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(born 1981) is an assistant lecturer in the Chair of Languages of Central Asia and Siberia at the Jagiellonian University. His main fields of interest are etymology and historical linguistics. He studied Turkish philology at the Jagiellonian University. He published seven articles (one currently in print), took part in two international conferences and held a lecture at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Names of Cereals in the Turkic Languages

The work presents etymologies of the Turkic names for the seven most important cereals: barley, corn, millet, oats, rice, rye and wheat. Altogether, 106 names are discussed.

As yet, this subject has not been dealt with as a whole. Propositions for etymologies of various names in single languages are scattered in dictionaries and articles, usually only accompanied by a brief explanation. Here, the author tries to provide a possibly comprehensive commentary.

Each entry presents a list of phonetic variants of the word, an overview of previous etymologies and the author's standpoint expressed as exhaustively as possible but without loquacity.

The work closes with an enumeration and brief commentary of the most common naming patterns and semantic types which can be distinguished in the presented material.

KAMIL STACHOWSKI**NAMES OF CEREALS
IN THE TURKIC LANGUAGES**

K. STACHOWSKI | NAMES OF CEREALS IN THE TURKIC LANGUAGES

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INTRODUCTION

AIM AND SCOPE OF THIS WORK

The aim of this work is to work out the etymologies of the names of the seven most important cereals (**barley** *Hordeum* L., **corn** *Zea mays* L., **millet** *Panicum* L., **oats** *Avena* L., **rice** *Oryza Sativa* L., **rye** *Secale Cereale* L., and **wheat** *Triticum* L.) in the Turkic languages.

The current, rather uneven state of comparative dialectology and lexicography of the Turkic languages does not allow us to perform full comparisons. We have therefore limited ourselves to literary names, and only included selected dialectal forms. For the same reason, the names of subspecies and varieties have been excluded.

STATE OF ART AND SOURCES

Our subject has not as yet been dealt with as a whole. Of the papers in the Turkic languages that are devoted to the names of plants (not just cereals) the most detailed has been written L.V. Dmitrieva (1972). This, however, only contains an extremely limited commentary. Etymological propositions for various names in single languages are scattered in etymological dictionaries, generally only accompanied by a brief explanation, and in numerous articles where a more comprehensive commentary is usually provided.

The bulk of the sources used in this paper are dictionaries, mainly Russian post-revolutionary ones (abbreviated RKirgS, TuwRS &c.), also etymological dictionaries (an especially large amount of data is to be found in ÈSTJa), various articles and publications devoted to the vocabulary and/or grammar of single languages, and descriptions of dialects (mainly Turkish).

STRUCTURE OF AN ENTRY

- Alphabetical list of forms ordered by pronunciation
Enables a preliminary investigation of the phonetical diversity of names. All variants are ordered alphabetically and linked with a system of cross-references.
- Alphabetical list of forms ordered by languages
Presents the diversity of the names in one language. Comparing the stock of names in languages from one group can help to find out which forms should be treated as the standard ones.
- Brief overview of previous etymologies
For lesser investigated words, we have tried to summarise the entire literature available to us. For those which are better known, we have only selected the most important works. All papers have been treated equally, including the ones which we cannot be ready to accept, given the present state of art.
- Commentary
The commentary consists of a discussion with the propositions summarised before and a presentation of our own views.

TRANSCRIPTION

We have tried to present all Turkic forms in a unified, phonological transcription. The distinction between palatal *k, g* : velar *q, γ* has only been preserved for OUyg., Uyg. and Uzb., as in all the other languages it is unequivocally determined by the position. By the same token, we have abandoned the marking of labialization of *a* in Uzb. (as resulting systematically from the orthography) and of spirantization of *s* and *z* in Trkm.; however, we have preserved it in Bšk. where it has a phonological significance. Apart from this, a dual transcription has been employed for *e*: wide *ä* vs narrow *e* for languages where they are separate phonemes, and neutral *e* for the others.

THANKS

I am grateful to many people for helping me in various ways. Most of all, I would like to express my special gratitude to (alphabetically):

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BARLEY *HORDEUM L.*

Barley was one of the first domesticated cereals in the world. The oldest grains of spelt are thought to be nine thousand years old, and have been found in Jarmo, Kurdistan from where it probably originates. Its cultivation had spread westwards from this region around the 5th millennium BC, to Mesopotamia, Egypt and elsewhere.

Domesticated barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) is believed to have originated from the eastern part of the Central Asian Centre, from where it spread West and South-West, i.e. to India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt, and later to Greece and Italy (4th c. BC) and even further.

The area between Siberia and the Pacific is now used for the cultivation of barley, but the plant was only introduced there in the 19th c.

Compared to other cereals, especially to wheat which is equally old, or perhaps even older, barley has very few varieties: 29 species, including 16 stable, but they already existed in the second half of the 4th millennium BC. In the ancient world, barley was very popular; almost every higher culture cultivated it.

Names for ‘barley’ are most uniform in the Turkic languages. Almost all languages have the word *arpa*, and all the other names only have a very limited range. Interestingly, barley is quite often identified or confused with oats, and while Tel. *sula* ‘barley’ < ‘oats’, all the other examples of this confusion display just the opposite direction of development. This is understandable given the chronology of domestication of these two cereals – cf. commentary on *julaf* (point 2), and *arpakan* and *harva* ‘oats’, and footnote 1.

FORMS:

<i>apa</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ńesemen</i> → <i>žehimien</i>
<i>arba</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>aš</i> → <i>as</i>	<i>orpa</i> → <i>arpa</i>
<i>arbaj</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>erpe</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>sula</i>
<i>arpa</i>	<i>harva</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>ša'ır</i>
<i>arpä</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>jačmeń</i>	<i>tak-tak</i>
<i>arpagan</i>	<i>köče</i>	<i>urpa</i> → <i>arpa</i>
<i>arpagān</i> → <i>arpagan</i>	<i>köže</i> → <i>köče</i>	<i>žesemen</i> → <i>žehimien</i>
<i>arpakan</i> → <i>arpagan</i>	<i>nečimien</i> → <i>žehimien</i>	<i>žeh</i>
<i>arva</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>nehimien</i> → <i>žehimien</i>	<i>žehimien</i> → <i>žehimien</i>
<i>arvaj</i> → <i>arpa</i>	<i>ńečimien</i> → <i>žehimien</i>	<i>žesemen</i> → <i>žehimien</i>

LANGUAGES:

Az.: <i>arpa</i>	Com.: <i>arpa</i>	Čuv.: <i>orpa, urpa</i>
Blk.: <i>arpa</i>	Crm.: <i>arpa</i>	Gag.: <i>arpa</i>
Brb.: <i>aš</i>	CTat.: <i>arpa</i>	Kar.: <i>arpa</i>
Bšk.: <i>arpa</i>	Čag.: <i>arpa</i>	KarC: <i>arpa</i>

KarH: <i>arpa</i>	MTkc.KD: <i>arpa</i>	Tat.: <i>arpa, arpagan</i>
KarT: <i>arpa</i>	MTkc.MA: <i>arba, arpa</i>	Tat.Gr.: <i>arpa</i>
Khak.: <i>arba, as, köče</i>	MTkc.MA.B: <i>arpä</i>	Tel.: <i>arba, sula</i>
Khal.: <i>arpa</i>	MTkc.MK: <i>arba, arpa,</i> <i>arpagān</i>	Tksh.: <i>arpa</i>
Kirg.: <i>arpa, arpakan</i>	Nog.: <i>arpa</i>	Tksh.dial.: <i>žeh</i>
Kklp.: <i>arpa</i>	Oghuz.Ir.: <i>arpa</i>	Tof.: <i>jačmeń</i>
Kmk.: <i>arpa</i>	OTkc.: <i>arpa, arpagan</i>	Trkm.: <i>arpa, arpagan</i>
Krč.Blk.: <i>arpa</i>	Ott.: <i>arpa, ša'ir</i>	Tuv.: <i>arbaj, arvaj, köže</i>
Küär.: <i>arba</i>	Ouyg.: <i>arpa</i>	Uyg.: <i>apa, arpa, erpe</i>
Kyzyl: <i>arba</i>	Oyr.: <i>arba</i>	Uzb.: <i>arpa</i>
Kzk.: <i>arpa, tak-tak</i>	Sag.: <i>arba</i>	Yak.: <i>nečimien, nehimien,</i> <i>ńečimien, ńesemen,</i>
MTkc.: <i>arpa</i>	SarUyg.: <i>arva, harva</i>	<i>žesemen, žehimien,</i>
MTkc.H: <i>arpa</i>	Šr.: <i>aš</i>	<i>žesemen</i>
MTkc.IM: <i>arpa</i>		

ARPA

FORMS:

arpa Uyg.: Raquette 1927, ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1979
arba Khak.: Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1979, Çevilek 2005 || Küär.: R I 335t, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, Eren 1999 || Kyzyl: Joki 1952, 1953 || MTkc.MK: Egorov 1964 || MTkc.Zam: Egorov 1964 || Oyr.: R I 335t, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, Egorov 1964, RAltS, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1979, Eren 1999, Çevilek 2005 || Sag.: Joki 1952 || Tel.: R I 335t, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, Ryumina-Sırkaşeva/Kuçigaşeva 1995, Eren 1999
arbaj Tuv.: RTuwS, Egorov 1964, Tatarincev 2000–, Çevilek 2005
arpa Az.: Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, RAzS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || Blk.: ÈSTJa || Bšk.: RBškS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Crm.: Joki 1952 || CTat.: Zaatovъ 1906, ÈSTJa || Čag.: Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, VEWT || Gag.: ÈSTJa || Kar.: Joki 1952 || KarC: KRPS, Levi 1996 || KarH: Mardkowicz 1935, KRPS || KarT: Kowalski 1929, KRPS || Khal.: Doerfer/Tezcan 1980, Doerfer 1987 || Kirg.: Mašanovъ 1899, RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Kklp.: RKklpS-BB, RKklpS-ST, Egorov 1964, RKklpS-B, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Kmk.: Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, RKmkS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || Krč.Blk.: RKrčBlkS, Dmitrieva 1972 || Kzk.: RKzkS-46, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, RKzkS-54, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, DFKzk, Eren 1999 || MTkc.: Räsänen 1949: 236 || MTkc.H: (آرپا) Houtsma 1894 || MTkc.IM: VEWT || MTkc.KD: (آرپا) Golden 2000 || MTkc.MK: Joki 1952, Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85 || MTkc.Zam: Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1979 || Nog.: RNogS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || Oghuz.Ir.: Doerfer/Hesche 1989 || OTkc.: Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, Dmitrieva 1972 || Ott.: (آرپه) Wiesentahl 1895, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, VEWT || Ouyg.: Çevilek 2005 || Tat.: Voskresenskij 1894, Imanaevъ 1901, (آرپا) Tanievъ 1909, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, RTatS-D, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva

1972, ÈSTJa, RTatS-G || **Tat.Gr.:** Podolsky 1981 || **Tksh.:** Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Çevilek 2005 || **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörjif 1929, Räsänen 1949: 236, RTrkmS, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, Eren 1999, Dmitrieva 1979 || **Uyg.:** Raquette 1927, Räsänen 1949: 236, Joki 1952, RUjgS, Egorov 1964, VEWT, ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1972, 1979, Jarring 1998: 14, Çevilek 2005 || **Uzb.:** Nalivkin 1895, Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912, RUzbS-A, Egorov 1964, RUzbS-Š, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa

arpä **MTkc.MA.B:** Borovkov 1971: 99

arva **SarUyg.:** Çevilek 2005

arvaj **Tuv.:** ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1979

erpe **Uyg.:** Çevilek 2005

harva **SarUyg.:** Çevilek 2005

urpa **Čuv.:** Nikol'skij 1909, RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E, Egorov 1964, VEWT, RČuvS-A, Dmitrieva 1972, 1979, Eren 1999

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *arpa* || **Blk.:** *arpa* || **Bšk.:** *arpa* || **Com.:** *arpa* || **Crm.:** *arpa* || **CTat.:** *arpa* || **Čag.:** *arpa* || **Čuv.:** *orpa, urpa* || **Gag.:** *arpa* || **Kar.:** *arpa* || **KarC:** *arpa* || **KarH:** *arpa* || **KarT:** *arpa* || **Khak.:** *arba* || **Khal.:** *arpa* || **Kirg.:** *arpa* || **Kklp.:** *arpa* || **Kmk.:** *arpa* || **Krč.Blk.:** *arpa* || **Küär.:** *arba* || **Kyzyl:** *arba* || **Kzk.:** *arpa* || **MTkc.:** *arpa* || **MTkc.H:** *arpa* || **MTkc.IM:** *arpa* || **MTkc.KD:** *arpa* || **MTkc.MA:** *arba, arpa* || **MTkc.MA.B:** *arpä* || **MTkc.MK:** *arba, arpa* || **Nog.:** *arpa* || **Oghuz.Ir.:** *arpa* || **OTkc.:** *arpa* || **Ott.:** *arpa* || **OUyg.:** *arpa* || **Oyr.:** *arba* || **Sag.:** *arba* || **Tat.:** *arpa* || **Tat.Gr.:** *arpa* || **Tel.:** *arba* || **Tksh.:** *arpa* || **Trkm.:** *arpa* || **Tuv.:** *arbaj, arvaj* || **Uyg.:** *apa, arpa, erpe* || **Uzb.:** *arpa*

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1949: Räsänen: 236: limits himself to a comparison with Mo. *arbaj*, Ma. *arfa*, Afgh. *ōrbūšāh*, Gr. *ὄλφα* [sic; cf. KWb 1976 and Steblin-Kamenskij 1982]
- 1952: Joki: the Altaic forms belong to the same group as Afgh. and Gr., ‘but not directly’ against uniting PIE **albhi-*, Gr. *ἄλφι* and Alb. *el'p* [el'bi]
- 1963: TMEN 445: Tkc. > Mo. (> Sal., Tuv.; Ma.), Hung. et al. against the possibility of PIE **albhi-* > Ir. **arpa-*, but does not exclude the possibility of IE origin in general
- 1964: Egorov: limits himself to enumerating forms from various Tkc. languages
- 1969: VEWT: limits himself to providing bibliography and remarking that Hung. *arpa* ‘barley’ < Čuv. *urpa*
- 1972: Clauson: ? < IE (? Toch.) (referring to TMEN 445)
- 1974: ÈSTJa: limits himself to summarizing previous propositions
- 1976: KWb: puts together Tkc. *arpaj* and Ma. *arfa*, Afgh. *ōrbūšāh*, Gr. *ἄλφι*
- 1979: Dmitrieva 164f.: < OIr. or old IE; or common in Alt. and IE
MTkc.MA *arbaj*, Tuv. *arvaj* < Mo.
- 1982: Steblin-Kamenskij: puts together Afgh. *orbāši*, *urbāši* et al. < ? **arpasyā-* (after EVP) and maybe Gr. *ἄλφι*, *ἄλφιτον* ‘(pearl) barley (porridge); flour’
- 1990: Róna-Tas: 31: quotes the comparison with Gr. *alfiton*, Alb. *el'p* and Ir. **arb/pa* allowing the possibility of < Ir. **arb/pa*, but remarks that the Ir. form has only been reconstructed basing on the Tkc. ones; Ma. *arfa*, Mo. *arbaj* < Tkc.

- 1993: EWU: probably from some IE language
Hung. *árpa* ‘barley’ from some Tkc. language, cf. Uyg., Com. *arpa*, Čuv. *urpa*, *orpa* &c.
- 1998: Jarring: 14: probably < IE (? Toch.)
- 1999: Eren: limits himself to summarizing previous propositions
- 2000: Tatarincev: **ar-* ‘to multiply oneself, to be numerous’ + *-p* intens. + *-a*
Joki’s 1952 proposition not grounded sufficiently
- 2000: Tietze: limits himself to quoting Doerfer’s 1993: 85 opinion on borrowing from Mo. to Tkc.
- 2003: NEVP: unclear expression: ‘if Pashto *orbāša* et al. < **arpasyā*, then cf. Tkc. *arpa*’
- 2005: Çevilek: accepts Clauson’s 1972 proposition

COMMENTARY:

This word is unusually common in the Tkc. languages, and, at first glance, the phonetic diversity of all its forms is surprisingly small.¹ This commonality might be understood as a sign that the Tkc. people became acquainted with barley very early on, perhaps as one of the first cereals. The uniformity of the sounding should probably be attributed to the phonetically very simple structure of the word, which does not provoke any serious changes by itself.² The meaning of the word is the same everywhere, too, except for 1. SarUyg. *harva* which means both ‘barley’ and ‘oats’ (cf.), 2. for an obvious influence of Russ. in Bšk., Tat. and Tksh. meanings of ‘stye’ (after ÈSTJa; see also VEWT), and 3. for a simple semantic shift in Az.dial. ‘ladies’ barley grain shaped decoration’ &c. (after ÈSTJa).

The name is also present in the Mo. and Ma. languages, where it is probably a loanword from Tkc. cf. ÈSTJa for further bibliography.

Almost all the etymologists dealing with this word limit themselves to quoting previous works (often quite inaccurately) about the possible Ir. origin.³ Only some of them add their own commentary, which is usually not particularly innovative.

-
- 1 Perhaps Sal. *arfa* and Tuv. *arva* deserve a bit more interest, as the spirantization of *p* could be regarded as a trace that these forms are not a continuation of OTkc. **arpa*, but rather borrowings from one of the Mo. languages (cf. Klmk.dial. *arva* – however, meaning ‘oats’), or alternately, though this does not seem very probable due to cultural-historical reasons, from Ma. *arfa* ‘oats; barley’ (cf. *julaf* ‘oats’). However, it might be equally probable that the spirantization is a trivial innovation in these languages, cf. SarUyg. *harva* ‘oats’. Also Sal. *ahrūn* ‘barley flour’ < *arfa un* (Kakuk 1962: 175) has a strange sounding which does not seem to be explicable by any regular phonetic law.
- 2 However, beyond the Tkc. languages the situation is not so simple any more. A Ma. form *arfa* quoted by Räsänen and Ramstedt is not entirely clear phonetically. Cincius 1949: 163f. gives two examples of such a correspondence: Ma. *gabta-* ‘shoot a bow’ = Even, Evk., Nan., Sol., Ulč. *-rp-*, Mo. *-rv-* and Ma. *arfuku* ‘мухогонка’ = Even, Evk., Ulč. *-rp-*, both quoted by Benzing 1955: 48; but the derivation, and additionally the word *gabta-* are marked with a question mark (although the entire expression is unclear).
- 3 It seems to us that this proposition is relatively improbable. The word is not found beyond eastern Ir. languages, has no etymology there, and apparently no cognates, either. See below.

To our knowledge, the only exception here has been made by Tatarincev 2000– who submitted his own – and more importantly a very probable – proposition: **ar-* ‘multiply oneself, be numerous’ + *-p* intensification + *-a*, cf. OTkc. *arka* ‘multitude; collection; crowd; group’, Mo. *arbin* ‘plentiful’ et al.

Possibly, an interesting addition to this hypotheses might be made of OJap. **apa* ‘millet’ (Martin 1987: 388, Omodaka 2000)⁴ which, it seems, may be genetically related to the Tk. form – and then to the Mo. and Ma. ones, too. If this was indeed true, it would give added weight to Tatarincev’s proposition.

It remains to be determined whether Pashto *orbəša* &c. are borrowings from Tk. (not very plausible for cultural-historical reasons but definitely not impossible⁵), another realization of a much older cultural wanderwort of unknown origin (which seems to be quite probable but is absolutely impossible to determine, at least for now)⁶, or whether the similarity of these words is a pure coincidence. The current state of art does not allow for a final answer.

ARPAGAN

FORMS:

arpagan OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972 ‘wild barley’ || Tat.: ÈSTJa ‘wild barley; a plant similar to barley’, Dmitrieva 1972 || Trkm.: Dmitrieva 1972 ‘agropyron’
arpagān MTkc.MK: Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85 ‘a plant similar to barley’
arpan Kirg.: ÈSTJa ‘wild barley; common wild oat (*Avena fatua*)’

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.: *arpan* || MTkc.MK: *arpagān* || OTkc.: *arpagan* || Tat.: *arpagan* || Trkm.: *arpagan*

ETYMOLOGY:

1974: ÈSTJa: < *arpa* ‘barley’ + *-gan*

COMMENTARY:

This form has a very clear structure. *-gan* is quite a popular suffix for plant names, here with a distinct meaning of ‘similar to, such as’. Cf. *arpan* ‘oats’.

The MTkc.MK long *-ā* in the suffix is supposedly a transcription of *alef*, and not an actual length of the vowel, otherwise completely incomprehensible.

4 This word is attested as early as the oldest Jap. monument, Man’yōshū (8th c.). Interestingly enough, it is written with the 粟 sign, nowadays used for Mand. *sù* < MChin. *sjowk* > OTkc. and others *sōk* ‘millet’ (cf.).

5 If so, then probably from a Px3Sg form (in a compound?).

6 Such a solution should also be considered for Hung. *árpa*, whose origin from Čuv. is not likely for phonetic reasons (Čuv. *o/u-* vs Hung. *á-*). From among the possible sources quoted in EWU, Com. *arpa* seems to be most probable phonetically and cultural-historically but perhaps other sources with non-Čuv. sounding can not be entirely excluded, too.

AS

FORMS:

as **Khak.:** Dmitrieva 1972

aš **Brb.:** RI 585b || Šr. RI 585b

LANGUAGES:

Brb.: aš || **Khak.:** as || **Šr.:** aš

ETYMOLOGY:

1974: ÈSTJA: < Ir. *āš* 'soup'

COMMENTARY:

Corresponds with Tkc. *aš* 'food' et al., including Khak., Kmk. 'cereal'; Oyr., Tat.dial. 'cereal in ears and the like'; Khak., Oyr. 'grain', presumably < Ir. (ÈSTJa). The word appears in many Tkc. languages in different meanings (ÈSTJa) which can be reduced to three groups: 1. 'soup', 'pilaff'; 2. 'food, nourishment', and 3. 'cereal', 'grain'. ÈSTJa believes the first group to be a Čag. innovation (even though such a meaning is attested in MIr. where the word originates from), the second group represents the original meaning (this is the only meaning attested in older Tkc. monuments), and the third one to be a later concretization of meaning 2. (it only appears in Brb., Khak., Kmk., Oyr., Tat.dial. and Šr.).

In the oldest monuments, the word is only attested in the meaning of 'food, nourishment' (ÈSTJa). However, it does not seem to be very probable that such a meaning would evolve into 'cereal', 'grain' and so on in Khak., Kmk., Oyr., Tat.dial. &c. We would rather believe that it is these languages that preserved the original meaning from before the OTkc. period. This hint, together with the commonness of the word in Tkc. could suggest that its relationship to Ir. *aš* 'kind of soup' has just the opposite direction than the one suggested by ÈSTJa. However, the Ir. word has an established etymology: Pers. *āš* < Skr. *āśa* 'food, nourishment' (Turner 1966–69: 66), Skr. *aca-* in *prataraca-* 'breakfast', Av. *kahrkasa-* 'Hühnerfresser' (Horn 1893: 29). Thus, we should probably accept the slightly strange evolution from 'food' to 1. 'soup', 2. 'cereal', where 1. must have come into existence still in the OTkc. period.

Whether Khak. has evolved the meaning of 'barley' from 'cereal; grain', or independently (i.e. from the original 'food, nourishment'), cannot be determined with certainty. The latter seems, however, to be more plausible because: 1. it has almost always been wheat and not barley, that was the most important cereal for the Tkc. peoples, and so we would rather expect 'cereal; grain' to evolve into 'wheat', rather than 'barley'; 2. barley was an important part of nourishment in the form of a gruel or a pulp; also, beer was made from it (Tryjarski 1993: 54, 123) which seems to point to the evolution from the meaning of 'soup' rather than 'cereal; grain'.

Cf. *aš(lyk)* 'wheat'.

JAČMEŇ

FORMS: *jačmeň* **Tof.:** RTofS

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Russ. *jačmeň* id.

KÖČE

FORMS:

köče **Khak.:** RChakS, ÈSTJa, Tatarincev 2000

köže **Tuv.:** RTuwS, Tatarincev 2000

LANGUAGES:

Khak.: *köče* || **Tuv.:** *köže*

ETYMOLOGY:

1974: ÈSTJa s.v. *köže*: < Pers. *گوجه* *gouže* ‘*Prunus divaricata* Ledeb. [species of plum]’

2000: Tatarincev: < **köč-* ‘to reduce (oneself)’

COMMENTARY:

This word is quite common in the Tkc. languages in different meanings. Almost all of them are names of various dishes or their components (most often, flour) made of cereals (barley, corn, millet and wheat, very occasionally rice and sorghum as well), and only in a few cases of cereals or grains. In dialects other meanings sporadically appear, too (see below). A comprehensive list can be found in ÈSTJa.

The geographical distribution of the meanings does not seem to contribute much to our understanding. Only Tksh. dialects have all four meanings of the most important cereals at once, and only in eastern Siberia is there no other meaning present but ‘barley’. Apart from Tksh. dialects, ‘barley’ appears in the North and East, ‘corn’ in the South, and ‘millet’ and ‘wheat’ in the centre, which corresponds quite precisely to the ranges of cultivation of these cereals. When taking all of this into account, one could try to suppose that all these meanings are relatively young, but it must not be forgotten that the word is attested in the Tkc. languages from the 14th c., and the choice of cereals for cultivation is mainly influenced by climate, which has not changed significantly in the last few centuries.

The etymology proposed by ÈSTJa does not seem to be grounded very well from the semantic point of view, as it assumes the following evolution: Pers. ‘species of plum’ [> (a) Tkc. ‘mulberry fruits flour’ > (b) ‘flour made of roasted barley or wheat’ > (c) ‘flour of various cereals’ > (d) ‘various dishes of cereals’ &c., which is only supported by the following facts: 1. [in the Pamir. languages] ‘mulberry fruits flour’ and ‘flour made of roasted barley or wheat’ was designated by one word; 2. Uzb.dial., Tksh.dial. *gõžə, kõžötüt* ‘species of mulberry’; 3. Uzb.dial. *gõžə* ‘species of plum’. While (c) > (d) is trivial, (a) is not very likely, and it must be remembered that (b) refers to the Pamir. languages, not Tkc. Whether the information that mulberry fruits flour became so popular in Pamir that it ousted flour made of cereals, also refers to Tkc. is unclear (cf. Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 87, quoted by ÈSTJa). We believe that these difficulties provide sufficient reason to discard the etymology. The still unclear forms 2. and 3. may be understood as a quite strange evolution, probably under Pers. influence, especially in the case of 3.

Tatarincev 2000 is against this etymology, too.

Tatarincev’s proposition seems to be much more likely. He derives *köče* < **köč-*, and supports this reconstruction with words like Tkc. *g/küčük* ‘puppy; young of an animal’,

also ‘bud’, *köš/ček* ‘young of a camel’, also ‘young of an animal’, and Tksh. *güžük* ‘short; without tail’, *göč(k)en* ‘(one year old) hare’ and so on.

As to the derivation, it might be regarded as being problematic, that the word has a long vowel in Trkm. (*köže*). But a secondary evolution in Trkm. is possible, too – under the influence of Pers. *gože*?

The reconstruction of **köč-* is very interesting but it seems to us that the examples listed by Tatarincev point quite clearly to the original meaning of ‘to be small’ rather than ‘to reduce (oneself)’. Actually, this seems to fit *köže* even better (barley grains are quite small).

SULA

FORMS: *sula* Tel.: Ryumina-Sırkaşeva/Kuçığaşeva 1995

ETYMOLOGY: see *süle* ‘oats’

COMMENTARY:

This word is one of the examples of the quite common identifying/confusing of ‘barley’ and ‘oats’: cf. commentary on *julaf* (point 2) and *arpakan*, *harva* and *tay arpasy* ‘oats’. Only the direction is unclear here: this is the only word where ‘barley’ < ‘oats’.

ŠA’İR

FORMS: *ša’ir* Ott.: (شعير) Wiesentahl 1895, *ša’ir* Redhouse 1921

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Arab. شَعِير *ša’ir* ‘barley’.

TAK-TAK

FORMS: *tak-tak* Kzk.: ‘wild barley’ DFKzk

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This name is completely obscure. Presumably, Kzk. *tak* ‘1. throne; 2. odd number’ corresponds to Uyg. *tay* ‘1. mountain; 2. odd number’, but the semantic relationship is utterly unclear. Also, the word has a strange structure which we cannot explain.

Cf. *tay-arpasy* ‘oats’.

ŽEH

FORMS: *žeh* Tksh.dial.: Pisowicz 2000: 239

ETYMOLOGY: 2000: Pisowicz: 239: < Kurd. *žeh* ‘barley’

COMMENTARY: We can see no flaw in the etymology presented by Pisowicz 2000: 239.

ŽEHIMIEN

FORMS:

- nečimien* Yak.: Pekarskij 1917–30, Anikin 2003
nehimien Yak.: Anikin 2003
nečimien Yak.: Pekarskij 1917–30, Slepcev 1964: 37, 109, Anikin 2003
nesemen [ɔ: -h-] Yak.: Pekarskij 1917–30, Anikin 2003
žesemen [ɔ: žehemen] Yak.: (жэсэмэн [ɔ: db-]) Dmitrieva 1972
žehimien Yak.: RJakS, Anikin 2003
žesemen [ɔ: -h-] Yak.: Pekarskij 1917–30, Anikin 2003

ETYMOLOGY:

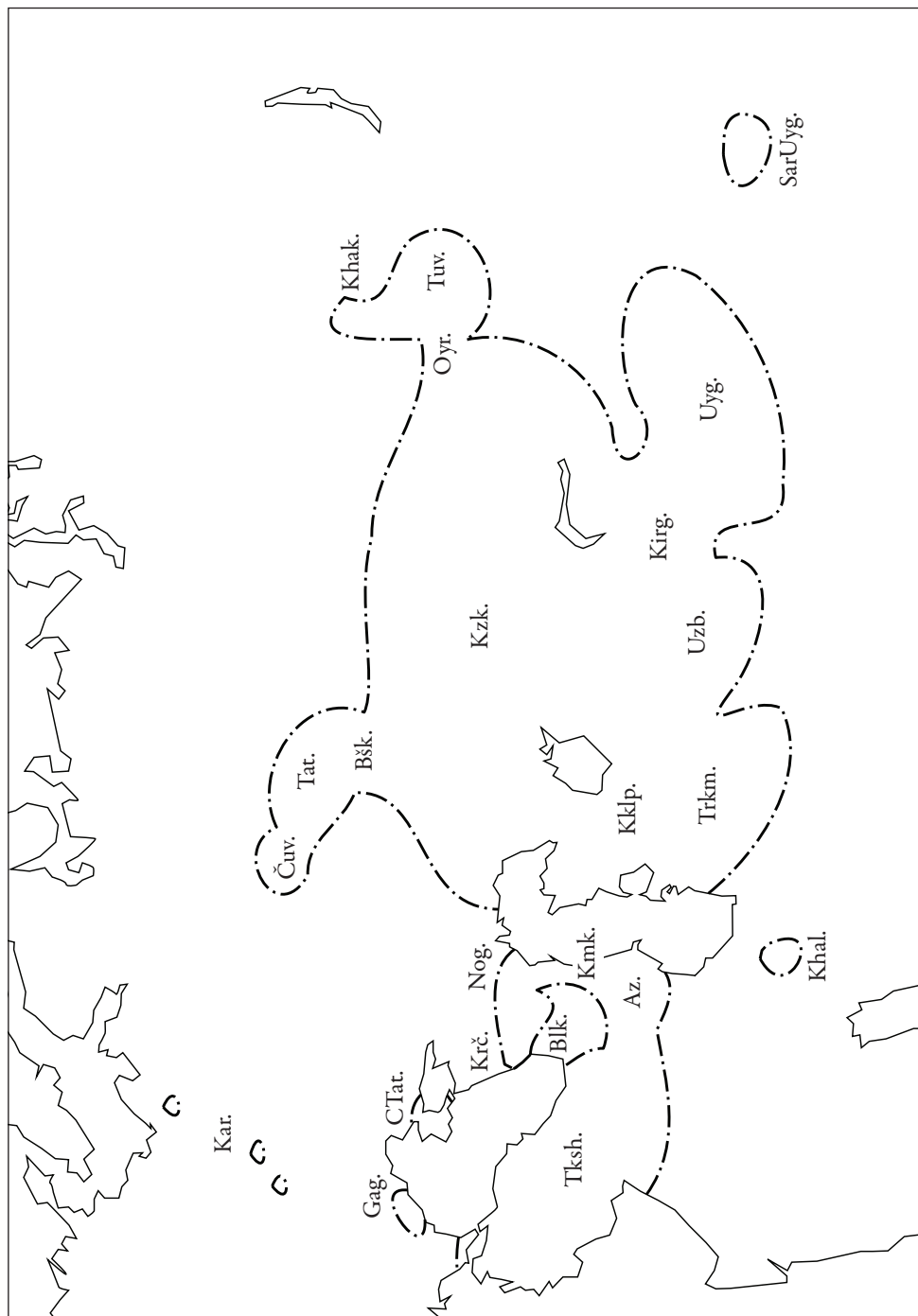
- 1964: Slepcev: < Russ. *jačmeň* ‘barley’
 1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *jačmeň* ‘barley’
 2003: Anikin: Russ. *jačmeň* (alternately, Sib. **jašmeň*) > Yak. *žesemen* > other forms, cf. Ubrjatova 1960: 23 for ž- ~ n- / ŋ-, and indicates Russ. *člen* > Yak. *čilien*, *silien* for -s- ~ -č- and refers to Slepcev 1964: 109

COMMENTARY:

The etymology presented by Slepcev 1964 and more comprehensively by Anikin 2003 is undoubtedly true in general. However, it is unclear to us why Anikin 2003 believes that *žesemen* is the oldest form, from which *nesemen* and *nečimien* evolved by means of assimilation.

It seems that his reasoning is based solely on the sounding of these forms, but it is impossible to unambiguously settle the chronology of their borrowing, as assimilation depends not so much on the time of borrowing, as on how well the borrower knew Russian, and therefore it can only help to establish a chronology expressed in generations, not in absolute years; cf. Stachowski, M. 1999b: 23. The differences between the forms are: 1. anlaut (ž-, n-, ŋ-), 2. adaptation of Russ. -s- (-h-, -č-), 3. epentetic vowel (-e-, -i-) and 4. yielding or not of the Russ. accent (-ie-, -e-). From among these features only 3. lets us draw some conclusions regarding chronology: in the Tkc. languages epentetic vowels are high⁷, and so -e- should be understood as a result of assimilation. We believe therefore that *jačmeň* > Yak. **Jačimien* > *Ječimien* > *Ječemen*. Regarding phonetics, cf. *ebies* ‘oats’.

7 This is a constant feature of the Tkc. languages; cf. e.g. the necessity of Tkc. mediation in Hung. *király* ‘king’ << Southern Slav.dial. **kral’b* or similar (Helimskij 2000: 434). Cf. also *aryš* ‘rye’.



arpa 'barley'

CORN
ZEA MAYS L.

Corn originates from the Mesoamerican centre. The first traces of cultivation of corn were found in the Tehuacán valley, Mexico. They are dated around 5th millennium BC, while the domestication probably happened between 10th and 5th millennium BC. The oldest remains of cobs of a cultivated form are dated 3000–3500 years BC and were found in the fifties in Bat Cave, Mexico (cobs from these period are just 25 mm long). The oldest pollen of a wild form was discovered in the city of Mexico and is about 80 thousand years old. All presently known forms of corn are domesticated; wild forms have not survived at all.

Corn was extremely important for all the cultures of Central and South America, and was also known in North America. It appeared very often, and it still does, as a motif in art, and it played a role in mythology and religious rituals. Columbus mentioned it as early as 5 November 1492, and brought it to Europe a year later when he came back from his first voyage. From Spain (cultivations in Andalusia since 1525), it spread to Southern and Central Europe (Fr. *blé d'Espagne*, G. *Welschkorn*), and to Middle East and Anatolia from where it diffused further. Eastern and Central Europe (for the second time) learned about it later, from the Turks (cf. e.g. Slvn. *turščica*; Cz. *turkyně*; Pol. *pszenica turecka* and Fr. *blé de Turquie*, G. *türkischer Weizen* and *türkisch Korn*, It. *granturco* et al.). The Portuguese played a great role in its circulation by delivering it to Java as early as 1496, to Angola about 1500, to China in 1516 and to the Philippines in 1520 (Nowiński 1970: 193–202.)

The Latin name is a compound of Lat. *zēa* 'type of grain' + *mays* < Sp. *maís*, *máis* < *mahíz* < Taino *maisí*, *majisí* 'corn'. Fr. *maís* and Eng. *maize* are borrowings from Spanish (Lokotsch 1926).

In the Tkc. languages there are altogether 16 different names for 'corn'. Nine of them are compounds built of an attribute + name of another plant, or are an abbreviation of this model. In three (four?) of them the attribute is a place name, always referring to an Arabic country (*Mäkke*, *Mısrı*, *Şam*, ? *käbä bödoj*).

FORMS:

<i>aži bijdaj</i>	<i>kargi-dali</i> → <i>gargydaly</i>	<i>konag</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>) <i>qonaq</i>
<i>ažy bijdaj</i> → <i>aži bijdaj</i>	<i>kokoroz</i>	<i>kukurus</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>basadohan</i>	<i>köma qonaq</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>) <i>qonaq</i>	<i>kukurusa</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>bordoq</i>	<i>kömbö konok</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>)	<i>kukurusa</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>čüžgün qonaq</i>	<i>qonaq</i>	<i>kukurusa</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>dary</i>	<i>kömek</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>) <i>qonaq</i>	<i>kukuruz</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>gargydaly</i>	<i>köme qonaq</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>) <i>qonaq</i>	<i>kukuruza</i> → <i>kokoroz</i>
<i>habiz(d)aj</i>	<i>kömmе qonaq</i>	<i>makkažavari</i> → <i>meke žügörü</i>
<i>käbä bodaj</i> → <i>käbä bödoj</i>	<i>köbür qonaq</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>)	<i>makkažuxori</i> → <i>meke žügörü</i>
<i>käbä bödoj</i>	<i>qonaq</i>	<i>makka(-)žuari</i> → <i>meke žügörü</i>

<i>mäkke</i>	<i>mysyr bogdaj</i> → <i>mysyr (bugdajy)</i>	<i>qonaq</i> → (<i>kömmе</i>) <i>qonaq</i>
<i>mäkke žueri</i> → <i>meke žügörü</i>	<i>mysyr-bogdaj</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>sary</i>
<i>meke žügörü</i>	(<i>bugdajy</i>)	<i>šam darysy</i>
<i>mekgežöven</i>	<i>mysyr bugdaj</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>žasymyk</i>
<i>mekke ževen</i> → <i>mekgežöven</i>	(<i>bugdajy</i>)	<i>žügeri</i> → <i>žügörü</i>
<i>mokka-žavari</i> → <i>meke</i>	<i>mysyr (bugdajy)</i>	<i>žügöri</i> → <i>žügörü</i>
<i>žügörü</i>	<i>nartük</i>	<i>žügörü</i> → <i>žügörü</i>
<i>mysir bogdaj</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>nartux</i> → <i>nartük</i>	<i>žüxori</i> → <i>žügörü</i>
(<i>bugdajy</i>)	<i>nartüx</i> → <i>nartük</i>	<i>žügeri</i> → <i>žügörü</i>

LANGUAGES:

Az.: <i>gargydaly</i>	Krč.Blk.: <i>nartux</i> <i>nartüx</i>	Tksh.dial.: <i>dary</i> <i>kokoroz</i>
Bosn.Tksh.: <i>kukuruz</i>	<i>žügeri</i>	<i>kukuruz</i>
Bšk.: <i>kukuruz</i> <i>kukuruza</i>	Kzk.: <i>žügeri</i>	Trkm.: <i>mekgežöven</i> <i>mekke</i>
CTat.: <i>mysir bogdaj</i>	Kzk.dial.: <i>žasymyk</i>	<i>ževen</i>
Čuv.: <i>kukkurus</i> <i>kukurus</i>	Nog.: <i>aži bijdaj</i> <i>ažy bijdaj</i>	Tuv.: <i>kukuruza</i>
<i>kukuruza</i>	<i>nartük</i>	Uyg.: <i>bordoq</i> <i>čüžgün qonaq</i>
KarC.: <i>kokoroz</i>	Ott.: <i>kokoroz</i> ? <i>mysyr bogdaj</i>	<i>köma qonaq</i> <i>kömek</i>
<i>mysyr-bogdaj</i>	? <i>mysyr bugdaj</i> <i>šam</i>	<i>köme qonaq</i> <i>kömmе</i>
KarH.: <i>basadohan</i> <i>sary</i>	<i>darysy</i>	<i>qonaq</i> <i>kömür qonaq</i>
Khak.: <i>kukuruza</i>	Oyr.: <i>kukuruza</i>	<i>qonaq</i>
Kirg.: <i>meke žügörü</i> <i>žügöri</i>	Sal.: <i>konag</i>	Uzb.: <i>makkažavari</i>
<i>žügörü</i> <i>žügeri</i>	Tat.: <i>käbä bodaj</i> <i>käbä bödoj</i>	<i>makkažühori</i> <i>makka(-)</i>
Kirg.dial.: <i>kömbö konok</i>	<i>kargi-dali</i> <i>kukurus</i>	<i>žuari</i> <i>mokka-žavari</i>
Kklp.: <i>mäkke</i> <i>mäkke žueri</i>	<i>kukuruz</i> <i>kukuruza</i>	<i>žüxori</i>
Kmk.: <i>habiž(d)aj</i>	Tksh.: <i>mysyr (bugdajy)</i>	Yak.: <i>kukurūsa</i> <i>kukuruza</i>

AŽI BIJDAJ

FORMS: *aži bijdaj* **Nog.:** RNogS || *ažy bijdaj* Dmitrieva 1972: 213

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < *ažy* 'bitter' + *bijdaj* 'wheat'

COMMENTARY:

While it is not easy to present a convincing counterargument for the etymology proposed in Dmitrieva 1972, neither can one accept it without reservations. Semantics is definitely its weak point. Grains of wheat might indeed have a sweetish taste when compared to other cereals, but they certainly can not be regarded as sweeter than corn, which has a very distinct sweet flavour. Certainly it is not sweet enough to make it a distinctive feature.

Though we are not able to present a counterproposition, we do not want to accept Dmitrieva's solution, either. Not at least, in so brief a form. Perhaps she knows of more ethnographic data which could provide a more convincing argument in favour of her proposition.

BASADOHAN

FORMS: *basadohan* **KarH:** KRPS 105, Mardkowicz 1935 '1. corn; 2. corn gruel, polenta'

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

We believe that this word is a compound of *basa* 'pasha' + *dohan* < Hebr. דוחן *dochan* 'millet'⁸. Millet is quite often unified or confused with corn (cf. *žasmyk*). Such a compound has a nice semantic parallel in Bulg. *carevica* 'corn'.

Cf. *cebedogon* 'millet'.

BORDOQ

FORMS: *bordoq* **Uyg.:** 'roasted corn'

ETYMOLOGY:

1974: ÈSTJa: Tkc. *bürtük* ~ *bürčük* '1. grain; 2. bread; 3. little bite; 4. et al.' < PTkc. **bürt-* 'come off, fall off'. The Uyg. form is not quoted here; all quoted forms (except for Čuv.) have vowels *e*, *i*, *ö* and *ü*

COMMENTARY:

Despite phonetic difficulties (front vs back vowels), we are convinced that this word belongs to the family of *bürtük*. A semantic shift from 'grain' to 'species of cereal' is absolutely natural; cf. e.g. Witczak 2003: 128–30. Cf. also Trkm. *bürdük* 'oats'.

ČÜŽGÜN QONAQ

FORMS: *čüzgün qonaq* چۆزگون [sic] **Uyg.:** Jarring 1998: 15 'species of corn'

ETYMOLOGY: 1998: Jarring: 14: *ž* indicates a non-Tkc. origin; the word is enigmatic

COMMENTARY:

Jarring 1998: 15 only remarks that *ž* indicates a non-Tkc. origin, and that the word is enigmatic. He also mentions *čüzgün* 'green bristlegrass (*Setaria viridis*)' (after Schwarz 1992: 356) which is yet another example of calling 'corn' and 'millet' with one word (cf. *dary*, *mysyr bugdajy*, *žasmyk* and *žügörü*). It is not out of the question, that the word is etymologically identical with *čigin*, cf. *čüzgün* 'green bristlegrass (*Setaria viridis*)' in chapter Millet.

DARY

FORMS: *dary* **Tksh.dial.:** Tietze 2002–

ETYMOLOGY: see *dary* 'millet'

COMMENTARY: See *šam darysy* 'corn'.

8 Although it could alternately be Hebr. דגן *dagan* 'cereal'.

GARGYDALY**FORMS:***gargydaly* **Az.:** RAzS, Dmitrieva 1972: 213*kargi-dali* **Tat.:** قارقى دالى Tanievъ 1909**LANGUAGES:****Az.:** *gargydaly* || **Tat.:** *kargi-dali***ETYMOLOGY:** 1972: Dmitrieva: < *gargy* ‘reed’ + *daly* ‘its branch’**COMMENTARY:**

The structure of this word is so clear, and the similarity of corn to reed so obvious that we can see no reason to question the etymology presented by Dmitrieva 1972.

HABIŽ(D)AJ**FORMS:** *habiž(d)aj* **Kmk.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213, RKmkS**ETYMOLOGY:** as yet not discussed**COMMENTARY:**

This word is unclear morphologically. It is possible that *-biž(d)aj* corresponds to Tkc. *bugdaj* ‘wheat’ (with a simplification of the consonant cluster). The *ha-* in anlaut remains however, utterly incomprehensible.

KÄBÄ BÖDOJ**FORMS:** *käbä bödoj* **Tat.:** R IV 1714t || *käbä bodaj* Voskresenskij 1894**ETYMOLOGY:** as yet not discussed**COMMENTARY:**

This name is not entirely clear. Its second element, *bödoj* raises no doubts about its Tkc. origin (Tkc. *bugdaj* ‘wheat’), even though its vocalism is not quite so comprehensible.

As to *käbä*, it seems most likely to us that it is in fact a place name, Kaaba. A very nice semantic parallel for such a naming is provided by Trkm. *meğežöven* and similar names in Kirg., Kklp. and Uyg., Tksh. *mysyr bugdajy* and Ott. *šam darysy*. However, front vowels in this form remain a mystery to us.

Possibly, although this does not seem very likely, this word is identical with Tksh. *kaba* ‘simple, coarse’?

Naming one species of cereal with the name of another one, and an attribute raises no doubts (corn was brought to the Tkc. peoples relatively late).

KOKOROZ**FORMS:***kokoroz* **KarC:** ‘roasted corn grains’ Levi 1996 || **Ott.:** R II 509b قوقوروز, Mikl/TürkElقوقوروس, Redhouse 1921 قوقوروز, قوقوروس || **Tksh.:** Eren 1999*kukkurus* **Čuv.:** RČuvS-A*kukurus* **Tat.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213

kukurūsa **Yak.:** Slepcev 1975 (from 1935)

kukurusb **Čuv.:** Nikol'skij 1909

kukuruz **Bosn.Tksh.:** R II 897m || **Bšk.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || **Tat.:** RTatS-D, RTatS-G
|| **Tksh.:** Eren 1999

kukuruza **Bšk.:** RBškS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Čuv.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213, RČuvS-A,
RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E || **Khak.:** RChakS, Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || **Oyr.:** RAltS ||
Tat.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || **Tuv.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || **Yak.:** RJakS, Dmitrieva
1972: 213, Slepcev 1975 (since 1935)

LANGUAGES:

Bosn.Tksh.: *kukuruz* || **Bšk.:** *kukuruz, kukuruza* || **Čuv.:** *kukkurus, kukurusb, kukuruza*
|| **KarC.:** *kokoroz* || **Khak.:** *kukuruza* || **Ott.:** *kokoroz* || **Oyr.:** *kukuruza* || **Tat.:** *kukurus,*
kukuruz, kukuruza || **Tksh.:** *kokoroz, kukuruz* || **Tuv.:** *kukuruza* || **Yak.:** *kukurūsa, kukuruza*

ETYMOLOGY:

1930: Nikolić⁹: Tkc. [ʔ ɔ: Tksh.] *koku* (or *mum* for the form *mumuruz*) 'stink' + *uruz*
'rice' > 'rice of poor species'

This proposition is thoroughly false for the following reasons: 1. there is no such word in the Tkc. languages as *mum* 'stink'; 2. there is no such word in the Tkc. languages as *uruz* 'rice'; 3. a compound of two nouns in Nom. which would have this kind of a meaning is impossible in the Tkc. languages; 4. to the best of our knowledge, the Tkc. peoples never considered corn to be a worse kind of cereal (and neither did the Slavic peoples, cf. e.g. Bulg. *carevica* 'corn'), in fact, the exact opposite was true; 5. it is very hard to find a major similarity between corn and rice, and we know of no parallel for unifying these two meaning in the Tkc. languages.

1972: Dmitrieva: Tat. *kukurus*, Bšk. *kukuruz*; Bšk., Khak., Čuv., Yak., Oyr., Tat., Tuv. *kukuruza* < Russ.

1999: Eren: Tkc. *kokoroz* from the Balkan languages; cf. Bulg. *kukuruz*, Serb. *kukùruz*, Rom. *cucurúz*; ultimate source unclear

COMMENTARY:

We believe that this word was borrowed to the Tkc. languages from Slav., as Dmitrieva 1972 and Eren 1999 proposed it. In particular, the fact that the word has a very rich family in the Slav. languages and absolutely no relatives in the Tkc., speaks in favour of this proposition.

The sounding does not allow for a precise determination of the Slav. source. We can only make a guess based on historical and cultural-historical premises. In the case of Asian Tkc. languages it was most probably Russ.; in the case of Bosn.Tksh. we may suspect a borrowing from one of the Slav. languages of the Balkans or, less likely, from Tksh. (Ott.); and finally in the case of Tksh. (Ott.) – history seems to support the idea of a borrowing from the Balkans (as proposed by Eren 1999) rather than from Russ. (as Dmitrieva 1972 wants it).

All this might seem somewhat strange given the fact that Europe (except for Spain and Portugal¹⁰) has learned about corn from the Ottomans (see above). However, the

9 Nikolić, *Agronomski glasnik* 1930 and 1931; quoted after Skok 1971–74 s.v. *kukuruz*.

10 From Spain corn spread to France among other regions, and from there to Germany, but it only gained popularity later, probably under Turkish or Hungarian influence.

linguistic data does not allow for any other solution. Most probably, the whole thing might be explained by the following facts:

1. in Ott. (and later in Tksh.) the forms *kukuruz* ~ *kokoroz* are dialectal; corn was more popular among the Slavic people than it was among the Turks; in a limited area, a Slav. word could oust its Tkc. equivalent, and then find its way to the literary language
 2. a) all the other Tkc. languages where this word is present, have been under a strong Russ. influence
 - b) it is possible, that these Tkc. nations only learned about corn from Russians
- The differences in auslaut among the Tkc. forms (-uz vs -uza) should probably be explained by variations in Russ. dialects (although Filin 1965– only attests *kukuróz*), or by a borrowing from Tksh. (Ott.) rather than from Russ.

The only thing that might still be regarded as being problematic is that our word has no established etymology in the Slav. languages. An overview of previous solutions (chronologically) and our proposition is presented below.

Blr.: *kukurúza* || **Bulg.:** *kukurúz* || **Cz.:** *kukuřice, kukuruc* (19th c.; Jungmann 1835–39¹¹) || **Pol.:** *kukurydza* (20th c.), *kukurudza, kokoryca* (19th c.), *kukuryza, kukuruca, kukuryca, kukurudz* (18th c.) (SEJP) || **SC:** *kukùruz, kukùruza, kùkurica, kukuriza, kokuruz* (Skok 1971–74) || **Slvk.:** *kukurica, kukuruc* || **Slvn.:** *koruza* || **Ukr.:** *kukurúdzá* || **USorb.:** *kukurica*

1. < Tkc. *kokoroz, kukuruz* ‘corn’

pro: Muchliński 1858¹²; MiklTEL, Karłowicz 1894–1905¹³; Lokotsch 1927; Weigand¹⁴; Holub/Lyer 1967; Skok 1971–74; Witczak 2003: 124

contra: MiklTEIN; SEJP; Bańkowski 2000

The word is incomprehensible on the Tkc. ground. Vast family in the Slav. languages.

No related words in the Tkc. languages.

2. native word; cf. Slav.S. *kukurjav* ‘1. curly; 2. splayed out’ (from ‘hairs’ protruding from corns)

pro: Berneker 1908–13¹⁵, Brückner 1927; Holub/Kopečný 1952; SEJP; Machek 1968; Zaimov 1957¹⁶; Schuster-Šewc 1978–89; ESUM; Černych 1993

contra: Vasmer 1986–87

See below.

3. < Rom. *cucuruz* ‘1. cone; 2. corn’

pro: ? MiklFremdSlav, BER; Marynaŭ 1978–; ? Bańkowski 2000

See below.

4. < *kukuru* used when luring birds with corn grains

pro: Vasmer 1986–87

11 Jungmann 1835–39; quoted after Machek 1968.

12 Muchliński 1958: 71; quoted after SEJP s.v. *kukurydza*.

13 Karłowicz 1894–1905: 323; quoted after SEJP. s.v. *kukurydza*.

14 Weigand, G.: *Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache XVII-XVIII*: 363f.; quoted after SEJP.

15 Berneker 1908–13: 640–41; quoted after SEJP s.v. *kukurydza*.

16 Zaimov 1957: 113–26: 117–19; quoted after SEJP s.v. *kukurydza*.

contra: SEJP

Very unlikely. Would require an assumption that the name for ‘corn’ only came into existence after its grain had been acquired in some way, and used to lure birds while shouting (why?) *kukuru*. Apart from the above, it is not known which language the proposition refers to.

5. = ? Alb. *kúqur* ‘baked; roasted’ or = ? Alb. *kókërr* ‘1. grain of pea; 2. berry’

pro: Bańkowski 2000

Kókërr (< *kokë* ‘head; bulb; berry; grain’; Orel 1998) seems to be more probable, but as a source of borrowing, rather than an equivalent. It also has, however, a very likely Slav. proposition (see below), this coincidence should probably be regarded as accidental. What is important, though, is the idea proposed by Bańkowski 2000 that the word might have been borrowed via two routes (see below).

SEJP suggests that the word should be derived from PSlav. **koko-*, a reduplicated form of **kor-* (> **korenъ*), such as *bóbr*, *gogołka* or *popiół*; cf. also *kąkol* ‘corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*)¹⁷’ and *kuklik* ‘*Geum urbanum* L.’¹⁸. In the Slav. languages there are very many names of plants with a very similar sounding, cf. e.g. Bulg. *kukurják* || Cz. *kokořík* || LSorb. *kokrik* || Pol. *kokornak*, *kokorycz* || Slvk. *kokorík*, *kukurík* || Ukr. *kokorička* || USorb. *kokorac* (more examples e.g. in SEJP s.v. *kokornak*). The semantic basis were most probably curly (crooked?) leaves or tendrils, or some kind of curls or ‘locks’ characteristic of the given plant (cf. Machek 1968; SEJP). Cf. Slav.S. *kukurjav* ‘curly(-headed)’¹⁹.

We believe that PSlav. **kor-* ‘bent’ can with quite a high degree of probability be accepted as the root of our word: cf. also Russ.dial. *kokóra* ‘trunk [...] together with a crooked root [...]’, Hung.dial. *kukora* ‘crooked; bent; [...]’²⁰, and Pol. and others *krzywy* ‘crooked’, maybe also Lat. *curvus*.

Many Slavists point out phonetical difficulties. Two routes of borrowing, proposed by Bańkowski 2000, seem to offer the best explanation. Only instead of the Alb. etymons, we would rather assume native Slav. names either shifted from another similar plant, or neologisms created in the same way as the already existing names. Presumably, some of the forms may be explained by a contamination of two (or more?) forms (for Pol., cf. Bańkowski 2000).

17 NB: Probably also Hung. *kankalék* ‘primrose’ (in the same way as *konkoly* ‘corncockle’) is a borrowing from the Slav. languages – against EWU, where it is regarded as an ‘Abl[eitung] aus einem fiktiven Stamm, Entstehungsweise aber unbest[immt]’. Cf. also Lith. *kānkalas* ‘(little) bell, something clanging’ (Spólnik 1990: 64).

18 From Cz., where it meant among others ‘monk’s hood’; cf. Spólnik 1990: 84, though an unclear expression.

19 Also Hung. *kökürü* ‘curly(-headed)’, which probably from the Slav. languages, too – against EWU, where it is derived from *kukora* ‘crooked, bent, [...]’, which is an ‘Abl[eitung] aus einem relativen fiktiven Stamm’.

20 See footnotes 17–19. Cf. Pol. *kąkol* ‘corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*)’ of a very similar structure.

Finally, we should also consider whether it would be desirable to assume a Paleo-Europ. source, which could be connected with OBask. and Pre-Romance **kuk(k)ur*-‘Kamm; Spitze’ (more: Hubschmid 1965: 39), and the Rom. form (originally ‘cone’), instead of deriving it directly from Bulg. (cf. Cihac 1879: II 86 vs. Cioranescu 1966). An Ott. meaning attested by Redhouse 1921: ‘any tall, ill-shaped thing’, might also be used to support this idea. We suppose that Arm. *gogar* and the like. ‘hooks with two points used for hanging pots over a fire’ (Bläsing 1992: 58) could also belong to the same family, such as finally. Tksh. *kokoreç* ‘meat dish roasted on spit’.

(KÖMME) QONAQ

FORMS:

- köma qonaq* Uyg.: (Turfan) Jarring 1998: 14
kömbö konok Kirg.dial.: ÈSTJa ‘corn’
kömek Uyg.: Jarring 1998: 14 ‘special species of corn’
köme qonaq Uyg.: Jarring 1998: 14 ‘special species of corn’
kömmе qonaq Uyg.: كوممه قوناق RUjgS, Jarring 1998: 14 ‘special species of corn’
kömür qonaq Uyg.: Jarring 1998: 14
konag Sal.: ÈSTJa
qonaq قوناق Uyg.: Raquette 1927, ÈSTJa

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.dial.: *kömbö konok* || **Sal.:** *konag* || **Uyg.:** *köma qonaq, kömek, köme qonaq, kömmе qonaq, kömür qonaq, qonaq*

ETYMOLOGY:

1998: Jarring: 14: ? *kömmе* < *köme* ~ *kömer* ‘coal’ (cf. *kömür qonaq*), or ? *kömmе* < *kömek* ‘?’

COMMENTARY:

KÖMME:

Jarring’s 1998: 14 proposition which is based on the form *kömür qonaq*, and derives *kömmе* from *kömür* (~ Uyg. *köme(r)*) ‘coal’ is interesting but, semantically, rather enigmatic.

It seems more plausible to us that *kömmе* is a deverbal noun from the verb *köm-* ‘to bury, dig in the ground’. Such an attribute may result from the way corn is planted: rather than simply sowing seeds onto ploughed ground, its seeds are thrown into specially prepared pits, and then covered with soil. For semantics, cf. also the somewhat enigmatic in this regard, *sokpa*. Although this proposition does not explain forms with *-r* in auslaut, which still remain incomprehensible to us, it still, nonetheless, seems to be more plausible.

It is probable that the same root that can be found in Tk. *kömeč* ‘1. bread; 2. pie; dumpling’.

QONAQ: See *konak* ‘millet’.

MÄKKE

FORMS: *mäkke* (plant and dish) **Kklp.:** RKklpS-B, RKklpS-BB, RKklpS-ST

ETYMOLOGY: see *meke žügörü* and *mekgežöven*

COMMENTARY:

Mäkke as a name for ‘corn’ is certainly an abbreviation of *mäkke žueri*, created by the same token as *mysyr buğdajy* > *mysyr* in Tksh. According to Dmitrieva’s 1972 explanation, it means ‘Mecca’ – cf. Kirg. *meke* among others ‘Mecca’, and comes from Arab. *makka* مكة (quoted by Dmitrieva as *Meke* s.v. *meke žügörü*, and as *Mekke* s.v. *mekgežöven*).

Cf. *meke žügörü* and *mekgežöven*, and *mysyr buğdajy* and *šam darysy*.

MEKE ŽÜGÖRÜ

FORMS:

makkažavari Uzb.: مکھ جوارى Nalivkinъ 1895

makkažuxori Uzb.: RUzbS-A, RUzbS-Š

makka(-)žuari Uzb.: Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912

mäkke žueri Kklp.: RKklpS-BB

meke žügörü Kirg.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213, RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57

mokka-žavari Uzb.: Smolenskij 1912

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.: *meke žügörü* || **Kklp.:** *mäkke žueri* || **Uzb.:** *makkažavari*, *makkažuxori*, *makka(-)žuari*, *mokka-žavari*

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < Arab. *Meke* ‘Mecca’ + *žügörü* ‘corn’

COMMENTARY:

MEKE: See *mäkke*.

ŽÜGÖRÜ: See *žügörü*.

Cf. *mäkke*, *mekgežöven*, and *mysyr buğdajy* and *šam darysy*.

MEKGEŽÖVEN

FORMS:

mekgežöven Trkm.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, RTrkmS

mekke ževen Trkm.: Alijiv/Böörjif 1929

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < *mekge* < Arab. *Mekke* ‘Mecca’ + *žöven*

COMMENTARY:

MEKGE-: See *mäkke* and *mäkke žügörü*.

-ŽÖVEN:

This word is etymologically unclear. Though not listed among equivalents by Eren 1999, it is presumably the same word as Tksh.: *çöven* ‘kökü ve dalları sabun gibi köpürten bir bitki’ < *çögen* Eren 1999, dial. *çoğan*, *çoğen*, *çovan*, *cöiven*, *çuvan* DS || Az. *çoğan* || OKipč. *çoğan* || Trkm. *çoğan* (*kökü*) ‘çöven’.

We believe that it might be closely related to *čigin* ‘millet’, which unfortunately is unclear, too. We should not completely discount the notion that its ultimate source is Pers. *žou-* ‘barley’ (see *julaf* ‘oats’), or alternately, that *čigin* < *čüzgün* – which would probably rule out such a connection.

Cf. *mäkke*, *mekgežöven*, and *mysyr buğdajy* and *šam darysy*.

MYSYR (BUGDAJY)**FORMS:**

- mysir bogdaj* CTat.: Zaatovъ 1906
mysyr bogdaj ? Ott.: مصر بوغداى Wiesentahl 1895
mysyr-bogdaj KarC.: Levi 1996: 45
mysyr bogdaj ? Ott.: مصر بوغداى Wiesentahl 1895
mysyr (bugdajy) Tksh.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213

LANGUAGES:

- CTat.: *mysir bogdaj* || KarC.: *mysyr-bogdaj* || Ott.: ? *mysyr bogdaj*, ? *mysyr bogdaj* ||
 Tksh.: *mysyr (bugdajy)*

ETYMOLOGY:

- 1972: Dmitrieva: < Arab. *Misr* ‘Egypt’
 1999: Eren: does not explain the word – presumably, because he assumes it is obvious – that this name is a compound of a place name + a name of another plant (cereal), i.e. *mysyr bugdajy* liter. ‘Egyptian wheat’
 2000: Bańkowski s.v. *kukurydza*: Tksh. *mysyr* < common Europ. *mais* (Sp. *maís*, Fr. *maïs* et al.)

COMMENTARY:

Bańkowski’s 2000 proposition seems to be deeply problematic for serious phonetical and historical reasons. We think that a much better solution has been presented by Dmitrieva, and we believe, that also Eren implied that he had the same solution.

Currently, an abbreviation of *mysyr bugdajy* to *mysyr* caught on in Tksh., just as Kklp. *mäkke žueri* > *mäkke*. Cf. *šam darysy*, and *mäkke*, *meke žügörü* and *mekgežöven*.

An exact semantic parallel (a calque from Ott.?) is offered by Arm. *egipt-a-c’oren* ‘corn’, liter. ‘Egyptian wheat’.

It remains somewhat enigmatic to us why this name has been formed with the help of a word for ‘wheat’ if in all the other compounds of this kind, a word for ‘barley’ has been used. Interestingly enough, in dialects *mysyr bugdajy* might actually mean ‘barley’, too: cf. *mysyr* ‘barley’ and *dary*, *jasymuk* and *jügür id*.

NARTÜK**FORMS:**

- nartük* Nog.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213, RNogS
nartux Krč.Blk.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213
nartüx Krč.Blk.: RKrčBlkS

LANGUAGES:

- Krč.Blk.: *nartux*, *nartüx* || Nog.: *nartük*

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed**COMMENTARY:**

This word is etymologically incomprehensible. We can see two ways of trying to explain it, but neither of them is anything more than a conjecture, and none of them is fully clear. However, the first seems to be more probable:

1. Osset. *nartxor* ‘corn’, liter. ‘food of the Narts’²¹
Semantically, such a connection raises no doubts. It is, however, quite inexplicable phonetically. One might believe that it is a Tkc. derivative from **nart* ‘Nart’ with a meaning calqued from Osset. *nartxor*, but a non-harmonic vocalization undermines this solution.
2. common Europ. *nard*
The word *nard* is present in many European languages (Lat. *nardus*, Eng., Fr., Pol., Russ. et al. *nard*) but to the best of our knowledge, it has no etymology. The plant originates from the region of India and Tibet, and has been known to Europeans since antiquity as a material for perfume production. It does not look similar to corn, but it should be remembered that ‘corn’ happens to be the same word for ‘millet’ (see *čüzgün qonaq*, *mysyr bugdajy*, *žasymyk* and *žügörü*), and that the popular terms for ‘millet’ might in fact mean various, not necessarily closely, related species (see commentary on ‘millet’). A distant analogy is that *čikin* ‘millet’ may also mean ‘French lavender’²², and the word *nard* is not always entirely monosemantic as well, e.g. Gr. *νάργδος*, except for *Nardostachys Jatamansi* might in various compounds also mean ‘*Valeriana Celtica*’, ‘*Cymbopogon Iwaraneusa*’, or ‘nard oil’ (Lidell 1968) and others.

SARY

FORMS: *sary* **KarH**: KRPS

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: From corn’s extremely distinct colour.

ŠAM DARYSY

FORMS: *šam darysy* **Ott.**: Eren 1999 s.v. *mysyr*

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

Cf. *mysyr buğdajy*, and *mäkke*, *meke žügörü* and *mekgežöven*.

For a comparison to millet, cf. *dary* and *mysyr bugdajy*, and *čüzgün qonaq*, *žasymyk* and *žügörü*.

21 The Narts were a race of giants described in the mythology of the peoples of Caucasus, including the Ossetians. According to the legends, a long time ago, out of pride they rose against God. God punished them by sending upon them a terrible famine. At night, they would shoot with their bows grains glittering in the sky and eat them but there were not enough, and eventually the entire race starved to death. After that, the grains fell to the ground and corn sprouted from them. (Dumézil 1930: 14)

Other languages of Caucasus might also be taken into consideration, see Dumézil 1930: 11: ‘Peut-être qu’on songe que dans une bonne partie du Caucase du nord [...] le maïs, n’a d’autre nom que « l’aliment des Nartes »’.

22 The expression in Clauson 1972 is not entirely clear to us: ‘*čikin* [...] (3) the name of a plant called *uštūxūdūs* ‘French lavender’ [...]; *čekin* same translation; [...]’.

ŽASYMYK

FORMS: *žasymyk* **Kzk.dial.:** ÈSTJaETYMOLOGY: see *jasymuk* ‘millet’

COMMENTARY:

For naming ‘corn’ and ‘millet’ with one word, cf. *dary*, *šam darysy* and *žügörü*, and *čüžgün qonaq*.

ŽÜGÖRÜ

FORMS:

žügeri **Krč.Blk.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || **Kzk.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213, DFKzk, DKzkF, RKzkS-46, RKzkS-54

žügöri **Kirg.:** Мағановъ 1899

žügörü **Kirg.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213, RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57

žüxori **Uzb.:** Dmitrieva 1972: 213

žügeri **Krč.Blk.:** RKrčBlkS

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.: *žügöri*, *žügörü*, *žügeri* || **Krč.Blk.:** *žügeri* || **Kzk.:** *žügeri* || **Uzb.:** *žüxori*

ETYMOLOGY:

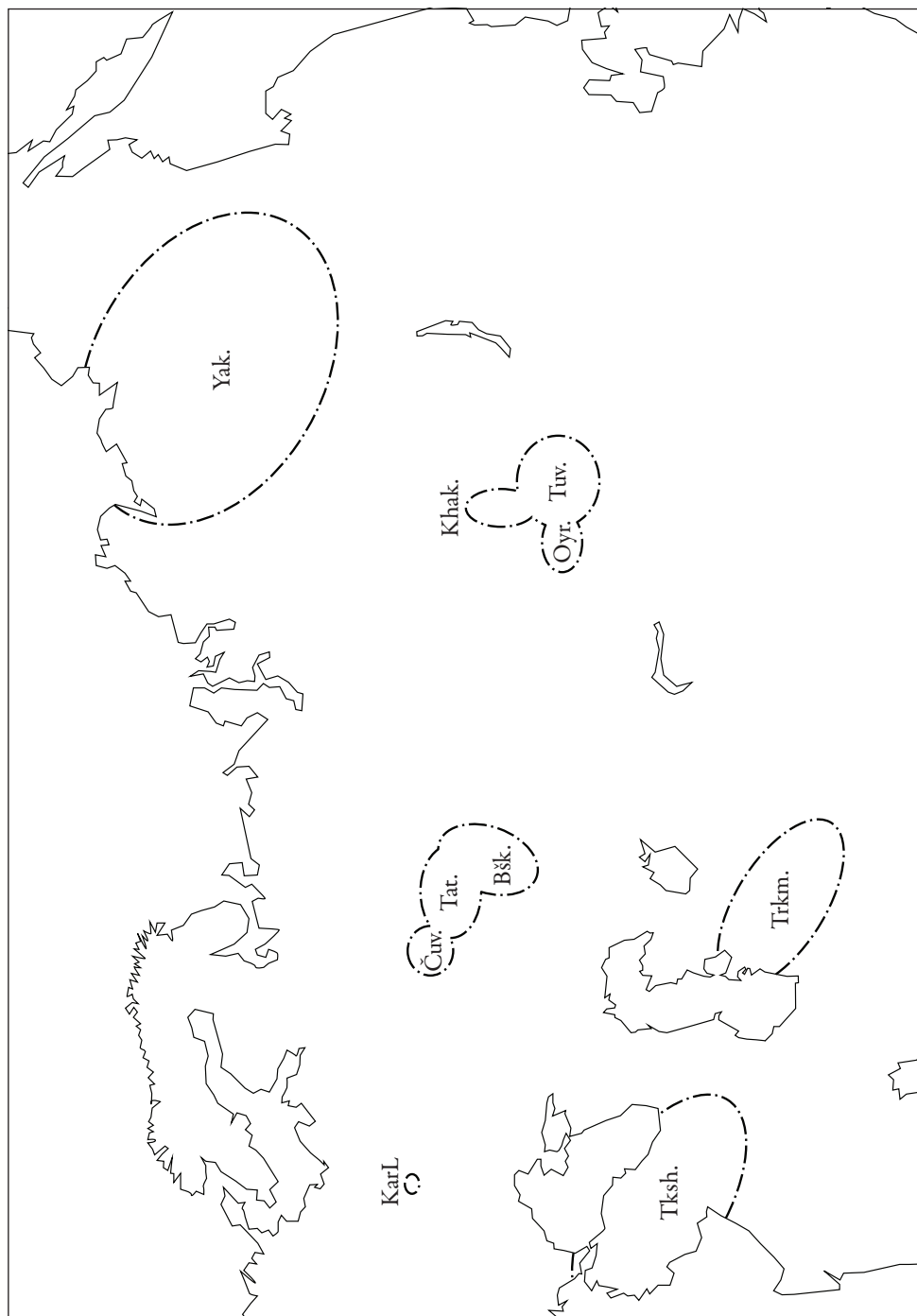
1972: Dmitrieva: only points to a connection with OTkc. *jügür*, *jür*, *ügür*, *üjür* and Čuv. *vir* ‘millet’, and with Оур. *üre* ‘кашица из толченой крупы’, Tat. *öjrä*, *üre* ‘кашица; крупяной суп’, Мо. *ür* ‘grain; seeds’, OTkc. *jügürgün* ‘plant similar to millet’

COMMENTARY:

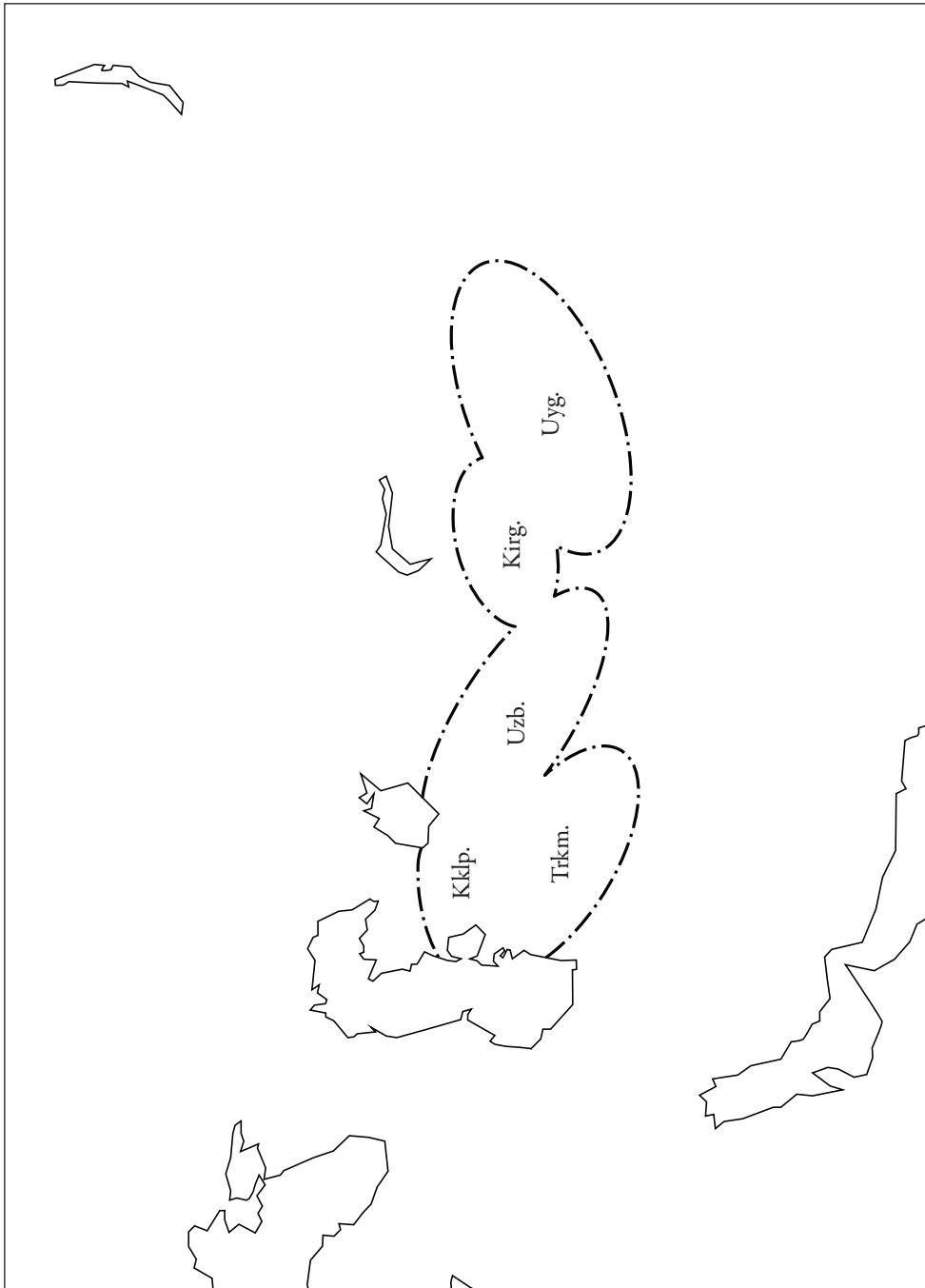
Žügörü as a name for ‘corn’ is presumably an abbreviation of *meke žügörü* (cf. also *mekge-žöven*). Similarly *mäkke*.

However, the word is not entirely clear from the etymological point of view. The -*ü* in auslaut is probably a possessive suffix which originally created the so-called second izafet in compounds such as Kirg. *meke žügörü* – cf. Tksh.dial. *cögür* ‘species of grass’ DS, and Tksh. *mysyr bugdajy* ‘corn’ and Ott. *šam darysy* id. Eren 1999, Tksh.dial. *dary* TS. We believe that Dmitrieva’s 1972 proposition to connect the word with OTkc. *ügür* &c. has much to commend it (see *ügür* ‘millet’).

Cf. *meke žügörü*.



kokoroz 'corn'



mäkke, meke žügörü and mekkežöven 'corn'

MILLET *PANICUM L.*

Millet is one of the first plants ever to be cultivated by mankind. It is understandable then, that the name for ‘millet’ encompasses in colloquial use many different, and not necessarily closely related species (see below). India, Central Asia, China and Africa’s tropical savannahs are considered to be the homeland of millet. An exact dating of the beginnings of cultivation is very difficult, as distinguishing separate species in the archeological materials raises serious problems. In Europe, which is not the homeland of this cereal (or rather, cereals), it has been discovered in neolithic finds, and in China it had already been one of the five most important cereals sown by the emperor himself during the vernal equinox as early as in the 28th c. BC.²³ Proso millet has been traditionally cultivated in China, Central Asia, Turkestan and Transcaucasus.

The two most important species are colloquially both called millet: proso millet (*Panicum miliaceum* L.) and setarias, especially foxtail millet (*Setaria italica* P.B. = *Panicum italicum* L. and others). Also, some species of sorghum are sometimes called millet, too. Both the colloquial and even the botanical terminology is somewhat in confusion (see table in Nowiński 1970: 186), mainly because of numerous synonyms and polysemantic names. There is no reason to believe that the situation is any clearer in the Tk. languages.²⁴ We believe that some of the names we list with the meaning of ‘millet’ refer in fact to some other species than proso millet, or that they refer to many species at once. Unfortunately, the lexical data we have had access to usually does not allow us to make these kinds of distinctions.

The lexical data itself does not let us determine whether it was millet or wheat that was the first cereal the Tk. peoples became acquainted with. The fact that we know of no examples of a semantic shift ‘millet’ > ‘wheat’, and that we know of two examples in the opposite direction (unfortunately, both non-Tk.: Nan. *būda* ‘millet’, Žu-čen *pùh-tuu-kai* ‘millet’ as opposed to Tk. *bugdaj* ‘wheat’ (Joki 1952: 107)) might suggest that it was wheat that came first.

Interestingly, names for ‘millet’ are sometimes mixed or unified with names for ‘corn’ (cf. *čüž-gün*, *dary*, *jasymuk*, *jügür* and *mysyr*). Possibly, it results from the fact that the grains of these two cereals are similar to each other, both in shape and colour, though the grains of millet are smaller and flatter. It is also possible, perhaps even more probable, that this unification arose from the fact that corn had in many regions become the most important cereal, thus taking, at least to some extent, the place of millet.²⁵ One could suppose, for historical reasons, that the direction of the shift would always be ‘millet’ > ‘corn’ but this is not the case with *mysyr* (see below).

23 This refers to both the most important species: proso and foxtail millet (see below).

24 In fact, it is just the opposite: many of the names we list have a meaning such as ‘a species of millet’ or ‘a plant similar to millet’ &c.

25 Cf. also e.g. Pol. *burak* ‘borago’ > ‘beetroot’ resulting from beetroot’s displacing borago and taking over its place (Boryś 2005).

FORMS:

<i>cebedogon</i>	<i>kunak</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>taryg</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čäkin</i> → <i>čigin</i>	<i>mysyr</i>	<i>taryγ</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čigin</i>	<i>mysyr buğdajy</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>taryk</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čigit</i> → <i>čigin</i>	<i>mysyrda(ry)</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>teri</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čikin</i> → <i>čigin</i>	<i>mysyrgan</i> → <i>mysyr</i>	<i>teriy</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čingetarā</i> → <i>tarā</i>	<i>nardan</i>	<i>terik</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čüzgün</i>	<i>ögür</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>teriq</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>čygyt</i> → <i>čigin</i>	<i>öjür</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>tögi</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>darā</i> → <i>tarā</i>	<i>prosa</i>	<i>tögü</i>
<i>dari</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>proso</i>	<i>töhö</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>daru</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>qonaq</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tügä</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>dary</i>	<i>qunoq</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tügi</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>indäü</i>	<i>sök</i>	<i>tügü</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>itkonak</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>sokpa</i>	<i>tui</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>jasymuk</i>	<i>sük</i> → <i>sök</i>	<i>tüi</i> → <i>tögü</i>
<i>jögür</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>tarā</i>	<i>tüjtary</i>
<i>josmik</i> → <i>jasymuk</i>	<i>taragan</i>	<i>tyrā</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>jügür</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>taray</i> → <i>dary</i>	? <i>tyryq</i> → <i>dary</i>
<i>jügürgün</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>taran</i> → <i>taragan</i>	<i>ügür</i>
<i>jügürgün</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>tarān</i> → <i>taragan</i>	<i>ügürgän</i> → <i>ügür</i>
<i>jür</i> → <i>ügür</i>	<i>tari</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>üjür</i> → <i>ügür</i>
<i>kojak</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tarī</i> → <i>dary</i>	* <i>üör</i> → <i>ügür</i>
<i>konag</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tarig</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>ür</i> → <i>ügür</i>
<i>konay</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tarik</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>vir</i> → <i>ügür</i>
<i>konak</i>	<i>tariq</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>xonak</i> → <i>konak</i>
<i>konāk</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>taru</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>xōtarā</i> → <i>tarā</i>
<i>konakaj</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tarū</i> → <i>dary</i>	<i>žavers</i>
<i>konok</i> → <i>konak</i>	<i>tary</i> → <i>dary</i>	

LANGUAGES:

Az.: <i>dary</i>	KarC: <i>dary</i> <i>tary</i>	MTkc.: <i>čikin</i> <i>jögür</i> <i>jügür</i>
Blk.: <i>tary</i>	KarH: <i>cebedogon</i>	<i>kojak</i> <i>konak</i> <i>ögür</i>
Brb.: <i>taran</i>	Khak.: <i>prosa</i> <i>taryg</i>	<i>öjür</i> <i>taryg</i> <i>taryk</i>
Bšk.: <i>tary</i>	Kirg.: <i>konak</i> <i>konok</i> <i>tarū</i>	<i>tügi</i> <i>ügür</i>
Com.: <i>tary</i> [<i>tari</i>]	<i>tary</i>	MTkc.H: <i>tary</i>
CTat.: <i>dary</i>	Kklp.: <i>konak</i> <i>tary</i>	MTkc.IM: <i>taryg</i>
Čag.: <i>čäkin</i> <i>čigin</i> <i>indäü</i>	Kmk.: <i>tari</i> <i>tarī</i> <i>tary</i>	MTkc.KD: <i>taru</i> <i>tügü</i>
<i>konag</i> <i>konak</i> <i>sök</i>	Kmnd.: <i>taragan</i>	MTkc.MA.B: <i>kojak</i>
<i>tarig</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>taryg</i> <i>tügi</i>	Krč.: <i>tary</i> <i>tüi</i>	<i>konak</i> <i>konāk</i>
Čuv.: <i>tyrā</i> <i>vir</i>	Krč.Blk.: <i>tary</i>	MTkc.MK: <i>jügür</i> <i>jügürgün</i>
Fuyü: <i>nardan</i>	Kzk.: <i>itkonak</i> <i>konak</i> <i>sök</i>	<i>taryg</i> <i>tögi</i> <i>tügi</i> <i>ügür</i>
Gag: <i>dary</i>	<i>tary</i> <i>tüjtary</i>	<i>ügürgän</i> <i>üjür</i>

Nog.: <i>konakaj</i> <i>tary</i>	Tat.Gr.: <i>tary</i>	Tuv.: <i>čingetarā</i> <i>tarā</i> <i>xonak</i> <i>xōtarā</i>
OTkc.: <i>čigit</i> <i>jasymuk</i> <i>jügürgün</i> <i>jür</i> <i>kojak</i> <i>konak</i> <i>sök</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>taryg</i> <i>tögü</i> <i>töhö</i> <i>tügä</i> <i>üjür</i>	Tel.: <i>taragan</i> <i>tarān</i> <i>taru</i> <i>tarū</i> <i>tary</i>	Uyg.: <i>čüzgün</i> <i>konay</i> <i>konak</i> <i>konok</i> <i>qonaq</i> <i>sök</i> <i>tariq</i> <i>taryy</i> <i>teri</i> <i>teriγ</i> <i>terik</i> <i>teriq</i> <i>tügi</i> ? <i>tyryq</i> <i>üjür</i>
Ott.: <i>čigit</i> <i>čygyt</i> <i>daru</i> <i>dary</i> <i>tary</i> <i>žavers</i>	Tksh.: <i>dary</i>	
Ouyg.: <i>qonaq</i> <i>taray</i> <i>ūr</i>	Tksh.dial.: <i>mysyr</i> <i>mysyr</i> <i>bugdajy</i> <i>mysyrda(ry)</i> <i>mysyrgan</i>	
Oyr.: <i>taragan</i> <i>tarān</i>	Tob.: <i>tary</i>	Uzb.: <i>čigin</i> <i>josmik</i> <i>konak</i> <i>kunak</i> <i>qunoq</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>tariq</i> <i>taryk</i>
SarUyg.: <i>sokpa</i> <i>taryg</i>	Tof.: <i>darā</i>	
Tat.: <i>dari</i> <i>sük</i> <i>tary</i>	Trkm.: <i>dary</i> <i>konak</i> <i>taryg</i> <i>tui</i>	Yak.: <i>proso</i> <i>tarān</i> * <i>üör</i>

CEBEDOGON

FORMS: *cebedogon* KarH: KRPS

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This name is unclear. Most probably it is a compound of *cebe* + *dogon*, where *dogon* < Hebr. דגן *dagan* ‘cereal’ or alternately דוחן *dochan* ‘millet; millet groats’; *cebe* is however, unclear.

Cf. *basadohan* ‘corn’.

ČIGIN

FORMS:

čäkin Čag.: چيکين ‘species of millet’

čigin Čag.: R III 2110M چيغين ‘very fine millet’, ‘cotton seeds’, R III 2114b چيکين ‘species of millet’, VEWT 107 ‘very fine millet’, ‘cotton seeds’ || Uzb.: چيغين ‘very fine millet’, ‘cotton seeds’ R III 2110M

čigit OTkc.: VEWT 107 || Ott.: VEWT 107

čikin MTkc.: VEWT ‘ährenbildende Futterpflanze, die zwischen Weinstöcken angepflanzt wird’

čygyt Ott.: VEWT 107

LANGUAGES:

Čag.: *čäkin*, *čigin* || MTkc.: *čikin* || OTkc.: *čigit* || Ott.: *čigit*, *čygyt* || Uzb.: *čigin*

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not proposed

COMMENTARY:

This name is unclear, and to the best of our knowledge no etymology has been proposed for it as yet. It seems to us that it might be etymologically the same word as unfortunately the equally unclear *žöven* in *mekgežöven* ‘corn’. This is entirely possible both phonetically and semantically (for naming ‘millet’ and ‘corn’ with one word cf. *čüzgün*, *dary*, *jasymuk*, *jügür* and *mysyr*). If it turned out, however, even though it is not very likely that *žöven* << Pers. *žou-* (cf. *julaf* ‘oats’), than the possibility of connecting *čigin* with *cüzgün* and *žöven* should probably be excluded.

ČÜŽGÜN

FORMS: čüžgün Uyg.: Jarring 1998: 14 (after Schwarz 356) 'Setaria viridis'

ETYMOLOGY: 1998: Jarring: 14: ž indicates a non-Tkc. origin; enigmatic word

COMMENTARY:

Cf. čüžgün qonaq 'corn'.

This word is unclear. One cannot help noticing the phonetic similarity to čigin 'millet' (cf.) which is unclear, too. If these two words were to be related, čüžgün is probably the older form.

DARY

FORMS:

dari Tat.: داری Taniev 1909

daru Ott.: ÈSTJa

dary Az.: RAZS, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || CTat.: ÈSTJa || Gag.: ÈSTJa || KarC.: ÈSTJa, KRPS, Levi 1996 || Ott.: (داری) Wiesentahl 1895, داری, طاری, unuprı R III 1627m, VEWT || Tksh.: Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999, Tietze 2002– || Trkm.: Alijiv/Böörif 1929, RTrkmS, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999

taray OUyg.: ÈSTJa

tari Kmk.: Dmitrieva 1972

tari Kmk.: ÈSTJa

tarik Čag.: تاريق R III 850m, VEWT

tarik Čag.: تاريق 'Ackerfeld' R III 850m, ÈSTJa || OTkc.: تاريق R III 850m || Uzb.: Eren 1999

tarik Uyg.: Brands 1973: 33 || Uzb.: RUzbS-A, Dmitrieva 1972, Brands 1973: 33, ÈSTJa

taru MTkc.KD: تارو || Tel.: Ryumina-Sırkaşeva 1995

tarū Kirg.: RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, Dmitrieva 1972, Brands 1973: 33, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Tel.: R III 851m, Eren 1999

tary Blk.: VEWT, Eren 1999 || Bšk.: RBškS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 ||

Com.: [tari] Grønbech 1942, ÈSTJa, KWb 380 || KarC.: KRPS, ÈSTJa, Levi 1996 || Kirg.: Mašanov 1899, ÈSTJa || Kklp.: RKklpS-BB, RKklpS-ST, RKklpS-B,

Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Kmk.: RKmkS || Krč.: VEWT || Krč.Blk.: RKrčBlkS, Dmitrieva 1972 || Kzk.: RKzkS-46, RKzkS-54, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa,

KWb 380, DFKzk, DKzkF, Eren 1999 || MTkc.H: (طاری) || Nog.: RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Eren 1999 || Ott.: R III 986b || Tat.: R III 846m, III 1047m, IV 1857b,

Voskresenskij 1894, Imanaev 1901, RTatS-D, RTatS-G, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, KWb 380, Eren 1999 || Tat.Gr.: Podolsky 1981 || Tel.: R III 851m || Tob.: ÈSTJa

taryg Čag.: ÈSTJa || Khak.: ÈSTJa || MTkc.: ÈSTJa, VEWT '1. grain; 2. millet', Eren 1999 'sowing; plant; barley; wheat; grain' || MTkc.IM || MTkc.MK: Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85 || OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972 'millet; grain; grass, Eren 1999 'sowing' ||

SarUyg.: '1. grain; 2. millet' VEWT || Trkm.: (تاريق) Nalivkin 1895

taryg Uyg.: VEWT '1. grain; 2. millet'

taryk MTkc.KD: طارغ || Uzb.: Lapin 1899, ('крупное') Smolenskij 1912

teri Uyg.: '1. grain; 2. millet' VEWT

teriy Uyg.: ÈSTJa

terik Uyg.: R III 850m, VEWT

teriq Uyg.: Menges 1933, تيريغ RUjgS, Dmitrieva 1972

tyrã Čuv.: VEWT 'grain; millet', Eren 1999 'cereal'

? tyryq Uyg.: تيريغ Raquette 1927

LANGUAGES:

Az.: dary || Blk.: tary || Bšk.: tary || Com.: tary [tari] || CTat.: dary || Čag.: taryg, tarik, taryg || Čuv.: tyrã || Gag.: dary || KarC.: dary, tary || Khak.: taryg || Kirg.: tarū, tary || Kklp.: tary || Kmk.: tari, tarī, tary || Krč.: tary || Krč.Blk.: tary || Kzk.: tary || MTkc.: taryg, taryk || MTkc.H: tary || MTkc.IM: taryg || MTkc.KD: taru || MTkc.MK: taryg || Nog.: tary || OTkc.: tarik, taryg || Ott.: daru, dary, tary || OUyg.: taray || SarUyg.: taryg || Tat.: dari, tary || Tat.Gr.: tary || Tel.: taru, tarū, tary || Tksh.: dary || Tob.: tary || Trkm.: dary, taryg || Uyg.: taryq, taryy, teri, teriy, terik, teriq, ? tyryq || Uzb.: tarik, taryq, taryk

ETYMOLOGY:

1960: VGAS 62: OTkc. taryg 'Ernte, Getreide' = Mo. tarijan 'Feld, Saat', MMo. tarijad 'Saaten, Getreide', Xlx. tariā 'Saat'

1969: VEWT: ~ Mo. tarijan 'sowing; cereal; land, soil; grain'

1972: Clauson: < tary 'to cultivate land'; *d-* by contamination with Pers. dārū 'medicine, drug'

1972: Dmitrieva: OTkc. taryg 'millet; grain; grass' < tary 'to sow' + -g

1974: ÈSTJa: 1. Forms without -g: < tar- 'to cultivate land; to sow' + -y; 2. Forms with -g: < tar-y- 'to sow' or like 1.

1979: Dmitrieva: < tary 'to sow' + -yg 'result, outcome'

Tuv. tarā, Oyr. tarān, Tat., Brb. taran 'millet' < Mo. tarijan 'grain', where -ān < -yan

1999: Eren: < tary '(ekin) ekmek' + -ğ

2002: Tietze: < OTkc. taryg (after Clauson 1972)

COMMENTARY:

This word has relatively uniform meanings in all the languages (after ÈSTJa):

1. The form without -g apart from 'millet' can mean: 'grain', 'cereal', 'groats' and the like, and other cereals. All these meanings are understandable given the etymology and, except for the last group, are of a very limited range (at most one of the following languages: Oyr., Tof., Tuv.).

For Tksh.dial. meaning of 'corn', cf. *mysyr*, the commentary at the beginning of this chapter, and *čüzgün*, *jasymuk* and *jügür*.

2. The form with -g means also 'wheat', 'barley', 'grain', 'cereal', 'fodder', 'sowing', 'crops', 'harvest', 'cultivation', 'descendant' and the like. All these meanings are older and, except for the last possibility which is not fully clear, understandable in view of the etymology.

The morphological structure of this word and its deverbal origin are quite obvious. The problematic part is the final vowel of the verbal stem (see *tara* and *taragan*). It has been,

however, solved by ÈSTJa in a very convincing way by interpreting *-y ~ -a* as a denominal suffix and deriving the verbal *tary-* ~ *tara-* from nominal **tar* ‘sowing; harvest; field’, which at the same time explains *dary* (< *tar-*), *taryg* (< *tar-(y-)*) and such forms as Sag. and others *tarlay* ‘fodder’, and OUyg. *taray* ‘cereal’ and the like (< *tar-a*). Cf. *tarā*, *taragan*.

The contamination with Pers. *darū* ‘medicine, drug’ assumed by Clauson 1979 to explain the voiced anlaut in Oghuz. is, as has been justly remarked by ÈSTJa, not very likely (although it seems to us that the semantic difficulty, not mentioned by ÈSTJa, might be even more important than the fact that the Pers. *dārū* is unknown to SW Tkc. languages), and moreover, absolutely superfluous since the voicing of occlusives in anlaut is a regular change in the Oghuz. languages, and the *d-* forms in Kipč. (KarC. and Tat.) may be easily, and with a very high degree of plausibility, explained by an Oghuz. influence or borrowing.²⁶

For further bibliography cf. first of all ÈSTJa and Eren 1999.

Dmitrieva 1979: 163 has suggested that the fact that this name derives from the verb ‘to sow’ might be regarded as a testimony that millet was the first cereal cultivated by the Tkc. peoples. But, it might also not be true since, she continues, D. *tarwe* ‘wheat’. AS *tare* ‘tare, vetch’ et al. < [sic] OInd. *dūrvā* ‘millet’ < PIE **der-* ‘to rip off; to skin’. This seems to us to be quite poor reasoning. OInd. and the Grmc. languages are only very remotely related with one another, and the fact that what originally was one word now has different meanings is not actually very surprising. The Tkc. languages are related much more closely, and *dary* has a very uniform meaning (with a few exceptions, see above) of ‘millet’; only in a few of the languages does it include ‘grain’, ‘cereal’ and the like. The situation is then, quite different. However, even in these, much more favourable conditions we do not believe – as Dmitrieva apparently does – that it is possible to establish which was the first cereal cultivated by the Tkc. peoples using only the etymology of one word. One could equally well suppose that the first cereal was named with a borrowing rather than a native word, and such a guess could not be proved any more.

Cf. also (-)*tarā* and *taragan*.

INDÄÜ

FORMS:

indäü Čag.: اينداو [...] родъ проса, изъ котораго приготавливается масло [...]' RI 1449m

ETYMOLOGY: RI 1449m: < *indä+ü*

COMMENTARY:

The etymology offered by Radloff is rather odd. *indä* appears in various languages, but with the meaning of ‘to call, to summon’. Thus, the semantic connection – if it even exists – would require a comprehensive commentary, which Radloff fails to provide. Regrettably, we cannot offer a more convincing proposition, either.

²⁶ They could also be understood as the result of an assimilation to the next consonant, i.e. *t-r* > *d-r*, which is however not very convincing since such a change is characteristic of Oghuz., not Kipč. languages.

JASYMUK

FORMS:

jasy muk OTkc.: ‘? millet’ DTS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa
josmik Uzb.: [‘?’] VEWT

LANGUAGES:

OTkc.: *jasy muk* || Uzb.: *josmik*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: Čag. *jasmuk* ‘lentil’ < *jasy* ‘wide’
 1972: Clauson: *jasy muk*, ? *jasmuk* ‘a flat (seed)’ < *jas-*
 1974: ÈSTJa: < *jas-* ‘to flatten’ or *jasy* ‘flat’
 1991: Erdal: 101: < *jasy* ‘flat’

COMMENTARY:

This word is quite common in the Tkc. languages. It has many meanings, the most basic definitely being ‘lentil’, and not ‘millet’.²⁷

Etymologically, there can be no doubt that the word is a derivative from *jas-* ‘to flatten’ or *jasy* ‘flat’; what does raise doubts though, is whether it is a deverbal or a denominal derivative; for bibliography cf. ÈSTJa. We believe that the former is much less likely due to the fact that *-muk* is in fact a denominal suffix (see Erdal 1991: 100). Two-syllable forms are surely the result of dropping the high vowel in the middle syllable, which is a completely natural phenomenon in the Tkc. languages.

The meaning of ‘millet’ most probably results from the fact that the grains of millet are quite flat. Their shape can actually be used as an auxiliary argument for the denominal origin of the word: the suffix *-myk* with the meaning of ‘low intensity of the feature’ fits the shape of millet grains better than any other would.

Cf. also *jasmyk* ‘wheat’ and *žasy myk* ‘corn’.

KONAK

FORMS:

itkonak Kzk.: DFKzk

kojak MTkc.: ‘mediocre species of millet’ VEWT || MTkc.MK: DTS, ÈSTJa ||
 OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972 ||

konag Čag.: فوناق ‘species of millet’ R II 538m; VEWT, ÈSTJa

konay Uyg.: ÈSTJa

konak Čag.: فوناق ‘родъ крупнаго проса’ R II 535b; ‘mediocre species of millet’
 VEWT || Kirg.: Dmitrieva 1972 || Kklp.: ÈSTJa || Kzk.: ‘родъ крупнаго проса’
 R II 535b || MTkc.: ‘mediocre species of millet’ VEWT || MTkc.MK: Dankoff/
 Kelly 1982–85 || OTkc.: R II 535b فوناق ‘родъ крупнаго проса’; VEWT ‘mediocre

²⁷ A comprehensive list is available in ÈSTJa. However, it does not contain some interesting related forms in *-mak*, such as: Khak. *naspax*, Tuv. *čašpak* ‘pearl millet mixed with boiled potatoes or fat’, Tat.dial. *jasmak* ‘lentil’ < *jas-* ‘to flatten’ (here the descent from *jasy* must be excluded due to a clearly deverbal character of *-mak*) (Stachowski, M. 1995: 151f.).

- species of millet', Dmitrieva 1972 || **Trkm.:** ÈSTJa || **Uyg.:** 'mediocre species of millet' VEWT || **Uzb.:** ÈSTJa
konāk **MTkc.MA.B:** Borovkov 1971: 106
konakaj **Nog.:** ÈSTJa
konok **Kirg.:** ÈSTJa 'Setaria italica var. mogharium Alef.', Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 36 'Setaria italica var. mogharium Alef.; setaria (Setaria P.B.); foxtail millet (Setaria italica P.B.)'
 || **Uyg.:** VEWT
kunak **Uzb.:** ('мелкое') Smolenskij 1912
qonaq **OUyg.:** DTS 'species of millet', Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 36 || **Uyg.:** Jarring 1964, Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 36
qunoq **Uzb.:** Dmitrieva 1972, Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 36
xonak **Tuv.:** ÈSTJa 'Setaria viridis P.B.'

LANGUAGES:

Čag.: *konag, konak* || **Kirg.:** *konak, konok* || **Kklp.:** *konak* || **Kzk.:** *itkonak, konak* || **MTkc.:** *kojak, konak* || **MTkc.MA.B:** *konāk* || **MTkc.MK:** *kojak, konak* || **Nog.:** *konakaj* || **OTkc.:** *kojak, konak* || **OUyg.:** *qonaq* || **Trkm.:** *konak* || **Tuv.:** *xonak* || **Uyg.:** *konay, konak, konok, qonaq* || **Uzb.:** *konak, kunak, qunoq*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: ~ Mo. *qonay, qonuy* 'millet'

1974: ÈSTJa: limits himself to quoting two previous comparisons with Mo. against Clauson 1972

1976: KWb 185: only points to the comparison with *qonay, qonuy*

COMMENTARY:

This word is common in the Tkc. languages and has many meanings²⁸, 'millet' being the most common one.

Clauson's 1972 etymology is, as ÈSTJa has stated, very improbable for phonetic (*konak*, not **kōnak*) and semantic (*kōn-* 'to sit', not 'to seat') reasons. Unfortunately, no other etymology has been proposed, and we are not able to provide one, either.

About borrowing this word to the Pamir. languages, see Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 35f.

MYSYR

FORMS:

mysyr **Tksh.dial.:** DS

mysyr bugdajy **Tksh.dial.:** 'millet' Eren 1999

mysyrda(ry) **Tksh.dial.:** DS

misyrgan **Tksh.dial.:** DS

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed in the meaning of 'millet'

28 Most of them are related to cereals – as a general term, or as the name of some species. Apart from 'millet', they are: 'setarias' (Tuv.), 'corn', 'sorghum' (Kirg.) and others (ÈSTJa). See also (*kōmme*) *konak* 'corn'.

COMMENTARY:

Usually *mysyr* means ‘corn’ in Tksh. Using one word to name these two cereals often happens (see *čüzgün*, *dary*, *jasymuk* and *jügür*) but the direction is always natural from the historical point of view, i.e. ‘millet’ > ‘corn’. To assume that some of the Anatolian Turks learned about millet from Egypt would be totally unrealistic, given the history of the cultivation of millet. Probably, the only acceptable guess would be that corn displaced or at least surpassed millet in importance in some regions of Turkey (which is quite likely), and hence the secondary meaning (cf. footnote 32). To some extent, such a scenario is pointed to by Tksh.dial. *mysyrda(ry)* and *mysyrġan* with a clear suffix *-ġan* which is used very often to form names of plants, usually with the meaning of ‘similar to; -like’ (cf. *arpakan* ‘oats’ and *arpagan* ‘(wild) barley’). *Mysyr* itself is probably an abbreviation of one of these forms, or simply a shift from *mysyr* ‘corn’.

NARDAN

FORMS: *nardan* **Fuyü:** Zhen-hua 1987

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

Probably from Pers. *nārdān* ‘pomegranate seeds; (= *nārdānag*) dried seeds of wild pomegranate used as a spice’ (Rubinčik 1970), though the semantic is not entirely clear. A devisable connection with *nartük* ‘corn’ should probably be ruled out despite of some remote associations.

PROSA

FORMS: *prosa* **Khak.:** RChakS, Dmitrieva 1972, Brands 1973

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *proso* ‘millet’

1973: Brands: < Russ. *proso* ‘millet’

COMMENTARY:

The final *-a* might be a result of two possible events: 1. a phonetical, not graphical borrowing; 2. borrowing of the Gen. form used as Part.²⁹ It seems impossible to determine, which is more likely. In reality, probably both these factors were present at the same time and separating them would be but an artificial operation, which would result in a more methodical description of the change mechanism.

29 Similarly to e.g. Yak. *pruoška*, *boruoska*, Šr. *praška* &c. ‘snuff’ << Pol. *proszka* (Helimskij 1990: 41, Anikin 2003) || Dolg. *hāldāj* ‘herring’ < Russ. *selbdej* Gen.Pl. < *selbdtb* ‘herring’ (Stachowski, M. 1999b) || Tuv. *köpāk* ‘kopeck’ < Russ. *kopeek* Gen.Pl. < *kopejka* ‘kopeck’ (Pomorska 1995: 99) &c. The phenomenon is absolutely understandable, given that borrowings are usually made during conversation when Nom. is normally used less frequently than oblique cases, cf. also Yak. *ostolobuoġ* < Russ. *stolóvoj* Gen., Praep. or Dat.Sg. < *stolóvaja* ‘canteen’ || Tuv. *laptū* ‘kind of baseball’ < Russ. (*igratb v*) *laptú* (Pomorska 1995: 102 and 100 respectively) and others.

PROSO

FORMS: *proso* Yak.: RJakS, Dmitrieva 1972ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *proso* ‘millet’

COMMENTARY:

It is difficult to criticise the etymology proposed by Dmitrieva 1972. A complete lack of assimilation (cf. *ebies* ‘oats’) indicates that the borrowing was made only very recently, or alternately that the orthography does not in fact render the actual Yak. pronunciation.

SÖK

FORMS:

sök Čag.: SKE 240 TMEN, VEWT ‘husked millet’ || Kzk.: SKE 240, TMEN, VEWT ‘husked millet’, DFKzk, DKzkF || OTkc.: VEWT ‘husked millet’ ||

Uyg.: SKE 240

sük Tat.: ‘millet pap’ VEWT

LANGUAGES:

Čag.: *sök* || Kzk.: *sök* || OTkc.: *sök* || Tat.: *sük* || Uyg.: *sök*

ETYMOLOGY:

1935: KWb: 333: = Mo. *sög*, Klmk. *sög* ‘chased millet’

1949: SKE 240: < Chin.

1963: TMEN: ? Tk. < Pers. *sök* ‘ear of corn, beard of corn’

1969: VEWT: < Chin., KorS (after: SKE 240) *sök*
= Mo. *sög* ‘millet; spelt’

COMMENTARY:

This word appears also in Kirg., Kzk., Trkm., Uyg. and Uzb. meaning ‘spelt’. The origin proposed by SKE 240 seems very likely (see below).

TMEN, reasoning from the fact that the word is only attested as late as Čag., suggests the possibility of a borrowing from Pers. *sök* ‘ear of corn, beard of corn’ which would directly, or via Tk. dialects, originate from Chin. This proposition can not be completely discounted³⁰, even though it seems to complicate the route of borrowing beyond what is necessary. That a word was not attested earlier than Čag. does not mean it did not exist before.

As has been proposed by TMEN, the Chin. etymon SKE 240 most probably meant is 粟³¹ *sù* ‘foxtail millet (*Setaria italica* P.B.)’. We believe that its MChin. sounding, **sjowk* (Baxter: 129, oral information from Prof. A. Vovin [Honolulu]), **siok*⁺ (Tōdō 2001) raises no doubts about the phonetics, and neither about the meaning.

30 The change of harmony from back to front could be explained by the palatal pronunciation of *-k* in Pers. The semantic change could be explainable as easily.

31 The same sign is used to write OJap. **apa* ‘millet’ (Martin 1987: 388, Omodaka 2000), cf. *arpa* ‘barley’.

SOKPA

FORMS: *sokpa* SarUyg.: Tenišev 1976

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

While morphologically this word is absolutely clear (*sok-* ‘to stick, to poke’ + *-ma*), its meaning is quite strange. The literal meaning of *‘seedling’ indicates ‘rice’ or ‘corn’ rather than ‘millet’. One could try to look for a semantic parallel in *tögü*³² but the meaning of **tög-* ‘to beat, to hit’ enables an evolution to basically any cereal, and makes it impossible to compare with *sok-*. Perhaps this is an example of unifying/mixing ‘millet’ with ‘corn’ (cf. (*kömmē*) *konak*)?

TARĀ

FORMS:

čingetarā Tuv.: RTuwS, Dmitrieva 1972

darā Tof.: ÈSTJa

tarā Tuv.: R II 135b (in: *kara* ~ ‘black millet’), Brands 1973: 33, ÈSTJa

xōtarā Tuv.: RTuwS

LANGUAGES:

Tof.: *darā* || Tuv.: *čingetarā*, *tarā*, *xōtarā*

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: < Tuv. *činge* ‘thin’ + *tarā* ‘grain; cereal’

1973: Brands: 33: < Mo. *tarijan*, *tarān* ‘harvest; cereal’

1979: Dmitrieva: Tuv. *tarā*, Oyr. *tarān*, Brb., Tat. *taran* ‘millet’ < Mo. *tarijan* ‘grain’, where *-ān* < *-yan*

COMMENTARY:

TARĀ

As opposed to *tara(ga)n*, this form has no *-n* in auslaut, and thus it can be hardly expected to contain a trace of *-gan*, as has been proposed by Dmitrieva 1979, or that it is borrowed from Mo., as Brands 1973: 33 has suggested (cf. *taragan*). What seems much more probable is that they are *-g* derivatives from *tar-a-*. For. *tar-a-* and the semantic of OUyg. forms cf. ÈSTJa’s commentary on *dary* ‘corn’.

ČINGETARĀ

Dmitrieva’s 1972 etymology is quite obvious, and it would be wrong to assume any other origin of this word. ‘Thin’ surely refers to the shape of this plant: millet stalks are much thinner than those of other cereals. They are also more elastic, making millet bend and lie down which makes the impression of thinness even stronger.

KARA TARĀ: name fully clear etymologically and semantically

XŌTARĀ: name unclear

32 Perhaps also *tūjtary*.

TARAGAN

FORMS:

taragan **Kmnd.:** Eren 1999 || **Oyr.:** R III 84ob || **Tel.:** R III 84ob, Eren 1999

taran **Brb.:** R III 841m, ÈSTJa, KWb 38o

tarān **Oyr.:** RAltS, Dmitrieva 1972, Brands 1973: 33, ÈSTJa, KWb 38o, Eren 1999 || **Tel.:** R III 841m, ÈSTJa, KWb 38o, Eren 1999 || **Yak.** Fedotov 1996 ~ *üöre* ‘millet; groats’

LANGUAGES:

Brb.: *taran* || **Kmnd.:** *taragan* || **Oyr.:** *taragan, tarān* || **Tel.:** *taragan, tarān* || **Yak.:** *tarān*

ETYMOLOGY:

1935: KWb 38o: Brb. *tarian*, Oyr., Tel. *tarān* < Mo.

1960: VGAS: Mo. *tarijan* ‘field; sowing’, *tarijad* ‘sowing; cereal’ &c. = OTkc. *taryg* ‘crop; cereal’

1973: Brands: 33: < Mo. *tarijan, tarān* ‘sowing; cereal’

1974: ÈSTJa: < *tar-a-*; against deriving < Mo. *tarija(n)*

1999: Eren: < Mo.

COMMENTARY:

ÈSTJa is against KWb 38o for phonetic reasons (Mo. *-ija* : Tkc. *-aya-*), and supports VGAS 62 assuming a parallel evolution *tar-a-* + *-gan* > Tkc. *taragan* &c., Mo. *tarija*.

We too, support this conception. Cf. *dary*, *-tarā*.

TÖGÜ

FORMS:

tögi **MTkc.MK:** (Oghuz.) Eren 1999 ‘husked millet’

tögü **OTkc.:** TMEN 979, ÈSTJa

töhö **OTkc.:** ÈSTJa

tügä **OTkc.:** VEWT ‘husked yellow millet’

tügi **Čag.:** ‘husked millet’ TMEN 979 || **MTkc.:** VEWT ‘husked millet’ || **MTkc.MK:** Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85 || **Uyg.:** VEWT ‘husked millet’

tügü **MTkc.KD:** توكو ‘husked millet’

tui **Trkm.:** توي، توي R III 1423b

tüi **Krč.:** Pröhle 1909, VEWT

LANGUAGES:

Čag.: *tügi* || **Krč.:** *tüi* || **MTkc.:** *tügi* || **MTkc.KD:** *tügü* || **MTkc.MK:** *tögi, tügi* || **OTkc.:** *tögü, töhö, tügä* || **Trkm.:** *tui* || **Uyg.:** *tügi*

ETYMOLOGY: see *tüvi* ‘rice’

COMMENTARY:

See *tüvi* ‘rice’; also *dövme* ‘wheat’.

Trkm. *tui* (توي، توي, so *tüvi* and *tuvi* can not be excluded either; cf. Trkm. *tüvi* ‘rice’) is most probably, as suggested by TMEN 979, borrowed from Čag. or another Kipč. source, as is indicated by the voiceless auslaut (cf. also *dary*).

TÜJTARY

FORMS: *tüjtary* Kzk.: TMEN 979 ‘foxtail millet’

ETYMOLOGY: 1963: TMEN 979: < **tügi-taryg*

COMMENTARY:

The etymology offered by TMEN 979 appears to be quite probable, although the meaning is a little surprising. One could expect such a compound to yield a meaning like ‘husked millet’ or something similar (cf. *tüvi* ‘rice’), not ‘foxtail millet’.

While from the semantic point of view a compound **tüj-tary* ‘millet with hair’ would seem much more likely, and would be a nice parallel to the European names (cf. Eng. *foxtail bristlegrass*, Slav. *włośnica* or Lat. *setaria* (< Lat. *saeta* (*sēta*) ‘(hard) animal hair, horse hair’; Genaust 1976)), such a solution raises phonetic doubts: in Kzk. ‘hair’ is called *tük*. Maybe a borrowing from one of the Oghuz. languages?

Though not very probable, it nevertheless cannot be ruled out that *tögü* &c. < **tügi* ‘hair’ (adj.) < *tük* ‘hair’ + *-ī* adj. (< Pers.), cf. *tüvi* ‘rice’. This idea is interesting semantically but it seems that it, too, leaves the sounding of *tüjtary* unexplained.

ÜGÜR

FORMS:

jögür MTkc.: VEWT

jügür MTkc.MK: MK III 9 (DTS) || OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972

jügürgün OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972

jügürgün MTkc.MK: ‘plant similar to millet’ Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85

jür OTkc.: DTS, Dmitrieva 1972

ögür MTkc.: VEWT

öjür OTkc.: Egorov 1964, VEWT, Fedotov 1996 ‘millet; spelt’

ügür MTkc.MK: MK I 54, II 121 (DTS), Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85, Eren 1999 s.v. *darı*

|| OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972

ügürgän MTkc.MK: ‘grain eaten by Qarluq Turkmän’ Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85

üjür MTkc.MK: (Oghuz.) Eren 1999 s.v. *darı* || OTkc.: DTS, Dmitrieva 1972 || Uyg.: Eren 1999 s.v. *darı*

Eren 1999 s.v. *darı*

**üör* Yak.: Fedotov 1996 *tarān* ~e ‘millet; groats’

ür OUyg.: Çevilek 2005

vir Čuv.: Nikol’skij 1909, RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E, VEWT, RČuvS-A, Dmitrieva 1972,

Eren 1999 s.v. *darı*

LANGUAGES:

Čuv.: *vir* || MTkc.: *jögür*, *jügür*, *ögür*, *öjür*, *ügür* || MTkc.MK: *jügür*, *jügürgün*, *ügür*,

ügürgän, *üjür* || OTkc.: *jügürgün*, *jür*, *üjür* || OUyg.: *ür* || Uyg.: *üjür* || Yak.: **üör*

ETYMOLOGY:

1957: Ramstedt: Čuv. *vir* = Mo. *üre* ‘seed; fruit’

1964: Egorov: limits himself to a comparison to Mo. *ür* ‘grain; seeds; crop’

- 1972: Dmitrieva: = OTкc. *jügür, jür, ügür, üjür*; indicates a comparison to Kzk. *žügeri* ‘corn’ and Tat. *öjrä*, Tat. *üre* ‘кашица; крупяной суп’, Oyr. *üre* ‘кашица из толченой крупы’, Mo. *ür* ‘grain; seeds’, OTкc. *jügürgün* ‘plant similar to millet’
 1995: Stachowski, M.: Khak. *ügrä* ‘soup’, OUyg. *ügrä* ‘gruel; pap’ &c. < **üqür*- ‘to grate; to squeeze; to grind’
 1996: Fedotov: limits himself to indicating a comparison to Mo. *üre* ‘seeds; fruit’
 1999: Eren s.v. *darı: ügür* &c. = Čuv. *vir*

COMMENTARY:

This word has quite a large number of phonetic shapes which is understandable given its phonetical structure. It appears in a relatively large number of meanings, of which only the ones connected with ‘millet’ have been listed here; see Egorov 1964, Stachowski, M. 1995, Fedotov 1996.

To the best of our knowledge, the only etymology to date is the one proposed by Stachowski, M. 1995: 158. It seems to be based solely on the meanings of the type ‘gruel’, ‘pap’, ‘soup’ and the like, but connecting these two words does not pose any major problems. We know that the Turks have been eating various cereals, including millet, in the form of gruels, mashes and the like (cf. Tryjarski 1993: 120 and others). Shifting the name from ‘gruel (or something similar) made of millet’ to ‘millet’ itself is only natural.

However, the morphological structure does pose a problem here. While the ‘gruel’ &c. words have a vocalic auslaut (Khak. *ügrä* ‘soup’, OUyg. *ügrä* ‘gruel; pap’, Tat. *öjrä* ‘soup with gruels’ &c.), the ‘millet’ ones have a consonant at the end. In OTкc., the existence of nomen and verbum with the same sounding is not a rare phenomenon, but a unification of meanings ‘to grate; to squeeze; to grind’ and ‘millet’ in one stem, with no suffixes, is hardly probable. ‘To grind’ and ‘gruel’ would make a more likely couple, but it is the meaning of ‘gruel’ that has the suffix, and of ‘millet’ that does not.

It hardly seems plausible that the forms meaning ‘gruel’ &c. would not be related in this or another way to the words mentioned above but it is impossible to establish the exact nature of this relationship at the moment.

Further bibliography in Eren 1999. Cf. also *öjür* ‘wheat’, and for the final semantics – *tüvi* ‘rice’ and *dövme* ‘wheat’.

ŽAVERS

FORMS:

žavers (جاورس) Ott.: Wiesentahl 1895

žāvers Ott.: ‘species of millet growing wild among wheat’ Redhouse 1921

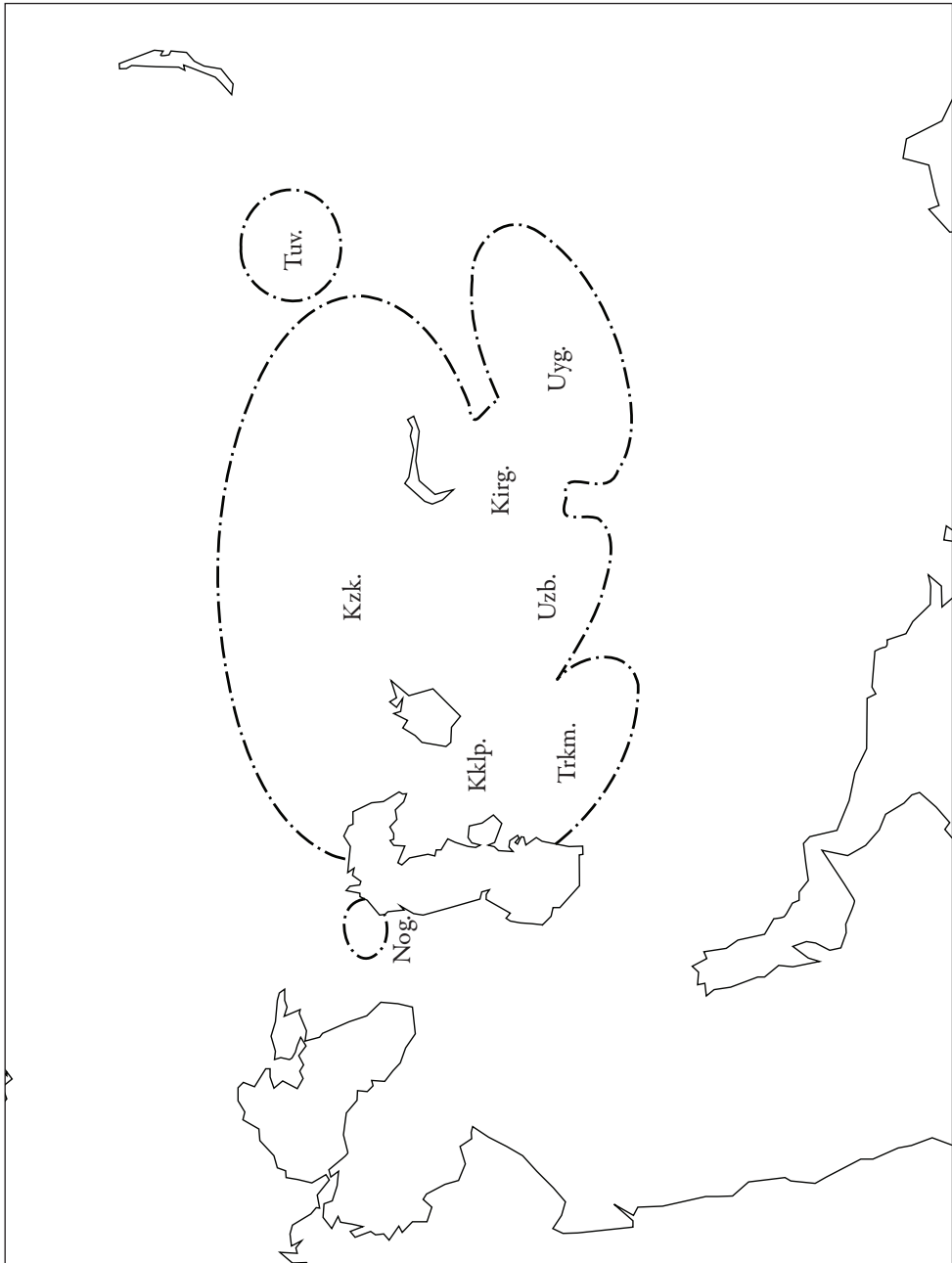
ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

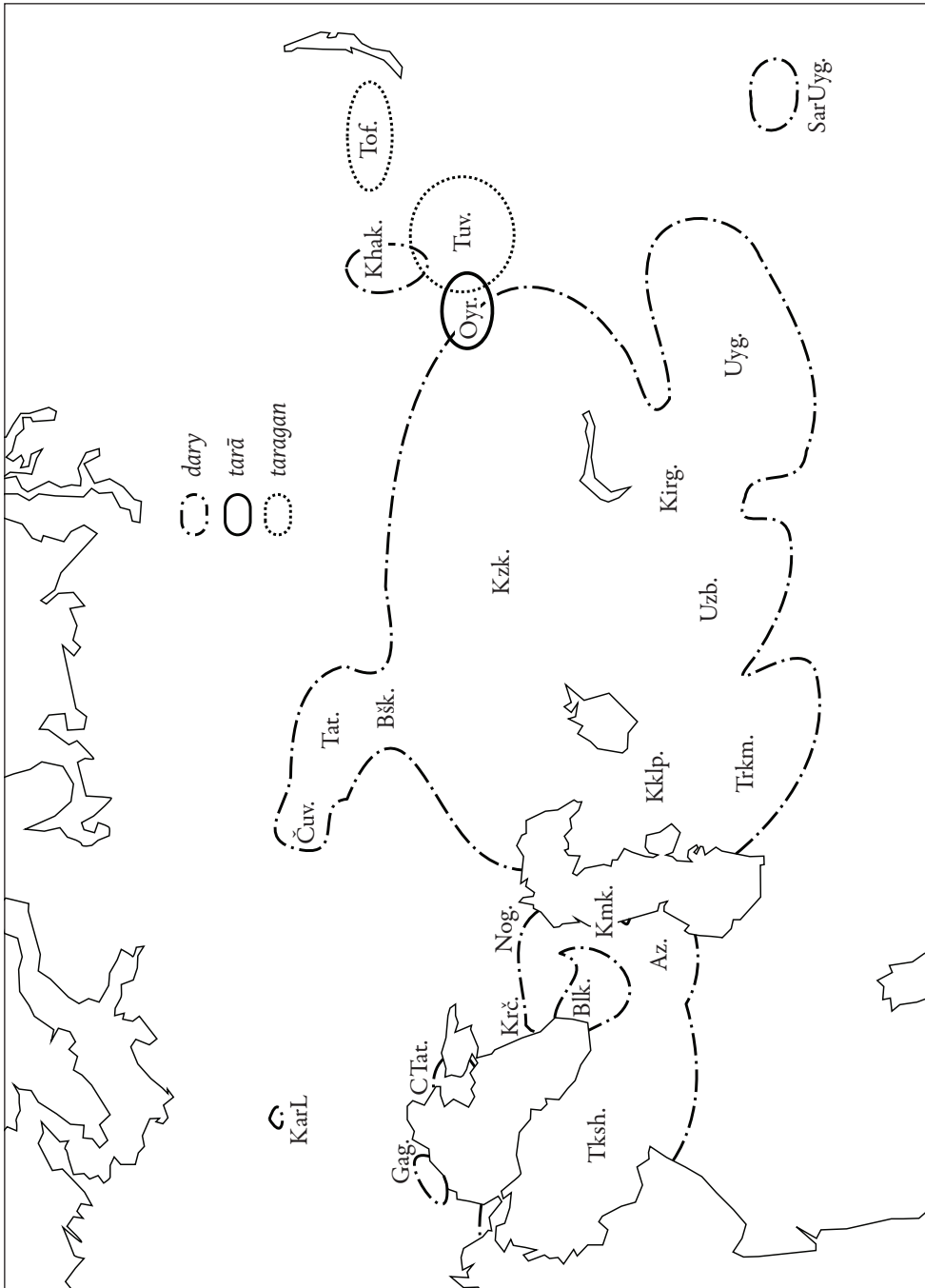
From Pers. جاورس *žavers* ~ گاورس *gawres* ‘foxtail millet (*Setaria italica* P.B.); *Setaria viridis* P.B.’.

On the surface, the semantics might raise doubts here. But setarias, like in all probability other grasses, too, are named in various languages of the world, including those in Asia, with the word for ‘millet’ and some kind of an adjective (cf. Nowiński

1970: 186), cf. e.g. Russ. *просо венгерское* 'foxtail millet'. This pattern is even reflected in the biological nomenclature: *Setaria italica* P.B. = *Panicum italicum* L. and others, *Setaria viridis* P.B. = *Panicum viride* L.



konak 'millet'



dary 'millet'

OATS *AVENA L.*

In comparison to other cereals, the cultivation of oats began relatively late, only about the beginning of the Common Era. The plant was known much earlier but was regarded as being more of a usable weed, a supplement to wheat or barley. This is most probably the reason why names for ‘oats’ are so often mixed with names for ‘barley’ (cf. commentary on *julaf* (point 2), *harva*, *tay arpasy* ‘oats’, and *sula* and *arpagan* ‘barley’).³³ Because the cultivation of oats began so late, it is not entirely clear which region is its homeland. Ancient Greece only knew it as a medicinal weed, the most important cultures of ancient Asia and Africa did not know it as a cereal at all. In China, it appeared in the former role, as late as the 7th c.

It seems the the Tkc. peoples had already known oats in the period before written monuments (cf. commentary on *süle*). Presumably, however, it was not highly regarded, for in ancient texts it is rarely mentioned, unlike e.g. wheat or barley.

The basic name is definitely *süle*. It appears in very many phonetic variants, surprisingly many given its simple sounding. The range of the word *julaf*, the second most common name, is huge, but it is absolutely understandable from a cultural-historical perspective.

FORMS:

<i>arpakan</i>	<i>ovjot</i>	<i>sulū</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>at tarāzy</i> → <i>a"tarāzy</i>	<i>ovsa</i>	<i>süli</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>a"tarāzy</i>	<i>sělě</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>suly</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>bürdük</i>	<i>sinir bozan</i>	<i>süly</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>ebies</i>	<i>sölě</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>sūly</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>gara gyjak</i>	<i>solo</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>šělě</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>harva</i>	<i>sölö</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>šělělli</i> → <i>süle</i>
<i>holo</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>sōlō</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>tay-arpasy</i>
<i>hölö</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>soly</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>urus arpa</i>
<i>hülü</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>sula</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>uvus</i>
<i>huly</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>süle</i>	<i>uwys</i>
<i>jolap</i> → <i>julaf</i>	<i>suli</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>xarva</i> → <i>harva</i>
<i>julaf</i>	<i>süli</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>zyntxy</i>
<i>nyxa</i>	<i>sully</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>*žilap</i> → <i>julaf</i>
<i>ovjos</i>	<i>sulu</i> → <i>süle</i>	<i>žylap</i> → <i>julaf</i>

33 Interestingly enough, this only concerns oats and barley, not oats and wheat. The only explanation we can offer here is a guess that the Turks have always valued wheat more highly than barley, or that they had known wheat before they learned about barley. The fact that wheat appears in monuments more often seems to support the former rather than the latter. So does *süle* (cf. commentary on *süle*). Concurrently, botanical sources emphasise the antiquity of wheat. However, for how long exactly the Turks have been acquainted with it is unknown.

LANGUAGES:

Az.: <i>julaf</i>	Kmk.: <i>nyxa</i> <i>sulu</i> <i>suly</i>	Tat.dial.: <i>uwys</i>
Brb.: <i>soly</i>	Koyb.: <i>sula</i> <i>sulu</i>	Tat.Gr.: <i>jolap</i>
Bšk.: <i>holo</i> <i>hölö</i> <i>hülü</i> <i>huly</i> <i>ovsa</i>	Krč.: <i>sula</i>	Tel.: <i>sula</i>
Com.: <i>sulu</i>	Krč.Blk.: <i>zyntxy</i>	Tksh.: <i>julaf</i>
CTat.: * <i>žilap</i>	Kyzyl: <i>sulu</i>	Tob.: <i>sulu</i>
Čuv.: <i>sělē</i> <i>sölē</i> <i>sölö</i> <i>šēlē</i> <i>šēlēlli</i>	Kzk.: <i>sulu</i> <i>suly</i> <i>sūly</i>	Tof.: <i>ovjot</i>
Gag.: <i>julaf</i>	Leb.: <i>sula</i>	Trkm.: <i>bürdük</i> <i>gara gyjak</i> <i>ovjos</i> <i>süle</i> <i>süli</i>
Kar.: <i>sülü</i>	Nog.: <i>suly</i>	Tuv.: <i>at tarāzy</i> <i>a"tarāzy</i> <i>sula</i>
KarC: <i>julaf</i> <i>žylap</i>	Ott.: <i>julaf</i> <i>sinir bozan</i>	Uyg.: <i>arpakan</i> <i>sula</i> <i>sulu</i> <i>tay-arpasy</i>
KarT: <i>uvus</i>	Oyr.: <i>sula</i>	Uzb.: <i>suli</i> <i>süli</i> <i>urus</i> <i>arpa</i>
Khak.: <i>sula</i>	Sag.: <i>sula</i> <i>sulu</i>	Yak.: <i>ebies</i>
Kirg.: <i>sulu</i> <i>sulū</i> <i>suly</i>	SarUyg.: <i>harva</i> <i>xarva</i>	
Kklp.: <i>sully</i> <i>suly</i>	Šr.: <i>sula</i>	
	Tat.: <i>julaf</i> <i>solo</i> <i>sölö</i> <i>sölö</i> <i>soly</i> <i>sūly</i>	

ARPAKAN

FORMS: *arpakan* Uyg.: R I 334m

ETYMOLOGY: Uyg. form as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

The structure of this word is absolutely clear: *arpa* + *-kan*. What seems to be more enigmatic is its meaning, given Tk. *arpa* ‘barley’. However, these two cereals are to some extent unified or mixed by numerous peoples, cf. commentary on *julaf* (point 2), *harva* and *tay arpasy*, and *arpagan* ‘barley’.

A" TARĀZY

FORMS: *at tarāzy* (*am тараазы*) Tuv.: Dmitrieva 1972: 213 || *a"tarāzy* RTuwSETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < *at* ‘horse’ + *tarāzy* ‘its cereal, grain’

COMMENTARY:

This name is absolutely clear from both morphological and semantic point of view, and it is very difficult to offer an explanation different than the one presented by Dmitrieva 1972.

BÜRDÜK

FORMS: *bürdük* Trkm.: R IV 1892mETYMOLOGY: see *bordoq* ‘roasted corn’

COMMENTARY:

The original meaning of ‘grain’ is a perfect tertium comparationis for the seemingly unconnected meanings of ‘oats’ and ‘corn’. Cf. *bordoq* ‘roasted corn’.

EBIES

FORMS: *ebies* Yak.: Slepcev 1964, RJakS, Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY:

1964: Slepcev 77: < Russ. *ovës* ‘oats’ with an irregular correspondence *ie* < *jo*, maybe from a dial. pronunciation **ovjes*

1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *ovës* ‘oats’

2003: Anikin: < Russ. *ovës* ‘oats’

COMMENTARY:

Dmitrieva 1972 and Anikin 2003 are undoubtedly right, but they entirely disregard the somewhat strange phonetics of the Yak. form, only briefly mentioned by Slepcev 1964 where an unattested Russ.dial. form **ovjes* is proposed. Although there is no proof for this, it seems to be a quite plausible explanation. Another possibility – rather unlikely though, given the cultural realities – would be a graphical borrowing with regressive vocal harmony caused by long (a rendering of the Russ. accent), accented *-ie* in the second syllable (cf. *žesemen* and *žehimien* ‘barley’).

GARA GYJAK

FORMS: *gara gyjak* Trkm.: (Kara-kala) Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

GARA:

‘Black’ is most likely used metaphorically here, meaning ‘worse; bad’ which is a very common phenomenon in the Tk. (and other) languages. Such a meaning certainly is derived from the fact that oats were treated as a weed for such a long period.

GYJAK:

Trkm. *gyjak* has a couple of meanings, but the one meant here is definitely ‘пырей волосатый; пырей ползучий’.

HARVA

FORMS: *harva* SarUyg.: Tenišev 1976 || *xarva* Tenišev 1976

ETYMOLOGY: 1976: Tenišev: ? < *arpa*

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed by Tenišev 1976, although presented with a question mark, seems to be very probable. At least, it raises no doubts from the phonetic point of view: for *h-* ~ *x-* cf. SarUyg. *harqa* ~ *xârġ* ‘back’ < **arka*, or *horta* ‘middle’ < **orta* (Tenišev 1976: 29); and for *-rv-*: SarUyg. *terve-* < *terbe-* ‘to sway’ and others (Tenišev 1976: 27).

What might not be viewed as being absolutely convincing is the semantics (Tk. *arpa* ‘barley’). It must be remembered, however, that these two cereals are mixed to some extent, or unified: cf. *arpa* and the commentary on *julaf* (point 2) and *arpakan*, also *sula* ‘barley’. (*H*)*arva* also means ‘barley’, too.

Steblin-Kamenskij 1982: 36 suggests that Yazg. and OVanj. *xarban* ‘millet’ is somehow connected with Tkc. *arpa* ‘barley’, though the SarUyg. form is not listed among the Tkc. words. Due to its initial *x- ~ h-*, it is precisely this form that appears to be the closest to the Pamir. words. However, semantics might raise much more serious doubts here, than in the case of a simple comparison of SarUyg. and Tkc. forms.

JULAF

FORMS:

jolap **Tat.Gr.:** Podolsky 1981

julaf **Az.:** RAZS, KTLS, Dmitrieva 1972, ‘oats, oats flour’ ÈSTJa || **Gag.:** ÈSTJa ||

KarC: ÈSTJa || **Ott.:** Wiesentahl 1895, Redhouse 1921 || **Tat.:** يولاف R III 555m,

Tanievъ 1909 || **Tksh.:** KTLS, Dmitrieva 1972

žilap* **CTat.: Заатовъ 1906 (in: *žilaply* ‘made of oats’)

žylap **KarC:** ÈSTJa

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *julaf* || **CTat.:** **žilap* || **Gag.:** *julaf* || **KarC:** *julaf*, *žylap* || **Ott.:** *julaf* || **Tat.:** *julaf* ||

Tat.Gr.: *jolap* || **Tksh.:** *julaf*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: only mentions the word, without providing any etymology

1974: ÈSTJa: (?) < Pers. جو *žou ~ žav* ‘barley’, Talyš *žav-*, dial. *jəv* + Pers. عَاف [äläf] ‘grass; fodder’, Talyš *alaf* ‘grass’ (< Arab.); so *julaf* < **ju* (< *jəv*) + *alaf* / *əlaf* [sic] ‘barley’ + ‘hay’ (< ‘grass’)

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed by ÈSTJa seems a little strange from both phonetic and semantic point of view:

1. We can see no reason, why Pers.dial. *jəv* should render **ju* in Tkc.
2. In the Tkc. languages, noun + noun compounds – such as the one suggested by ÈSTJa – render in the great majority of meanings a material something is made of, or a comparison to something. Therefore, the meaning one should expect from such a form should rather be ‘barley grass’, ‘grass such as barley’ and the like. From this point, the road to ‘barley’ is not long. Particularly in that, as it is noted by ÈSTJa, in many languages including Pers. and Taj., the name for ‘barley’ evolved into ‘oats’, or the name for ‘oats’ originates from the name for ‘barley’, cf. Klmk. dial. *arva* ‘oats’ (Tkc. ‘barley’), and Ma. *arfa* ‘oats; barley’; cf. also *arpakan* and *harva*, also *sula* ‘barley’. All this is fairly understandable with regard for the history of oats (see commentary at the beginning of the chapter).

However, none of this information can explain why ÈSTJa assumes a shift from ‘grass’ to ‘hay’ on the Tkc. ground.

Deriving *julaf* from a compound of Pers. *žou ~ žav* or Pers.dial. *jəv* seems to have an advantage from the point of view of the Tkc. *j- ~ ž-* alternation in anlaut but it creates another phonetic obstacle (see above) which we believe is quite serious.

We would like to suggest a slight modification of this etymology, and – as no ultimate proof can be presented here – another proposition for explaining this word.

In anlaut, the alternation *j- ~ ž-* can be explained by a purely TkC. alternation which, however, has not been studied thoroughly enough to allow for a full verification of this assumption. However, what seems to be more problematic is the lack of *-v-* and a change from the remaining *-aa-*, *-aə-* &c. into *-u-*. This is why we believe that the first part of this compound should have rather been borrowed from a form such as *liter. Pers.*, i.e. *žou*.

The second part definitely should have been a word of back vocal harmony. We could take into consideration such forms as *Talyš.*, *Arab.* or *Pers. (dial., not liter., with non-palatalised short a's)*. *Arab.* can probably be excluded, as it would require an assumption, that on the dial. TkC. ground a presumably local borrowing from dial. *Pers.* / *Talyš* was compounded with a borrowing from *Arab.* which is quite unlikely. On the other hand, a compounding of a form such as the *liter. Pers. žou* (which could have appeared in dial., too) with a *Pers.dial.* / *Talyš* form [*alaf*], seems to be quite realistic.

There is still at least one more way of explaining this word. Namely, it could be regarded not as a compound, but as an iotated borrowing from *Arab. علف* '*alaf*' 'dry grass; hay; fodder'. Iotation is not a common phenomenon, and definitely not a regular one, which is certainly a weakness of this proposition. Tekin 1975: 205 gives only three examples of modern *ju-* deriving from MTkC. long vowel: **ī-*, **ō-*, **ō̄-*, and all of them come from SarUyg. As far as our knowledge goes, it has not yet been established what the conditions allowing for iotation were in dial. Tksh. (Ott.). If they were the same, one could believe that *'a-* was rendered as **ō̄-* > *ju-*³⁴. In such a case, only the *Arab.* form could be taken into consideration, the *Pers.* ' being nothing but a graphical tradition with no importance for the actual sounding.

From the semantic point of view, 'grass; hay; fodder' > 'oats' is at least as probable as 'barley grass' or similar > 'oats', given that oats are often used for fodder.

None of the three propositions is completely convincing. Ultimately, the modified version of ÈSTJa's explanation appears to be the most realistic.

NYXA

FORMS: *nyxa* **Kmk.:** RKmkS, Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

The sounding of the word clearly suggests a borrowing, presumably from one of the Cauc. languages, but we have not managed to establish the exact source.

³⁴ Although cf. Tksh.dial. *alaf*, *alef* 'fodder for animals; hay' (Tietze 2000).

OVJOS

FORMS: *ovjos* **Trkm.:** RTrkmS

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This word is undoubtedly a borrowing from Russ. *ovjós* id. The initial *o-* supposedly indicates that it must have been borrowed from some dial. with an ‘okanye’ pronunciation, though it would be difficult to confirm this solution, as the Russ. dialectal texts, especially the older ones, do not render the actual sounding precisely. Another possibility would be to assume a partly graphical³⁵ borrowing. This, however, is definitely less likely from the cultural-historical point of view.

OVJOT

FORMS: *ovjot* (*oëëm*) **Tof.:** RTofS, Stachowski, M. 1999a: 236

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This form is undoubtedly a borrowing from Russ. *ovjós* id. The final *-t* is supposedly the result of a common but not fully described and not fully predictable alternation *s ~ t*, present in languages of various linguistic families across Siberia, including Tk. (cf. Stachowski, M. 1999a for further bibliography).

OVSA

FORMS: *ovsa* **Bšk.:** Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *ovës* ‘oats’

COMMENTARY:

This form was most probably borrowed from Russ. Gen. in the function of Part. Cf. *prosa* ‘millet’.

SINIR BOZAN

FORMS: *sinir bozan* **Ott.:** R IV 696m

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This name is unclear. Maybe it is a substantivised participle in the expression (*birinin sinirlerini bozmak* ‘to annoy’)? Such an explanation could be justified by the fact that oats was often regarded as a weed.

35 Or even a fully graphical one, if one takes into account that Russ. *ě* is usually printed as *e*.

SÜLE

FORMS:

- holo* **Bšk.:** Joki 1952, RBškS, KTLS, Dmitrieva 1972, Fedotov 1996
hölö **Bšk.:** Egorov 1964
hülü **Bšk.:** ÈSTJa
huly **Bšk.:** Joki 1952
šělě **Čuv.:** Nikolʹskij 1909, Ašmarin 1928–50, RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E, Egorov 1964, VEWT, RČuvS-A, ÈSTJa, Fedotov 1996
sölě **Čuv.:** VEWT
solo **Tat.:** Voskresenskij 1894, Joki 1952
sölö **Čuv.:** Räsänen 1920 || **Tat.:** سولو R IV 591b, IV 730m, I 1335b, Räsänen 1920, Joki 1952, EWT, ÈSTJa
sölö **Tat.:** Imanaevʹ 1901
soly **Brb.:** ÈSTJa || **Tat.:** RTatS-D, Egorov 1964, KTLS, Dmitrieva 1972, RTatS-G, Fedotov 1996
sula **Khak.:** R IV 772b, RChakS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **Koyb.:** Kannisto 1925: 168, KWb, Fedotov 1996 || **Krč.:** Kannisto 1925: 168 || **Leb.:** Kannisto 1925: 168, Fedotov 1996 || **Oyr.:** R IV 772s, Kannisto 1925: 168, Joki 1952, Egorov 1964, RAltS, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, KWb, Fedotov 1996 || **Sag.:** Kannisto 1925: 168, Joki 1952, Fedotov 1996 || **Šr.:** R IV 772b, Kannisto 1925: 168, Joki 1952, Fedotov 1996 || **Tel.:** R IV 772b, Räsänen 1920, Kannisto 1925: 168, Joki 1952, ‘barley’ Ryumina-Sırkaševa/Kučigaševa 1995, Fedotov 1996 || **Tuv.:** RTuwS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **Uyg.:** Joki 1952
süle **Trkm.:** Joki 1952, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, KTLS, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa
suli **Uzb.:** Joki 1952 ‘wild oats (*Avena fatua*)’, RUzbS-A, Egorov 1964, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, RUzbS-Š
süli **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörif 1929 || Uzb. KTLS
sully **Kklp.:** RKklpS-BB, Dmitrieva 1972
sulu **Com.:** R IV 775b, Joki 1952, KWb, Fedotov 1996 || **Kirg.:** R IV 775b, RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, Egorov 1964, KTLS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, Fedotov 1996 || **Kmk.:** RKmkS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **Koyb.:** Joki 1952 || **Kyzyl:** Joki 1952, ÈSTJa || **Kzk.:** R IV 775b, Räsänen 1920, Joki 1952, VEWT, KWb || **Sag.:** Joki 1952 || **Tob.:** Joki 1952 || **Uyg.:** سولو RUjgS, KTLS, Joki 1952, Egorov 1964, ÈSTJa
sulü **Kirg.:** Joki 1952
sülü **Kar.:** ÈSTJa
suly **Kirg.:** Мағановʹ 1899 || **Kklp.:** RKklpS-ST, Egorov 1964, RKklpS-B, ÈSTJa || **Kmk.:** ÈSTJa || **Kzk.:** KTLS, Egorov 1964, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, DFKzk, DKzkF || **Nog.:** RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa
süly **Tat.:** ÈSTJa
süly **Kzk.:** RKzkS-46, RKzkS-54
šělě **Čuv.:** Dmitrieva 1972
šělëlli **Čuv.:** Dmitrieva 1972

LANGUAGES:

Brb.: *soly* || **Bšk.:** *holo, hōlō, hūlū, huly* || **Com.:** *sulu* || **Čuv.:** *sělē, sōlē, sōlō, šělē, šělēlli* || **Kar.:** *süli* || **Khak.:** *sula* || **Kirg.:** *sulu, sulū, suly* || **Kklp.:** *sully, suly* || **Kmk.:** *sulu, suly* || **Koyb.:** *sula, sulu* || **Krč.:** *sula* || **Kyzyl.:** *sulu* || **Kzk.:** *sulu, suly, sūly* || **Leb.:** *sula* || **Nog.:** *suly* || **Oyr.:** *sula* || **Sag.:** *sula, sulu* || **Šr.:** *sula* || **Tat.:** *solo, sölō, sōlō, soly, sūly* || **Tel.:** *sula* || **Tob.:** *sulu* || **Trkm.:** *süle, süli* || **Tuv.:** *sula* || **Uyg.:** *sula, sulu* || **Uzb.:** *suli, süli*

ETYMOLOGY:

1920: Räsänen: ~ Mo. *suli*

1952: Joki: ~ or rather < Mo. *suli* &c.; Uzb. *suli* ‘common wild oat (*Avena fatua*)’, Trkm. *süle* < Mo.; Čuv. = or < Tat.

further etymology unclear; maybe a common PAlt. name

1969: VEWT: Čuv. *sělē, sōlē* < Tat. *sölō*; Trkm. *süle*, Uzb. *suli* < Mo. *suli*

1972: Clauson: < *suv* ‘water’

1974: ÈSTJa: limits himself to summarizing and commenting previous propositions: against Clauson 1972 and Dmitrieva TÈ 97–8 (quoted after ÈSTJa), who < *suv* ‘water’ + *-lu* (phonetics)

1976: KWb: expression unclear; perhaps = Mo. *suli* &c.

COMMENTARY:

This word is also common in the Mo. languages, usually meaning various wild species of grass. As it is supposed by Joki 1952, this is most probably the original meaning, which is understandable since oats were for a long time considered to be a weed, and its cultivation only began at the beginning of the Common Era; cf. also Genaust 1976.

The proposition of Clauson 1972 and Dmitrieva TÈ 97–8 (quoted after ÈSTJa) is, as it is noted by ÈSTJa, deeply problematic for phonetic reasons (cf. Khak., Tuv. *sula*, Uyg. *sulu*, Uzb. *suli* instead of expected **suvluk*, **suglug* if they were to come from **sug/vlug*). Dmitrieva’s attempt at explaining the semantics by stating that oats are a fodder liked by horses, and that they salivate when eating it (for ‘water’ > ‘saliva’ cf. Tksh. *ağız suyu* and others), is even more problematic than ÈSTJa rates it. However, it needs to be noted in defence of this proposition, that Khak., Tuv., Uyg. and Uzb. forms could actually be borrowed from other Tk. or Mo. languages. Still, this would by no means solve the difficulties with the semantics. For more on the phonetics cf. below.

Unfortunately, to date this is the only full etymology that has been presented. Joki’s 1952 suggestion that the word might originate from the times of the PAlt. union³⁶ appears to be very pertinent but does not in fact explain anything. It merely moves the question back in time. We cannot, however, offer a more exhaustive explanation, either.

We believe that the original form of our word should have sounded **solo*, and even this statement can we only support by guesses: 1. the Mo. forms indicate a front vocalism; the fluctuations in Tk. are apparently the result of the as yet undescribed alternation front ~ back vocalism; 2. it is rather improbable that the *u* in the first

36 Or at least from the period of close contacts between the Tk. and Mo. languages, i.e. of areal union, were a genetic relationship to never have existed.

syllable should > 0; 3. we believe that the evolution **solo* > *sola*, *sula* > *suly*, *sulu*, *süle* is more natural for the Tk. languages than any other, which would have to be assumed for a different set of original vowels.

This reconstruction does not explain all of the Tk. forms. What the source of long vowels in Kirg. *sulū* and Kzk. *sūly* is, we do not know.

The diffusion of this word in the Alt. languages and a very high number of phonetic variants, especially high for a word of such a simple structure, indicates that it must be old, perhaps as old as PAlt. Cf. also footnote 23.

For borrowings from Tk. to other languages see bibliography in ÈSTa and Kannisto 1925.

TAF-ARPASY

FORMS: *tay-arpasy* Uyg.: تاغ ارباسى Raquette 1927

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

Being absolutely clear morphologically (lit. ‘mountain barley’), this name is utterly obscure semantically.

The Uyg. word *tay* – which is perhaps closely related to Kzk. *tak-tak* ‘barley’ (unclear, too) – has two meanings: ‘mountain’ and ‘odd (number)’. It would be difficult to assume, that the one in question is the latter, but it is also quite impossible to explain why the Uyghurs should call ‘oats’ a ‘mountain barley’. Climatic requirements of oats are much higher than those of barley; in the mountains it does not grow above 2000 m above sea level while barley sets the world record in this regard, growing as high as 4646 m above sea level in Tibet (Nowiński 1970: 182).

The second part of this compound could be regarded as another example of a very common unification/mixing of oats and barley (cf. commentary on *julaf* (point 2) and *arpakan*, also *sula* ‘barley’), though the existence of Uyg. *arpa* ‘barley’ seems to speak against it.

Maybe then *tay* (presumably, etymologically different from Tk. *tag* ‘mountain’) has originally had a meaning of ‘wild’ or something similar, a trace of which would be a modern ‘odd (number)’? This, given that oats were held in low esteem, could explain such a compound as Uyg. *tay-arpasy* but would be useless if not preventing in the case of Kzk. *tak-tak* ‘barley’, in light of the strange structure of the latter. Unless, of course, the two words turned out not to be related in any way after all.

URUS ARPA

FORMS: *urus arpa* Uzb.: Smolenskij 1912

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

Urus does not appear in modern Uzb. dictionaries (UzbRS, Маъруфов 1981). We believe, however, that it is just a better assimilated version of the modern word *rus* ‘Rus-

sian³⁷. The name would then mean liter. ‘Russian barley’. This would suggest that the Uzbeks knew barley before they learned about oats from the Russians, or that oats was the basic cereal grown by the Russians living in Uzbekistan, while the Uzbeks mainly cultivated barley. The former of these two possibilities seems to be the more plausible, but one does not really exclude the other.

UVUS

FORMS: *uvusywyc* אויבויס KarT: R I 1787m

ETYMOLOGY: 1893; Radloff: < Russ. *ověš* ‘oats’

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed by Radloff 1893–1911 appears to be correct, although 1. another Slav. language cannot be excluded (cf. Pol. *owies* || Ukr. *oves*); 2. it completely omits the question of the unusual vocalism in Kar. Unfortunately, we cannot explain it in a fully convincing way, either.

We believe that the vocalism indicates that the word was not borrowed to Kar. directly from Russ., but via MTat.

There exists another, though less likely, possibility of a double mistake (copyist’s? printer’s? Radloff’s?) and reading? writing? ו instead of ו, i.e. *uvus* instead of *ovos*, which would be a much more understandable form, and really pointing to Russ. as the source of the borrowing. However, it still requires the assumption of a double mistake in a five-letter word.

UWYS

FORMS: *uwys* Tat.dial.: Adjagaši 2005: 153

ETYMOLOGY: 2005; Adjagaši: < MTat. **ovus* < ORuss. / Russ.N.dial. [ovós]

COMMENTARY:

We can see no reason to cast doubt upon Adjagaši’s 2005: 153 etymology. Cf. *uvus*.

ZYNTXY

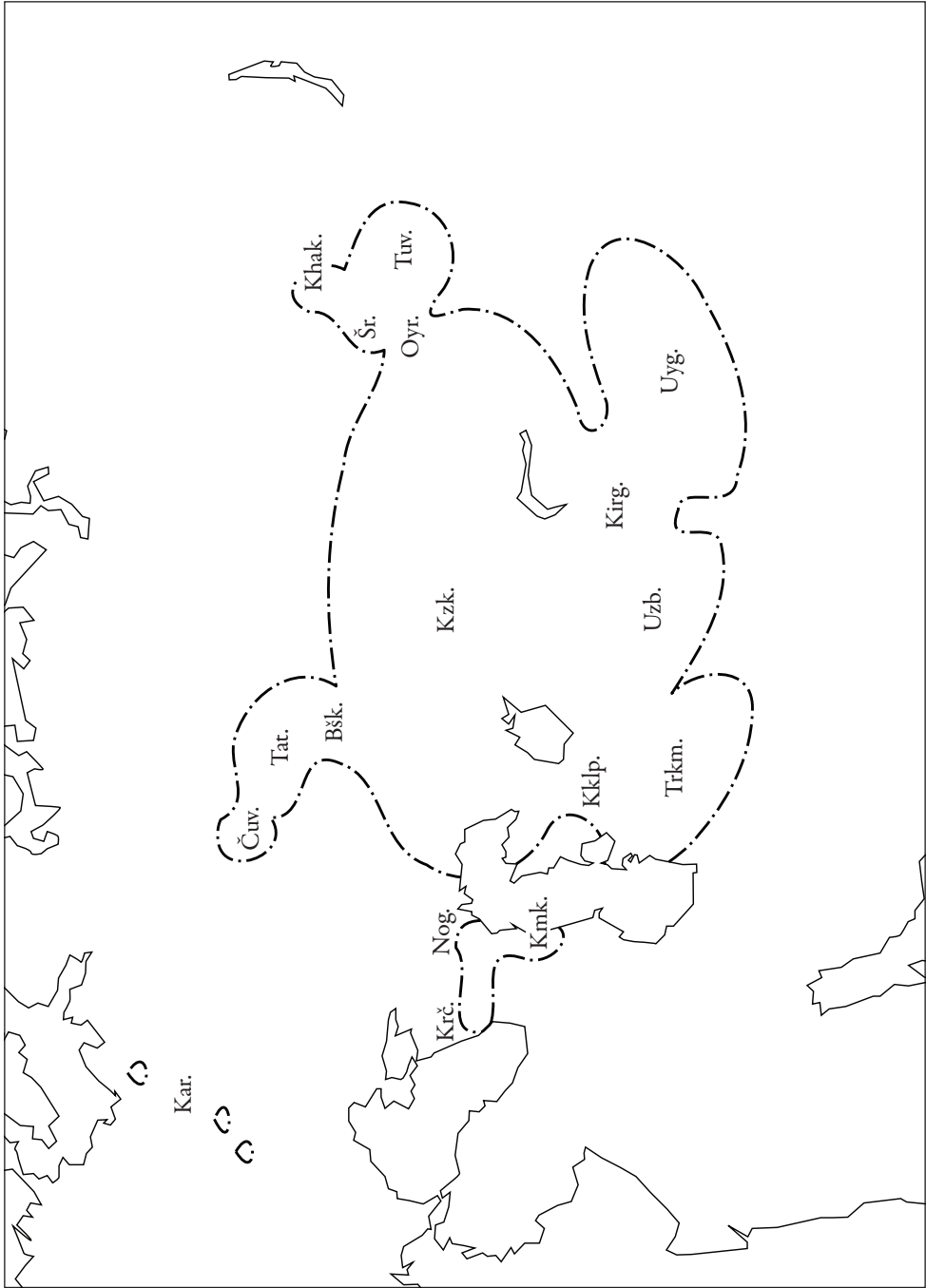
FORMS: *zyntxy* Krč.Blk.: RKrčBlkS, Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

The sounding of this word suggests a borrowing, presumably from one of the Cauc. languages. Unfortunately, we have not managed to establish the exact source.

³⁷ In such a case, a double borrowing of *rus* would need to be assumed. An earlier one, when Russ. was not yet so widely known by the Uzbeks, and a later one, when it was already the mother tongue for many of them. Or alternately, that the sounding was corrected some time after the borrowing. It cannot be excluded either, that *urus* is nothing but the real Uzb. sounding, while *rus* corresponds faithfully to the Russ. orthography. As a matter of fact, all these possibilities seem to be reasonably plausible.



süle 'oats'

RICE
ORYZA SATIVA L.

Rice is one of the most important cultivated plants in the world. It originates from the Indian and SE Asian centres. In India, where it had probably been domesticated, it was already known in the 2nd millennium BC; it spread to China about three thousand years BC (in year 2700 BC it had already been one of the five most important plants sown by emperor Chen-Nung himself during the vernal equinox). It was brought relatively late to Persia, but must have already been known there in the 4th c. BC when the Greeks learned about it from the Persians (see *pirinč*). It then spread to Syria, and later to Egypt (brought by the Arabs in the 8th c.). In the 15th c., the Portuguese took it to the western coast of Africa, and the Arabs to the Eastern. By 1493 it had already reached America thanks to Spaniards.

Nowadays, there exist more than ten thousand varieties of rice, 800 in India alone. It is the most basic source of nourishment in many countries, especially in the Far East (Nowiński 1970: 202–3).

Given the above information, it might be surprising that none of the names for ‘rice’ in the Tkc. languages is of Chin. origin. It seems scarcely possible that such a borrowing would never have occurred. We probably should presume that this word (or words?) was later displaced by borrowings from other languages (of higher prestige?) and native names (more understandable, like *akbydā* or *döge*).

FORMS:

<i>ak bydā</i> → <i>akbydā</i>	<i>dögö</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>gürünž</i> → <i>gürüč</i>
<i>akbydā</i>	<i>dögö</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>gürüž</i> → <i>gürüč</i>
<i>ak h(ü)rüpē</i>	<i>dögü</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>irīs</i> → <i>ris</i>
<i>aryš</i>	<i>dügi</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>küriš</i> → <i>gürüč</i>
<i>birinž</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>dugu</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>kürüč</i> → <i>gürüč</i>
<i>birinč</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>dügü</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>kürüş</i> → <i>gürüč</i>
<i>bryndz</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>düğü</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>pirinč</i>
<i>bürinč</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>düjü</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>pirinž</i> → <i>pirinč</i>
<i>bürünč</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>erz</i>	<i>prinč</i> → <i>pirinč</i>
? <i>buryž</i> → <i>pirinč</i>	<i>görbč</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>ris</i> → <i>ris</i>
<i>čeltik</i>	<i>görič</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>risa</i> → <i>ris</i>
<i>čeltik pirinži</i> → <i>čeltik</i> <i>pirinč</i>	<i>gurinž</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>risz</i> → <i>ris</i>
<i>čeltuk</i> → <i>čeltik</i>	<i>guriš</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>saly</i> → <i>šaly</i>
<i>čeltük</i> → <i>čeltik</i>	<i>güriš</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>šal</i> → <i>šaly</i>
<i>čeltük arpasy</i> → <i>čeltik</i>	<i>guruč</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>šaly</i>
<i>čiltik</i> → <i>čeltik</i>	<i>gürüč</i>	<i>šāly</i> → <i>šaly</i>
<i>döge</i> → <i>tüvi</i>	<i>gürünč</i> → <i>gürüč</i>	<i>šeltük</i> → <i>čeltik</i>

šoli → šaly
tögi → tüvi
tok(u)rak

tügi → tüvi
tuturgan
tuturgu → tuturgan

tuturkan → tuturgan

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *dügü* || *düjü*

Bšk.: *dögö* || *risa*

Com.: *tuturgan*

CTat.: *prinč*

Čag.: *čeltük* || *tuturgu*

Čuv.: *ris* || *riš*

Gag.: *pirinč*

KarC.: *prinč*

KarH.: *bryndz*

KarT.: *biriñč*

Khak.: *ris*

Khal.: *birinž* || *dügi*

Kirg.: *kürüč* || *kürüş* || *šaly*

Kklp.: *guriš* || *güriš* || *šaly*

Kmk.: *dugu* || *dügü*

Krč.Blk.: *prinč*

Kzk.: *küriš* || *saly* || *šaly*

MTkc.: *gurinž*

MTkc.H.: *tuturgan*

MTkc.IM.: *tuturgan*

MTkc.KD.: *tuturkan*

MTkc.MA.B.: *tok(u)rak* ||
tokurgak

MTkc.MK.: *tuturkan*

Nog.: *buryž* || *dügi*

OTkc.: *görbč* || *gürüč* ||

gürünč || *tögi* || *tuturkan*

Ott.: *čeltik* || *čeltik pirinži*

|| *čeltuk* || *čeltük arpasy*

|| *čiltik* || *erz* || *pirinč* ||

pirinž || *šeltük*

Oyr.: *ris*

Tat.: *aryš* || *čeltik* || *döge* ||

dögö || *dögö* || *kürüş*

Tksh.: *pirinč*

Tksh.dial.: *dögü* || *dügü*

Tof.: *ak h(ü)rüpē*

Trkm.: *bürinč* || *bürünč* ||
šaly || *šaly* || *tüvi*

Tuv.: *ak bydā* || *akbydā* || *ris*

Uyg.: *görbč* || *gürüč* ||

gürünž || *gürüž* || *šal* ||

tügi

Uzb.: *birinž* || *görič* || *guruč*

|| *gürünč* || *šaly* || *šoli*

Yak.: *irīs* || *ris*

AKBYDĀ

FORMS: *ak bydā* Tuv.: Dmitrieva 1972 || *akbydā* RTUwS

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < *ak* ‘white’ + *bydā* ‘gruel’

COMMENTARY:

This name is absolutely clear morphologically: Tkc. *ak* ‘white’ + Tkc. *bugdaj* ‘wheat’.

The absence of *bydā* in Tuv. does not appear to be a serious argument against such an explanation. However, the short -y- might be surprising in the light of the original -ug-. It is possible, though, that this is only a spurious incompatibility: 1. the length of vowels in non-first syllables is marked in an irregular manner in Tuv.; 2. it could have been shortened secondarily, resulting from the proximity of another long vowel.

AK H(Ü)RÜPĒ

FORMS: *ak h(ü)rüpē* Tof.: RTofS

ETYMOLOGY:

1971: Rassadin: *hürpē* < Russ. *krupa* ‘gruel’

1995: Buraev: *h(ü)rüpē* < Russ. *krupa* ‘gruel’

COMMENTARY:

This name is absolutely clear. We can see no reasons to assume a metaphorical use of *ak* here. The shift from ‘gruel’ to ‘rice’ is obvious, given the most popular method of preparation.

ARYŠ

FORMS: *aryš* Tat.: Voskresenskij 1894

COMMENTARY: as yet not discussed in the meaning of ‘rice’

ETYMOLOGY:

Aryš is a common name for ‘rye’ in the Tk. languages. We know of no other word that has both these two meanings simultaneously. Perhaps, the similarity of sounding to Russ. *ris* was of some significance here; at any rate a separate/repeated borrowing must be ruled out as then the prothesis could not be expected to sound *a-: it would have to be at least *y- or more probably *i-(*ris*) (cf. *aryš* ‘rye’). Perhaps then a contamination?

ČELTIK

FORMS:

čeltik Ott.: چلتیک ‘unhusked rice and others’ R III 1980m, ‘rice field’ Wiesentahl 1895; چلتیک, لتیک ‘rice field; rice on the field; unhusked rice’ Redhouse 1921 || Tat.: چلتیک Tanievъ 1909

čeltik pirinži Ott.: (چلتیک برنجی) ‘unhusked rice’ Redhouse 1921

čeltuk Ott.: چلتوک ‘provincial for چلتیک’ Redhouse 1921

čeltük Čag.: چلتوک id. R III 1980m

čeltük arpasy Ott.: Tietze 2002– s.v. *čeltik*

čiltik Ott.: چلتیک ‘rice on the field’ R III 2139m

šeltük Ott.: شلتوک vulg. چلتیک ‘rice field; rice on the field’ Redhouse 1921

LANGUAGES:

Čag.: *čeltük* || Ott.: *čeltik*, *čeltik pirinži*, *čeltuk*, *čeltük arpasy*, *čiltik*, *šeltük* || Tat.: *čeltik*

ETYMOLOGY:

1999: Eren: < Pers. *šaltük* ‘unhusked rice’; for Pers. š- > Tksh. č- cf. Tksh. *çakal*

2002: Tietze: < Pers. *šaltük* ‘unhusked rice’; for Pers. š- > Tksh. č- cf. Tksh. *çorba*

COMMENTARY:

We can see no reason to doubt Eren’s 1999 proposition. A few details, however, remain to be explained. The Pers. form has a different anlaut and vocalism than the Tk. ones. Presumably, the change in the anlaut happened during or very shortly after the borrowing since there are no š- forms in Tk.³⁸ As for the vowels, we have two contradictory hints:

1. Ott. *čeltük arpasy* indicates that the front harmony of the Tk. forms results from the influence of palatal č-, and a secondary ‘reharmonization’ of the whole word: Pers. *šaltük* > ? Ott. ? Pre-Ott. **čaltuk* > *čeltuk* > *čeltük* > *čeltik* or *čeltuk* > *čeltük*, *čeltik*. This route is also pointed to by Tksh.dial. *čeltük*.
2. Russ. *čaltyk* ‘čeltik’, due to the initial č- should be considered a borrowing from Tk. rather than Pers.³⁹ In such case, however, the following chain of changes should be

38 Though not attested, in theory a MPers. *č- form could be assumed, too, as it would still yield š in NPers.; cf. e.g. Maciuszak 2003: 94.

39 Also Vasmer 1959, even if without giving a reason, derives the Russ. word from Tksh. or Az.

assumed: Pers. *šaltūk* > ? Ott. ? Pre-Ott. **čaltuk* > **čaltyk* > **čeltik*. This solution, as opposed to 1., gives no convenient base for explaining *čeltük*.

Perhaps the only way to reconcile these two arguments, is to assume different evolutions of our word in Tksh. dialects (possibly, resulting from repeated, independent borrowings) which, however, finally yielded a single sounding.

ERZ

FORMS: *erz* (ﺯﺭ) **Ott.:** Wiesentahl 1895, *erz* Redhouse 1921

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This name is unclear. The sounding seems to point to Gr., but the Gr. form is *ὀρίζον*, *ὀρίζα* (Woodhouse 1910). Perhaps from a dialectal form or from an oblique case?

GÜRÜNČ

FORMS:

görič **Uzb.:** VEWT

göřöč **OTkc.:** VEWT || **Uyg.:** Menges 1933

gurinž **MTkc.MA.B.:** Borovkov 1971: 102

guriš **Kklp.:** RKklpS-BB, Dmitrieva 1972

güriš **Kklp.:** RKklpS-ST, RKklpS-B

guruč **Uzb.:** ('husked') RUzbS-A, (no description) RUzbS-A, Dmitrieva 1972

gürüč **OTkc.:** VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Uyg.:** گوروج RUJgS

gürünč **OTkc.:** Dmitrieva 1972 || **Uzb.:** (گورخ) Nalivkin 1895

gürünž **Uyg.:** گوروخ Raquette 1927

gürüž **Uyg.:** گوروخ Raquette 1927 || **Uzb.:** 'gruel' Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912

küriš **Kzk.:** RKzks-46, RKzks-54, Dmitrieva 1972, DFKzk

kürüč **Kirg.:** 'husked rice' RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972

kürüş **Kirg.:** Мағанов 1899, Катапов 1909 || **Tat.:** VEWT

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.: *kürüč*, *kürüş* || **Kklp.:** *guriš*, *güriš* || **Kzk.:** *küriš* || **MTkc.:** *gurinž* || **OTkc.:** *göřöč*, *gürüč*, *gürünč* || **Tat.:** *kürüş* || **Uyg.:** *göřöč*, *gürüč*, *gürünž*, *gürüž* || **Uzb.:** *görič*, *guruč*, *gürünč*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: considers *gürünč* to be the same word as MTkc. *küršek* 'millet boiled in water or milk with butter' and, (with a question mark) Krč. *gyrsyn* 'bread' (? Čuv. > **kürže* > Fi. *kyrsä* 'bread')

1972: Dmitrieva: Kirg. *kürüč*, Kklp. *guriš*, Kzk. *küriš*, OTkc. *gürü(n)č*, Uzb. *guruč* < Ir. *gürünč* 'rice'

COMMENTARY:

The etymology offered by Dmitrieva 1972 may well be true, although it does raise some phonetic doubts. As for the Ir. etymon, the shape *gurinž* seems to be much more realistic (Hübschmann 1897: 27). This word was presumably borrowed at least

a couple of times, as is indicated by the different assimilations of the vowels (*u-u*, *ü-ü*, *ü-i* and the incomprehensible forms with *ö*⁴⁰ and *Kklp. u-i*) and consonants (*g-(n)č*, *g-(n)ž*, *g-š*, *k-č*, *k-š*) but the exact routes of its penetration⁴¹ are impossible to reconstruct, not at least within the current state of the subject of historical phonetics of individual Tkc. languages.

The comparison to MTkc. *kuršek* proposed by VEWT seems realistic phonetically, but a little odd on the semantic side. To the best of our knowledge, there are no parallels for one word having the meanings of ‘rice’ and ‘millet’ at the same time.⁴²

Cf. *pirinč*.

PIRINČ

FORMS:

birinž **Khal.:** Doerfer 1987 || **Uzb.:** ‘groats’ Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912

birinč **KarT:** KRPS

bryndz **KarH:** KRPS

bürinč **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörif 1929

bürünč **Trkm.:** RTrkmS, Dmitrieva 1972

? *buryž* **Nog.:** RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972

čeltik pirinži **Ott.:** (چلتك برنجي) ‘unhusked rice’ Redhouse 1921

pirinč **Gag.:** Dmitrieva 1972 || **Ott.:** (پرنج) Wiesentahl 1895 || **Tksh.:** Dmitrieva 1972

pirinž **Ott.:** Redhouse 1921

prinč **CTat.:** Zaatovъ 1906 || **KarC.:** Levi 1996 || **Krč.Blk.:** RKrčBlkS, Dmitrieva 1972

LANGUAGES:

CTat.: *prinč* || **Gag.:** *pirinč* || **KarC.:** *prinč* || **KarH.:** *bryndz* || **KarT.:** *birinč* || **Khal.:** *birinž* || **Krč.Blk.:** *prinč* || **Nog.:** *buryž* || **Ott.:** *čeltik pirinži*, *pirinč*, *pirinž* || **Tksh.:** *pirinč* || **Trkm.:** *bürinč*, *bürünč* || **Uzb.:** *birinž*

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: Gag. *pirinč*, Krč.Blk. *prinč*, Nog. *buryž*, Trkm. *bürünč*, Tksh. *pirinč* < Ir. *pirinč* ‘rice; латушь’⁴³

1999: Eren: < Pers. *birinž*

COMMENTARY:

Dmitrieva’s 1972 proposition seems very plausible. We can only add, that Pers. *birinž* ~ *gurinž* < Skr. *vrīhi* or Afgh. *vriže* (Laufer 1919: 393). Laufer also believes that reconstructing Av. **verenža* (Horn 1893: 208) or Ir. **vrinži*-? **vrīži*-? (Hübschmann 1897: 27) is wrong for historical reasons: according to his sources, rice only gained

40 The evolution *ö* > *ü* is natural in the Tkc. languages; the opposite is not.

41 At least some of the forms were probably borrowed with the mediation of another Tkc. language.

42 *Tüvi* &c. ‘rice’ = *tögü* ‘millet’ is an exception here. However, in this example the differentiation of the semantics results from the source of this word: **tög-* ‘to beat, to hit’, being absolutely neutral with regard to species.

43 The missing “<” sign in Dmitrieva 1972: 216 is perhaps a typographical error.

popularity in Persia after the Arabic conquest. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the Pers. could have known rice earlier. According to Nowiński 1970: 203, it is from Pers. that the Greeks became acquainted with rice during the invasion of Alexander the Great. Given the above, we believe, even if we cannot prove it, that at least Av. **verenža* might well have existed: if the Pers. had already known rice in the 4th c. BC (and it is much more probable that they would have learned about it from India rather than China at this time), and its modern name is of Indian origin, too, we suppose that the word may well be an old borrowing in Pers., perhaps even from before the 4th c. BC, and therefore that it probably had existed in Av. as well.

Cf. *gürünč*.

RIS

FORMS:

irīs **Yak.:** Slepcov 1975 (od 1925)

ris **Čuv.:** RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E, RČuvS-A, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Khak.:** RChakS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Oyr.:** RAltS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Tuv.:** RTuwS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Yak.:** RJakS, Dmitrieva 1972, Slepcov 1975 (od 1925)

risa **Bšk.:** Dmitrieva 1972

risz **Čuv.:** Nikolʹskij 1909

LANGUAGES:

Bšk.: *risa* || **Čuv.:** *ris, risz* || **Khak.:** *ris* || **Oyr.:** *ris* || **Tuv.:** *ris* || **Yak.:** *irīs, ris*

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: Čuv., Khak., Oyr., Tuv., Yak. *ris* < Russ. *ris*, and points to a comparison with OInd. *vrīhis* ‘rice’ (after: Vasmer 1986–87)

COMMENTARY:

It is difficult to find fault with the etymology proposed by Dmitrieva 1972.

ŠALY

FORMS:

saly **Kklp.:** RKklpS-B, RKklpS-ST, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Kzk.:** ‘unhusked’ DFKzk

šal **Uyg.:** شال RUjgS; Raquette 1927 ‘rice on field’, Jarring 1998: 14 ‘rice; rice as a plant; rice on field; unhusked rice’

šaly **Kirg.:** ‘unhusked, rice as a plant’ RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, (no commentary) Dmitrieva 1972 || **Kzk.:** ‘unhusked rice’ DFKzk || **Trkm.:** Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962 || **Uzb.:** ‘plant’ (شالى) Nalivkinʹ 1895, Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912

šāly **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörjijif 1929

šoli **Uzb.:** (‘unhusked’) RUzbS-A, (no description) RUzbS-Š, (‘unhusked’) Dmitrieva 1972

LANGUAGES:

Kirg.: *šaly* || **Kklp.:** *saly* || **Kzk.:** *saly, šaly* || **Trkm.:** *šaly, šāly* || **Uyg.:** *šal* || **Uzb.:** *šaly, šoli*

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: only points to a comparison with Mo. *sali*

1998: Jarring: 14: < Pers. *šālī* ‘unhusked rice’

COMMENTARY:

We can see no reason to discard the etymology proposed by Jarring 1998: 14. We would only remark that *-i* was probably understood as a Px in Uyg., and hence the form *šal*.

TOKURGAK

FORMS:

tok(u)rak MTkc.MA.B: Borovkov 1971 ‘rice for pilaff’

tokurgak MTkc.MA.B: Borovkov 1971: 108

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

The etymology of this word is not clear. We believe that it is a morphologically adapted (folk etymology) version of *tuturgan* (probably < Mo., cf.) associated with *tok-* ‘to knock, to tap, to hit’ (for semantics cf. *tüvi*, also *dövme* ‘wheat’) and with a Tkc. suffix *-ak*. The suffix *-gan* is there in the Tkc. languages, too, so here an adaptation would not be necessary. However, if the meaning was to be similar to ‘beaten (out)’, *-ak* would seem to suit it better.

Cf. *tuturgan*.

TUTURGAN

FORMS:

tuturgan Com.: R III 1484m || MTkc.H: طوطورغان || MTkc.IM

tuturgu Čag.: توتورغو R III 1484m

tuturkan OTkc.: Dmitrieva 1972 || MTkc.KD: تترقان || MTkc.MK: Ligeti 1951–52: 87

LANGUAGES:

Com.: *tuturgan* || Čag.: *tuturgu* || MTkc.H: *tuturgan* || MTkc.IM: *tuturgan* || MTkc.KD: *tuturkan* || MTkc.MK: *tuturkan* || OTkc.: *tuturkan*

ETYMOLOGY:

1951: Ligeti: 87: < Mo. *tuturyan* id.

1963: TMEN: limits itself to scepticism towards Ligeti: ‘[...] hier dürfte der strikte Nachweis Mo. Herkunft allerdings schwierig sein’ (TMEN I: 5)

1972: Dmitrieva: only points to the comparison with WMo

COMMENTARY:

This word is not wholly comprehensible. Its Mo. origin, as proposed by Ligeti 1951–52: 87, is possible but to the best of our knowledge, the word remains equally unclear on the Mo. ground. This could suggest that the opposite direction of borrowing is no less probable. However, were our proposition of explaining *tokurgak* to prove true, it would point to the direction proposed by Ligeti. Finally, the word could have been borrowed to Mo. and Tkc. from yet another language independently.

Not knowing the eventual etymology of our word, we cannot determine whether the final *-gan* is a native Mo. (Tkc.?) suffix, or a morphologically (phonetically?) adapted part of a foreign etymon.

Cf. *tokurgak*.

TÜVI

FORMS:

- döge* **Tat.:** RTatS-D, TMEN 979, RTatS-G, Dmitrieva 1972
dögö **Bšk.:** RBškS, TMEN 979, Dmitrieva 1972, Eren 1999 || **Tat.:** Voskresenskij 1894
dögö **Tat.:** VEWT, TMEN 979
dögü **Tksh.dial.:** ‘fine groats’ Eren 1999
dügi **Khal.:** Doerfer 1987 || **Nog.:** RNogS, TMEN 979, Dmitrieva 1972, Eren 1999
dugu **Kmk.:** Németh 1911/12, VEWT
dügü **Az.:** R III 1802m, VEWT. TMEN 979 || **Kmk.:** Németh 1911/12, TMEN 979, RKmkS, Dmitrieva 1972
dügü **Tksh.dial.:** ‘fine groats’ Eren 1999
düjü **Az.:** RAzS, TMEN 979, Dmitrieva 1972
tögi **OTkc.:** Erdal 340 ‘husked and/or ground cereal’
tügi **Uyg.:** ‘husked rice’ R III 1539m, VEWT
tüvi **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörjif 1929, RTrkmS, VEWT, TMEN 979, Dmitrieva 1972, Eren 1999 ‘rice; pilaff’

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *dügü, düjü* || **Bšk.:** *dögö* || **Khal.:** *dügi* || **Kmk.:** *dugu, dügü* || **Nog.:** *dügi* || **OTkc.:** *tögi* || **Tat.:** *döge, dögö, dögö* || **Tksh.dial.:** *dögü, dügü* || **Trkm.:** *tüvi* || **Uyg.:** *tügi*

ETYMOLOGY:

1963: TMEN: **tügi*

1969: VEWT: limits itself to enumerating the forms

1974: ÈSTJa s.v. *dary*: OTkc. *tögü, töhö* probably do not belong to the same group as *dary*

1991: Erdal: 340: OTkc. *tögi* ‘husked and/or ground cereal’ < *tög* ‘to grind; to crush’

2004: Pomorska: 120: supports Erdal 1991: 340

COMMENTARY:

This word is quite common in the Tkc. languages, and is found in two basic meanings: ‘(husked) rice’ (more common) and ‘millet’ (less common).

It seems that TMEN’s 979 reconstruction of **tügi* might perhaps need a modification of the first vowel: **ö* seems to be much more probable for phonetic reasons (the *ö* > *ü* change is natural in the Tkc. languages; the opposite direction is not).

We believe that the word comes from OTkc. **tög-* (~ **töv-*) ‘to beat, to hit’. The differences in auslaut (low : high vowels) probably suggest two separate derivatives from Tkc. *dög-* ~ *döv-* ‘to beat, to hit’⁴⁴:

44 Perhaps also Tat. *dügi* ‘wheat’ (cf.) speaks in favour of such a distinction.

1. in *-i*: **tögi* (> *döğü*, *tüvi*, *tügi* > *dügi* > *dügü* > *düğü* > *düjü* and *dugu*⁴⁵)
Cf. e.g. *bini* ‘broken (animal)’, *biti* ‘writing’, *japy* ‘building’ (Zajączkowski 1932: 105)
2. in *-e*: **töge* (> *dögö*, *dögö*)
Cf. e.g. *jara* ‘wound’, *jaja* ‘rainbow’, *tuda* ‘handle’, *üörä* ‘happiness’ (Pomorska 2004: 120, Zajączkowski 1932: 105).

For semantic development, cf. Slav. *proso* < **per-* ‘to hit’ ~ **pro-* + *-s*, i.e. ‘something hit, something beaten’ > ‘husked millet grain’ > ‘millet grain’ > ‘grain’ (Sędzik 1977: 11), and it is quite possible that this parallel is not coincidental. Anyway, it is interesting that millet (cf. *tögü* ‘millet’) came to Europe from the East (Nowiński 1970: 189). One might venture then, to suppose that the Slav. name is not entirely a native neologism, but rather a calque deriving eventually from some very old name, on which the Tk. **tögi/e* is also based. Naturally, such a convergence also might be a purely coincidental one. The semantic development presented here is in fact, quite trivial.

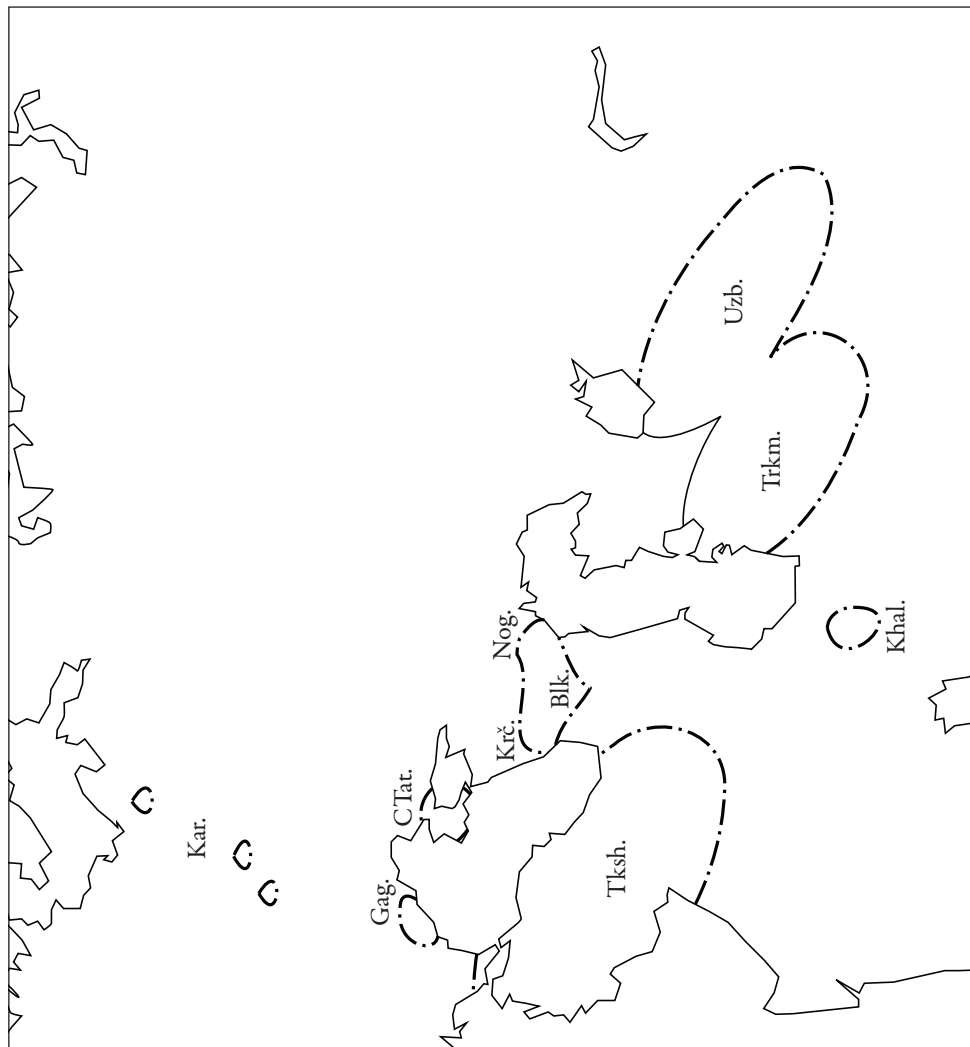
Dövme ‘wheat’ provides a nice semantic parallel, too.

On the other hand, we should not discount the possibility that the name came from **tügī* ‘hair (adj.)’ < *tük* ‘hair’ + *-ī* adj. (< Pers.). While seemingly acceptable from the phonetic point of view (although the *-e*, *-ö* auslaut is unclear), this proposition raises some doubts on the semantic side. The meanings of ‘hair’ and ‘millet’ are quite close to each other (cf. *tüjtary* ‘millet’) but we know of no parallels for ‘hair’ and ‘rice’. Such a shift does not seem to be impossible, though, as rice and some species of millet (especially setarias) look quite similar.

Both ideas seem probable but only the first one assumes a more likely **ö* in the first syllable, requires no further semantic assumptions (for which perhaps no parallels exist), and explains the meanings of ‘husked rice’ and ‘husked millet’ in a more natural way.

Cf. *tögü* ‘millet’ and *djugi* ‘wheat’, and (semantics) *dövme*, *ügür* and *tüjtary* ‘millet’.

45 The reason for the harmony shift in Kmk. is unclear. Most probably it can be treated as a result of the front : back alternation which, while it definitely exists, has not yet been properly examined, and is therefore unpredictable.



pirinč 'rice'

RYE

SECALE CEREALE L.

Rye is a secondary cultivable plant (formed from a weed), and is still found as a weed in some parts of the world, especially in the Indochinese and Central Asian Centres. Its requirements are rather moderate, allowing it to dominate in mountainous areas and in low quality soils, but it tends to be displaced by other plants in more fertile lands.

Rye probably originates from the area of Asia Minor, Iran and Armenia. Numerous primitive taxons with clearly weed-like features can still be found in the region and its surroundings. They surely can not have been ever been domesticated before as there never existed intentional cultivations of pure rye in this part of the world.

Seeds of rye turn out to be stronger when mixed with the seeds of other cereals. In Central Europe mixing equal amounts of rye and wheat, and then continuously seeding with the material of the same origin, results in nearly pure rye harvests in just a couple of years. It is probably this feature, in connection with a very old tradition of seeding mixtures of seeds rather than pure species, that gave birth to legends (Tkc., among others) of gradual change (a deterioration) of wheat into rye. (Nowiński 1970: 176–79.)

The relatively few names and their character (borrowings and descriptive names) show that rye has never been a particularly important plant for the Tkc. peoples. Presumably, it was treated, as it still often is in Asia, more as a weed than a cultivable plant.

FORMS:

<i>ārəš</i> → <i>aryš</i>	<i>čovdor</i> → <i>čavdar</i>	<i>kök tarā</i> → <i>köktarā</i>
<i>ārša</i> → <i>aryš</i>	<i>dargan</i> → <i>darikan</i>	<i>kök tara</i> → <i>köktarā</i>
<i>arsānaj</i>	<i>darikan</i>	<i>köktarā</i>
<i>arys</i> → <i>aryš</i>	<i>darkān</i> → <i>darikan</i>	<i>oruos</i>
<i>aryš</i>	<i>jadagan</i> → <i>jadygan</i>	<i>qara buydaj</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>
<i>aryš bidaj</i> → <i>aryš</i>	<i>jadygan</i>	<i>rožb</i>
<i>aržanaj</i> → <i>arsānaj</i>	<i>jadygan aryš</i> → <i>jadygan</i>	<i>rži</i>
<i>aržanaj tarā</i> → <i>arsānaj</i>	<i>jatkan</i> → <i>jadygan</i>	<i>süle</i> → <i>suly</i>
<i>aržanaj taryg</i> → <i>arsānaj</i>	<i>jatkan aryš</i> → <i>aryš</i> <i>jadygan</i>	<i>sulli</i> → <i>suly</i>
<i>aštyk</i>	<i>kara bašak</i>	<i>suly</i>
<i>aštych</i> → <i>aštyk</i>	<i>kara bidaj</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>tereke</i> → <i>darikan</i>
<i>čadagan</i> → <i>jadygan</i>	<i>kara bijdaj</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>yraš</i> → <i>aryš</i>
<i>čadygan</i> → <i>jadygan</i>	<i>kara budaj</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>žavdar</i> → <i>čavdar</i>
<i>čavdar</i>	<i>kara būdaj</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>žavdar buydoj</i> → <i>čavdar</i>
<i>čavdary</i> → <i>čavdar</i>	<i>kara-bugda</i> → <i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>žavdari buydoj</i> → <i>čavdar</i>
<i>čovdar</i> → <i>čavdar</i>	<i>kara bugdaj</i>	<i>žovdari</i> → <i>čavdar</i>
<i>čovdary</i> → <i>čavdar</i>	<i>kök najza</i>	<i>žaudar</i> → <i>čavdar</i>

LANGUAGES:

Az.: <i>čovdar</i> <i>čovdor</i>	Koyb.: <i>arys</i>	Tel.: <i>aryš</i>
Blk.: <i>kara budaj</i>	Krč.: <i>kara budaj</i>	Tksh.: <i>čavdar</i>
Brb.: <i>aryš</i>	Krč.Blk.: <i>arys</i> <i>kara bijdaj</i>	Tksh.dial.: <i>dargan</i> <i>darikan</i>
Bšk.: <i>aryš</i>	<i>kara budaj</i>	<i>darkān</i> <i>tereke</i>
Com.: <i>kara bugdaj</i>	Küär.: <i>aryš</i> <i>jadygan aryš</i>	Tob.: <i>aryš</i>
Crn.: <i>čavdar</i>	<i>jatkan</i> <i>jatkan aryš</i>	Tof.: <i>aržanaj</i> <i>aržanaj tarā</i>
CTat.: <i>aryš</i> <i>čavdar</i>	Kyzyl: <i>ārəš</i>	<i>aržanaj taryg</i>
Čuv.: <i>ārša</i> <i>yraš</i>	Kzk.: <i>arys</i> <i>aryš</i> <i>kara</i>	Trkm.: <i>arys</i> <i>aryš</i>
Kar.: <i>aryš</i>	<i>bidaj</i> <i>kök najza</i>	<i>čavdary</i> <i>čovdar</i>
KarC: <i>aryš</i> <i>čavdar</i>	Leb.: <i>aryš</i>	<i>čovdary</i> <i>rožb</i> <i>süle</i>
KarH: <i>ašlyk</i>	Nog.: <i>arys</i> <i>kara bijdaj</i> <i>suly</i>	Tuv.: <i>kök tara</i> <i>kök tarā</i>
KarT: <i>ašlych</i>	Ott.: <i>čavdar</i>	<i>köktarā</i>
Khak.: <i>arys</i> <i>rožb</i>	Oyr.: <i>aryš</i> <i>jadagan</i>	Uyg.: <i>kara bugdaj</i> <i>qara</i>
Kirg.: <i>kara bijdaj</i> <i>kara būdaj</i>	Sag.: <i>arys</i> <i>čadagan</i>	<i>buydaj</i>
Kklp.: <i>arys</i> <i>kara bidaj</i>	<i>jadygan</i>	Uzb.: <i>žavdar</i> <i>žavdar</i>
<i>kara bijdaj</i> <i>sulli</i> <i>suly</i>	Šr.: <i>aryš</i> <i>čadygan</i> <i>jadygan</i>	<i>buydoj</i> <i>žavdari buydoj</i>
Kmk.: <i>aryš</i> <i>aryš bidaj</i>	Tat.: <i>aryš</i> <i>kara-bugda</i>	<i>žaudar</i>
<i>kara budaj</i>	Tat.Gr.: <i>čavdar</i>	Yak.: <i>arsānaj</i> <i>oruos</i>

ARSĀNAJ

FORMS:

arsānaj **Yak.:** Dmitrieva 1972

aržanaj **Tof.:** Anikin 2003 s.v. *ржаной*

aržanaj tarā **Tof.:** RTofS

aržanaj taryg **Tof.:** RTofS

LANGUAGES:

Tof.: *aržanaj*, *aržanaj tarā*, *aržanaj taryg* || **Yak.:** *arsānaj*

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: Yak. *arsānaj* < Russ.dial. Sib. *aržanoj* = Russ. *ržanoj* ‘rye [adj.]’

2003: Anikin s.v. *ржаной*: Yak. *arsānaj* < Russ.dial. Sib. *a/oržanoj* ‘rye [adj.]’

COMMENTARY:

While we do not intend to negate the previous propositions, we believe they require a little more commentary.

Long vowel in the last but one syllable of the Yak. form is discordant with the Russ. accent. Such an adaptation can probably be explained by the fact that the Russ. adjective suffixes *-oj* and *-ój* are always treated in Yak. as non-accented, which allows for shifting the trace of the accent (the length of the vowel) to another syllable.

The connection with *tarā* ~ *taryg* in Tof. is probably a calque from a Russ.dial. compound *aržano žito* ‘rye’, where *žito* ‘cereal in sheafs; cereal in seeds; rye; wheat’ (Fedotov 1979), although it is also possible that a very popular model in Tof. of naming cereals by composition with *tarā* could have played some role here as well, cf. *tarā* ‘millet’.

ARYŠ

FORMS:

āraš **Kyzyl:** Joki 1953

ārša **Čuv.:** Adjagaši 2005: 175 ‘зной и марево во время поспевания ржи’

arys **Khak.:** RChakS, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48 || **Kklp.:** Achmetbjanov 1989: 48 || **Koyb.:** VEWT, Anikin 2003 || **Krč.Blk.:** RKrčBlkS || **Kzk.:** RKzkS-54, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48, DFKzk || **Nog.:** RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Sag.:** VEWT, Eren 1999 s.v. *çavdar*, Anikin 2003 || **Trkm.:** Dmitrieva 1972

aryš **Brb.:** R I 278b, Anikin 2003 || **Bšk.:** RBškS, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48, Anikin 1998, Adjagaši 2005: 175 || **CTat.:** Achmetbjanov 1989: 48 || **Kar.:** שׂרִישׁ R I 278b, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48 || **KarC:** KRPS, Levi 1996 || **Kmk.:** Dmitrieva 1972 || **Küär.:** R I 278b, Anikin 2003 || **Kzk.:** VEWT 26a, DFKzk || **Leb.:** Anikin 2003 || **Oyr.:** R I 278b, RAltS, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48, Anikin 2003 || **Šr.:** R I 278b, Anikin 2003 || **Tat.:** Imanevъ 1901, VEWT, RTatS-G, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48, Anikin 1998, Anikin 2003, Adjagaši 2005: 175 || **Tel.:** Ryumina-Sırkaşeva 1995, Eren 1999 s.v. *çavdar*, Anikin 2003 || **Tob.:** R I 278b, Anikin 2003 || **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörjif 1929

aryš bidaj **Kmk.:** RKmkS

jatkan aryš **Küär.:** R I 278b

yaš **Čuv.:** Nikol'skij 1909, RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E, RČuvS-A, VEWT, Dmitrieva 1972, Achmetbjanov 1989: 48, Adjagaši 2005: 175

LANGUAGES:

Brb.: *aryš* || **Bšk.:** *aryš* || **CTat.:** *aryš* || **Čuv.:** *ārša, yaš* || **Kar.:** *aryš* || **KarC.:** *aryš* || **Khak.:** *arys* || **Kklp.:** *arys* || **Kmk.:** *aryš, aryš bidaj* || **Koyb.:** *arys* || **Krč.Blk.:** *arys* || **Küär.:** *aryš, jatkan aryš* || **Kyzyl:** *āraš* || **Kzk.:** *arys, aryš* || **Leb.:** *aryš* || **Nog.:** *arys* || **Oyr.:** *aryš* || **Sag.:** *arys* || **Šr.:** *aryš* || **Tat.:** *aryš* || **Tel.:** *aryš* || **Tob.:** *aryš* || **Trkm.:** *arys, aryš*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: *aryš* &c. < Russ. *rožb* ‘rye’

1972: Dmitrieva: *aryš* &c., Čuv. *yaš*

1989: Achmetbjanov: 48: < ORuss. **rože*

Khak., Kzk. *arys* < [unclear expression] Bšk., CTat., Kar., Oyr., Tat. *aryš*
CTat., Kar. *aryš*, Khak., Kklp., Kzk. *arys* < Tat.

1996: Fedotov: *aryš* &c. (but *rožb* not listed) < Russ. *rožb* ‘rye’

1998: Anikin RTur: Tat., Bšk. *aryš* < Russ. *rožb* ‘rye’

1999: Eren s.v. *çavdar*: quotes VEWT

2003: Anikin: Bšk., Tat. *aryš* < Russ.

2005: Adjagaši: Čuv. *yaš* < OČuv. **āraš* < [late OERuss.? early ORuss.?] [rož'] < OESlav. *rožb*

Bšk., Tat. *aryš* < MBšk., MTat. **aryš* < VBulgh.2 **aryš* < OESlav. *rožb*

COMMENTARY:

We can see no reason to doubt the essential part of the etymology first proposed by VEWY, and later accepted by many scholars⁴⁶, but we believe that it needs to be slightly modified. Epentetic vowels are high in the Tkc. languages (cf. also *žehimien* ‘barley’), and so, as has been pointed out by Achmetʒjanov 1989: 48, Russ. *rožb* should rather yield an **yrys*⁴⁷-like form. This is why we believe that it was not the liter. form that was the source of the borrowing, but a dial. form **aryž*⁴⁸ (ORuss. 12th c. *rōžb*), which we believe raises no doubts about the phonetics. The uniformity of the Tkc. forms might suggest that the word was borrowed very early, and preserved in an almost or completely unchanged form in various languages. However, such an early borrowing from Russ. is not very likely for cultural reasons. Given that it appears over a wide area, we would rather believe that it was borrowed repeatedly, and independently. This does not contradict with the proposed Russ.dial. etymon, as it is found in very many of Russ.dial.

As to the sounding of our word, the vocalism of the Yak. form is the only exception, resulting surely from it being borrowed independently.

The source of *rožb* is, obviously, Russ. *rožb*, too. This form only appears in Trkm. and Khak. In Trkm. it is probably a very young borrowing, and for the Khak. form, we can see two possible explanations:

1. the word was not borrowed for the second time; only its spelling was changed to the Russ. one although the pronunciation (especially among the less educated) most probably remained unchanged. This explanation seems to be more probable.
2. the word was borrowed for the second time. Such an explanation is possible due to the spelling which suggests a different sounding, but seems to be less probable due to the practice often used in the Soviet Union, of restoring the original spelling of Russ. borrowings in various languages.

Cf. *rožb*.

ASŁYK

FORMS:

astyk **KarH**: Mardkowicz 1935, KRPS

ašlych **KarT**: KRPS

46 Achmetʒjanov 1989: 48 does not fully accept it but his argument is expressed unclearly. He mentions, however, an important phonetic detail, that OESlav. *rōžb* should not receive the protetic *a-* in the Tkc. languages; cf. below.

47 Or, less probably, as Achmetʒjanov 1989: 48 suggests it, **yreš*.

48 Filin 1965– does not list such a form. He does list, however, *aržanoj* ‘rye [adj.]’ in numerous dial., including Siberian ones. According to Barchudarov 1997, *aržanoj* is attested since the 13th c.

The existence of Russ.dial. **aryž* is also suggested by Čuv. Anatri *ārša* ‘зной и марево во время попеванийа ржи’ (Adjagaši 2005: 175) which could easily be explained by a borrowing of **arža* (**arša*?) in Gen.Sg., and by hardly anything else.

LANGUAGES:

KarH.: *aštyk* || **KarT.:** *aštych*

ETYMOLOGY: see *aš* ‘barley’

COMMENTARY:

We do not know of any semantic parallel for combining the meanings of ‘rye’ and ‘barley’ in one word. However, it is not necessarily surprising in this case, as the etymology of this word would allow it to develop quite freely.

ČAVDAR

FORMS:

čavdar **Crn.:** چاودار R III 1936m || **CTat.:** Заатовъ 1906 || **KarC:** KRPS, Levi 1996 ||

Ott.: چاودار R III 1936m, (چاودار) Wiesentahl 1895 || **Tat.Gr.:** Podolsky 1981 || **Tksh.:** Dmitrieva 1972

čavdary **Trkm.:** Alijiv/Böörjif 1929

čovdar **Az.:** RAzS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Trkm.:** KTLS

čovdary **Trkm.:** RTrkmS, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, Dmitrieva 1972

čovdor **Az.:** KTLS

žavdar **Uzb.:** RUzbS-A, RUzbS-Š

žavdar buydoj **Uzb.:** RUzbS-Š

žavdari buydoj **Uzb.:** RUzbS-A

žovdari **Uzb.:** Dmitrieva 1972

žaudar **Uzb.:** Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *čovdar, čovdor* || **Crn.:** *čavdar* || **CTat.:** *čavdar* || **KarC.:** *čavdar* || **Ott.:** *čavdar* || **Tat.Gr.:** *čavdar* || **Tksh.:** *čavdar* || **Trkm.:** *čavdary, čovdar, čovdary* || **Uzb.:** *žavdar, žavdar buydoj, žavdari buydoj, žaudar*

ETYMOLOGY:

1969: VEWT: < Pers. *čūdār*

1998: Stachowski, S.: < NPers. *čāvďār* ‘rye (*Secale cereale*)’

1999: Eren 1999: < Pers. *čūdār* ‘rye’, quoting for comparison Pers. *žaudar* ‘a herb growing in wheat’, *žaudara* ‘a herb growing amongst wheat’, *gaudar, gaudara* ‘a plant growing amongst wheat and barley’, *žau, žav* ‘barley, a grain of barley’

COMMENTARY:

1. VEWT’s proposition, and its acceptance by Eren 1999 seems absolutely incomprehensible. In the modern liter. Pers., there exist two forms of this word: چاودار [-ou] and چاودار [-āv-]. Even though the alternation of *ou* ~ *av* ~ *ū* is quite common in Pers., we can see no reason to assume, as VEWT and Eren 1999 suggest it, a borrowing of the *-ū-* form when the Tkc. forms point clearly to the *-av-* one.
2. The Tkc. alternation of *-a-* ~ *-o-* is probably to be explained by borrowings from different dialects of Pers. or, even more probably, from Taj. (Pers. *ā* = Taj. *o*; Pers. *a* = Taj. *a*).

- The Uyg. ž- in place of the expected ž- or č- is not clear to us, not least because in Uyg. (at least in its liter. version), all the three consonants exist in anlaut (see e.g. Tömür 2003).
- The Uzb. alternation of -a- / -o- ~ -ä- is presumably to be explained by the palatalizing influence of č, quite common in the Tkč. languages, and a secondary adaptation of the second syllable to the vowel harmony.
- In Trkm. and Uyg. there appears a final -i / -y. Although we cannot prove it directly, we suppose that they are of entirely different origin:
 - The Uyg. -i is an adjective suffix (cf. e.g. Uyg. ئىقتىسادى ‘economical’ or ئىنقىلابى ‘revolutionary’ (Tömür 2003: 121f.)). (Lack of the *i* umlaut results from the original length of the vowel of the final syllable in the Pers. source; cf. Jarring 1933: 91: ‘Der Vokal in dieser [final] Silbe ist immer *a* oder *u*’).
 - The Trkm. final -ry could in theory be a harmonized version of *čavdari, abstracted from a *čavdari bugdaj (?) -like compound. Since, however, such a compound is not attested, the proposition of Eren 1999, to explain the final -y by a contamination with Trkm. dary ‘millet’, seems to be more probable.

Such a solution would cast some light on the order in which the Tkč. peoples learned about these cereals; similarly köktarā (cf.) suggests such an ordering for Tuv.

3. On naming ‘rye’ with the name for ‘wheat’, cf. *kara bugdaj*.

DARIKAN

FORMS: *dargan, darikan, darkān, tereke* **Tksh.dial.:** Dankoff 1995: 702

ETYMOLOGY:

1995: Dankoff: 702: < Arm. տարեկան *tarekan* ‘rye’

1999: Eren: < Arm. (after Dankoff 1995: 702)

COMMENTARY:

Dankoff’s 1995: 72 etymology is probably true (although cf. also (Arm. >) Kurd. *tarigan*, Dankoff 1995: 702). His Arm. etymology also seems to be very plausible: < տարի *tari* ‘year’, liter. ‘annual’ > ‘harvest’ > ‘rye’, which easily explains such Tksh.dial. meanings as *tereke* ‘cereal’, *tereklik* ‘vegetable garden’ or *tereke* ‘wheat’ (cf.) &c., if assuming a borrowing from before the semantic shift in Arm. (attested in Ott. since the 14th c.).

JADYGAN

FORMS:

čadagan **Sag.:** ‘Winterrogen’ VEWT 177a

čadygan **Šr.:** VEWT 177a

jadagan **Oyr.:** RAltS, Dmitrieva 1972

jadygan **Sag.:** Eren 1999 s.v. *čavdar* || **Šr.:** Eren 1999 s.v. *čavdar*, R III 211b

jadygan aryš **Küär.:** R III 203b

jatkan **Küär.:** R III 203b

jatkan aryš **Küär.:** R I 278b

LANGUAGES:

Küär.: *jadygan aryš, jatkan, jatkan aryš* || **Oyr.:** *jadagan* || **Sag.:** *čadagan, jadygan* ||
Šr.: *čadygan, jadygan*

ETYMOLOGY: 1969: VEWT: < *jat*- 'to lie'

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed in VEWT is semantically plausible but it has some weaknesses, too:

- for:
 - **semantics:** Rye, being a weed, has more fragile stems, and ripens faster than cereals, thanks to which its seeds scatter very early, even before the harvest. Thus, on a field where wheat and rye grow together, broken rye stems are visible quite clearly among wheat. (Nowiński 1970: 178)
- against:
 - **suffixation:** Generally, the suffix used here has a form *-gan*, not *-Vgan*, and is consistently attached to nominal, not verbal, bases in the names of animals and plants. (Poppe 1927: 116; Frankle 1948: 55f.).

- **distribution:** If *-gan* was indeed the suffix used here, Küär. would be the only language to preserve its original form. This is not very likely since Küär. is not a peripheral language and it does not preserve such old forms very often.

The possibility exists, however, of a partial defence against the objection from the point suffixation: the appearance of *-y*- (*-a*- in Sag. *čadagan* is surely secondary (< **čadygan*) and results from the not fully clear alternation of *a* ~ *y*) could have been caused by an analogy to quite numerous derivatives in *-gan(a)* from roots ending in *-y*. They are also common in the Mo. languages which influenced quite heavily the Tkc. languages with the *-y*- forms: cf. Mo. *üni-jen* < *üni-gen* 'cow', *kulu-gana* 'mouse' (Poppe 1927: 116). Besides, *-a*- in Sag. *čadagan*, too, could be explained by an analogy to Mo. forms such as *kila-gana* 'a species of steppe grass', *üne-gen* 'fox', *teme-gen* 'camel' (Poppe 1927: 116). This is probably how the Brb. form *küzügän* 'eagle' came into existence: < *küc* 'eagle with a white tail' (Frankle 1948: 55f.).

Still, this defence does not explain why such a derivative should be made from a verbal, and not a nominal, stem. In theory, one could assume that an unknown nominal **jat* was in fact the base, and it would not be an unacceptable assumption as this is actually the case with most names of animals and plants with the *-gan* suffix, cf. Poppe's opinion (1927: 116): 'Was dieses Suffix *-yan* ursprünglich bedeutete und welche Funktion es hatte, ist unbekannt, da entsprechende Stämme sonst in der Sprache nicht vorkommen'.

Perhaps the unknown **jat* could be identified with Čag., Kar., Oyr., Tat., Uyg. *jat* 'foreign, strange' R III 190b? Then the meaning would have to be something like 'foreign cereal'. Unfortunately, it seems to be impossible to determine when the Sag., Šr. and Küär. became acquainted with rye.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Although it seems to be at least possible to say for Küär. that the words *jatkan* ~ *jadygan* must be older than *aryš*, i.e. older than perhaps the 17th c. (or maybe even older?). This is not, however,

However, ‘foreign, strange’ could also be understood as ‘not sown, and still appearing’ rather than ‘coming from someone foreign’. Then, such a derivate would be understandable, given the weed-like character of rye. This explanation seems to be quite likely but very difficult to prove.

Finally, it might also be that it is not the above mentioned *jat* ‘foreign, strange’ that explains our word, but some unattested semantic change such as Čul. *šat* ~ č- ‘Tatar’ (Stachowski, M. 1998: 116). But whether the Sag., Šr. and Küär. became acquainted with rye from the Tatars, is unknown. A semantic parallel could be provided by Pol. *tatarka* ‘a species of groats’, *gryka* and others (cf. also Mańczak 1999: 95f.).

Yet another possibility would be to assume the existence of some unknown nominal stem **jady*. The fact that such a stem is unknown would not in itself be a strong argument against such a proposition. However, the Küär. form of *jatkan* would then become quite incomprehensible. Perhaps the most probable explanation would be to assume that the word had been shortened in Küär., which is a fairly common phenomenon with three-syllable words with a high vowel in the middle syllable.

Additionally, it is rather puzzling that none of the above propositions can explain the concurrent existence of *j-* and *č-* forms in Sag. and Šr. Generally, *č-* is the counterpart of *Tkc. j-* in these languages, including in borrowings, e.g. Sag. *čablak* ‘potato’ < Russ. *jabloko* (Räsänen 1949: 162). Perhaps the most likely explanation is that of a late borrowing, and most probably from Oyr.

There exist in fact three explanations of our word, and none of them are wholly convincing:

1. *jat-* ‘to lie’; **for:** semantics; **against:** suffixation (partial possibility of defence), distribution
2. **jat-* nominal (*jat* ‘foreign, strange’); **for:** semantics; **against:** phonetics (*-ygan*)
3. **jady-* nominal; **for:** phonetics, suffixation; **against:** not attested (not a very strong argument), Küär. *jatkan*⁵⁰

Most probably, this derivate is very old, as is suggested by the facts that the base is utterly unclear, and that the derivational model is nowadays essentially unproductive. The possibility of a very old borrowing, adapted both morphologically and phonetically, cannot be ultimately discounted. Determining the exact period of borrowing seems, however, to be impossible given the complete lack of old, and abundant, data.

a very important clue since the cultural data show that rye should have been known in this region much earlier.

50 Although one can not definitively exclude the possibility of a later, irregular change in Küär. caused probably by folk etymology and an association with *jat* ‘foreign, strange’? ‘to lie’?

KARA BAŠAK

FORMS: *kara bašak* **Ott.:** R IV 1551b

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

Literary ‘worse ear’; on *kara* cf. *kara bugdaj*. This is understandable, given that rye was for a very long time, and sometimes still is regarded, as being a weed rather than a cereal.

KARA BUGDAJ

FORMS:

kara bidaj **Kklp.:** RKklpS-BB, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Kzk.:** RKzkS-46, RKzkS-54, Dmitrieva 1972, DFKzk

kara bijdaj **Kirg.:** Mašanovъ 1899 || **Kklp.:** RKklpS-ST, RKklpS-B || **Krč.Blk.:** RKRčBlkS || **Nog.:** RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972

kara budaj **Blk.:** Németh 1911/12: 129 || **Kmk.:** Németh 1911/12: 129 || **Krč.:** Pröhle 1909: 95 || **Krč.Blk.:** Dmitrieva 1972

kara būdaj **Kirg.:** RKirgS-Ju44, RKirgS-Ju57, Dmitrieva 1972

kara-bugda **Tat.:** قارا بوغدا Tanievъ 1909

kara bugdaj **Com.:** R IV 1807b || **Uyg.:** KTLS

qara buydaj **Uyg.:** قارا بوغداي RUjgS

LANGUAGES:

Blk.: *kara budaj* || **Com.:** *kara bugdaj* || **Kirg.:** *kara bijdaj*, *kara būdaj* || **Kklp.:** *kara bidaj*, *kara bijdaj* || **Kmk.:** *kara budaj* || **Krč.:** *kara budaj* || **Krč.Blk.:** *kara bijdaj*, *kara budaj* || **Kzk.:** *kara bidaj* || **Nog.:** *kara bijdaj* || **Tat.:** *kara-bugda* || **Uyg.:** *kara bugdaj*, *qara buydaj*

ETYMOLOGY:

1961: Laude-Cirtautas 1961: describes the metaphorical meaning of *kara* as ‘usual, common; of lower quality’ when dealing with its usage in plant names (see 34f.), and exemplifies it with **Blk.**, **Kmk.** *kara budaj*, **Com.**, **Uyg.** *kara buydaj* meaning ‘wheat of lower quality’

1972: Dmitrieva: < *kara* ‘black’ + *bugdaj*⁵¹

COMMENTARY:

This name is a composition of two words, both of which requires a separate explanation.

KARA:

We can see two possibilities of explaining the usage of *kara* here:

1. according to the description proposed by Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 34f. This option is very plausible, especially because using the names of colours metaphorically is quite common in the Tkc. languages, and also because rye has never been highly regarded in Asia, to the extent that it is often considered to be a weed.
2. by linking it with ergot (*Secale cornutum*), i.e. sclerotium of a parasitic fungus in the genus *Claviceps*, which attacks rye among others, and can be noticed as little black

⁵¹ In Dmitrieva 1972, only the etymology of **Kirg.** *kara būdaj* is given directly, but we believe it should be assumed that it concerns all the names of this kind which are quoted here.

spots on the ears. This possibility appears to be less probable as 1. ergot attacks wheat, too (though less commonly); 2. it seems quite strange, that the name of a cereal should be derived from a fungus which attacks it, and is therefore a symptom of an illness and not an integral part of the plant.

BUGDAJ:

Calling rye with a name for ‘wheat’ can be explained in two planes:

1. **biological:** Rye behaves as a weed, i.e. it grows on the fields where other cereals had been sown, very often on fields of wheat. Because it ripens faster, and its stems are more fragile and break earlier, it soon equals the sown cereals in number, or even surpass them.
2. **ethnographical:** In connection with the above, the TkC. peoples, who never greatly appreciated rye, have developed legends about wheat gradually turning (deteriorating) into rye. This fact shows clearly the relative order in which the TkC. peoples became acquainted with these cereals, and is also supported by the fact that while the name *bugdaj* ‘wheat’ is widespread, and is native or borrowed as early as the PTkC. period (or even earlier, perhaps?), the names for ‘rye’ are more numerous and are all descriptive (including by comparison to wheat) or borrowed in the historic times.

KÖK NAJZA

FORMS: *kök najza* Kzk.: R III 635m

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

The meaning of *kök* is not entirely clear here. For certain, it is more about a shade of green rather than blue: rye does not have a blue tint, neither as a plant nor as a grain. It is also possible, though, that this word is not used as a simple colour name here. Given that rye is often considered to be an inferior type of cereal, perhaps we should assume a semantic development such as ‘green’ > ‘unripe’ > ‘inferior’, even if, to the best of our knowledge, there is no attestation of such a shift. At least in respect to animals, *kök* can have meanings far from ‘blue’ or ‘green’, e.g. ‘gray’, ‘silver’ and even Uzb. *kök koj* ‘brown sheep’ (Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 79).

Kzk. *najza* means ‘lance’ and is derived (VEWT) from Pers. نایزه *nāyze* (~ نایژه *nāyže*) ‘1. bronchus; 2. bugle, tube’. The usage of this word is not accidental; the hair on the ears of rye is exceptionally stiff and prickly.

KÖKTARĀ

FORMS:

kök tarā Tuv.: Dmitrieva 1972 || *kök tara* Dmitrieva 1979

köktarā Tuv.: RTuWS

ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: < *kök* ‘blue’ + *tarā* ‘grain’

1979: Dmitrieva: liter. ‘dark millet’

Assuming the meaning of ‘blue’ rather than ‘green’ seems to be strange. To the best of our knowledge, no cereal or its grains are blue. Cf. *kök najza*.

COMMENTARY:

Literary ‘green grain (?)’. On *kök* see *kök najza*.

Tarā corresponds to Tkc. *dary* ‘millet’ (see) and means in Tuv. ‘1. cereal; 2. grain; 3. millet’. It is difficult to determine with any certainty which is the meaning employed in this case.

‘Grain’ seems to be the most probable one. Grains of rye do indeed have a green tint to them, more clearly visible than with other cereals. This is not, however, enough, to exclude all the other possibilities. If we assumed a semantic development such as with *kök najza*, the meaning of ‘inferior cereal’ would seem to render the attitude of the Tkc. peoples towards rye quite accurately.

Finally, one can not rule out the possibility that the meaning used here is ‘millet’, and that the whole name is but another confirmation of the fact the Tkc. peoples became acquainted with rye after wheat. The last possibility seems, however, to be the least probable.

ORUOS

FORMS: *oruos* **Yak.:** Slepcev 1964: 37, 92, RJakS, Dmitrieva 1972, Anikin 2003

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *rožb* ‘rye’

COMMENTARY:

Dmitrieva 1972’s etymology appears to be true, and requires no further commentary.

ROŽB

FORMS:

rožb **Khak.:** RChakS, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Trkm.:** RTrkmS, (scientific) Nikitin/Kerbaev 1962

LANGUAGES:

Khak.: *rožb* || **Trkm.:** *rožb*

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Russ. *rožb* ‘rye’. Cf. *aryš*.

RŽI

FORMS: *rži* **Bšk.:** Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Russ. *rži* Gen. < *rožb* ‘rye’. Cf. also *prosa* ‘millet’.

SULY

FORMS:

süle **Trkm.:** (Kopet-Dag) Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962

sulli **Kklp.:** RKklpS-BB

suly **Kklp.:** RKklpS-B || **Nog.:** Eren 1999 s.v. *çavdar*

LANGUAGES:

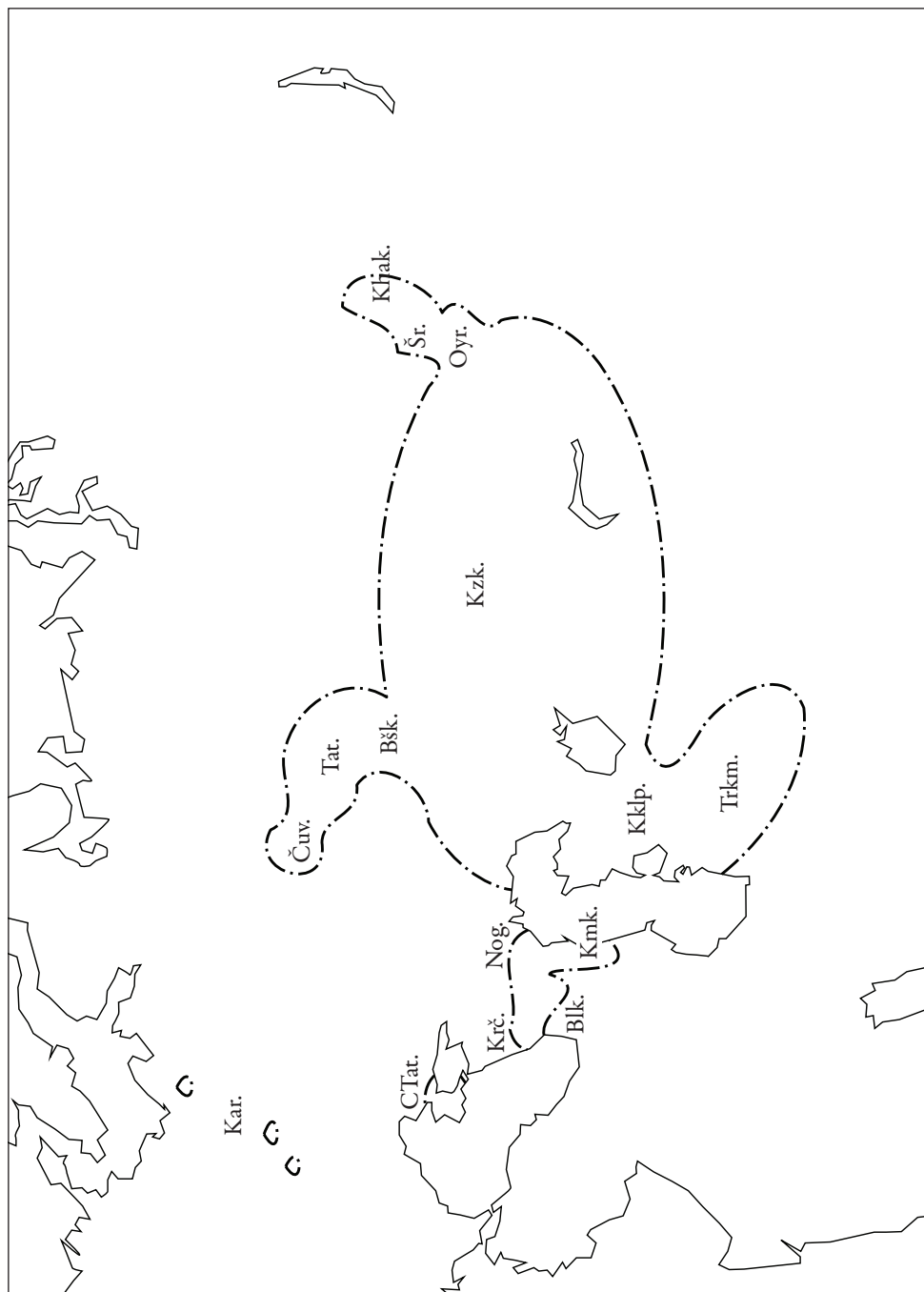
Kklp.: *sulli, suly* || **Nog.:** *suly* || **Trkm.:** *süle*

ETYMOLOGY: see *saly* 'rice'

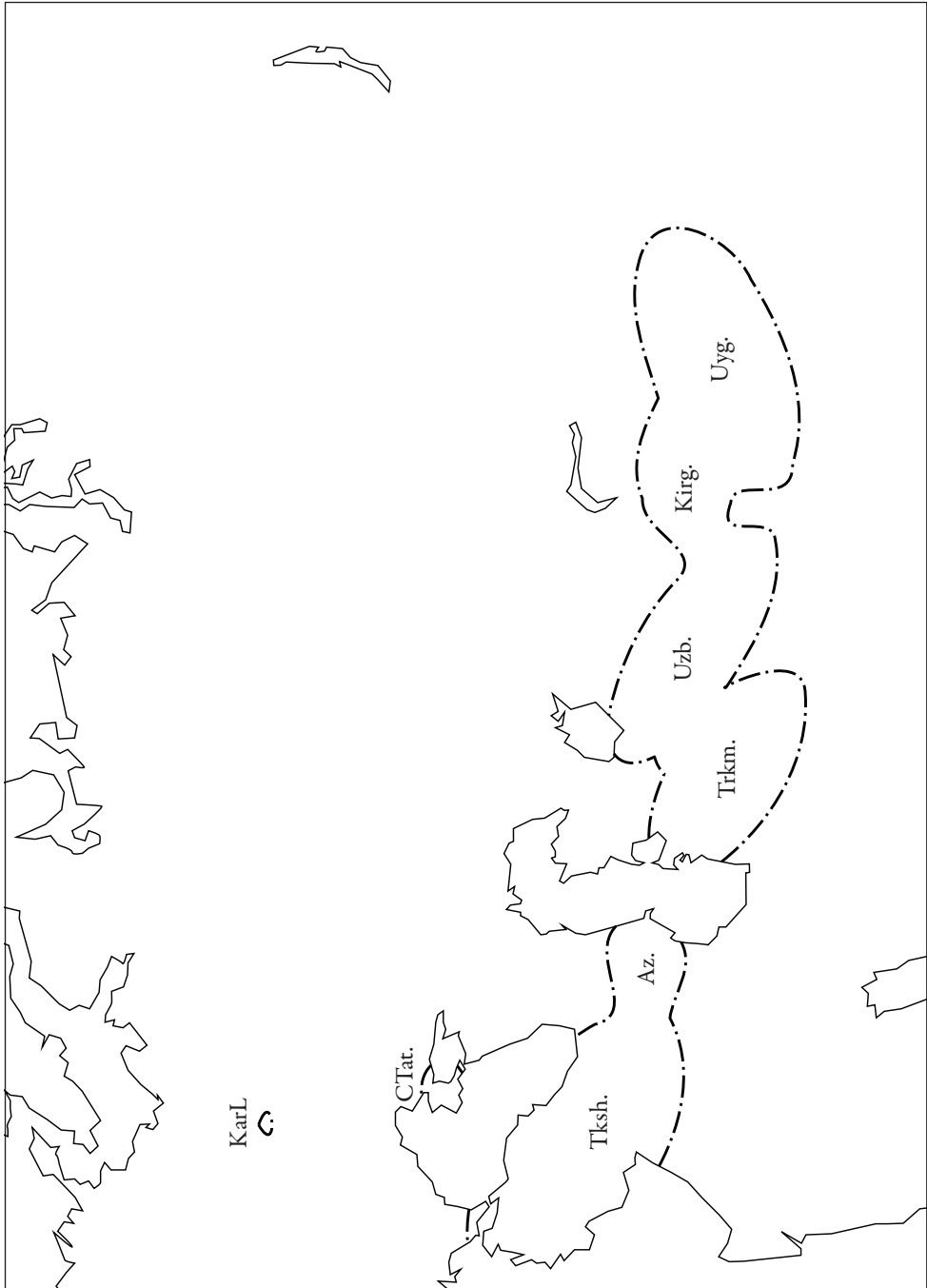
COMMENTARY:

This word is widespread in the Tkc. languages, but usually in the meaning of 'rice'. Also in Kklp. it is present in this meaning, in the form of *saly*.

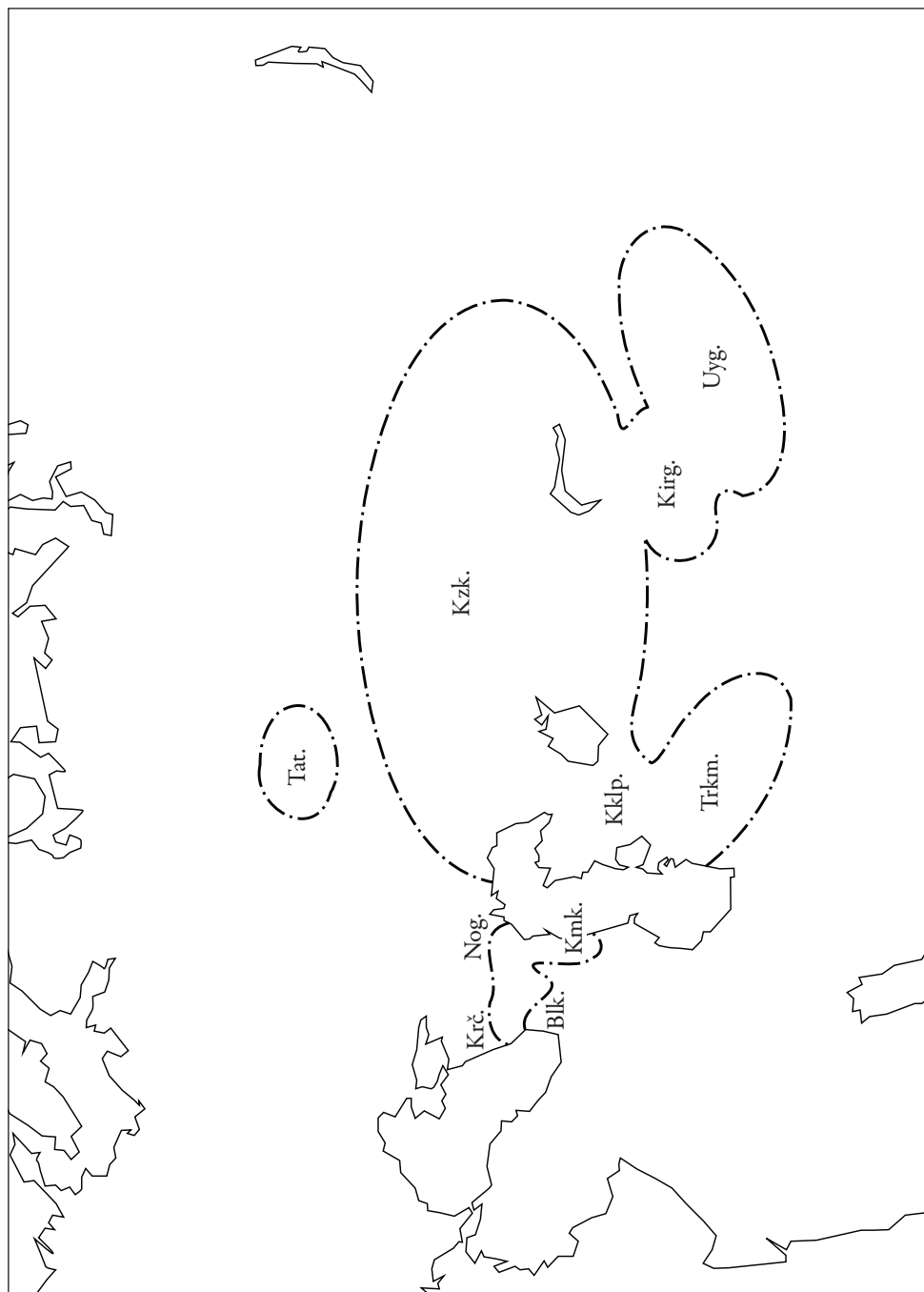
The unusual meaning here might result simply from a lack of orientation or, less probably, from the weed-like character of rye; cf. *budaj* (although rye grows mostly in fields of wheat, not rice).



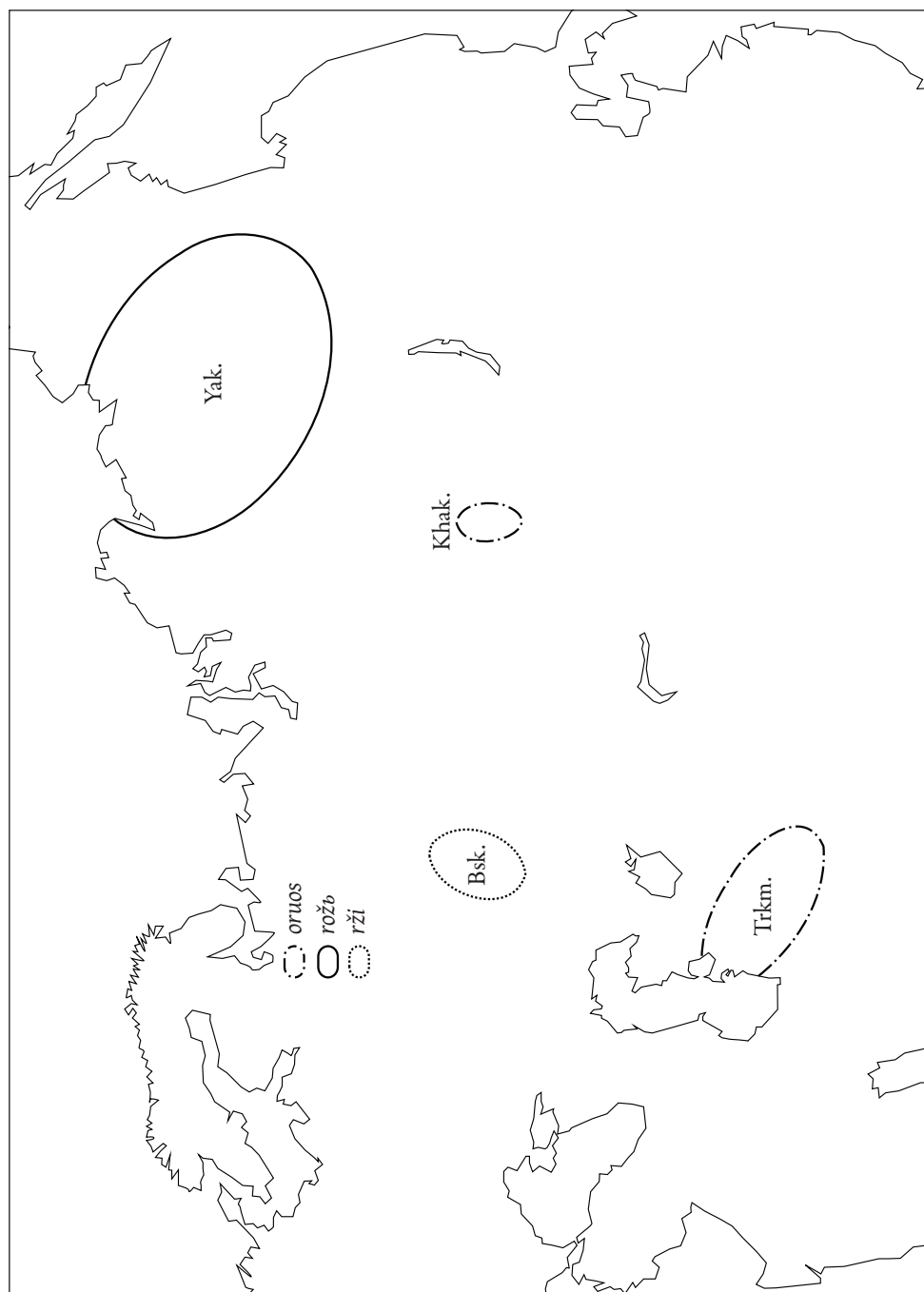
aryš 'rye'



čavdar 'rye'



kara bugdaj 'rye'



rožb 'rye'

WHEAT *TRITICUM L.*

Wheat is one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, and also perhaps the most important cereal of the world. The *Triticum* genus is composed of numerous species and varieties. Despite the unusually long history of cultivation, wheat can still often be found growing wildly.

It is very difficult to determine exactly when the cultivation of wheat began. The oldest grains of *Triticum dioccum* are dated seven thousand years BC. The domestication probably happened in Egypt and/or in the Fertile Crescent. It spread to Europe, North Africa and Asia as early as the time of the primitive farming cultures, even thousands of years BC (Nowiński 1970: 155). The oldest of the cultivated species of wheat is *Triticum dioccum*, once very widespread in Asia and elsewhere, and originating probably from the region of Syria and Palestine. Another once very popular species is spelt (*T. spelta*). Its origin is not fully understood but it is probable that it came into being in Central-Eastern or Eastern Asia. Nowadays, common wheat (or bread wheat; *T. vulgare* = *T. aestivum*) is definitely the most popular. It originates from the Middle East and is over four and a half thousand years old. It displaced all the other species to a considerable degree.

Among the Tk. names for 'wheat', *bugdaj* is very clearly the most common. This fact can be interpreted as an indication that the Tk. and Mo. peoples became acquainted with wheat very long ago, perhaps before the decay of the Tk.Mo. union⁵². The absence of the word from the Ma.Tung. languages (not counting a later borrowing from Mo.) only confirms the relative chronology of the decay of the Alt. union.

FORMS:

<i>aktarā</i>	<i>bogdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buddaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>astyγ</i> → <i>aš(lyk)</i>	<i>bögdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>budgaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>aš</i> → <i>aš(lyk)</i>	<i>bögdoj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>būdoj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>ašlik</i> → <i>aš(lyk)</i>	<i>bögödaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bugda</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>ašlyk</i> → <i>aš(lyk)</i>	<i>boγdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bidaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bojdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bugdāj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bīdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bojδaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buydaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bijdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>bojzaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buydoj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bodaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>boraj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buyudaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bödāj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>böraj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buydaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bōdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>börāj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buyδaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bödoj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>budaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buldej</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>böδaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>būdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>buraj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>
<i>bogda</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>būdaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>	<i>būtaj</i> → <i>bugdaj</i>

52 We use the term *union* here to avoid the discussion on what was its exact character.

buvdaj → bugdaj
 dövme
 dügi
 genim
 göže
 hinta
 jasmyk
 kyzyl bodaj
 kyzyl tas → kyzyltas
 kyzyltas

mejza
 öjür
 päri → bugdaj
 pogta → bugdaj
 pöri → bugdaj
 pöri → bugdaj
 pūdaj → bugdaj
 pugdaj → bugdaj
 seliehinej
 seliesenej → seliehinej

seliesinej → seliehinej
 šenīse
 šīse → šenīse
 šīse → šenīse
 taryg
 tereke
 tula
 tulā → tula

LANGUAGES:

Az.: bugda
 Blk.: budaj
 Brb.: pugdaj
 Bšk.: bodaj || bödāj || bödaj ||
 bojđaj || bojzaj || boraj ||
 bujđaj || buraj
 Com.: bugdaj
 CTat.: bogdaj || budgaj
 Čag.: bogdaj || budgaj ||
 bugdaj
 Čuv.: päri || pöri || pöri ||
 tula || tulā
 Fuyü: mejza
 Gag.: bodaj || bödaj || būdaj
 || tereke
 Kar.: bogdaj || budgaj
 KarC: bogdaj
 KarH: budaj
 KarT: budaj
 Khak.: pugdaj
 Khal.: bogda || bugda
 Kirg.: bijdaj || būdaj || bujdaj
 || pūdaj
 Kklp.: bidaj || bijdaj || būdaj
 || buvdaj

Kmk.: bidaj || budaj
 Krč.Blk.: bidaj || budaj
 Küär.: pūdaj
 Kzk.: bidaj || bīdaj || bijdaj ||
 boraj || bugdaj || bujdaj
 MTkc.H: bodaj || bogdaj ||
 budaj || bugdaj
 MTkc.IM: bugdaj
 MTkc.KM: bugda || budgaj
 MTkc.MA.B: bugdaj
 MTkc.MK: ašlyk || bugdāj
 || taryg
 Nog.: bijdaj
 Oghuz.Ir.: bugda
 OTkc.: budgaj || bugdaj || öjür
 Ott.: bogdaj || bojdaj ||
 budgaj || hinta
 OUyg.: ašlyk
 Oyr.: aš || būdaj || būdoj ||
 pūdaj
 Oyr.dial.: būtaj
 Sal.: bogdaj || būdaj || pogta
 Šr.: bugdaj || pūdaj
 Tat.: bodaj || bödāj || bödaj ||
 bödoj || bögdaj || bögdoj ||

bōgōdaj || boraj || bōraj ||
 bōrāj || būdaj || bugda ||
 dügi || kyzyl bodaj
 Tat.Gr.: bogdaj
 Tel.: pūdaj
 Tksh.: bugda || budgaj ||
 dövme || göže
 Tksh.dial.: buldej || genim
 Tob.: bugdaj || bujdaj
 Tof.: šenīse || šīse || šīse
 Trkm.: bogdaj || budgaj
 Tuv.: aktarā || budaj || būdaj
 || būtaj || kyzyl tas ||
 kyzyltas || pūdaj
 Uyg.: ašlyk || boydaj ||
 buydaj || buydoj ||
 buyudaj
 Uzb.: astyy || ašlik || buddaj
 || bugdaj || buydoj
 Uzb.dial.: buvdaj || jasmyk
 Yak.: seliehinej || seliesenej ||
 seliesinej

AKTARĀ

FORMS: aktarā **Tuv.:** RTuwS, Dmitrieva 1972

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < ak ‘white’ + tarā ‘grain; cereal’

COMMENTARY:

This name is absolutely clear morphologically; it needs, however, a brief semantic explanation missing from Dmitrieva 1972.

Tarā corresponds to Tkc. *dary* ‘millet’ (cf.), here probably in the meaning of ‘cereal’ rather than ‘millet’. *Ak* is presumably to be understood metaphorically, as ‘good, better’ which would be connected to the high importance attached to wheat.

Calling wheat with the name for ‘millet’ should indicate the order in which the Tuvinians became acquainted with these cereals. However, the data from the remaining Tkc. languages shows that wheat was probably the first cereal known to the Tkc. peoples. Perhaps millet took over the role of being the most important cereal for the Tuvinians, and this is where a secondary name for ‘wheat’ comes from? Cf. also *köktarā*.

AŠ(LYK)

FORMS:

astyγ **Uzb.:** *Çevilek* 2005

aš **Oyr.:** *Çevilek* 2005

ašlik **Uzb.:** *Çevilek* 2005

ašlyk **MTkc.MK:** Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85 || **OYyg.:** *Çevilek* 2005 || **Uyg.:** *Çevilek* 2005

LANGUAGES:

MTkc.MK: *ašlyk* || **OYyg.:** *ašlyk* || **Oyr.:** *aš* || **Uyg.:** *ašlyk* || **Uzb.:** *astyγ, ašlik*

ETYMOLOGY: see as ‘barley’

COMMENTARY:

Given the original meaning of *aš*, ‘soup’, the fact that this word means both ‘wheat’ and ‘barley’ is no surprise, even in the absence of semantic parallels. The suffix *-lyk* is probably not used here in its most common meaning of ‘abstractum’, cf. the following characteristic: ‘The suffix *-lyx, -lik, -lux, -luk* is in Karaim productive and forms denominal verbs denoting abstract concepts (*nomina abstracta*), also names of people (originally names of status, posts), things, and especially of plants, cf. e.g. *almaŷyx* ‘apple-tree’, *borlaŷyx* ‘grapevine’ and others.’ (Zajączkowski 1932: 30f.; own translation). We believe that this information is relevant to other Tkc. languages, too.⁵³

BUGDAJ

FORMS:

bidaj **Kklp.:** RKklpS-BB, Dmitrieva 1972 || **Kmk.:** RKmkS || **Krč.Blk.:** RKrčBlkS
|| **Kzk.:** RKzkS-46, RKzkS-54, Dmitrieva 1972, DFKzk

bīdaj **Kzk.:** Joki 1952

bijdaj **Kirg.:** Мағановъ 1899 || **Kklp.:** RKklpS-ST, RKklpS-B || **Kzk.:** VEWT ||
Nog.: RNogS, Dmitrieva 1972

53 Cf. Čul. *aŷnyk* ‘1. trap, 2. morel’ (Pomorska 2004: 74) << *aŷ* ‘wild animal, beast’ (Birjukovič 1984: 13), although in this case the meaning of ‘morel’ evolved probably from the meaning of ‘trap’ rather than ‘wild animal’.

- bodaj* **Bšk.:** Brands 1973: 45 || **Gag.:** Güngör/Argunşah 1991 || **MTkc.H** || **Tat.:** Voskresenskij 1894, RTatS-D, Brands 1973: 45, RTatS-G
- bödāj* **Bšk.:** Joki 1952 || **Tat.:** Joki 1952
- bōdaj* **Gag.:** ÈSTJa, Dmitrieva 1972, Güngör/Argunşah 1991 || **Tat.:** Imanaevъ 1901, VEWT
- bōdoj* **Tat.:** ÈSTJa
- bōdaj* **Bšk.:** VEWT
- bogda* **Khal.:** Doerfer/Tezcan 1980
- bogdaj* **CTat.:** Zaatovъ 1906, ÈSTJa || **Čag.:** Joki 1952 || **Kar.:** ÈSTJa || **KarC:** KRPS, Levi 1996 || **MTkc.H** || **Ott.:** Joki 1952, VEWT || **Sal.:** Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **Tat.Gr.:** Podolsky 1981 || **Trkm.:** Joki 1952, VEWT
- bōgdaj* **Tat.:** Joki 1952
- bōgdoj* **Tat.:** ÈSTJa
- bōgōdaj* **Tat.:** Imanaevъ 1901
- boγdaj* **Uyg.:** Raquette 1927, ÈSTJa
- bojdaj* **Ott.:** Joki 1952
- bojđaj* **Bšk.:** Dmitrieva 1972, RBškS, Brands 1973: 45
- bojzaj* **Bšk.:** Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri*
- boraj* **Bšk.:** 'spelt' Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri* || **Kzk.:** VEWT, Räsänen 1946: 198 (~ *bijdajy*) || **Tat.:** 'spelt' Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri*
- bōraj* **Tat.:** VEWT
- bōrāj* **Tat.:** Räsänen 1946: 198
- budaj* **Blk.:** ÈSTJa || **KarH:** KRPS, Mardkowicz 1935 || **KarT:** KRPS, Kowalski 1929 || **Kmk.:** Dmitrieva 1972 || **Krč.Blk.:** Joki 1952, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **MTkc.H** || **Tuv.:** Tatarincev 2000–
- būdaj* **Gag.:** ÈSTJa || **Sal.:** ÈSTJa || **Tat.:** ÈSTJa || **Tuv.:** Tatarincev 2000–
- būdaj* **Kirg.:** RKirgS-Ju44, Joki 1952, RKirgS-Ju57, Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa || **Kklp.:** Joki 1952 || **Oyr.:** Dmitrieva 1972, ÈSTJa, RAltS
- buddaj* **Uzb.:** Witczak 2003: 95
- budgaj* **CTat.:** Joki 1952 || **Čag.:** Joki 1952 || **Kar.:** Joki 1952 || **OTkc.:** DTS (one attestation in MK) || **Ott.:** Joki 1952 || **Trkm.:** Joki 1952
- būdoj* **Oyr.:** ÈSTJa
- bugda* **Az.:** Dmitrieva 1972, RAzS || **Khal.:** Doerfer/Tezcan 1980, Doerfer 1987 || **MTkc.MK** || **Oghuz.Ir.:** Doerfer/Hesche 1989 || **Tat.:** بوغدا Tanievъ 1909 || **Tksh.:** Tietze 2002–
- bugdaj* **Com.:** Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri* || **Čag.:** Joki 1952, Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri* || **Kzk.:** Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri* || **MTkc.H** || **MTkc.IM** || **MTkc.MA.B:** Borovkov 1971: 100 || **MTkc.KM** || **OTkc.:** DTS (four attestations in MK), Dmitrieva 1972 || **Šr.:** Joki 1952 || **Tob.:** Joki 1952 || **Tksh.:** Dmitrieva 1972 || **Uzb.:** Nalivkinъ 1895 (بوغداي), Lapin 1899, Smolenskij 1912, Alijiv/Böörjijf 1929, RTrkmS, Nikitin/Kerbabaev 1962, Dmitrieva 1972
- bugdāj* **MTkc.MK:** Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85
- buydaj* **Uyg.:** بوغداي RUjgSR, Dmitrieva 1972, Fedotov 1996 s.v. *pāri*

buydoj Uyg.: RUJgSA || **Uzb.:** RUzbS-A, RUzbS-Š, Dmitrieva 1972
buyudaj Uyg.: Menges 1933, ÈSTJa
bujdaj Kirg.: Маџановъ 1899 || **Kzk.:** Joki 1952, VEWT || **Tob.:** VEWT
bujđaj Bšk.: ÈSTJa
buldej Tksh.dial.: UA
buraj Bšk.: Räsänen 1946: 198, VEWT
bütaj Oyr.dial.: ÈSTJa || **Tuv.:** Tatarincev 2000–
buvdaj Kklp.: Tatarincev 2000– || **Uzb.dial.:** ÈSTJa
päri Čuv.: Anatri ‘spelt’, Róna-Tas 1990: 31
poğtə Sal.: ÈSTJa
pöri Čuv.: ‘spelt’ VEWT
pöri Čuv.: Virjal Róna-Tas 1990: 31
pūdaj Kirg.: Joki 1952 || **Küär.:** Joki 1952 || **Oyr.:** Joki 1952, ÈSTJa || **Šr.:** Joki 1952 ||
Tel.: Ryumina-Sırkaşeva 1995 || **Tuv.:** Tatarincev 2000–
pugđaj Brb.: VEWT || **Khak.:** Dmitrieva 1972, RChakS

LANGUAGES:

Az.: *bugda* || **Blk.:** *budaj* || **Brb.:** *pugđaj* || **Bšk.:** *bodaj, böđäj, böđaj, bojđaj, bojzaj, boraj, bujđaj, buraj*
 || **Com.:** *bugđaj* || **CTat.:** *bogđaj, budgaj* || **Čag.:** *bogđaj, budgaj, budgaj* || **Čuv.:** *päri, pöri, pöri* ||
Gag.: *bodaj, böđaj, būđaj* || **Kar.:** *bogđaj, budgaj* || **KarC.:** *bogđaj* || **KarH.:** *budaj* || **KarT.:** *budaj*
 || **Khak.:** *pugđaj* || **Khal.:** *bogda, bugda* || **Kirg.:** *bijđaj, būđaj, bujđaj, pūdaj* || **Kklp.:** *bidaj, bijđaj,*
būđaj, buvdaj || **Kmk.:** *bidaj, budaj* || **Krč.Blk.:** *bidaj, budaj* || **Küär.:** *pūdaj* || **Kzk.:** *bidaj, būđaj, bijđaj,*
boraj, bugđaj, bujđaj || **MTkc.H.:** *bodaj, bogđaj, budaj, bugđaj* || **MTkc.IM:** *bugđaj* || **MTkc.KM:**
bugda, bugđaj || **MTkc.MA.B.:** *bugđaj* || **MTkc.MK:** *bugđäj* || **Nog.:** *bijđaj* || **Oghuz.Ir.:** *bugda*
 || **OTkc.:** *budgaj, budgaj* || **Ott.:** *bogđaj, bojđaj, budgaj* || **Oyr.:** *būdaj, būdoj, pūdaj* || **Oyr.dial.:**
būtaj || **Sal.:** *bogđaj, būđaj, poğtə* || **Šr.:** *bugđaj, pūdaj* || **Tat.:** *bodaj, böđäj, böđaj, bödoj, böğđaj, böğdoj,*
bögöđaj, boraj, böräj, böräj, būđaj, bugda || **Tat.Gr.:** *bogđaj* || **Tel.:** *pūdaj* || **Tksh.:** *bugda, bugđaj* ||
Tksh.dial.: *buldej* || **Tob.:** *bugđaj, bujđaj* || **Trkm.:** *bogđaj, budgaj* || **Tuv.:** *budaj, būđaj, bütaj, pūdaj*
 || **Uyg.:** *boyđaj, buyđaj, buydoj, buyudaj* || **Uzb.:** *buddaj, bugđaj, buydoj* || **Uzb.dial.:** *buvdaj*

ETYMOLOGY (an overview of the most important propositions):

Tkc. *bugđaj*:

1946: Räsänen: 198: Bšk. *buräj*, Kzk. *boraj-bijđaj*, Tat. *böräj* < Čuv. *päry* &c.

1952: Joki: < OChin. *m^wbk* ‘wheat’ or OChin.N. **m^wok* id. + OChin. *lâi* ‘wheat’⁵⁴

Tkc. *budğaj* is a metathesis; Mo. ~ (or <?) Tkc.

Both words are attested in Chin. in the oldest monuments of the Yin period. The old Chin.N form **m^wok* is derived by being based on Mand. *mo*. The change *-gl-* > *-gd-* as in Nog. *čiglāk*, Trkm. *čigelek* ‘Erdbeere’ ~ MTkc. *jigdä* ‘rote Brustbeere’.

This proposition should be treated as obsolete now. Currently, Mand. *mai⁺* is derived from MChin. *mEk* < OChin. **mrík* ‘wheat’; OChin. *lâi* is probably to be understood as modern *li⁺*, as in *mai⁺li⁺* ‘wheat grain’, which however < OChin.

**C-rip* (oral information from Prof. A. Vovin [Honolulu]).

54 The compound *m^wbk lâi* is written without an asterisk. This is probably supposed to mean that both its components are attested, as opposed to **m^wok-lâi* where the first element is reconstructed (writing with or without hyphen after Joki 1952: 108).

1969: VEWT: OTкc. *buγudaj* < Mo. *buγudaj*

1972: Clauson: OTкc. *buğdāj, buğdaj*

1972: Dmitrieva: only indicates a comparison with OTкc. *boguz* ‘хлеб в зерне; фураж’, *boj* ‘пажитник’

1974: ÈСТJa: summarizes and comments on other propositions without offering its own. It only proposes to assume the possibility of final *-g* instead of *-j*, however, basing solely on Uzb.dial. forms *buγday ~ buγdək*. What seems to be more probable is an expansion of original **boguda* (see ТКС. FORMS below) with a common suffix *-(a)k* on the Uzb. ground. Such an explanation is not in contradiction to the commonness of final *-j* in almost all Ткc. languages – which suggests a very old derivation – as *-a* forms appear quite often in dialects, especially in the Az. and Tksh. ones (cf. e.g. Tksh.dial. *bağda* ÈСТJa; *boğda* AA, RA; *byjda* OA; Az.dial. *boγda, buγda* ÈСТJa) which leads us to believe that the non-deminutive (see ETYMOLOGY below) form must have been in use for quite a long period.

2000: Tatarincev: **bug/k* (nominal or verbal) ‘greater quantity; multiplication; spreading’ for multiple grains on the ear + the *-(a)d-* suffix forming verbs > ‘накапливаться, скапливаться (напр., о зернах в колосе)’ + suffixes forming nouns *-(a)j, -a* and *-(a)g*.

To support the reconstructed **bug ~ *buk* the following examples are listed: Yak. *buguj* ‘пододвигать с краев к середине горяще в костре дрова’, OУyг. *puklun* ‘накоплять’, Lob. *bug-ana(k)* ‘насыпанные, пригнанные ветром бугры песку около деревьев’ and others, also Kzk. *bukpa* ‘густая каша’, OTкc. *boγuz* ‘хлеб в зерне; фураж’, Уyг. *bogaz* (in *aš bogaz*), *boguz ~ bogus* ‘провиант для людей; корм для скота’, and finally Ткc. *bug ~ bugu* ‘пар, испарения, дым’ and such coincidences as Kklp. *buvdaj* ‘wheat’: *buv* ‘steam’ &c., and others.

This proposition does not seem to be particularly convincing. The reconstruction of **bug/k* with the above meaning is perhaps not so well grounded. Also the question of alternating *o ~ u* in the first syllable remains unsolved, particularly as it would be very hard to explain it by using the assumption of the original **u*. Also the explanation of the differences in the auslaut of the Ткc. forms appears too brief.

2002: Tietze: < OTкc. *buγdaj* (according to Clauson 1972)

Čuv. *pāri*:

1946: Räsänen: 25f.: = Ткc. *bugdaj*

1973: Brands: 45: = Ткc. *bugdaj*

1977: Scherner: 17: late Bulgh. **buraj* < early Bulgh. **buzaj* < Ткc. **buγdaj* ‘wheat’

1990: Róna-Tas: 31: Čuv.Virjal *pōri*, Anatri *pāri* < OTкc. *buγdaj*; meaning influenced by Russ. *pyrej* ‘spelt’.

Róna-Tas assumes a disappearance of *γ*, spirantization of *d > z*, the Chuvash rhotacism and later, a reduction of *u*, yielding finally *pōri* in Virjal and *pāri* in Anatri. An explanation of the phonetic evolution of the last syllable is somewhat missing.

It might be impossible to present any proof, for or against, such an evolution. We believe however that Fedotov's proposition is more realistic because it assumes less phonetic changes, and the ones it includes are easier to explain, and involves no semantic change at all.

1996: Fedotov: < OSlav. *pyro* 'spelt'

Criticises connecting the word with Tkc. *bugdaj*, as has been done in the past. Instead, he offers a comparison with OSlav. *pyro* 'spelt', which seems quite convincing – both from the semantic and phonetic points of view (although the final *-i* still remains incomprehensible: an influence/contamination with *pyrej* 'spelt'?). A long-lasting and very thorough influence of Russ. on Čuv. is another argument in favour of Fedotov's 1996 proposition, even though he does not mention it himself.

COMMENTARY:

This word is very common in the Tkc. languages and, as one would expect, it appears in a multitude of phonetic shapes. It is also present in the Mo. languages, its forms being equally diversified there. In addition, we know that wheat is generally one of the oldest, or perhaps the oldest, cereal cultivated by man (Nowiński 1970: 162). A combination of these facts allows us to assume that this word existed as early as the stage of the Tkc.Mo. union (of whatever nature it was: genetic, areal or something else) or even earlier.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, our knowledge is not deep enough to try to produce an acceptably probable reconstruction on a stage of evolution that was so long before the oldest texts. This is why we are going to limit ourselves to offering some remarks on previous propositions, and presenting some possibilities for future investigation.

TKC. FORMS

Many of the Tkc. forms could be comfortably explained by a borrowing from another Tkc. language. This phenomenon has been and still is, quite common; in the past it was additionally facilitated by the nomadic way of life of many Tkc. tribes. An exact investigation into the routes of such borrowings is only possible to a very limited degree due to the poor and young attestations of many languages, and the orthographical tradition of literary koinés, almost always very strong.

However, even without knowing precisely what the routes of our word are, it is possible to explain a great majority of its forms with just a few phonetic processes:

- spirantization and disappearance of *-g-*, along with possible substitute lengthening of the preceding vowel and possibly, its shortening later
- change of *-g-* > *-v-* or *-j-*, and

⁵⁵ Its absence from the Ma.Tung. languages seems to indicate some transitional period between the Tkc.Mo.-Tung. and Tkc.Mo. unions. It is not, however, a very sound argument: all these peoples mainly made their living from nomadism well into historic times, and only regarded farming as an additional source of food for a very long time. Agricultural terms then, did not not necessarily spread fast and reach all the languages.

An attempt to ascertain whether the Ma.Tung. peoples were powerful enough to possess lands adequate for wheat cultivation would require an assumption of when our word is present in the Alt. languages, and would thus lead to a vicious circle.

- palatalization of a before *j* are all common phenomena in the Tkc. languages. Individual forms in some of the languages might raise doubts but most of them can be explained quite easily.
- Brb., Khak., Oyr., Sal. and Tuv. forms have initial *p-* instead of *b-*. In Khak. and Sal. it is a regular change but it is not in the remaining languages. We believe that borrowing is the most likely solution – perhaps from Khak., given the area of its usage.
- Čag., CTat., Kar., OTkc., Ott. and Trkm. *budyaj* are most probably the result of a metathesis.
- Kklp., Kzk. and Nog. *-i-* in the first syllable might be understood as a result of an irregular process present in a part of the Tkc. languages where the dropping of a consonant is accompanied by the change of the preceding vowel into *ī*.
- Tat. and Bšk. *böraj* are most probably borrowings from Čuv. (Fedotov 1996 s.v. *päri*). Also Bšk. *buraj* can presumably be interpreted in this way. Still, a direct influence of Russ. *pyrej* ‘spelt’ should not be ruled out, either.
- Tat. and Bšk. *-ö-* in the first syllable probably results from the influence (contamination?) of the form *böraj* which has been borrowed from Čuv. (see below).
- Uyg. three syllable long *buyudaj* is presumably a borrowing from Mo. It is very unlikely that Uyg. would conserve the original (see below) high vowel in the middle syllable of a three syllable word.

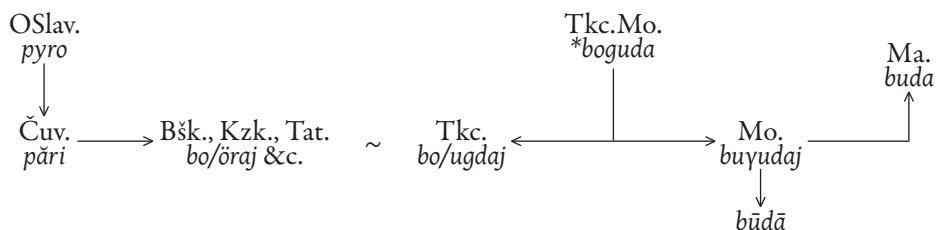
It seems then, that a great number of Tkc. forms (not counting Čuv. forms (see below) and borrowings such as Uyg. *buyudaj*) can in fact be reduced to one initial shape of **boguda*, because:

- Tkc. languages generally tend to avoid *o* in the first syllable, and so raising the original *o* is much more likely than the opposite process
- Tkc. languages generally shorten three syllable words with a high vowel in the middle syllable, while the Mo. languages do not (at least until quite recently)
- final *-j* is probably a diminutive suffix. This assumption has already been made (e.g. ĚSTJa, Tatarincev 2000 and others), as it allows for an easy explanation of the *-a ~ -aj* alternation in auslaut. For auslaut cf. also commentary on ĚSTJa’s proposition in ETYMOLOGY above, and Tuv. *arbaj, arvaj*

For Čuv. *päri*, we believe, Fedotov’s 1996 proposition (see ETYMOLOGY above) is the most probable. If it is, however, true, it makes deriving Hung. *búza* ‘wheat’ from Čuv. (TESz, EWU) impossible.

PTKC.MO. NATIVENESS

None of the propositions for explaining our word on the Tkc. ground which have been made so far is fully convincing. Tatarincev 2000 has certainly presented the most probable proposition, though even this has a number of weak points: especially semantics and connecting the word finally with ‘steam’ seems to be a little too far-reaching. Also, as Tatarincev himself admits, the morphological structure is not fully explained, either.



The Tkc. final *-aj* (though other forms exist, too) could have influenced Bšk., Kzk. and Tat. form borrowed from Čuv. We believe that this is more probable than trying to derive the word directly from the Čuv. form.

BORROWING TO PTKC.MO.

Perhaps then, we should look for the source of our word beyond the Tkc. and Mo. languages. The Chin. proposition in Joki 1952 is unacceptable for phonetic reasons (ĚSTJa, Tatarincev 2000). While an IE origin is probable for the Čuv. word (< Russ.), it is highly unlikely for all the remaining Tkc. languages, again, for phonetic reasons (PIE or IE *-r-* could not have yielded Tkc.Mo. *-yd-*).

We believe that the facts that, 1. the cultivation of wheat began in Mesopotamia, and 2. agriculture (together with the first cultivated cereals) seems to be a borrowing among the Tkc. (and Mo.) peoples, allows us to assume with equal probability that the name for ‘wheat’ was borrowed along with the plant itself, or that it was formed on the PTKc. or Mo. ground.

Currently, the situation appears to be a stalemate and allows for nothing but guesswork. We believe, nevertheless, that the lack of a convincing native explanation, and the incomprehensible morphological structure indicate a foreign origin, even if no probable etymon can be presented at the moment.

NOSTRATIC

Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984 see the possibility of connecting the Tkc. and Mo. forms with PIE **pūrōs*, Hung. *búza* and NPers. *buza* ‘wheat’. As Witczak 2003: 95 has rightly remarked, however, this comparison is mainly based on their phonetic similarity, and should be considered wrong.⁵⁶ The forms which he proceeds to list later show clearly the extremes such comparisons could lead to: Arab. *burr* ‘wheat’, Fi. *puuro* ‘groats, grits’, Melan. *pura* ‘fruit’, Polyn. *pura-pura* ‘grain’ and others.

Finally, we would like to mention a word which is not very often mentioned in this context: Tkc. *buza* ‘wheat beer’⁵⁷ and perhaps Slav. and other *braga* ‘various types of

⁵⁶ Witczak 2003: 96 also provides further bibliography of negative opinions on this proposition.

⁵⁷ Also Hung.dial. *boza* ‘alcohol beverage made of cereal, similar to beer’, which however, is most probably a borrowing from Tkc. (Čuv.?).

alcohol beverages⁵⁸. The connection with *bugdaj*, even if self-evident to some extent, is very difficult to thoroughly establish, at least in the case of *buza*, and requires further investigation, presumably reaching far beyond Turkology⁵⁹ – like the ultimate etymology of *bugdaj* itself.

DÖVME

FORMS: *dövme* **Tksh.:** Eren 1999 ‘husked wheat; and others’

ETYMOLOGY: 1999: Eren: < *döv-* ‘to beat, to hit’

COMMENTARY: This word is absolutely clear. Cf. also *tögü* ‘millet’, *tüvi* ‘rice’.

DÜGI

FORMS: *dügi* **Tat.:** دوگی *Taniev* 1909

ETYMOLOGY: see *tüvi* ‘rice’

COMMENTARY:

In Tat. this word appears also as *döge* and *dögö*, and meaning ‘rice’. Generally, the word originates ultimately from **tög-* ~ **töv-* ‘to beat, to hit’ and is common in the Tkc. languages with the meanings of ‘rice’ and ‘millet’; ‘wheat’ might then come as a surprise. We believe it might turn out to be an interesting confirmation of our proposition on the two-fold origin of modern forms (see *tüvi* ‘rice’). We can see in theory four possibilities of explaining this form:

1. < **tög-i* (while *döge*, *dögö* < **tög-e*).

If we accept the view of the original two-fold derivation, we may believe that both forms have been conserved in Tat., and that their meanings diversified in the following way: the old *-ö* derivative preserved the most common, and probably the original meaning, ‘rice’, and the *-i* derivative gained a new one, ‘wheat’. It might be viewed as surprising, however, that it is ‘wheat’ and not ‘millet’, the former being the second most common meaning of our word in the Tkc. languages (see *tögü* ‘millet’). We suppose this could have resulted from the fact that wheat has always been one of the most, or even the most important cereal – not only for the Turks, but for a considerable part of Eurasia.

Such an explanation seems to be reasonably plausible, probably more so than the others.

58 Scherner 1977: 17: Russ. *brága* ‘type of weak beer (Dünnbier)’ < MČuv. **bura* + *-ka* (*Vga*), which is however, not very convincing due to Russ. accent not on the last syllable.

Presumably, the IE counterparts, especially Celt. (cf. e.g. Černych 1993, Vasmer 1986–87) indicate an IE origin of this word. We believe that if the connection with the Tkc. forms exists at all, than the direction of influence is just opposite to the one proposed by Scherner 1977: 17.

59 Cf. Tietze 2000, where Tksh. *boza* ‘weak alcohol beverage made of millet’ is derived from Pers. *būza* ‘millet’ (cf. however Rubinčik 1970, where بوزه, بوزا, *buza*, *buze* exclusively in meaning ‘millet beer’ and بوز *bouz* ‘mould, fungus’ and بيزك *bouzak* ‘yeast, sourdough’), and where a further bibliography can be found.

2. 'rice' > 'wheat'.

One could assume that this change is a later innovation in Tat. It could be explained then by the fact that after the Tatars departed westwards, away from the influence of the Chin. culture, they moved onto an area where the Pers. culture was dominant. For the Persians, wheat was the primary cereal. However, in Persia rice was known and popular, too: four out of nine names for 'rice' in the Tkc. languages, whose etymology is acceptable, are of Pers. origin. Moreover, this proposition does not explain the difference in sounding between *dügi* and *döge*, *dögö*.

3. It cannot be completely discounted that our word was borrowed from some other language. This, however, hardly explains its non-standard meaning.
4. Some kind of unification or mixing of 'rice' and 'wheat', such as e.g. 'millet' and 'corn' (see *mysyr* 'millet' where further references can be found), or 'oats' and 'barley' (see *julaf* 'oats' where further references can be found). This possibility is, however, not very likely as it would be the only example of such a phenomenon involving these two cereals.

GENIM

FORMS: *genim* **Tksh.dial.:** Bläsing 1995: 25

ETYMOLOGY: 1995: Bläsing: 25: < *Zaza genim*

COMMENTARY: Bläsing's 1995 etymology appears to be irrefutable.

GÖŽE

FORMS: *göže* **Tksh.:** ÈSTJa 'husked wheat'

ETYMOLOGY: see *köče* 'barley'

COMMENTARY:

The only semantic parallel we know of is *aš(lyk)* (cf. *as* 'barley', *aš(lyk)* 'wheat'), combining in one word the meanings of 'barley' and 'wheat'.

HINTA

FORMS: *hinta* **Ott.:** حنطه Wiesentahl 1895, Redhouse 1921

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Arab. حنطه *hintā* 'wheat'.

JASMYK

FORMS: *jasmyk* **Uzb.dial.:** ÈSTJa 'species of wheat'

ETYMOLOGY: see *jasymuk* 'millet'

COMMENTARY:

While this word is absolutely clear morphologically, its meaning of 'wheat' is enigmatic. When taking into consideration the original meaning of this word, *'something

flat⁶⁰ (> ‘lentil’, also ‘millet’), one can only guess that one of the species of wheat has characteristically flatter grains, or perhaps some similarity to ‘millet’.

KYZYL BODAJ

FORMS: *kyzyl bodaj* Tat.: Voskresenskij 1894 ‘wheat (with red grains)’

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY:

This word is absolutely clear: *kyzyl* ‘red’ (from the colour of grains) + *bodaj* ‘wheat’.

KYZYL TAS

FORMS: *kyzyl tas* Tuv.: Dmitrieva 1972 || *kyzyltas* RTuWS

ETYMOLOGY: 1972: Dmitrieva: < *kyzyl* ‘red’ + *tas* ‘bald; naked; with scarce vegetation’

COMMENTARY:

This word may be more complex than has been presented by Dmitrieva 1972. While the first part of her etymology seems to be highly plausible (cf. *kyzyl bodaj*), its second element and the type of the compound are rather odd: 1. it is unclear why ‘wheat’ should be described as ‘bald, naked’; perhaps the word in fact means not ‘wheat’ but just one of the species, which could be characterised as such? 2. to the best of our knowledge, in the Tk. languages there are no compounds with a nominal meaning, which would be made up of two adjectives⁶¹. Unfortunately, the second part⁶² of this word remains puzzling for us, too.

MEJZƏ

FORMS: *mejzə* Fuyü: Zhen-hua 1987

ETYMOLOGY: as yet not discussed

COMMENTARY: < Mand. *mai*⁴zi ‘wheat’ (oral information from Prof. A. Vovin [Honolulu]).

ÖJÜR

FORMS: *öjür* OTkc.: Egorov 1964, Fedeotov 1996 ‘millet; spelt’

ETYMOLOGY: see *ügür* ‘millet’

COMMENTARY:

The etymology of this word has not been fully ascertained. However, from the original meaning of ‘gruel, pap’, a semantic evolution to any cereal is possible. Given that wheat

60 This meaning is most probably, though not definitely, simply a methodological support.

61 Although this distinction can hardly ever be justified for the Tk. languages, in this very case the adjectival nature of ‘red’ and ‘bald’ on one hand, and the nominal of ‘wheat’ on the other is exceptionally explicit.

62 It cannot be discounted that the word is not in fact a compound but a borrowing whose sounding is by chance (or perhaps as a result of contamination or adaptation?) identical to that of *kyzyl* ‘red’.

has always been one of the, or even the most important cereal, it might seem odd that this word has mainly survived in the meaning of ‘millet’, but not ‘wheat’. Cf. *taryg*.

SELIEHINEJ

FORMS:

seliehinej **Yak.:** RJakS

seliesenej, seliesinej **Yak:** [ɔ: -che/i-] Pekarskij 1917–30, Dmitrieva 1972, Anikin 2003

ETYMOLOGY:

1964: Slepcev: 91: < Russ. *pšeničnyj* ‘wheat [adj.]’

1972: Dmitrieva: < Russ. *silosnyj* ‘silo [adj.]’

2003: Anikin 2003: < Russ.dial. *pšeničnoj* (-yj) ‘wheat [adj.]’ = Russ. liter. *pšeničnyj* id.

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed by Slepcev 1964: 91 is much more probable on the semantic side. Phonetically, Russ. *n* happens to yield *l* in Yak., as in e.g. *Alampažyšs* < Russ. *Anemlodist*, Yak. *balakažyła* < Russ. *panikadilo* (Slepcev 1964: 91). Anikin 2003 additionally allows the possibility of simplification *pš-* > *š-* still on the Russ. ground, which indeed cannot be ruled out, but also in all likelihood cannot be proved.

The etymology offered by Dmitrieva 1972 is not only very unlikely semantically, it also raises doubts about its phonetic nature: it is not absolutely clear why Russ. *í-o-y* or even *i-ó-y*⁶³ should yield *e-ie-e* in Yak.

ŠENĪSE

FORMS: *šenīse, šīse* **Tof.:** RTofS, Anikin 2003 || *šīše* Rassadin 1971: 231, Anikin 2003

ETYMOLOGY:

1971: Rassadin: 231: *šīse* < Bur. *šenīse* < Russ. *pšenica*

2003: Anikin: ? *šīše, šīše* < Russ. *pšenica*

šenīse < Bur. *šenīse* < Russ. *pšenica* (after Rassadin 1971)

COMMENTARY:

It is difficult to find a major weakness in the etymology proposed by Rassadin 1971: 23. The expression in Anikin 2003 is not fully clear: it gives the impression that he wants to derive *šīse, šīše* directly from Russ. without the Bur. mediation, which seems to be less likely. We believe that Russ. *pšenica* > Bur. *šenīse* > Tof. *šenīse* > *šīše* > *šīse*.

TARYG

FORMS: *taryg* **MTkc.MK:** Dankoff/Kelly 1982–85

ETYMOLOGY: see *dary* ‘millet’

63 There also exists, though it is considered to be incorrect, the form *silósnyj*, see Ageenko 2001: ‘*silosnyj*, not *silósnyj*’.

COMMENTARY:

This word is very common in the Tkc. languages, but generally signifies ‘millet’. The reconstruction of its original shape and meaning **tar-yg* ‘(what was) sowed’ raises no serious doubts. For the meaning of ‘wheat’ cf. *öjür*.

TEREKE

FORMS: *tereke* Gag.: Özkan 1996

ETYMOLOGY: see *darikan* ‘rye’

COMMENTARY:

This name is ultimately of Arm. origin, and most probably came to Gag. through one of the Tksh. dialects, together with settlers from Anatolia, who were displaced onto the conquered territories in the Ottoman Empire. This word, sounding *tereke* existed in Ott. between the 14th and 18th centuries meaning ‘harvest; cereal’ (Dankoff 1995: 702), from where a shift to ‘wheat’ is trivial, given great importance of this cereal in the region.

Cf. *darikan* ‘rye’.

TULA

FORMS:

tula Čuv.: Dmitrieva 1972

tulä Čuv.: Nikol'skij 1909, RČuvS-D, RČuvS-E || (*sarä*) *tulä*, RČuvS-A

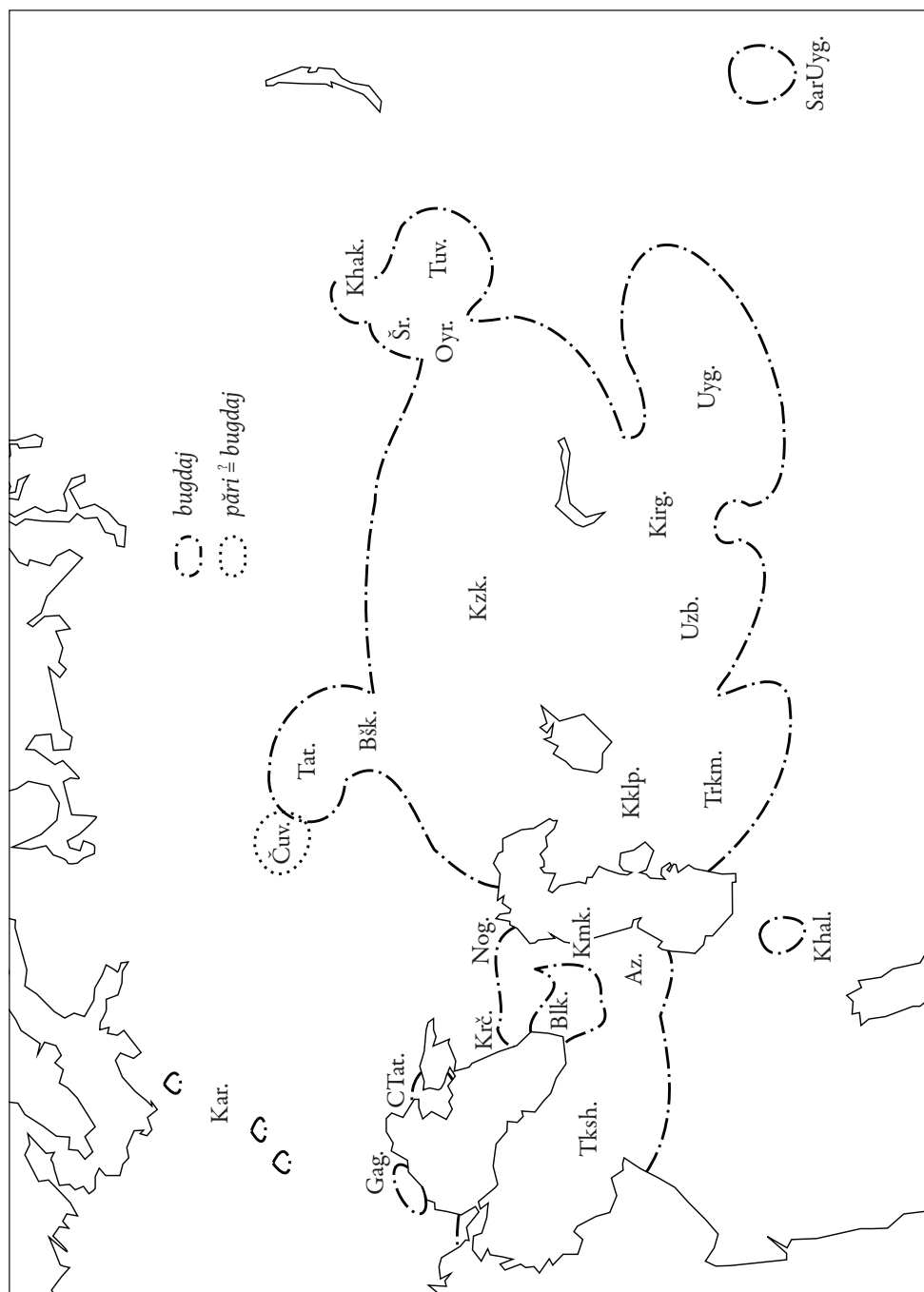
ETYMOLOGY:

1972: Dmitrieva: < Georg. *doli* ‘husked wheat’, *dola* ‘bread of husked wheat’ (after: Abaev, I 400), at the same time indicating a comparison to Mo. *talx(an)* ‘хлеб печеный’, Bur. *talx(an)* ‘flour; dough; хлеб’, Ir. **talxan* ‘жареные и молотые зерна бобовых’

COMMENTARY:

The etymology proposed by Dmitrieva 1972 does not seem to be totally unrealistic, although it does have several weaknesses. It tacitly assumes a Georg. influence on Čuv. which is possible but unlikely, especially in the case of the name for ‘wheat’ which the Turks had presumably already known well; and thus borrowing it from Georgians – a nation of highlanders, not known for their farming – would be strange. Cf. *nartük* ‘corn’, in this case, though, the geographical distribution (Krč.Blk. and Nog.) definitely makes this kind of borrowing much more likely.

We would like to mention that in theory this word could also be identified with *sula* &c. ‘oats’ by means of a quite common but not described, and thus unpredictable alternation *s* : *t*. However, this is perhaps not very probable as it would be the only example of combining in one word the meanings of ‘wheat’ and ‘oats’.



bugdaj 'wheat'

FINAL REMARKS

STATISTICS

The table below shows the number of words (not entries) dealt with in this work. The following rules have been observed during its preparation:

- words which are eventually the same but appear in different meanings (e.g. *dary* Tkc. ‘millet’, Tksh.dial. ‘corn’) were counted as one
- compounds and abbreviations were counted as one: e.g. *mysyr* (< Arab.; an abbreviation of *mysyr bugdajy*) and *mysyr bugdajy* (< ?), were both counted as one native word with an acceptable etymology, since the compound has most probably been created on the Tkc. ground
- one word borrowed in different morphological forms, or adapted phonetically in different ways (e.g. Bšk. *ovsa*, Tof. *ovjot*, Trkm. *ovjos* ‘oats’) was counted as one

The overall number of words counted according to the above rules is 86. However, for ease of usage they have been divided into 106 entries.

cereal	etymology	Tkc.	< Arab.	< Chin.	< Pers.	< Russ.	< other	overall
barley	acceptable	2	1			2	2	7
	dubious	1						1
	unknown							2
corn	acceptable	12				1	1	14
	dubious							
	unknown							2
oats	acceptable	6				2		8
	dubious							
	unknown							4
millet	acceptable	8		1	2	1		12
	dubious	2						2
	unknown							2
wheat	acceptable	3	1	1		2	2	9
	dubious	1						1
	unknown							2
rice	acceptable	3			4		2	9
	dubious							
	unknown							2

cereal	etymology	Tkc.	< Arab.	< Chin.	< Pers.	< Russ.	< other	overall
rye	acceptable	5			1	2		8
	dubious	1						1
	unknown							
overall	acceptable	39	2	2	7	10	7	67
	dubious	5						5
	unknown							14
	overall	44	2	2	7	10	7	86

MOST COMMON NAMING PATTERNS

Almost a half of the words discussed here are borrowings, and thus cannot be taken into consideration when describing the Tkc. naming patterns. Most of the native words, however, are not built on the basis of any repetitive pattern. In fact, merely two general patterns can be clearly distinguished, and they both have a fairly limited geographic and/or semantic range:

1. attribute + 'cereal'. name of a cereal or something similar

Ten names are built according to this pattern, which can be divided into two, partly overlapping subgroups:

a) the attribute is a colour name

- *kara*: *kara bugdaj* 'rye' in various languages of Central Asia
- *ak*: Tuv. *akbydā*, Tof. *ak h(ü)rüpē* 'rice'; Tuv. *aktarā* 'wheat'
- *kök*: Kzk. *kök najza*, Tuv. *kök tarā* 'rye'

b) the second part is *tarā* '1. cereal; 2. millet'

Tuv. *aktarā* 'wheat', *a"tarāzy* 'oats', *čingetarā* 'millet', *köktarā* 'rye', *xōtarā* 'millet'

2. place name + name of a cereal

This patterns only appears with the names for 'corn':

- Tat. *kābā bödoj*
- Kklp. *märke* (abbreviation of a compound), Kirg., Kklp., Uyg., Uzb. *meke žügörü*
Trkm. *mekgežöven*
- Tksh. *mysyr* (*bugdajj*)
- Ott. *šam darysy*

3. derived from 'to hit, to strike'

dövme || *dügi* || *öjür*

4. derived from 'to bury, to dig'

kömmē qonaq || *sokpa*

5. borrowed from an oblique case

Most probably these are forms of Gen.Sg., presumably used in the function of Part. There are exclusively borrowings from Russ. here.

ovsa || *prosa* || *rži*

SEMANTIC TYPES

Three, partly overlapping semantic types can be spotted:

1. names meaning exactly one cereal

This is the dominant type. There are borrowings, compounds and rare native names here, e.g. *ebies* ‘oats’, *pirinč* ‘rice’, *ša’ir* ‘barley’, *tereke* ‘rye’, *mekgežöven* ‘corn’, *sary* ‘corn’ and others.

2. names, the etymology of which allows for diverse semantic development

For obvious reasons, there are native names only in this group: *aš(lyk)* ‘barley; wheat’, *bordoq* ‘corn; oats’, *dary* ‘corn; millet’, *dügi* ‘millet; rice’, *jasmyk* ‘corn; millet’ and *öjür* ‘corn; millet; wheat’.

Perhaps also *arpagan* ‘barley; oats’ could be considered a member of this group, too.

Words which belong to this type, mostly belong to type 3. as well.

3. names which can mean different cereals in a non-chaotic way

a) ‘barley’ > ‘oats’

arpa || *arpagan* || *julaf* || *sula*⁶⁴ || *tay arpasy*

b) ‘barley’ and ‘wheat’

aš(lyk) || *köže*

c) ‘millet’ > ‘corn’

basadohan || *čüzgün*⁶⁵ || *dary* || *jasmyk* || *öjür* || *šam darysy*

d) ‘rice’ and ‘rye’

aryš || *suly*

64 *Sula* is the only name here, which developed in the opposite direction, i.e. ‘oats’ > ‘barley’.

65 In the case of *čüzgün* the direction of the development remains unknown. Surely, Uyghurs became acquainted with corn later than millet but we do not know for how long this word has existed in Uyg., and what its original meaning was.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afgh. = Afghan || **Alb.** = Albanian || **Alt.** = Altaic || **Arab.** = Arabic || **Arm.** = Armenian || **AS** = Anglo-Saxon || **Av.** = Avestan || **Az.** = Azerbaijani || **Blk.** = Balkar || **Blr.** = Belorussian || **Bosn.Tksh.** = Bosnian Turkish || **Brb.** = Baraba || **Bšk.** = Bashkir || **Bulg.** = Bulgarian (Slavic) || **Bur.** = Buryat || **Cauc.** = Caucasian || **Celt.** = Celtic || **Chin.** = Chinese || **Com.** = Coman || **Crm.** = Crimean || **CTat.** = Crimean Tatar || **Cz.** = Czech || **Čag.** = Chagatai || **Čul.** = Chulyim || **Čuv.** = Chuvash || **D.** = Dutch || **dial.** = dialectal || **Dolg.** = Dolgan || **E.** = East || **Eng.** = English || **Evk.** = Evenki || **Fi.** = Finnish || **Fr.** = French || **G.** = German || **Gag.** = Gagaus || **Georg.** = Georgian || **Gr.** = Greek || **Grmc.** = Germanic || **Hebr.** = Hebrew || **Hung.** = Hungarian || **IE** = Indo-European || **Ir.** = Iranian || **It.** = Italian || **Jap.** = Japanese || **Kar.** = Karaim || **KarC** = Karaim of Crimea || **KarH** = Karaim of Halych || **KarL** = Karaim of Luck || **KarT** = Karaim of Trakai || **Khak.** = Khakas || **Khal.** = Khalaj || **Kipč.** = Kipchak || **Kirg.** = Kirghiz || **Kklp.** = Karakalpak || **Klmk.** = Kalmuk || **Kmk.** = Kumyck || **Kmnd.** = Kumandin || **KorS** = South Korean || **Koyb.** = Koybal || **Krč.** = Karachay || **Krč.Blk.** = Karachay-Balkar || **Küär.** = Küärik || **Kurd.** = Kurdish || **Kzk.** = Kazakh || **Lat.** = Latin || **Leb.** = Lebedin || **liter.** = literary || **Lith.** = Lithuanian || **Lob.** = Lobnor || **LSorb.** = Lower Sorbian || **Ma.** = Manchu || **Mand.** = Mandarin || **MBšk.** = Middle Bashkir || **MChin.** = Middle Chinese || **Melan.** = Melanesian || **MIr.** = Middle Iranian || **MMo.** = Middle Mongolian || **Mo.** = Mongol || **MPers.** = Middle Persian || **MTat.** = Middle Tatar || **MTkc.** = Middle Turkic || **MTkc.H** = Houtsma 1894 || **MTkc.IM** = Battal 1934 || **MTkc.KD** = Golden 2000 || **MTkc.MA** = MTkc. in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* || **MTkc.MA.B** = Borovkov 1971 || **MTkc.MK** = MTkc. in the Mahmud al-Kashgari's dictionary || **N.** = North || **Nan.** = Nanai || **Nog.** = Nogai || **NPers.** = New Persian || **OBask.** = Old Basque || **OChin.** = Old Chinese || **OČuv.** = Old Chuvash || **OESlav.** = Old East Slavic || **Oghuz.** = Oghuzic || **Oghuz.Ir.** = Oghuzic in Iran || **OInd.** = Old Indian || **OIr.** = Old Iranian || **OJap.** = Old Japanese || **OKipč.** = Old Kipchak || **ORuss.** = Old Russian || **OSlav.** = Old Slavonic || **Osset.** = Ossetic || **OTkc.** = Old Turkic || **Ott.** = Ottoman || **OUyg.** = Old Uyghur || **OVanj.** = Old Vanjan || **Oyr.** = Oyrot || **Paleo-Europ.** = Paleo-European || **PAlt.** = Proto-Altaic || **Pamir.** = Pamirian || **Pers.** = Persian || **PIE** = Proto-Indo-European || **Pol.** = Polish || **Polyn.** = Polynesian || **Russ.** = Russian || **S.** = South || **Sag.** = Sagal || **Sal.** = Salar || **SarUyg.** = Sary-Uyghur || **SC** = Serbo-Croatian || **Serb.** = Serbian || **Sib.** = Siberian || **Skr.** = Sanskrit || **Slav.** = Slavonic || **Slvk.** = Slovak || **Slvn.** = Slovenian || **Sol.** = Solon || **Sp.** = Spanish || **Šr.** = Šor || **Taj.** = Tajik || **Tat.** = Tatar || **Tat.Gr.** = Podolsky 1981 || **Tel.** = Teleut || **Tkc.** = Turkic || **Tkc.Mo.** = Turkic-Mongolian || **Tksh.** = Turkish || **Tob.** = Tobol || **Toch.** = Tocharian || **Tof.** = Tofalar || **Trkm.** = Turkmen || **Tung.** = Tungusic || **Tuv.** = Tuvinian || **Ukr.** = Ukrainian || **Ulč.** = Ulča-Tungusic || **USorb.** = Upper Sorbian || **Uyg.** = Uyghur || **Uzb.** = Uzbek || **VBulgh.2** = Volga-Bulgharian || **W.** = West || **WMo.** = Written Mongolian || **Xlx.** = Khalkha || **Yak.** = Yakut || **Yazg.** = Yazghulami

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