary ◆ ed. Doerfer–Tezcan 1980.
Kh	Prefix for sources written in Khotanese (Khot) Brāhmī script
Khak	Khakas, Khakas–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1953.
KhakAR	Khakas, Abakan dialect (= Abak.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakB	Khakas, Khakas–Russian Historic-Ethnographic Dictionary ◆ ed. Butanaev 1999.
KhakMatV	Khakas, Mator Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Verbickij 1884.
KhakMR	Khakas, Mador dialect (= Mad.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakQbR	Khakas, Qoybal dialect (= Koib.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakQchR	Khakas, Qacha dialect (= Ktsch.) ◆ ed. Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakQR	Khakas, Qïzïl dialect (= Kys.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakShR	Khakas, Shor dialect (= Schor.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
KhakSR	Khakas, Saghay dialect (= Koib.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Khal	Khalkha
KhalK	Khalkha ◆ Kara 1998.
Khaz	Khazar
Khor	Khorasan Turkic Wordlists ◆ ed. Doerfer–Hesche 1993.
Khot	Khotanese
KhWl	The Turkish–Khotanese Wordlist ◆ Emmerick–Róna-Tas 1992.
KhT	Khalaj Wordlist ◆ ed. Doerfer 1987.
Khwar	Khwarezmian
Kip	Kipchak
Kirg	Kirghiz, Kirghiz–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Judahin 1965.
KirgR	Kirghiz (= Kkir.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.

Kklp	Karakalpak, Karakalpak–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1958.
Kor	Korean
Kow	Literary Mongolian ◆ Kowalewski 1844–1849.
Kötu su	see RMYam
KrchBlk	Karachay–Balkar, Karachay–Balkar–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Tenišev–Sujunčev 1989.
KrchP	Karachay Wordlist ◆ ed. Pröhle 1909.
Kum	Kumyk, Kumyk–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Bammatov 1969.
KumN	Kumyk Wordlist ◆ ed. Németh 1911–1912.
Kurd	Kurdish
L	Prefix for sources written in Latin script
L, LMo	Literary Mongolian ◆ Lessing 1960.
LAH	Late Ancient Hungarian
LAP	Old Turkic proper names, titles and glosses scattered in the Latin sources ◆ Aalto–Pekkanen 1975–1980/1–2.
Lat	Latin
LCC	Codex Cumanicus ◆ ed. Grønbech 1942; Drimba 1973; facsimiles: Grønbech 1936; Drimba 2000; Kuun 1981 (reprint); Radloff 1887.
LCCG	The German part of the Codex Cumanicus
LCCI	The Italian part of the Codex Cumanicus
LMCh	Late Middle Chinese
LMo	Literary Mongolian
LOH	Late Old Hungarian
M	Middle
M	Prefix for sources written in Manichean script
Mac	Macedonian
Man	Manchu
MH	Middle Hungarian
MHGrm	Middle High German
MMan	Middle Manchu-Tungusic (= Jurchen)
MMo	Middle Mongolian
Mngr	Monguor
Mo	Mongolic
Mod	Modern
Mogilyan	see RMBilg
Mord	Mordvin
MordE	Mordvin, Erza dialect
MordM	Mordvin, Moksha dialect
Moyin chor	see RMShin
MS	manuscript
MT	Middle Turkic
MUyg	Modern Uyghur, Uyghur–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Nadžip 1968.

MUygBN	Modern Uyghur, Uyghur–Russian Dictionary, Uygur in Latin script ◆ ed. Baskakov–Nasilov 1939.
MUygE	Modern Uyghur, Uyghur–English Dictionary ◆ ed. Schwarz 1992.
MUygM	Modern Uyghur Wordlists ◆ ed. Malov 1961, if of relevance the same abbreviations added as in Malov 1961 e.g. MUygMHot Hotan dialect, MUygMAks Aksu dialect etc.
MUygTY	Modern Uyghur, Turfan dialect Wordlist ◆ ed. Yakup 2005.
N	New
Nan	Nanay
NE	North East Turkic or *Siberian*: Altay (Oyrot), Khakas, Chulym, Fuyü, Tuvan, Tofalar
Neg	Negidal
NHGrm	New High German
NMan	New Manchu-Tungusic
NMo	New Mongolian
Nog	Noghay, Noghay–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1963.
NT	New Turkic
NW	North West Turkic or *Kipchak*: Tatar, Bashkir, Siberian Tatar, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Noghay, Crimean Tatar, Karaim, Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar
O	Old
OESl	Old East Slavonic
Og	Oghuz
OHGrm	Old High German
OMo	Old Mongolian
Ord	Ordos ◆ Mostaert 1941/1968
Os	Ossetian
Osty	Ostyak
OT	Old Turkic
Ott	Ottoman
OUgr	Ob-Ugric, Ob-Ugrian
Oyr	Oyrat
P	Prefix before sources written in Persian script
P	Prefix before abbreviations of languages: Proto
Pahl	Pahlavi
Pash	Pashto
Pe	Persian
Pech	Pecheneg
Perm	Permian
PFUgr	Proto Finno-Ugric
Ph	Prefix for sources written in Phagspa script
PMo	Proto Mongolian

Pol	Polish
POUgr	Proto Obi-Ugric
PPerm	Proto Permic
PT	Proto Turkic
PUgr	Proto Ugric
R	Prefix before sources written in Runiform script
R	Prefix before an abbreviation of a dictionary: Russian-
R	Postfix after an abbreviation of a name of lg in Radloff 1893-1911
RA1-16	Inscriptions from the Altai region ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 35–36.
RAlt	Altay Turkic, Russian–Oyrot Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1964.
RAz	Azerbaijanian, Russian–Azerbaijanian Dictionary ◆ ed. Orudžev 1955.
RB1-18	Small runiform inscriptions or signs on diverse objects ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 22–23.
RBashk	Bashkir, Russian–Bashkir Dictionary ◆ ed. Ahmerov 1964.
RChuv	Chuvash, Russian–Chuvash Dictionary ◆ ed. Andreev–Petrov 1971.
RFAnd	Runic inscription, Andizhan ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFBa	Batken ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFBe	Begovat ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFFer	Fergana ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFK	Kuva ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFKa	Kalai Kafir (Isfahara I) ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFKK	Kalai–Kafirnigan I-II ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFKS	Kuva Sai ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFKz	Kizil–Piljau (Isfahara IV) ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFMa	Margelan ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFMH	Mug–Hon ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFMug	MS from Mug ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFOH	Osh–Hon ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFST	Sari–Tash ◆Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RFU	Uzgen ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 41.
RKaz	Kazakh, Russian–Kazakh Dictionary ◆ ed. Sauranbaev 1954.
RKhak	Khakas, Russian–Khakas Dictionary ◆ ed. Čankov 1961.
RKIl 1-2	Iliy ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKirg	Kirghiz, Russian–Kirghiz Dictionary ◆ ed. Judahin 1957.
RKIrMir	Mirror from the Irtish-region ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKIrt	Bone-inscription from the Irtish region ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKKart	Karatal from the Taldy–Kurgan region ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKKeg	Kegen ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKKiz	Kizilkum ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKklp	Karakalpak, Russian–Karakalpak Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1967.
RKKoi	Koi–Sarï ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.

RKrchBlk	Karachay–Balkar, Russian–Karachay–Balkar Dictionary ◆ ed. Sujunčev–Urusbiev 1965.
RKSeal	Inscription on a seal ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKSilv	Runiform signs on a silver cup ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKSyr	Inscription on a brick from the Syr–Darya region ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKTal	Talgarskoe ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKTal 1-13	Inscriptions from the region of the Talas river ◆ Malov 1959: 57–63 (I–V), 63–68 (VII, wooden stick); Vasil′ev 1983a: 39–40, 41.
RKTam	Tamguluktash ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RKum	Kumyk, Russian–Kumyk Dictionary ◆ ed. Bammatov 1960.
RKUr	Mirror from Urjara ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 40.
RMAčit	Ačit nuur (Uvs a., Böhmörön s.) ◆ Kljaštornyj 1980; Haržaubaj 1987; Bold 1990: 19–20.
RMAr	Arhan (= Aru han, Ar Hanan) (Bulgan a., Hishig öndör s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 37; Tryjarski 1965; Sertkaya 1984: XX; Bold 1990: 17; Kljaštornyj–Tryjarski 1990: 63–68.
RMAru	Aru Bogdo (= Tevsh) (Hovd a., Bogd s., former Hovd s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Bernštam 1958; Rintchen 1968: 43c; Nadeljaev 1974: 163–166; Sertkaya 1984: XXVI; Bold 1990: 110–112.
RMBais 1-3	Baishing Üdzüür (= Tsagan Tolgoi) (Hovd a., Darvi s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 38–39; Šinehüü 1972; Bold 1990: 28.
RMBayb	Baybalag (Bulgan a., Hutag s.) ◆ Rintchen 1968: 69.
RMBeg 1-5	Biger sumun (= Beger) (Govi Altaj a., Beger s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Šinehüü 1971; Sertkaya 1984: XXIX; Bold 1990: 21–22.
RMBig	see RMBeg
RMBilg	Bilge kagan (= Mogilyan, Hosho Tsaidam) (Arhangai a., Hashaat s.), 735 ◆ Thomsen 1896; Thomsen 1916; Thomsen 1924; Orkun 1986/1: 18–95; Malov 1959: 11–25; Rintchen 1968: 60–71; Tekin 1968: 231–248, 261–273; Sertkaya 1984: VII; Tekin 1988b; Bold 1990: 54–60; Tezcan 1991; Doerfer 1992; Tekin 1995a.
RMBin	Binder (Hentiy a., Bat-shireet s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 43; Sertkaya 1984: XXXIII.
RMBur	Burgast valley (= Cenher Mandal) (Hentij a., Cenher Mandal s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Vjatkina 1958; Fen Tsza-šen [Za-sheng] 1959; Rintchen 1968: 43; Šinehüü 1977; Kljaštornyj 1978a Vasil′ev 1978; Sertkaya 1984: XXV; Bold 1990: 139–142.
RMC	Coin (found in Sühbaatar a., kept in Ulaanbaatar, Institute of Archeology) 8–9th c. ◆ Kljaštornyj 1973; Sertkaya XXVIII; Bold 1990: 31–33.

RMChoyr	Choyr (= Chöyren, Choyrin, Choyren, Choiriin) (Dorno Govi, Dornogov′ a., Sümber s., railway station Choyr) 8–9th c. ◆ Orkun 1986/2: 164–168; Rintchen 1968: 39; Kljaštornyj 1971; Sertkaya 1984: I.; Bold 1990: 143–146.
RMDGob	Bronzeplate (Dund Govi, Dundgov′ a., Ethnographical Museum) 8–9th c. ◆ Bazylhan 1964; Rintchen 1968: 40; Sertkaya 1984: XXIII; Bold 1990: 69–70.
RMDol	Inscription from Doloodoj (Uvs a., Türgen s.) ◆ Doržsüren 1957; Rintchen 1968: 41; Bold 1990: 30.
RMGur	Gurvaljin-uula (= Gurvalžin-uul) (Bulgan a., Gurvan Bulak, Gurvanbulag s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Orkun 1986/2: 163; Rintchen 1968: 37; Bazylhan 1969; Kljaštornyj 1978a; Bold 1990: 23–24.
RMGurv	Gurvan mandal (Bayanhongor a., Buucagaan s.) ◆ Bold–Bjambaa 1988; Bold 1990: 25–27.
RMHan	Ihe Hanuyin, Hanui nuur (Arhangai a., Hayran s. earlier Erdene mandal) 8–9th c. ◆ Kljaštornyj 1978a; Sertkaya 1984: X;. Bold 1990: 38–39; Ōsawa 1999a.
RMHang	Hangiday had (Bulgan a., Dashinchilen s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 37; Bazylhan 1968; Kljaštornyj 1978a; Sertkaya 1984: XI; Bold 1990: 121–123.
RMHoi 1-10	Hoitu Tamir or Tayhir, Tayhar (= Hoi Tamir) (Arhangai a., Ih Tamir s.) 744–756, No. VII: 735 ◆ Radloff 1895: 260–268; Orkun 1986/2: 107–117; Gabain 1953: 550–553; Aalto–Ramstedt–Granö 1958: 62–76; Malov 1959: 46–54; Perlee 1960; Rintchen 1968: 34–36; Vasil′ev 1975; Sertkaya 1984: XIV; Bold 1990: 90–92; Aalto 1991: 70–78.
RMHut	Hutag uul (= Hutugtu uula, Kutug ula) (Övörhangai a., Baruun bayan ulaan s., earlier: Bayan Hongor a.) 8–9th c. ◆ Lauer 1972; Tryjarski–Hamilton 1975; Šinehüü 1976; Sertkaya 1984: XXX; Bold 1990: 135–137.
RMIhe 1-2	Ihe Ashete (= Höl Asgat, Höl Asgatu) (Bulgan a., Mogud s.) 724 ◆ Radloff 1895: 256–258; Orkun 1986/2: 121–127; Malov 1959: 44–46; Rintchen 1968: 41; Sertkaya 1984: IV; Bold 1990: 129–134.
RMKarI	Fragments from Karabalgasun (Arhangai a., Hontont s.) 810 or 821 ◆ Radlov 1892–1899: XXXV; Orkun 1986/1: 85–86; 1936–1941/2: 31–54, 1986/2: 224–224; Sertkaya 1984: XV; Bold 1990: 124–125; Moriyasu–Yoshida–Katayama 1999.
RMKarII	Karabalgasun (Arhangai a., Hontont s.) ◆ Šinehüü 1980; Bold 1990: 126–128; Ōsawa 1999b.
RMKöl	Köli chor (= Ihe Höshöötü) (Töv a., Delgerhaan s.) 720–725 ◆ Radloff 1892–1899: XXXV: 135–151; Orkun 1986/1: 135–151; Malov 1959: 25–30; Clauson–Tryjarski 1971; Hamilton 1974; Sertkaya 1984: III; Bold 1990: 40–43; Hayashi–Ōsawa 1999.

RMKT	Köl tegin (Arhangai a., Hashaat s.) 732 ◆ Thomsen 1896; Thomsen 1916; Thomsen 1924; Orkun 1986/1: 18–55; Aalto 1946: 127–133; Rintchen 1968: 53–59; Malov 1951: 19–55; Gabain 1950: 247–257; Tekin 1968: 231–242; Ajdarov 1971: 277–303; Matuz 1972: 15–24; Gabain 1974: 271–281; Hamilton 1974; Sertkaya 1984: V; Tekin 1988b; Bold 1990: 44–51; Tezcan 1991; Doerfer 1992; Tekin 1995a; Katayama 1999.
RMKT+	broken parts of RMKT (Arhangai a., Hashaat s.) ◆ Rintchen 1968: 43; Matuz 1972; Sertkaya 1984: V; Bold 1990: 34.
RMNal	Nalayh ◆ Orkun 1986/2: 161–162; Sertkaya 1984: IX.
RMNog	Nogoon nuur (Bayan Ölgij a., Achit/Nogon nuur) ◆ Ünen 10th Sept. 1988; Bold 1990: 71.
RMOng	Ong (= Ongin, Ongi, Ongiin) (Övörhangai a., Uyanga s.) 720 or 731 ◆ Orkun 1986/1: 127–132; Orkun 1986/3: 216–217; Clauson 1957b; Malov 1959: 7–11; Rintchen 1968: 44; Sertkaya 1984: II; Bold 1990: 74–77; Ōsawa 1999.
RMOng+	broken part of RMOng
RMOr	Oryuk had (Hövsgöl a., Rinchenlhünbe s.) ◆ Bold 1986; Bold 1990: 78–80.
RMÖvörD	Övör dörvööljin (Hovd a., Hovd s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 43; Bazylhan 1969; Sertkaya 1984: XXIV; Bold 1990: 81–82.
RMÖvörH	Övörhangay (Övörhangai a., Museum of Arvaiheer) ◆ Bold 1987; Bold 1990: 83–84.
RMRash	Rashaan had (Hentij a., Bat shireet s.) ◆ Perlee 1974; Haržaubaj 1987; Bold 1990: 85–86.
RMSev	Sevrey sumun (South Gobi, Ömnögov´ a., Sevrey s.) 763 ◆ Rintchen 1968: 42; Kljaštornyj–Livšic 1971a; Kljaštornyj–Livšic 1971b; Kljaštornyj–Livšic 1971c; Sertkaya 1984: XVIII; Yoshida–Moriyasu–Katayama 1999.
RMShin	Shine usu (= Shine us, Moyin chor, Bayan chor, "Selengijskij kamen´", Yaklagar) (Bulgan a., Hutag s.) 759/760 ◆ Ramstedt 1913; Orkun 1986/1: 163–186; Malov 1959: 30–44; Róna-Tas 1983b: 129; Sertkaya 1984: XIII; Bold 1990: 61–68; Moriyasu 1999.
RMShiv	Shivet ulaan (Arhangai a., Hayrhan s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Hayashi–Moriyasu 1999: 142.
RMSüj	Süüji, Süüž (= Suji) (Bulgan a., Sayhan s. Süüji davaa) 840 ◆ Ramstedt 1913-1918; Orkun 1986/1: 155–191; Zuev 1958; Kljaštornyj 1959; Ajdarov 1971: 319–334; Mori 1978: 25–28; Marazzi 1979; Sertkaya 1984: XIX; Bold 1990: 87–89.

RMTerh	Terh, at the Terhin gol (= Terhin, Taryat, Terek, Chagan-nuur) (Arhangai a., Taryat s.) 753–754 ◆ Šinehüü 1975; Šinehüü 1980; Kljaštornyj 1980; Klyashtorny 1982; Tekin 1982; Róna-Tas 1982a; Róna-Tas 1983b; Tekin 1983; Sertkaya 1984: XII; Bold 1990: 93–94; Katayama 1999a.
RMTesI	Tes (= Tez) (Hövsgöl a., Cagaan Uula s, Hanh s., earlier Tes s.) 750 ◆ Šinehüü 1977; Haržaubaj 1978; Šinehüü 1980; Róna-Tas 1982a; Róna-Tas 1983b; Klyashtorny 1985; Tekin 1988a; Bold 1990: 113–117; Ōsawa 1999d.
RMTesII	One-line inscription from Dzüriyn ovoo, formerly also called Tes (= Tez) (Hövsgöl a., Dzavhan a., Bayantes s., earlier Tes s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 40; Kljaštornyj 1978: 152–155; Sertkaya 1984: XVII; Bold 1990: 34–37.
RMTöm	Tömör Corgo (= Tömör Tsorgo) (Uvs a., Sagil s.) ◆ Ceveendorž 1984; Bold 1990: 109.
RMTon	Tonyukuk Inscription (= Bayan Cokto, Bain Tsokto) (Töv a., Bayan Dzürh s.) 726 ◆ Hirth 1899; Radloff 1899; Thomsen 1916; Thomsen 1924; Orkun 1986/1: 99–124; Orkun 1986/3: 222–234; Aalto 1958; Giraud 1961; Rintchen 1968: 40; Tezcan 1975–1976; Sertkaya 1979; Sertkaya 1979a; Sertkaya 1984: VIII; Bold 1990: 100–106; Tezcan 1991; Tekin 1994; Berta 1995; Tekin 1995; Tekin 1995a; Rybatzki 1997.
RMTon+	Inscriptions found on the building around RMTon (Töv a., Bayan Dzürh s.) ◆ Rintchen 1968: 40; Bold 1990: 107–108.
RMTsah	Cahir (= Tsahir) (Hövsgöl a., Cecerleg s.) ◆ Ceveendorž 1984; Bold 1990: 138.
RMUlan	Ulaan-gom (= Ulangom) (Uvs a. Ulaangom) 8–9th c. ◆ Rintchen 1968: 41; Sertkaya 1984: XXXII.
RMUyg	Modern Uyghur, Russian–Uyghur Dictionary ◆ ed. Rahimov 1956.
RMYam	Yamani us (= Yamaany us, Kötü Su, Hanan had) (Hovd a., Üyench s.) 8–9th c. ◆ Novgorodova–Tenišev 1983: 205–208; Sertkaya 1984: XXXI; Bold 1990: 118–120.
RNog	Noghay, Russian–Noghay Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov 1956.
Rom	Romanian
RTat	Tatar, Russian–Tatar Dictionary ◆ ed. Dmitriev 1955–1959.
RTatG	Kazan Tatar, Russian–Tatar Dictionary ◆ ed. Ganieva 1991.
RTD	Fragments from Dunhuang (Ch 0014, Ch 00183) ◆ Thomsen 1922a: 254–260, Index: 260–267.
RTGr1	Grafittis from Dunhuang ◆ Pelliot 1914 (1920); Vasil′ev 1983a: 38.
RTGr2	Grafittis from Yar Hoto ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 205–206; Vasil′ev 1983a: 38; Erdal 1993: 87–108.
RTGr3	Grafittis from Turfan ◆ Vasil′ev 1983a: 38.

RTIrk	*Irk bitig* (Ch 00331) ◆ Thomsen 1922a: 226–254, Index: 260–267; Orkun 1986/2: 71–93; Malov 1951: 80–92; Clauson 1961; Hamilton 1975: 7–19; Erdal 1978: 87–119; Tekin 1993; Erdal 1997: 63–100; Róna-Tas 2004a.
RTkm	Turkmen, Russian–Turkmen Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov–Hamzaev 1956.
RTkmAB	Turkmen, Russian–Turkmen Dictionary ◆ ed. Aliev–Boriev 1929.
RTLon	Inscription on the London scroll of the Uyghur *Sekiz Yükmek* ◆ Bang–Gabain–Rachmati 1934: 97 (TT VI); Orkun 1986/2: 184.
RTM	MS from Dunhuang ◆ Hamilton–Bazin 1972: 25–42.
RTMir 1-4	Four small fragments from Miran ◆ Thomsen 1922a: 217–226, 260–267.
RTMr	Mirror from Turkestan ◆ Kljaštornyj–Lybo–Lesničenko 1974; Vasil′ev 1983a: 38.
RTof	Tofa, Russian–Tofa Dictionary ◆ ed. Rassadin 1995.
RTt	Turkish, Russian–Turkish Dictionary ◆ ed. Mustafaev–Ščerbinin 1972.
RTTI	MS from of Toyok I "abc" (T.II, T.20) ◆ Le Coq 1909–1972a: 1050; Orkun 1986/2: 24.
RTTII	MS from Toyok II ◆ Thomsen 1922b: 201–216; Orkun 1986/2: 57–59, 97.
RTTurf	Fragments from Turfan (T.M.327, T.M.339a-b, T.M.330, T.M.842, T.M.326) ◆ Le Coq 1909–1972a: 1052–1060; Orkun 1986/2: 175–183.
RTuv	Tuvan, Russian–Tuvan Dictionary ◆ ed. Pal′mbah 1953.
Rus	Russian
RUzb	Uzbek, Russian–Uzbek Dictionary ◆ ed. Abdurahmanov 1954.
RY	Yakut, Russian–Yakut Dictionary ◆ ed. Afanas′ev–Haritonov 1968.
RY10	Elegest (Elegeš) I ◆Orkun 1986/3: 179–183; Malov 1952: 25–28; Malov 1959: 68–75; Vasil′ev 1983b: 18.
RY11	Berge ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 71–75; Malov 1952: 29–34; Vasil′ev 1983b: 19–20.
RY1-145	Yenisei inscriptions ◆ current numbers according to Vasil′ev 1983b (RY47 deest = RMSuj).
RY13	Chaa-höl I ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 115–116; Malov 1952: 35–36; Vasil′ev 1983b: 20–21.
RY143	Yenisei inscription No 143 ◆ Vasil′ev 1986: 53–56.
RY25	Oznachennoe ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 163–165; Malov 1952: 45–47.
RY26	Ochury (Achura) ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 131–137; Malov 1952: 47–51; Vasil′ev 1983b: 24.
RY27	Oya ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 131–137; Malov 1952: 51–52; Vasil′ev 1983b: 24.

RY28	Altyn köl I ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 101–103, 108–109; Malov 1952: 52–55; Vasil′ev 1983b: 25.
RY29	Altyn köl II ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 104–105, 110–111; Malov 1952: 55–58; Vasil′ev 1983b: 25.
RY30	Uybat I ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 141–142, 150; Malov 1952: 58–60; Vasil′ev 1983b: 25.
RY31	Uybat II ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 142–143, 151–152; Malov 1952: 60–61.
RY32	Uybat III ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 143–146; Malov 1952: 60–61; Vasil′ev 1983b: 26.
RY41	Hemchik-Chyrgaky ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 79–85; Malov 1952: 73–75; Vasil′ev 1983b: 29.
RY42	Bay-Bulun I (Hemchik, Museum of Minusinsk) ◆ Orkun 1986/3: 95–96; Malov 1952: 75–78; Batmanov–Kunaa 1965: 27–29; Vasil′ev 1983b: 29–30.
RY45	Közheelig (Kezhilig) Hobu ◆ Malov 1952: 81–83; Batmanov–Kunaa 1963: 61–64; Vasil′ev 1983b: 31.
RY46	Telee ◆ Malov 1952: 83–84; Batmanov–Kunaa 1963: 13–14.
RY48	Abakan ◆Malov 1952: 93–96; Vasil′ev–Nasilov 1978; Vasil′ev 1983b: 32.
RY59	Herbis–Baary ◆ Batmanov–Kuna 1963: 41–45; Ščerbak 1964; Vasil′-ev 1983b: 33–34.
RY73	Yenisei inscription No. 73 ◆ Vasil′ev 1997.
S	Prefix before sources written in Sogdian script
Sal	Salar Wordlist ◆ ed. Tenišev 1976a.
SalK	Salar Wordlist ◆ ed. Kakuk 1962.
SalY	Salar Wordlist ◆ ed. Yakup 2002.
Sam	Samoyed
SBug	Turkic material of the Bugut inscription ◆ Kljaštornyj–Livšic 1972.
SC	Turkic material on Sogdian coins ◆ Smirnova 1981.
SE	South Eastern Turkic or *Turkestan*: Uzbek, Turki, Modern Uyghur, Salar, Yellow Uyghur
Selengijskij kamen′	see RMShin
Sem	Semitic
Serb	Serbian
SerbCroat	Serbo-Croatian
SH	Secret History of the Mongols
Sib	Siberian
SibT	West Siberian Tatar Dictionary ◆ ed. Tumaševa 1992.
SibTBR	West Siberian Tatar, Baraba dialect (= Bar.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
SibTTR	West Siberian Tatar, Tobol dialect (= Tob.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Skrt	Sanskrit
Sl	Slavonic

Slvk	Slovak
Slvn	Slovenian
SMIK	Turkic texts written in Sogdian ◆ ed. Fedakâr 1991; 1994a ("MusfIndKunst").
SMz+No	Turkic texts written in Sogdian ◆ ed. Fedakâr 1991; 1994a ("Mainz").
SOg	South Oghuz Wordlists ◆ ed. Doerfer–Hesche 1989.
Sogd	Sogdian
Sorb	Sorbian
SSTW	Sogdian–Turkic Wordlists ◆ ed. Sundermann–Zieme 1981.
STS	Turkic material in the Sogdian MSs from Dunhuang ◆ ed. Sims-Williams–Hamilton 1990; Yoshida 1993.
STurf	Turkic texts written in Sogdian ◆ Fedakâr 1991; 1994a ("BerlinTurfSamml").
Sum	Sumerian
SW	South West Turkic or *Oghuz*: Turkmen, Azeri, Turkish, Gagauz, Khorasan, South Oghuz
Sy	Prefix for sources written in Syriac script
Syr	Syriac
T	Prefix for sources written in Tibetan script
T	Turkic
Taj	Tajik
Tat	Tatar, Tatar–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Golovkina 1966.
TatB	Tatar, Kazan dialect of the baptized Tatars ◆ ed. Bálint 1876; according to Berta 1988.
TatD1	Tatar, Dialect Dictionary ◆ *Tatar tělěněŋ dialektologik süzlěgě* 1969, if of relevance the abbreviatons of TatD (pp. 10–11) are given as e.g. TatDM = Mishar dialect, TatDNokr = Nokrat subdialect of the Central Tatar Dialect etc.
TatD2	Tatar, Dialect Dictionary ◆ *Tatar tělěněŋ dialektologik süzlěgě* 1993, dialects given if of relevance.
TatE	Tatar, Explanatory Dictionary ◆ *Tatar tělěněŋ aŋlatmalï süzlěgě* 1977–1981/1–3.
TatKR	Tatar, Kazan dialect (= Kas.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
TatMR	Tatar, Mishar dialect (= Misch.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Tayhir	see RMHoi
Taryat	see RMTerh
TBuddhKat	Uyghur Buddhist chatecism in Tibetan ◆ Maue–Röhrborn 1984, 1985.
Tevsh	see RMAru
Tib	Tibetan
Tkm	Turkmen, Turkmen–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1968.
TkmD	Turkmen, Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Arazkuliev *et al.* 1977.

TkmE	Turkmen, Explanatory Dictionary ◆ ed. Hamzaev 1962.
TkmR	Turkmen (= Trkm.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
TM1-571	Turkic texts written in Manichean script ◆ ed. Wilkens 2000 (text with Manichean content written in Uyghur or Runic script are also dealt with by him there, but not included by us here).
TMz+No	Turkic texts in Tibetan from the so called "Mainzer Sammlung" ◆ Maue 1996, Nos. 80–84; Clauson 1962.
Toch	Tocharian
Tof	Tofa, Tofa–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Rassadin 1995.
TofKR	Tofa, Karagas dialect (= Karg.) ◆ Radloff 1893–1911.
Tt	Turkish, Turkish–English Dictionary ◆ *New Redhouse Turkish–English Dictionary* 1968.
TtB	Turkish, Turkish–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Baskakov *et al.* 1977.
TtD	Turkish, Dialect Dictionary ◆ *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü* 1963–1982/1–12.
TtDA	Turkish, Anatolian Dialects Dictionary ◆ ed. Zübeyr *et al.* 1932–1952.
TtR	Turkish (= Osm.) ◆ ed. Radloff 1893–1911.
TTU	Turkic proper names from the so called "Uyghur intelligence-record" translated to and written in Tibetan ◆ Bacot 1956; Clauson 1957a; Ligeti 1971; Tezcan 1975; Moriyasu 1980.
Tu	Tungusic
TurkiJ	Turki, Eastern Turki dialects ◆ Jarring 1964.
TurkiL	Turki, Lopnur dialect Wordlist ◆ ed. Malov 1956.
TurkiSh	Turki, Eastern Turki dialects Wordlist ◆ ed. Shaw 1875–1880.
TurkiTR	Turki, Taranchi dialect (Tar.) ◆ ed. Radloff 1893–1911.
Tuv	Tuvan, Tuvan–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Tenišev 1968.
TuvSR	Tuvan, Soyon dialect (= Soj.) ◆ ed. Radloff 1893–1911.
U	Prefix for Uyghur script used before OT and MT sources
U	Uralic
U+sigla	Old Turkic monuments written in Uyghur script ◆ as in Adam–Laut–Weiss 2000: 112–125, and Laut 2001–2002; 2003–2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008 (e.g. UAaltoAtavakāvadāna, UAaltoProleg, UAbhi, UAbhiCaCo, etc.).
UCiv	Civil documents in Uyghur script from the Yuan period ◆ sigla according to Yamada 1993.
Ugr	Ugric/Ugrian
UHy	The Turkic material in Uyghur script of the *Huá-yí yì-yù*, the Sino–Barbarian glossary of the Bureau of the Translators, the 16th c. copy of the 15th c. glossary ◆ Ligeti 1966b; texts: Ligeti 1967a.
UHyS	Supplement to the UHy ◆ Ligeti 1969.
Ukr	Ukrainian

Ul	Ulcha
UM	Hwārizmi: *Muhabbat nāma*, 1353, copy in Uyghur script from 1432, British Museum, London. The MS in Arabic (AM) is more complete. UM is cited only in case of necessity ◆ first described by Clauson 1928; edited and translated by Ganjei 1957–1958; translated also by Ščerbak 1959.
UOg	The *Legend of Oghuz-khan*, end of the 13th c., copy from the 15th c. ◆ Bang–Rachmati 1932; translated also by Ščerbak 1959.
UY(A-B)	Copies of Adib Aḥmad ibn Maḥmud Yugnaki: *Atabat al Ḥaqayiq* 13th c., UYA MS from Samarkand 1444, UYB MS from Istanbul 1481 ◆ Arat 1951.
Uyg	Uyghur
Uzb	Uzbek, Uzbek–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Borovkov 1959.
VBulg	Volga Bulgar
Vir	Viryal
VKip	Volga Kipchak
Vog	Vogul
Voty	Votyak
VT	Volga Turkic
WMo	Written Mongolian
WOT	West Old Turkic
Y	Yakut, Dolgan
Y	Yakut–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Pekarskij 1917–1930.
YD	Yakut, Dialect Dictionary ◆ ed. Afanas′ev *et al.* 1976.
YS	Yakut, Yakut–Russian Dictionary ◆ ed. Slepcov 1972.
Yu	Yuan (dynasty)
YUyg	Yellow Uyghur Wordlist ◆ ed. Tenišev 1976b.
YUygLCh	Yellow Uyghur, Yellow Uyghur–Chinese Dictionary ◆ ed. Lei–Chen 1992.
YUygM	Yellow Uyghur Wordlist ◆ ed. Malov 1957.
Zyr	Zyrian

10.2 Systematic list of abbreviations

PT Proto Turkic
AT Ancient Turkic
OT Old Turkic
  EOT East Old Turkic
  WOT West Old Turkic
MT Middle Turkic
  EMT East Middle Turkic: Uyghur, Khwarezmian, [Syriac]
  Chag Chagatay
  WMT Middle Turkic: Kipchak, Codex Cumanicus, Mameluk, Armenian
  VB Volga Bulgarian
  OTt Ottoman

Prefixes for scripts used for **OT** and **MT**:
  A Arabic script
  Am Armenian script
  B Brāhmī script
  C Cyrillic script
  Ch Chinese script
  G Greek Script
  H Hebrew Script
  Kh Khotanese Brahmi
  L Latin script
  M Manichean script
  P Persian script
  Pe Pehlevi script
  Ph Phagspa script
  R Runiform script
  S Sogdian script
  Sy Syriac script
  T Tibetan script
  U Uyghur script

NT New Turkic
  Chuv *Chuvash* (Chuv, ChuvA, ChuvP, RChuv)
  NW North-Western or Kipchak: *Tatar* (Tat, TatD1, TatD2, TatB, TatE, TatKR, TatMR, RTat, RTatG), *Bashkir* (Bashk, BashkD1, BashkD2, BashkD3, BaskE, BashkP, RBashk), *Siberian Tatar* (SibT, SibTBR, SibTTR), *Kirghiz* (Kirg, KirgR,

RKirg), *Kazakh* (Kaz, KazB, KazR, RKaz), *Karakalpak* (Kklp, RKklp), *Noghay* (Nog, RNog), *Crimean Tatar* (CrTat, CrTatR), *Karaim* (Kar, KarT, KarH, KarC, KarSh, KarLR, KarTR, KarCR), *Kumyk* (Kun, KumN, RKum), *Karachay-Balkar* (KrchBlkN, Blk, BlkP, RKrchBlk)

SW (South-Western or Oghuz): *Turkmen* (Tkm, TkmD, TkmE, TkmR, RTkm, RTkmAB), *Azeri* (Az, AzD, AzM, AzR, RAz), *Turkish* (Tt, TtD, TtDA, TtB, TtR, RTt), *Gagauz* (Gag), *Khorasan* (Khor), *South Oghuz* (SOg)

Kh *Khalaj* (Kh, KhT)

SE (South-Eastern or Turkestan): *Uzbek* (Uzb, RUzb), *Turki* (TurkiJ, A5D, TurkiSh, TurkiL, TurkiTR), *Modern Uyghur* (MUyg, MUygE, MUygM, MUygTY, RMUyg), *Salar* (Sal, SalK, SalY), *Yellow Uyghur* (YUyg, YUygM, YUygLCh)

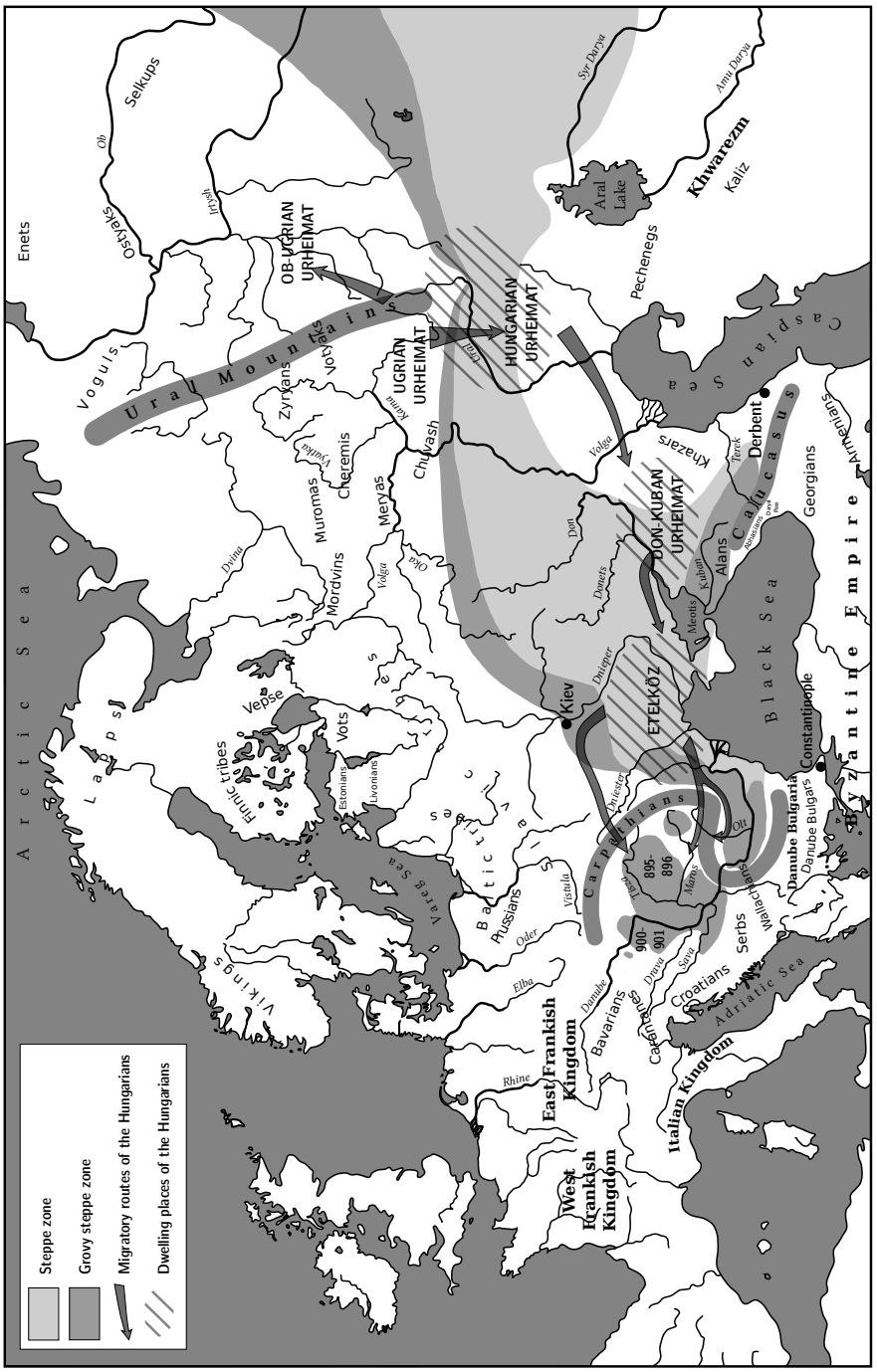
NE (North-Eastern or Siberian): *Altay* (*Oyrot*) (Alt, AltR, AltL, AltLR, AltQK, AltQKR, AltTKR, AltTelR, AltTölR, RAlt), *Khakas* (Khak, KhakB, Khak AR, KhakMR, KhakMatV, KhakQbR, KhakQchR, KhakSR, KhakShR, RKhak), *Chulym* (ChulR), *Fuyü* (FY), *Tuvan* (Tuv, TuvSR, RTuv), *Tofalar* (Tof, TofKR, RTof)

Y *Yakut* (Y, YS, YD, RY), *Dolgan* (Dlg, DlgS)

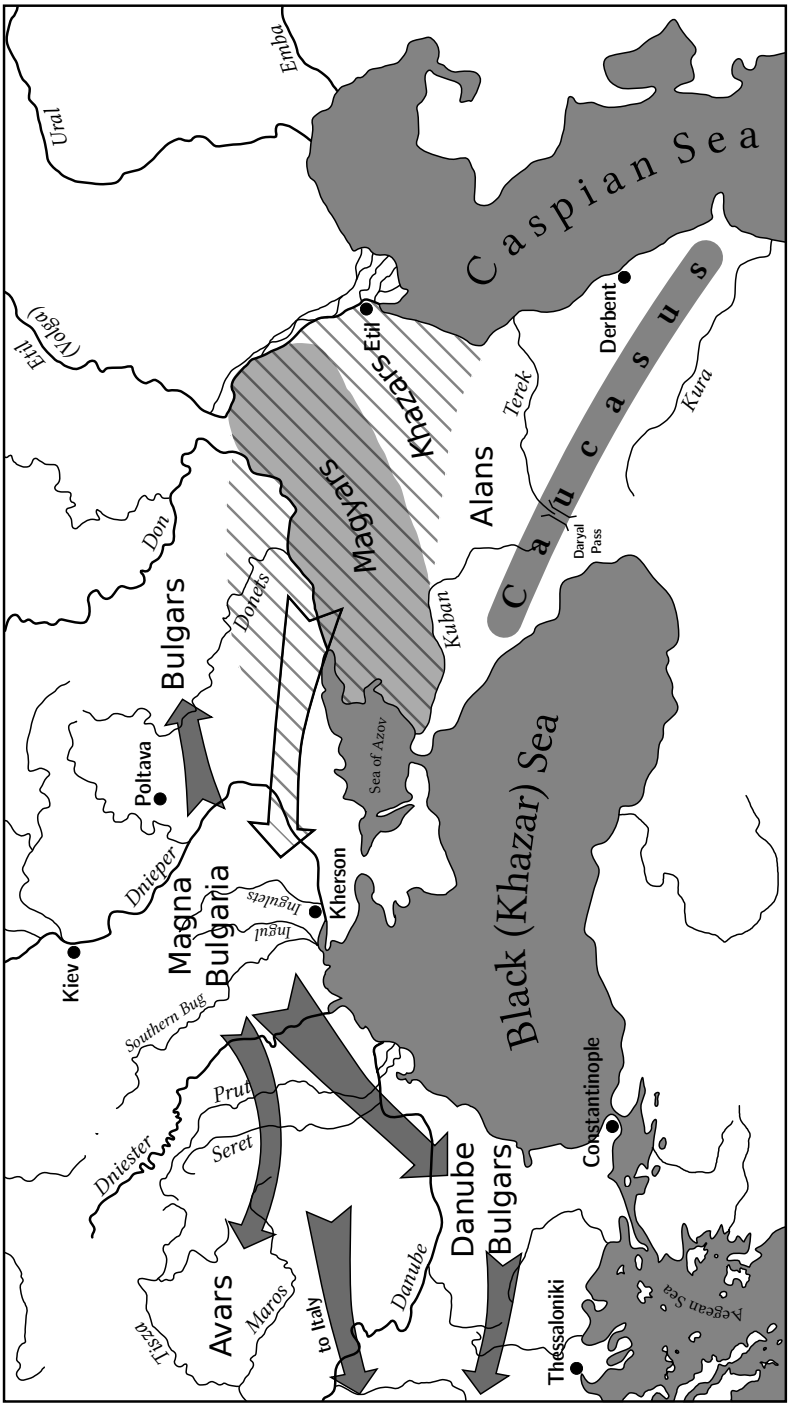
For details and bibliography, see § 3.4 and § 10.1.

Chapter Eleven

Maps



Map 11.1: The migrations of the Hungarians



Map 11.2: The migrations of the Bulgars

Chapter Twelve

Numerical data, Addenda & Corrigenda

12.1 Numerical data

This work concludes a project that has spanned twelve years from the earliest phase to the printing. Such a protracted period – an animal cycle in the calendar of the Turks and Mongols – may provide both an excuse and an explanation for some of the inconsistencies in the work. I covered 561 Hungarian words with a possible or hitherto proposed Turkic origin. Seventy of them turned out to be improbable (see § 8.1 and 8.2). Seventy-two of the etymologies were grouped under other items and therefore only required a reference alphabetically in the Lexicon. Thus, I dealt with 419 etymologies in detail (pp. 53–1008). Thirty-five turned out to pertain to the Cuman layer of the Hungarian word stock (see pp. 1340–1342) whereas the remaining 384 are of West Old Turkic origin. This represents the largest number of West Old Turkic words ever reconstructed. Of course, not all of these etymologies are supported by the same solid historical background. Fifty-six are or may be disputed and thirty-eight are only possible but not certain. In seven cases the Turkic etymology is beyond doubt, but the morphological aspect of the etymology is not univocal. These 101 etymologies call for further verification, new material or new methods, and new insights, but at present the Turkic etymology is most likely. I grouped the West Old Turkic words in three chronological layers. The first two are Oguric; the third layer, besides Oguric elements, also contains other, most probably early Oguz and Kipchak elements.

From the Hungarian side, I revised the Finno-Ugric and the Ugric etymologies. While I also included disputed and possible etymologies on the Turkological side, in the case of the Finno-Ugric and Ugric etymologies I excluded the disputed and problematic ones. The reasons for this were purely methodological (see pp. 1013–1014). Out of the 546 etymologies, 52 turned out to be problematic, either because the Tur-

kic etymology that was offered seems to be the better solution, as in fourteen cases, or, as in the remaining cases, because the Finno-Ugric or Ugric etymology suggested poses problems as yet unsolved (see pp. 1317–1324). In any case, the 494 etymologies that remained were sufficient to provide a solid background for a reconstruction. I reconstructed the Proto-Ugric form for all the 494 Hungarian words (pp. 1272–1293). From the list under § 8.6 (1294–1316) I excluded those H words which occurred only as reference item.

For control purposes, I used Middle Iranian loanwords, in most cases Alan ones along with a relatively small number of Khwaresmian ones. More than 70 such etymologies have been put forward thus far. I excluded 32, almost half of them, because the proposed etymologies proved unconvincing. Either they did not stand up to a critical review or they presented problems as yet unsolved. Four are disputed but possible, and I attempted to refresh the 33 remaining ones (pp. 1331–1339). Altogether, this work includes more than a thousand etymologies of the Hungarian basic word-stock.

Concentrating now only on the 419 acceptable Turkic etymologies in this book, we find in Gombocz (1912b) 231 Turkic etymologies out of which 19 have to be rejected. Bárczi (1941) dealt with 228 Turkic etymologies out of which only two are improbable. In the Hungarian etymological dictionary of Benkő (1967–1984) 224 words were labeled as Turkic loanwords. Ligeti (1986) treated in one or the other way 280 Turkic loanwords out of which three were unacceptable. In the German edition of the Hungarian etymological dictionary (Benkő 1993–1997) we find 325 words where a sure, a possible or a less probable Turkic origin is mentioned.

Turning to the 384 West Old Turkic etymologies in this book 130 of them were not dealt with or not treated as being of Turkic origin by Ligeti (1986), and 95 of them were considered not or unlikely to be Turkic by Benkő (1993–1997). The database and argumentation of this book differ in almost all treated questions from these two works. On the other hand, it is clear that qualitative and not quantitative arguments will provide the answer to the two main questions: what kind of Turkic the West Old Turkic language was, and what kind of impact it had on Ancient Hungarian. I hope I gave an answer to both questions.

12.2 Addenda

BÉKE [bēke] 'peace' | p1086 PN *Bekes* [bēkēš], 1215/ GN *Bikes* [bīkeš], p1372 *bekefeguel* [bēkeššēgvel].

The H word was connected with EOT *bekü-* 'to confirm, firmly tie', *beküt-* 'to fasten', AChag *bikit-* 'lier, attacher', etc. by Gombocz (1912b: 42) and accepted by Ligeti (1986: 201), but questioned by Németh (1935–1939: 527–528) and refused by Benkő (1993–1997/1: 91–92) with reason. The T word belongs to T *berk* 'firm', see the alternating EOT forms *berkle- ~ bekle-* (Clauson 1972: 361, 363; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 116–120). Semantically and morphologically improbable.

◆ Gombocz 1912b: 42; Németh 1935–1939: 527–528; Clauson 1972: 361, 363; Sevortjan 1974–1980/2: 116–120; Ligeti 1986: 201; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 91–92.

CSÁMPÁS [čāmpāš] 'knock-kneed, club-footed' | 1310 PN *Champa* [čāmpå], 1645 *tsámpáskodik* [čāmpāš-kod-ik].

According to Helimski (2001: 6) fr Os *ʒambas* in *ʒambas bæx* 'lošaď s vyvihom bedra; horse with dislocated thigh'. Abaev (1958–1989/1: 389) suggested that the word is of T origin, because it exists in Balk as *ǰanbaš*, *yanbas* 'bedro'. Helimski claimed that the Balk and Kum words are of later Os origin. The word is of T origin, cf Kum *yanbaš* 'taz', *yanbaš süyök* 'tazovaja kosť, taz', Kar-Balk *ǰan söyük* 'bedro', *ǰanbaš* 'naklonnyj, krivoj, nabok, krivo, koso', Kirg *ǰambaš*, *ǰanbaš* (točnee *ǰambaš söyügü*) 'podvzdošnaja kosť', etc., *yan* 'hip, side, flank' (Clauson 1972:940). The word is noted already in MT *yanbašï* (AIMI) 'uca koymak'. The Os word has no Ir etymology, the H final *-š* is a H suff. According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 188) either fr It *ciampa* or fr an unclear H base.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1: 389; Clauson 1972: 940; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 188; Helimski 2001: 6.

GALIBA [gålibå] 'mix-up, trouble, fuss' | 1484 PN *Galyba* [gålibå], 1623 *galyibás* [gåľibāš].

According to Helmiski (2001: 6) Abaev was right calling attention to H *galiba* and Os *qælæba* 'šum, šum golosov, smjatenie, spor, ssora'. The word is ultimately of Ar origin: *ɣalaba* 'victory, idle talk, chatter, prattle' (Wehr 1974). Abaev (1958–1989/2: 287) suggests that the Ar word came through T to Os. The Ar word is in fact present in some T lgs as *kalaba*, *kalabalïk*, and in Rus *kalabaly*, *kalybali*, etc., Bulg *kalabalyk*, Serb *kalabalyk*. It appears also in H in 1694 as *kalabalok* 'multitude, confusion, embarras' (Kakuk 1973: 209). According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 443) the word *galiba* is of unknown origin. No doubt the finals *+lï* and *+lïk* in the Sl and H forms are of T origin (Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 163–164). But the Ar word without suffs is also present as *kalaba* 'crowd, mass, multitude' (Tt), *kalaba* 'skoplenia naroda, tolpa', *galaba*, *galapïn* 'bol'šinstvo' (Tkm), *kalaba* 'skandal' (Kirg). The original meaning was

'overwhelmig majority', hence 'victory' but also 'crowd, too much speech, trouble-making'. Most probably the H PN fr 1484 does not pertain here but to H *kalyiba*, *kaliba* 'hut' a wandering word ultimately fr Gr. Interesting is a H item 1678 *galiba* 'costume de cérémonie'. According to Kakuk (1973: 158) perhaps fr an Ott expression **galebe kaftani* 'costume de cérémonie offert à l'ambassadeur à l'occasion de sa reception'. In fact we find *galebe-divānï* 'a special Council of state with more than the ordinary number of members' (Redhouse 1968: 382), in earlier dictionaries 'a divan held on the occasion of the reception of an ambassador', that is an assembly with unnecessary crowd. Hence 'overcrowded gathering, a mix-up of people, in which always troubles occur' → 'mix-up, trouble, fuss'. The H word is of Ott origin.

The forms in Slvk and SerbD: *galiba* are fr H.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/2: 287; Fasmer 1964–1973/2: 163–164; Redhouse 1968: 382; Kakuk 1973: 158, 209; Wehr 1974; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 443; Helmiski 2001: 6.

ISMER [išmer] 'to know, be acquainted with' | c13th *eſmeriuc* [ešmeryuk], p1416 *èſmèʟied* [ešmeryed].

Helimski (2001: 4) refers to Abaev who called the attention to Os (Ir **šmar-*) > OsD *fæ-smærun*: *fæ-smard* 'znatʹ, bytʹ znakomym' (Abaev 1958–1989/1: 459–460 "ne iz alanskogo li idet vengerskoe *ismer-* 'znatʹ'?". The verb is well known and discussed in detail by Cheung (2007: 137–138). Only a few selected data **OIr** Avestan (*š*)*mar-* 'to remember, recall'; **MIr** MP '*šmʿr-* 'to count, to record', Parth *ʿšmʾr-* 'number, counting', Khot *ṣumār-* 'to count', Sogd *šmʾr-* 'to think, consider', Khwar *ʾ/mr-* 'to count, consider', Bact *αυμαρο-* 'account, settlement'; **NIr** Pash *šmērəl-* 'to count', OsD see above. All Ir verbs go back to PIE *(*s*)*mer-* 'to observe, consider, to think of', see also Skrt *smar-* 'to remember, to become aware'. The IE connections of the H word was already mentioned by Munkácsi (1901b: 374–375). According to Benkő (1993–1997/1: 626) the H word is of unknown origin, perhaps der fr a fictive stem. The Al origin may be reconsidered.

◆ Munkácsi 1901b: 374–375; Abaev 1958–1989/1: 459–460; Benkő 1993–1997/1: 626; Helimski 2001: 4; Cheung 2007: 137–138.

RESZEL [resel] 'to file, rasp' | p1456 *reʒele* [resele] | **res* < **resə* ← Al *res* (cf. Os *ræs* 'napilʹnik' < **rastra-* < **rad+tra-*, Abaev (1958–1989/2: 375)).

The word has been connected with the Os word already by Munkácsi (1933: 68) and recently by Helimski (2001: 5). According to Kő (1962: 87–90) and Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1257) the H word is of onomatopoetic origin. The latter is more probable because of the absence of the noun in H.

◆ Munkácsi 1933: 68; Abaev 1958–1989/2: 375; Kő 1962: 87–90; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1257; Helimski 2001: 5.

SERÉNY [šerēń] 'busy, diligent, zealous' | c1380 *schereyn* [šerein], 1516 *ferenyſege* [šereń-šēg-e].

According to Helimski (2001: 6) fr Os *særæn* 'ėnergičnyj, predpriimčivyj, bojkij' (Abaev 1958–1989/3: 78–79). The Os word does not have an Ir etymology. According to Abaev the Os word is of T origin. He quotes Radlov *šäräп* 'flink'. Radlov's data are fr Shaw (1880) and fr Vámbéry (1867). Fr Vámbéry may be *šaran* or *šäräп* 'agile, prompt' (AChag), *šeran* 'schnell, eilig' (AChagŠS). Benkő derives the word fr a H base **šer* fr which H *serkent-* 'to urge, spur on, stir up, etc.', *sürög-* 'bustling about, stir/buzz about', etc. (Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1320).

The Os origin can be excluded, because of etymological and phonological reasons (/s/), however the T origin is also unlikely, because the initial /š/ is not an original T sound. The word is most likely of H origin.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/3: 78–79; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1320; Helimski 2001: 6.

SZEDER [seder] 'bramble, *Rubus sp.*, blackberry, *Rubus fruticosus*, dewberry, *Rubus caesius*, mulberry, *Morus sp.*' | 1193 GN *Zudurýg* [südür-ug], 1265 GN *Zederyes* [sederyeš] | *seder* ← WOT **seder* ← ? Al (cf. Os *dzedïr*, *dzezïr*, *dzedïræg*/*dzæduræ* 'yeževika', Abaev (1958–1989/1: 396)).

According to Helimski (2001: 5) the H word is of Os origin. Abaev suggests that the word is an areal word in Caucasia: Dargin *čadur* 'yeževika', Balkar *züdür* 'černaja smorodina', on the other hand it appears in Zyr *setör*, Voty *süter* 'smorodina'. Lytkin and Guljaev (1970: 272) s.v. *setör* 'smorodina' (Zyr) add Cher *šoptar*, *šaprăr* 'smorodina'. Based on the Cher data Rédei (1986–1991/2: 751) reconstructs Finn-Permic **saptɜ-rɜ* (**soptɜ-rɜ*) and adds that H *szeder* does not pertain here because of phonetical reasons. Following Rédei, Csúcs (2005: 377) reconstructs PPerm **sȯter* and Finn-Permic **saptɜrɜ* / **soptɜrɜ*. Interesting is, that the same suff (or second part?) can be found in the Finn-Permic word **ćɜkčɜ-tɜrɜ* 'Johannisbeere' (Rédei 1986–1991/2: 615). Does **-tɜrɜ* mean 'berry'? According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1402) the H word is of unknown origin. In any case the H word pertains to an areal botanical terminology the origin of which is unclear.

◆ Abaev 1958–1989/1: 396; Lytkin–Guljaev 1970: 272; Rédei 1986–1991/2: 615; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1402; Helimski 2001: 5; Csúcs 2005: 377.

TYÚK 'hen', see further in the Lexicon, pp. 965–967.

To the Mo data we can add the Kitan word. It appears in the Small Script transcribed by Chinggeltei (2002: 107) as <t′axia>, by Kane (2009: 55, 58, 64, 88) as <te.qo.a>, I suggest the reading **tikoa*. In the VBulg inscription of Yambuhtino (1324, Hakimzjanov 1978: 120–121), Erdal (1993: 125–126) reads توحج <TWXCi> as *tiwïxčï* or *tiwuxčï* 'Hühnenhändler' instead of *Tuxči* as read by Hakimzjanov. I prefer *tiwuχči*.

◆ Hakimzjanov 1978: 120–121; Erdal 1993: 125–126; Chinggeltei 2002: 107; Kane 2009: 55, 58, 64, 88.

ZSINEG [žineg] 'cord, string' | *dial sinɛg* 'Schnur' | ← Al (cf. Os *sīnag* / *sujnag* 'šnur, špagat, tonkaja verevka', Abaev (1958–1989/3: 111)).

The comparison occurs already in Munkácsi (1904b: 322), it was accepted by Sköld (1925: 40) and recently by Helimski (2001: 5). According to Benkő (1993–1997/2: 1678) the word is the result of a word-split and comes fr *sing* 'measure of length, ell, cubit'. The first occurrences of *zsineg* are very late (1613, 1617), while *sing* occurs first in 1368 and then in 1520. The history of the words are in favour of Benkő's suggestion.

◆ Munkácsi 1904b: 322; Sköld 1925: 40; Abaev 1958–1981/3: 111; Benkő 1993–1997/2: 1678; Helimski 2001: 5.

12.3 Corrigenda

57:21	Thúry	Thury
246:19	*čapa* ← WOT **čapaγ*	*čapa* < **čapaγ* ← WOT **čapaγ*
315:7	Vasilev	Vasil′ev
317:10	Vasilev	Vasil′ev
390:3	**ǰarta*	**yarta*
390:3	**ǰartagan*	**yartagan*
450:29	Vasilev	Vasil′ev
452:4	Vasilev	Vasil′ev
496:7	**korum*	**koram*
496:7	**oprag*	**opuruγ*
519:38	*kök*	*kȭk*
546:30	*kök*	*kȭk*
582:11	*kölü*	**kölü*