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The Chinese Phonetic Transcriptions of Old Turkish Words in the Chinese Sources from 6th -9th Century

Focused on the Original Word Transcribed as *Tujue* 突厥*

Yukiyo KASAI

0. Introduction

The Turkish tribes which originated from Mongolia contacted since time immemorial with their various neighbours. Amongst those neighbours China, one of the most influential countries in East Asia, took note of their activities for reasons of its national security on the border areas to the North of its territory. Especially after an political unit of Turkish tribes called *Tujue* 突厥 had emerged in the middle of the 6th c. as the first Turkish Kaganate in Mongolia and become threateningly powerful, the Chinese dynasties at that time followed the Turks' every move with great interest. The first Turkish Kaganate broke down in the first half of the 7th c. and came under the rule of the Chinese Tang 唐-dynasty, but

* I would like first to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST who gave me useful advice about the contents of this article and corrected my English, too. My gratitude also goes to Prof. TAKAO MORIYASU and Prof. YUTAKA YOSHIDA who gave me their professional supports already when I had the original idea of this article in writing my undergraduate thesis. While I am grateful to them for their bountiful assistance, I alone am responsible for my mistakes. This article was originally published in German: Die alttürkischen Wörter aus Natur und Gesellschaft in chinesischen Quellen (6. und 9. Jh.) — Der Ausgangsterminus der chinesischen Transkription *tū jué* 突厥 —, in: BRIGITTE HEUER & BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE & CLAUS SCHÖNIG (eds.) „*Die Wunder der Schöpfung*“ *Mensch und Natur in der türkischsprachigen Welt* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Bd. 9), Würzburg, 2012, pp. 81-141. In the English version the conclusion does not change, but some mistakes are corrected and some studies are additionally mentioned. Thus the English version is the improved one.

after half a century the Turks were able to successfully rebuild their second Kaganate and until the middle of the 8th c. exercised a strong influence from Mongolia to Northern China and Central Asia. Afterwards this empire was attacked and brought to collapse by other nomadic tribes such as the Uyghurs, who succeeded the *Tujue* 突厥 as rulers. The close relationship with China was continued under Uyghur rule, too, and lasted until the collapse of their Empire, the East Uyghur Kaganate, in the middle of the 9th c.

This constant intensive relationship between Turkish tribes and China at that time caused numerous reports on this powerful neighbour to be preserved in the Chinese sources. Those reports often contain personal, geographical and tribal names, various titles and so on, which are not translated into Chinese, but are phonetically transcribed using the phonetic values of Chinese characters at that time. Those transcriptions are one of the significant additional materials that throw light not only on the language but also on some aspects of the activities of the Turks at that time, because besides some inscriptions in Mongolia there are not many Old Turkish monuments from the above mentioned period. The number of transcriptions preserved in the Chinese sources is considerable, but it is not always clear which Old Turkish words are meant. In order to use them as a source for research on the Turkish tribes and their language, those unknown original words have to be identified.

For this purpose it is necessary to determine the phonetic correspondences between Old Turkish and Chinese at that time. J. HAMILTON already collected the Chinese transcriptions in the Chinese sources from the 10th c. and analysed their correspondences to the Old Turkish originals [HAMILTON 1955, pp. 145-170]. The pronunciation of Chinese characters, however, changed with time and especially in 10th c. and outlying places such as Dunhuang became independent from the Central government because of the political chaos in China proper. This situation had an effect on the language and especially in the Dunhuang area, the local dialect, which has different features than standard Chinese, became dominant [TAKATA 1988]. Thus the results of J. HAMILTON's research cannot be used for the

transcriptions which are dated before the 10th c. In this article I would like to collect the transcriptions before the 10th c. and analyse their phonetic correspondences to Old Turkish. Thereby the temporal upper limit has to be set at the 6th c., because in the period from the 6th to the 9th c. the Turkish tribes had a close relationship with China and thus the information about them in Chinese sources are detailed and reliable. In the Chinese phonology the above-mentioned period is called “Middle Chinese”.⁽¹⁾

I. Old Turkish words in Chinese sources

I.1. Sources

The Chinese phonetic transcriptions of Old Turkish words are not all listed in one particular place, but have to be gathered together from various Chinese sources. As noted above, the sources which are written either between the 6th and the 9th c. or shortly after this period will be considered. Not only historiography or literature, but also fragments found in Dunhuang and Turfan area and inscriptions will be used. The transcriptions from Turfan fragments, however, have to be given special attention. In Turfan the independent Chinese kingdom *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國 existed until the middle of the 7th c. and had a close relationship with the *Tujue* 突厥.⁽²⁾ According to Y. YOSHIDA the Chinese pronunciation used in this kingdom has in comparison with that in China proper conventional archaic features [YOSHIDA et al. 1988, pp. 8-9; YOSHIDA 2000, pp. 9-11].

The transcriptions which are analysed in this article stem from the following sources. Hereinafter, the abbreviations or the numbers given at the beginning of each source are used.

(1) For a detailed explanation of this topic, see Chapter I.2. Lists.

(2) About this topic see e.g. JIANG 1994, pp. 83-133.

Histographical or literary sources⁽³⁾ZS: *Zhoushu* 周書⁽⁴⁾BS: *Beishi* 北史⁽⁵⁾SS: *Suishu* 隋書⁽⁶⁾XYJ: *Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記JTS: *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書⁽⁷⁾XTS *Xintangshu* 新唐書⁽⁸⁾THY: *Tanghuiyao* 唐會要TD: *Tongdian* 通典⁽⁹⁾CEZ: *Datang daci'ensi sanzang fashizhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳

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- (3) In terms of the phonetic correspondences between the Chinese and Old Turkish words the following studies have been taken into consideration: HAMBIS 1958; LIU 1958; MORI 1967b; 1992; OGAWA 1959; SAGUCHI & YAMADA & MORI 1972; SUZUKI 2005; YOSHIDA 2007a, b; 2011. The historiographical sources quoted in this article are based on the editions of *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局, while the other sources are available in the database *Zhongguo jiben gujiku* 中國基本古籍庫. Both Buddhist texts *Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記 and *Datang taci'ensi sanzang fashizhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 are preserved in the *Taishō-Tripitaka* 大正新脩大藏經 under the number 2053 and 2087.
- (4) Most of the words from this source appear in volume 50, chapter *Yiyu* 異域. The words attested in the other volumes are quoted followed by the volume number in parentheses.
- (5) All words from this source are attested in volume 54, chapter *Hulü Jin* 斛律金 and 99, chapter *Tujue* 突厥 and *Tiele* 鐵勒.
- (6) Most of the words from this source are found in volume 84, chapter *Beidi* 北狄. For the words attested in the other volumes the volume number follows in parentheses.
- (7) All the collected words appear in volume 194, chapter *Tujue* 突厥 and volume 195, chapter *Huihe* 迴紇.
- (8) This source was written in the Song 宋-period. On the one side, it contains comprehensive information which does not appear in the *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書, so that the former complements the latter well. On the other side, the *Xintangshu* 新唐書 was partly changed by the composers arbitrarily. Thus one has to treat this source with a certain caution. The words which are attested only in this source and are definitely mistakes or misunderstandings of the composers are excluded in this article. All the collected words stem from volume 215, chapter *Tujue* 突厥 and 217, chapter *Huihu* 回鶻.
- (9) All transcriptions from this source are found in volumes 197-200, chapter *bianfang* 邊防, 13-16.

CFYG: *Songben cefuyuangui* 宋本册府元龜

QJJ: *Tangchengxiang qujiang zhangxiansheng wenji* 唐丞相曲江張先生文集
(written by Zhang Jiuling 張九齡)⁽¹⁰⁾

HCYPJ: *Huichang yipinji* 會昌一品集 (written by Li Deyu 李德裕)

Inscriptions⁽¹¹⁾

BK: *Pijia gongzhu muzhi* 毗伽公主墓誌 [Shike, vol. 4, pp. 270-271; HANEDA 1912]

QB: *Qibi Ming bei* 契苾明碑 [Shike, vol. 3, pp. 206-211]

ASM: *Datang gu youwuwei dajiangjun bingbu shangshu shiyue Shun Lijun muzhiming bingxu* 大唐故右武衛大將軍兵部尚書諡曰順李君墓誌銘并序
(= *Ashina Shimo muzhi* 阿史那思摩墓誌) [ZHANG 1993, No. 12, p. 112]

TBK: *Datang gu youwuwei dajiang jun bingbu shangshu Li Simo qi Tong pijia kehedun Yantuo muzhi bingxu* 大唐故右武衛大將軍兵部尚書李思摩妻統毗伽可賀敦延陁墓誌并序 (= *Tong pijia kehedun muzhi* 統毗伽可賀敦墓誌)
[ZHANG 1993, No. 13, pp. 113-114]

SY: *Datang gu zuoweijiangjun Gonggaohou Shigong muzhiming* 大唐故左衛將軍弓高侯史公墓誌銘 (= *Shi Shanying muzhi* 史善應墓誌) [TANG 2013, pp. 569-571]

CL: *Datang gu Guangjifu guoyiduwei Gonggaohou Shigong muzhiming* 大唐故廣濟府果毅都尉弓高侯史公墓誌銘 (= *Shi Chongli muzhi* 史崇禮墓誌)
[TANG 2013, pp. 571-573]

⁽¹⁰⁾ All transcriptions from this source appear in volume 11 in which the letters of the emperor to the *Tujue* 突厥 are recorded.

⁽¹¹⁾ Most of the inscriptions used in this article as sources are contained in the collective volumes of the epitaphs *Sui Tang Wudai shike wenxian quanbian* 隋唐五代石刻文獻全編 (below: Shike). The inscriptions quoted here are based on this edition. The corresponding pages of each text are given in square brackets after every epitaph. On the correspondences between the Chinese and Old Turkish names of the Kagans of the East Uyghur Empire, see also MORIYASU 1991, pp. 182-183; 2004, pp. 221-225. Besides the epitaphs here mentioned, some devoted to the *Tujue* 突厥 are collected in Shike, too. Furthermore, some new epitaphs of Turkish tribes were recently found and published, see e.g. IWAMI 1998a, b, c; IWAMI & MORIYASU 1998; MORIBE & IWAMI 2003. They were taken into consideration, but they did not give us any additional new transcriptions.

GC: *Gu Huihu Gechuo wangzi shouzuolingjunwei jiangjun muzhi bingxu* 故回鶻葛啜王子守左領軍衛將軍墓誌并序⁽¹²⁾

KT: Chinese side of the Kōl Tegin inscription [Shike, vol. 4, pp. 678-679]

BQ: Chinese side of the Bilgā Qagan inscription [Shike, vol. 4, pp. 679-680]

KB: Chinese side of the Kara Balgasun inscription [Shike, vol. 4, pp. 680-684; HANEDA 1957a, pp. 305-310; MORIYASU & YOSHIDA & HAMILTON 2003]

Inscription found in the Turfan area (in the period of Qushi Gaochangguo 麴氏高昌國)

QZB: *Qubinzao si bei* 麴斌造寺碑 [HUANG 1954, pp. 51-53, Tafel 59]

Fragments found in the Turfan area (in the period of Qushi Gaochangguo 麴氏高昌國)⁽¹³⁾

(a) 60 TAM 307: 4/2a [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 255; Facs. vol. 1, p. 414]

(b) 60 TAM 307: 4/3a [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 259; Facs. vol. 1, p. 414]

(c) 60 TAM 307: 5/1a [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 256; Facs. vol. 1, p. 415]

(d) 60 TAM 307: 5/4 [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 253-254; Facs. vol. 1, p. 414]

(e) 60 TAM 320: 01/1 [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 51-52; Facs. vol. 1, pp. 325-326]

(f) 60 TAM 329: 23/1-2 [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 342-344; Facs. vol. 1, p. 461]

(g) 60 TAM 33: 1/7a, 1/10a [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 284-285; Facs. vol. 1, p. 239]

(h) 67 TAM 88: 25 [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 184; Facs. vol. 1, p. 200]

(12) This epitaph which also contains some Old Turkish sentences in Runic script was got published first in 2013. Because of its unique character the epitaph received remarkable attention from scholars throughout the world. Up to now there are already some publications which dealt with this epitaph, and they show slight differences in the reading of some characters, see e.g. LUO 2013; ZHANG 2013; HAYASHI 2014. Comparing the photograph published in the newest volume of *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 with the reading of those publications T. HAYASHI's one is most reliable. Thus in this article his reading was referred, although the transcriptions of Old Turkish words which are taken into consideration here are correctly read in all publications.

(13) The following studies were a substantial help in the collection of the Old Turkish proper names and titles in those sources: LI & WANG 1996; YOSHIDA et al. 1988; YOSHIDA 2000; ARAKAWA 2008.

- (i) 69 TAM 122: 3/2 [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 328-329; Facs. vol. 1, p. 455]
- (j) 69 TAM 122: 3/6 [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 329; Facs. vol. 1, p. 455]
- (k) 72 TAM 154: 26 [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 146; Facs. vol. 1, p. 368]
- (l) 72 TAM 155: 36, 38 [Wenshu, vol. 3, p. 289; Facs. vol. 1, p. 430]
- (m) 72 TAM 171: 10a, 12a-18a [Wenshu, vol. 4, pp. 132-135; Facs. vol. 2, pp. 76-78]
- (n) 73 TAM 517: 04/8-1 [Wenshu, vol. 4, p. 27; Facs. vol. 1, p. 263]
- (o) 73 TAM 517: 04/8-3 [Wenshu, vol. 4, p. 25; Facs. vol. 1, p. 263]
- (p) 73 TAM 520: 6/2 [Wenshu, vol. 3, pp. 32-33; Facs. vol. 1, p. 317]
- (q) 75 TKM 90: 20a-b [Wenshu, vol. 2, pp. 17-18; Facs. vol. 1, pp. 122-123]
- (r) Or. 8212-660 [IKEDA 1990, p. 152]⁽¹⁴⁾

Fragments found in the Turfan and Dunhuang areas⁽¹⁵⁾

- (A) 64 TAM 35: 38a [Wenshu, vol. 7, pp. 465-466; Facs. vol. 3, p. 531]
- (B) 70 TAM 188: 85 [Wenshu, vol. 8, p. 86; Facs. vol. 4, p. 41]
- (C) 70 TAM 188: 87a [Wenshu, vol. 8, p. 87; Facs. vol. 4, p. 41]
- (D) 70 TAM 188: 88/4 [Wenshu, vol. 8, p. 89; Facs. vol. 4, p. 42]
- (E) 70 TAM 188: 89a [Wenshu, vol. 8, p. 84; Facs. vol. 4, p. 40]
- (F) 70 TAM 208: 23-31/1 [Wenshu, vol. 6, pp. 185-187; Facs. vol. 3, p. 95]
- (G) 70 TAM 509: 23/2-1 [Wenshu, vol. 9, pp. 104-105; IKEDA 1979; Facs. vol. 4, p. 315]
- (H) P. 3559a-c, P. 2567⁽¹⁶⁾ [IKEDA 1965]
- (I) 2006TZJ: 090-106, 112-117, 120-125, 132, 133, 136, 142, 147, 160, 161 [RONG 2007]

⁽¹⁴⁾ The image of this fragment is available in the homepage of the International Dunhuang Project <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The following studies were of substantial aid in the collection of the Old Turkish proper names and titles in those sources: ARAKAWA 1994; IKEDA 1965; JIANG 1994, pp. 83-129; LI & WANG 1996.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Those fragments are known under the name *Dunhuangxian chaidibu* 燉煌縣差科簿. The images of those fragments are available in the homepage of the International Dunhuang Project <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

I.2. Lists

The phonetic transcriptions of the Old Turkish words gathered from the above-mentioned sources are sorted in the lists in Appendix at the end of this article. Some titles or proper names which can be traced back to the early period of the first Turkish Kaganate may have non-Old Turkish origins.⁽¹⁷⁾ However, it is not perfectly clarified which of them were borrowed from which language. Furthermore those words were accepted by the Chinese sources as Old Turkish words and their transcriptions do not show any obvious peculiarity. Thus in the lists the transcriptions from the early period are also recorded, so far as a correspondence for them is attested in the Old Turkish monuments.⁽¹⁸⁾ Only the words which were surely borrowed from Chinese and thus transcribed with their original Chinese characters have been left out of consideration.⁽¹⁹⁾

The collected words are divided in two parts. List I shows the Chinese transcriptions in the Turfan fragments from the *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麹氏高昌國 period (498-640), while list II contains the other ones. With regard to the first list, Y. YOSHIDA already collected some transcriptions of Old Turkish words from this period and analysed them [YOSHIDA 2000, p. 11]. But some further words can be added to his list so that they are presented in list I together with those collected by Y. YOSHIDA. In both lists the Old Turkish words, the corresponding Chinese transcriptions, the pronunciations of those Chinese characters in Middle Chinese, and their attestations in Chinese sources are given.

(17) For example, *İstāmi*, *bayatur*, *mayā*, *qayan* etc. On this topic, see also GOLDEN 1992, pp. 121-122.

(18) Thereby some words are attested in the contemporary inscriptions in Mongolia, while the others are found first in fragments from the later period. In this article both of them are investigated.

(19) As one such example the Old Turkish word *qunčuy* “princess” < Chin. *gongzhu* 公主 is named. There are, however, words such as *tarqan* which were probably borrowed from Chinese, but which were transcribed by the Chinese as Old Turkish without using the original characters. Those transcriptions are included in the lists.

Normally I follow the transcription system for Old Turkish established by K. RÖHRBORN⁽²⁰⁾, but for the phonetic comparison with Chinese, the differences between the front and back vowels or consonants are of great interest. Because the above mentioned system cannot explicitly show those differences, the transcriptions in this article follow that of the “Alte Berliner Schule” which can distinguish between the front and back sounds in Old Turkish. Furthermore the sound *ŋ* is replaced by *ng*, in order to show the exact correspondence. If a transcription is attested in several historiographical works, only one attestation which was probably the original source for the later works is quoted. In contrast, the attestations in the literary works, inscriptions and fragments are entered completely into the list, because the transcriptions in those sources surely reflects the contemporary pronunciation of Old Turkish in detail. The reconstruction of the Middle Chinese is based on the work of B. KARLGREN⁽²¹⁾ and E. G. PULLEYBLANK.⁽²²⁾ If the words are not listed in those two works, I have reconstructed the Middle Chinese sounds from the rhyme book *Guangyun* 廣韻 on the base of the both scholars’ systems. In this case the reconstructed sounds are marked with an asterisk. Furthermore, some characters have more than one pronunciation. In this case, by comparing the correspondence between the Old Turkish and Chinese sounds in other words, the more suitable pronunciation was chosen. The Middle Chinese pronunciations strongly changed during the Tang period because of the influence of the Chang’an 長安 dialect, the dialect of the capital. E. G. PULLEYBLANK took those phonetic changes into consideration and gave two different reconstructions separating Middle Chinese into two categories: “Early Middle Chinese” (below: EMC) and “Late Middle Chinese” (below: LMC) [PULLEYBLANK 1970; 1971; 1984; 1991]. But those two reflect the changes only until the end of the 7th c. and some of the phonetic

(20) See UW.

(21) KARLGREN 1957. In the list it is marked as K.

(22) PULLEYBLANK 1991. In the list it is marked as P.

changes occurred only after that period do not become visible in E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstructions. Anyway in the following analysis they are taken into consideration.

Most of the Chinese translations listed here correspond phonetically to their Old Turkish counterparts well and for the words for which the transcriptions are not accurate there are other more precise variants in the majority of cases. Only in some Chinese transcriptions the Old Turkish alveolar sound *l* or *t* falls out especially in the middle of the words.⁽²³⁾ The Old Turkish initial *i* or rather *ĩ* is occasionally lacking in the Chinese transcriptions, too.⁽²⁴⁾ Generally speaking, we can draw the conclusion that the Chinese sources tried to render the Old Turkish words as accurately as possible.

II. Phonetic correspondences between Old Turkish and Middle Chinese

II.1. Overview

Based on the lists mentioned above the phonetic correspondences between Old Turkish and Middle Chinese are analysed. The word list for *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國 was already investigated by Y. YOSHIDA and the transcriptions which have been newly added to this list have not changed the results of his study, therefore only the transcriptions in list II are subjected to analysis in this chapter.⁽²⁵⁾

(23) See e.g. *he* 合 (K: *yâp*, EMC: *ȝap/ȝap*, LMC: *xhâp*) for *alp* or *tabo* 他鉢 (K: *t'â *puât*, EMC: *t'â pat*, LMC: *t'â puat*) for *Tatpar*.

(24) See the transcriptions for *İštāmi* and *İšbara*. In both words the palatoalveolar sibilant *š* follows after the initial *i* or rather *ĩ*. This spirant was probably so strongly emphasised that the initial *i* or rather *ĩ* could not be heard. This name is represented *σπαυαο* (*sparauo*) in Bactrian, too. N. SIMS-WILLIAMS indicates the possibility that “the loss of *ĩ*- may be due to the alternation between initial *ṼSC*- and *SC*- in Bactrian” [SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011, p. 23].

(25) It remains, however, an open question to which stage of Middle Chinese the Chinese pronunciation spoken in the *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國 corresponds exactly. This problem needs further investigation.

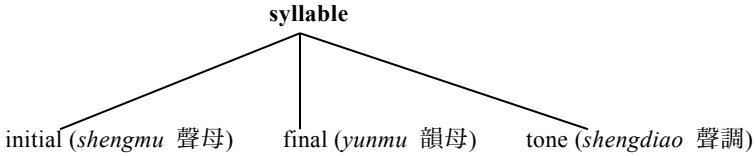
Apart from the names of certain people whose lifespan can be dated exactly, it is hard to determine when the transcriptions of most of the Old Turkish words in Chinese sources, especially in the historiographical books, were made. As mentioned above, the first Turkish Kaganate was the first nomadic Empire formed by the Turkish tribes to our knowledge at this time. Thus the foundation of this Kaganate can be accepted as the safe upper limit for the date of the transcriptions of Old Turkish words covered in this research. In contrast, the lower limit has to be put at the middle of the 9th c. when the East Uyghur Kaganate collapsed, the Uyghurs immigrated into the East Tianshan 天山-region and the Kirgiz became the most powerful Turkish tribe in Mongolia.

In terms of the transcriptions which appear in Chinese historiographical books from the early time such as *Zhoushu* 周書, *Beishi* 北史, *Suishu* 隋書, they were surely made before the composition of those works, namely in the first half of the 7th c. In contrast, the transcriptions from other books such as the *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 are hard to date in a narrow sense, because in the process of composition of the new historiographical books in China, the compilers compared different sources from the early period and partly adopted information including the transcriptions. Considering the period of the composition of those historiographical books and the activities of Turkish tribes most of them, however, must have been made at some time up to the end of the 9th c.⁽²⁶⁾

In this article altogether 174 phonetic transcriptions for 83 Old Turkish words including variants have been collected from various Chinese sources. To determine the phonetic correspondences between Old Turkish and Middle Chinese, every single Chinese character on those transcriptions has to be analysed. Thereby the phonetic value of the Chinese characters is divided into three parts based on the

⁽²⁶⁾ It is probable that research on the Chinese phonetic transcriptions of the foreign words might make a contribution to the study of phonetic changes in Chinese. But most Old Turkish transcriptions dealt with in this article are hard to date exactly, so that they are not ideal material for the study of phonetic changes in Chinese.

traditional classification of Chinese phonology, namely initial (*shengmu* 聲母), final (*yunmu* 韻母) and tone (*shengdiao* 聲調). The structure of the Chinese characters is described in the following way:⁽²⁷⁾



For example, in the character *a* 阿 (K: ʾâ, EMC and LMC: ʔa) the element ʾ or ʔ is the initial while the element *â* or *a* is counted as the final sound. This character belongs to the tone *pingsheng* 平聲. The tone, however, can be disregarded here, because in Old Turkish there are not tones, so that in this comparison the tone does not play any important role. The entire results of this analysis is shown in the tables I (for initials, Chin. *shengmu* 聲母) and III (for finals, Chin. *yunmu* 韻母). Three different reconstructions (B. KARLGREN's, EMC and LMC) are given for each group. The Old Turkish corresponding phonemes are underlined.⁽²⁸⁾

⁽²⁷⁾ See e.g. BAXTER 1992, p. 6, 1.2.1. On all the groups of the final (*yunmu* 韻母) see below.

⁽²⁸⁾ The examples from the *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國-period are put in *italic*.

II.2. Correspondences of initials

Table I.1. Labials (Chin. *chunyin* 唇音)

OT Chin.	p	b	m	v
幫 p, p, p	搏 <u>apa</u> 搏 <u>apa</u> 波 <u>apa</u> 鉢 <u>Tatpar</u>	鉢 <u>İšbara</u> 波 <u>İšbara</u> Tub <u>a</u> 播 Tub <u>a</u>		
並 b', b, pfi	拔 <u>Tatpar</u>	婆 <u>yabyu</u> 浮 <u>yabyu</u> 拔 <u>Basmil</u> <u>Bayarqu</u> 屏 <u>bīng</u> yul 毗 <u>bilgā</u> <u>čayış</u> 苾 <u>bilgā</u> 裴 <u>boyla</u> 匍 <u>sābüg</u> 葡 <u>sābüg</u>		鼻 <u>čayış</u>
明 m, m, m		莫 <u>mayatur</u> / <u>bayatur</u> 沒 <u>bolmīš/bulmīš</u> 牟 <u>būgū</u> 梅 <u>buyruq</u> 茂 <u>buz ay</u> 墨 <u>sābüg</u>	无 <u>mayā</u> 摩 <u>mayā</u> 密 <u>Basmil</u> <u>bolmīš/bulmīš</u> <u>Ištāmi</u> <u>Ozmīš</u> <u>tutmīš</u> 蜜 <u>Basmil</u> <u>bolmīš/bulmīš</u> <u>eltermīš</u> <u>etmīš</u> <u>Ištāmi</u> 彌 <u>Basmil</u> 弭 <u>bolmīš/bulmīš</u> 米 <u>Ištāmi</u> <u>Ozmīš</u> 莫 <u>mayā/bayā</u> 木 <u>Muqan</u>	

Table I.2. Labiodentals (Chin. *qingchunyin* 輕唇音)

<div><div>OT</div><div>Chin.</div></div>	b	v
非 f, p, f	發 <i>eltäbär</i> , <i>eltäbär</i>	
敷 fʰ, pʰ, f		拂 <i>qulayuz</i>
奉 v, b, ffi	附 <i>böri</i>	

Table I.3. Dentals (Chin. *shetouyin* 舌頭音)

<div><div>OT</div><div>Chin.</div></div>	t		d	n
端 t, t, t	敦 <i>altun</i> , <i>qatun</i> 多 <i>ata</i> , <i>Talas</i> 爹 <i>ata</i> 咄 <i>mayatur</i> / <i>bayatur</i> <i>quṭluy</i> , <i>tutmiš</i> 底 <i>eltermiš</i> 德 <i>eṭmiš</i> , <i>Ötükan</i> 咤 <i>irtiš</i> 點 <i>Ištāmi</i>	帝 <i>Ištāmi</i> 都 <i>Ötükan</i> , <i>Tuba</i> 督 <i>Ötükan</i> 篤 <i>quṭluy</i> 怛 <i>Talas</i> 但 <i>Talas</i> 登 <i>tāngri</i> , <i>tutmiš</i> 頓 <i>qatun</i> , <i>tong</i> 東 <i>Tongra</i>	擔 <i>Kāšdim</i>	
透 tʰ, tʰ, tʰ	鎗 <i>tudun</i> 吐 <i>eltäbär</i> , <i>tudun</i> 他 <i>Tatpar</i> 佗 <i>Tatpar</i>	噉 <i>Tonyuquq</i> 噉 <i>tong</i> 統 <i>tong</i> 突 <i>Tölis</i> , <i>Türgiś</i> ⁽²⁹⁾		
定 dʰ, d, tʃi	大 <i>tarqan</i> 提 <i>tegin</i> 調 <i>eltäbär</i> 跌 <i>elteriš</i> 達 <i>tarqan</i> , <i>Tatpar</i>	騰 <i>tāngri</i> 滕 <i>tāngri</i> 特 <i>tegin</i> 獨 <i>Toyla</i> 同 <i>tonga</i> , <i>Tongra</i>	屯 <i>tudun</i> <i>tudun</i>	
泥 n, n, n				男 <i>īnan</i> 難 <i>īnanč(u)</i> 涅 <i>īnāl</i>

(29) The initial of this character belong to the *dingmu* 定母 according to E. G. PULLEYBLANK’s reconstruction.

Table I.4. Laterals (Chin. *bansheyin* 半舌音)

OT Chin.	d	l		r
來 l, l, l	羅 <u>-dΔ</u>	臘 <u>alp</u>	陸 <u>kü<u>l</u>üg</u>	離 <u>bö<u>ri</u></u>
	囉 <u>-dΔ</u>	六 <u>a<u>l</u>tun</u>	祿 <u>Qar<u>l</u>uq</u>	鄰 <u>bö<u>ri</u></u>
	邏 <u>-dΔ</u>	羅 <u>bo<u>l</u>a</u>	<u>Qaral<u>l</u>uq</u>	錄 <u>bu<u>y</u>ruq</u>
		<u>Ta<u>l</u>as</u>	<u>qut<u>l</u>uy</u>	羅 <u>İ<u>ş</u>ba<u>r</u>a</u>
		<u>Yay<u>l</u>aqar</u>	<u>u<u>l</u>uy</u>	<u>qar<u>a</u></u>
		利 <u>e<u>l</u>lig</u>	力 <u>e<u>l</u>lig</u>	<u>Qar<u>l</u>uq</u>
		<u>e<u>l</u>täbär</u>	<u>qut<u>l</u>uy</u>	<u>Tong<u>r</u>a</u>
		<u>e<u>l</u>täbär</u>	邏 <u>qu<u>l</u>avuz</u>	略 <u>İ<u>ş</u>ba<u>r</u>a</u>
		<u>kü<u>l</u>(<u>i</u>) çor</u>	<u>Ta<u>l</u>as</u>	利 <u>e<u>l</u>ter<u>i</u>ş</u>
		<u>Tö<u>l</u>is</u>	<u>To<u>y</u>la</u>	<u>qar<u>i</u></u>
	里 <u>e<u>l</u>termiş</u>	洛 <u>To<u>y</u>la</u>		<u>Qur<u>i</u>qan</u>
	錄 <u>kü<u>ç</u>lü<u>g</u></u>	樂 <u>To<u>y</u>la</u>		<u>täng<u>ri</u></u>
		<u>kü<u>l</u>üg</u>	駱 <u>u<u>l</u>ay</u>	邏 <u>Qar<u>l</u>uq</u>
		<u>ü<u>l</u>üg</u>	落 <u>u<u>l</u>ay</u>	里 <u>täng<u>ri</u></u>
	律 <u>kü<u>l</u>(<u>i</u>) çor</u>			黎 <u>täng<u>ri</u></u>
				梨 <u>täng<u>ri</u></u>

Table I.5. Dental sibilants (Chin. *chitouyin* 齒頭音)

OT Chin.	s	š	č	z	Others
心 s, s, s	悉 <u>Ba<u>s</u>mil</u>			蘇 <u>Ozmi<u>š</u></u>	
	斯 <u>e<u>l</u> ö<u>g</u>ä<u>s</u>i</u>			斯 <u>Qir<u>q</u>i<u>z</u></u>	
	<u>Ta<u>l</u>as</u>			<u>qu<u>l</u>avuz</u>	
	思 <u>e<u>l</u> ö<u>g</u>ä<u>s</u>i</u>				
	娑 <u>sä<u>b</u>üg</u>				
	仙 <u>Sälängä</u>				
	素 <u>so<u>l</u></u>				
	私 <u>Ta<u>l</u>as</u>				

Table I.6. Paratal and retroflex sibilants (Chin. *zhengchiyin* 正齒音)

OT Chin.	č	s	š	z	Others
照 tś, tɕ, tʂ	朱 ĭnanč(u) 主 ĭnanč(u) kūčlūg 珠 ĭnanč(u) 啜 kūl(i) čor 振 qurqapčīn 眞 qurqapčīn				
穿 tś', tɕʰ, tʂʰ	車 čavīš				
神 dź', z, ʂi					她 yabyu
審 ś, ɕ, ʂ		矢 Töliḡ	施 bolmīš/bulmīš čavīš, elteriš eltermiš, etmiš Ozmīš, tutmīš Türgiš 尸 čavīš 始 ĭšbara 室 ĭštāmi 設 šad		
疏 s, ʂ, ʂ			沙 ĭšbara 瑟 ĭštāmi 史 ĭšbara, Kāšdim 殺 šad	師 buz ay	
初 tś', tɕʰ, tʂʰ	察 čad				
牀 dź', z, ʂi					俟 ɛltäbär irkin

Table I.7. Paratal nasal (Chin. *banchiyin* 半齒音)

OT Chin.	č
日 nž, ɲ, r	如 ĭnanč(u)

Table I.8. Velars (Chin. *yayin* 牙音)

OT Chin.	k	q		g	ng
見 k k k	莖 ₃ <u>irkin</u> 斤 ₃ <u>irkin</u> <u>Ötükän</u> 筋 ₃ <u>irkin</u> 劍 ₃ <u>käm</u> 句 ₃ <u>küčlüg</u> <u>külüg</u> 俱 ₃ <u>külüg</u> 君 ₃ <u>kün</u> 軍 ₃ <u>Ötükän</u> 韃 ₃ <u>Ötükän</u>	古 ₁ Bayar <u>qu</u> 固 ₁ Bayar <u>qu</u> 杆 ₁ Mu <u>qan</u> 甘 ₁ <u>qam</u> 哥 ₁ <u>Qaraluq</u> <u>qarī</u> 歌 ₁ <u>Qaraluq</u> 葛 ₁ <u>Qarī</u> <u>Qarluq</u> <u>Qaraluq</u> Yayla <u>qar</u> 骨 ₁ <u>Qırqız</u> <u>qulavuz</u> <u>Qurıqan</u> <u>qutluy</u>	結 ₄ <u>Qırqız</u> 憂 ₂ <u>Qırqız</u> 挖 ₃ <u>Qırqız</u> 幹 ₁ <u>Qurıqan</u> 枯 ₁ <u>qurqapčın</u> 窟 ₁ <u>qurqapčın</u> 庫 ₁ <u>qurqapčın</u> 汨 ₁ <u>qut</u> <u>qutluy</u> 干 ₁ <u>tarqan</u> 官 ₁ <u>tarqan</u> <u>tarqan</u> 谷 ₁ <u>Tonyuquq</u> 屹 ₁ <u>Yaylaqar</u>	迦 ₁ el ögäsi	
溪 k' k ^h k ^h	可 ₁ <u>Kaşdim</u> 闕 ₃ <u>köl</u> <u>kül(i) čor</u> 屈 ₁ <u>kül(i) čor</u>	珂 ₁ <u>qayan</u> <u>qatun</u> <u>qara</u>	可 ₁ <u>qayan</u> <u>qatun</u> 契 ₄ <u>Qırqız</u>		
羣 g' g kfi	瑾 ₃ <u>irkin</u> 健 ₃ <u>Ötükän</u>			伽 ₁ bilgä el ögäsi 勤 ₃ <u>tegin</u> 懃 ₃ <u>tegin</u> <u>tegin</u> 騎 ₃ <u>Türgiř</u>	
疑 ng ŋ ŋ					娥 <u>Sälängä</u> <u>Tonga</u> 凝 <u>tängri</u> 疑 <u>tängri</u> 俄 <u>Tonga</u>

Table I.9. Laryngeals (Chin. *houyin* 喉音)

OT Chin.	Vowel		y	g	y	q
影 · ? ?	阿 <u>altun</u> <u>apa</u> , <u>apa</u> <u>ata</u> 愛 <u>ay</u> 哀 <u>buz ay</u> 伊 <u>ellig</u> elteriř eltermiř Īnanč(u) Īnāl	意 <u>eltäbär</u> 乙 <u>irkin</u> Īsbara 烏 <u>Qzmiř</u> <u>Ötükän</u> 於 <u>Ötükän</u> 鬱 <u>Ötükän</u> 鄔 <u>ulay</u> 嗚 <u>uluγ</u>				
曉 x, x, x	希 <u>eltäbär</u> , <u>irkin</u>					漢 <u>targan</u>
匣 y y xɬ	合 <u>alp</u> <u>qurqapč'in</u> <u>qurqapč'in</u> 賀 <u>alp</u> 頤 <u>el</u> <u>el ögäsi</u> <u>eltäbär</u> <u>elteriř</u> <u>irkin</u>	迴 <u>Uiγur</u> 回 <u>Uiγur</u> 胡 <u>uluγ</u>	亥 <u>mayä</u> 寒 <u>qayan</u> 𪛗 <u>yabyu</u> 賀 <u>mayatur/bayatur</u> <u>mayä</u> , <u>mayä/bayä</u> 何 <u>mayä/bayä</u> 汗 <u>qayan</u> 紇 <u>Uiγur</u> 鶻 <u>Uiγur</u> 護 <u>yabyu</u> , <u>yabyu</u>	紇 Tongra		汗 <u>Muqan</u> 扞 <u>Muqan</u> 紇 <u>Qırqız</u> 黠 <u>Qırqız</u>
云 j j	夷 <u>Īnan</u> 移 <u>Īnāl</u> 逸 <u>irkin</u> 曳 <u>irtiř</u> 翳 <u>etmiř</u> ⁽³⁰⁾				移 <u>yabyu</u> 也 <u>Bayarqu</u> 曳 <u>Bayarqu</u> 野 <u>Bayarqu</u> 聿 <u>bing yul</u> 欲 <u>Tonyuquq</u> 藥 <u>Yaylaqar</u> 葉 <u>yabyu</u>	
以 w	于 <u>el ögäsi</u> 羽 <u>ülüg</u>			羽 <u>bügü</u>		

(30) According to E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstruction this character belongs to the *yingmu* 影母, not to *yumu* 喻母. Both initials are, however, suitable for the transcription of Old Turkish vowels, so that those differences do not influence the analysis at all.

The correspondences between Chinese initials and Old Turkish sounds were summarised in table II which is based on tables I.1-9. The reasonable correspondences are represented by lines, while the exceptions are indicated by the dotted-lines.⁽³¹⁾

Some voiceless Chinese initials stand for voiced Old Turkish sounds as in the case of the initials *bangmu* 幫母 (K: *p*-, EMC/LMC: *p*-) and *feimu* 非母 (K: *f*-, EMC: *p*-, LMC: *f*-) for *b*, *fumu* 敷母 (K: *f*'-, EMC: *p*^h-, LMC: *f*-) for *v*, *duanmu* 端母 (K: *t*-, EMC/LMC: *t*-) for *d*, *xinmu* 心母 (K: *s*-, EMC/LMC: *s*-) and *shumu* 疏母 (K: *ʃ*-, EMC/LMC: *ʒ*-) for *z*, and *jianmu* 見母 (K: *k*-, EMC/LMC: *k*-) for *g*, but the comparative analysis mostly shows that the result is in line with expectations.⁽³²⁾

The correspondences of the initials *jianmu* 見母 (K: *k*-, EMC/LMC: *k*-), *qimu* 溪母 (K: *k*'-, EMC/LMC: *k*^h-) and *qunmu* 羣母 (K: *g*'-, EMC: *g*-, LMC: *kfi*-) are especially important, because those initials correspond based on the division of the final sounds either to the back consonant *q* or to the front one *k*. In Chinese phonology all final sounds (*yunmu* 韻母) are assigned to four groups (= divisions).

(31) Concerning the classification of the Chinese initials see e.g. BAXTER 1992, pp. 45-59. His classification is basically comparable with that of E. G. PULLEYBLANK in the latter's table for the reconstruction of the initial [PULLEYBLANK 1984, p. 232; 1991, p. 15]. In E. G. PULLEYBLANK's table, however, the retroflex sibilants do not form their own group and are treated under the name of palatal sibilants, although E. G. PULLEYBLANK distinguishes between the first and the last ones in his reconstruction. Both sounds belong to the *zhengchuiyin* 正齒音 and are often put in one group. In this article the difference between those both groups is important for the comparison with Old Turkish, so that W. H. BAXTER's classification which keeps both groups apart is suitable here. In the table only the correspondences of the initials (*shengmu* 聲母) of the transcriptions collected in this article are presented.

(32) Concerning the initial *bangmu* 幫母 (K: *p*-, EMC/LMC: *p*-) see table I.1. Labials (*chunyin* 唇音); on *feimu* 非母 (K: *f*-, EMC: *p*-, LMC: *f*-) and *fumu* 敷母 (K: *f*'-, EMC: *p*^h-, LMC: *f*-) see table I.2. Labiodentals (*qingchunyin* 輕唇音); on *duanmu* 端母 (K: *t*-, EMC/LMC: *t*-) see table I.3. Dentals (*shetouyin* 舌頭音); on *xinmu* 心母 (K: *s*-, EMC/LMC: *s*-) see table I.5. Dental sibilants (*chitouyin* 齒頭音); on *shumu* 疏母 (K: *ʃ*-, EMC/LMC: *ʒ*-) see table I.6. Palatal and retroflex sibilants (*zhengchuiyin* 正齒音); on *jianmu* 見母 (K: *k*-, EMC/LMC: *k*-) see table I.8. Velars (*yayin* 牙音).

That assignment is based on the position of the mouth during pronunciation. The groups of the final sounds pronounced with the mouth opened widest belong to division I (*yideng* 一等), while those pronounced with the mouth opened least are assigned division IV (*sideng* 四等). In the case of the above mentioned three initials, the characters belonging to division III are used for the transcription of the Old Turkish front consonant *k*, although there are some exceptions. On the other hand, most characters used for the transcription of the back consonant *q* have initials belonging to division I.⁽³³⁾

(33) When Chinese characters were phonetically transcribed into Uyghur script, the front consonant *k* was used for those initials belonging to divisions III and IV, while those of divisions I and II were transcribed with the back one *q*. E. G. PULLEYBLANK already gave consideration to this fact and supposed that there was a certain phonetic difference between divisions III and IV and divisions I and II in the above mentioned groups of the initials [PULLEYBLANK 1965b]. Y. YOSHIDA and T. TAKATA did not rule out this possibility completely, but they indicated that in the phonetic transcriptions of the Chinese pronunciation in Uyghur script the Old Turkish phonetic system in which the back vowel links with *q* and the front vowel with *k* rather seems to be responsible for this difference [TAKATA 1985, pp. 140-141; YOSHIDA 1994, pp. 348-346].

Table II: Chinese and Old Turkish initials

<i>Shengmu</i>	聲母	K	EMC	LMC	Old Turkish
<i>bang</i>	幫	p	p	p	p
<i>bing</i>	並	b ^ʿ	b	ph	b
<i>ming</i>	明	m	m	m	m
<i>fei</i>	非	f	p	f	
<i>fu</i>	敷	f ^ʿ	p ^h	f	v
<i>feng</i>	奉	v	b	ff	
<i>duan</i>	端	t	t	t	t
<i>tou</i>	透	t ^ʿ	t ^h	t ^h	d
<i>ding</i>	定	d ^ʿ	d	th	
<i>ni</i>	泥	n	n	n	n
<i>lai</i>	來	l	l	l	l/r
<i>zhao</i>	照	tś	te	tʂ	č
<i>chuan</i>	穿	tś ^ʿ	te ^h	tʂ ^h	
<i>ri</i>	日	ńź	j	r	
<i>chu</i>	初	tś ^ʿ	tʂ ^h	tʂ ^h	
<i>xin</i>	心	s	s	s	s
<i>shen</i>	審	ś	ɕ	ʃ	š
<i>shu</i>	疏	ʂ	ʃ	ʃ	z
<i>shen</i>	神	dź ^ʿ	z	ʃfi	
<i>chuan</i>	牀	dź ^ʿ	z	ʃfi	
<i>jian</i>	見	k	k	k	k
<i>qi</i>	溪	k ^ʿ	k ^h	k ^h	q
<i>qun</i>	羣	g ^ʿ	g	kfi	g
<i>yi</i>	疑	ng	ŋ	ŋ	ng
<i>xiao</i>	曉	x	x	x	vowel
<i>xia</i>	匣	ɣ	ɣ	xfi	ɣ
<i>ying</i>	影	ʿ	ʔ	ʔ	
<i>yun</i>	云		j	j	y
<i>yi</i>	以		w		

Because of phonetic changes, the voiced initials such as *bingmu* 並母 *b'-/b-*,⁽³⁴⁾ *dingmu* 定母 *d'-/d-*, *qunmu* 羣母 *g'-/g-* and *xiamu* 匣母 *ɣ-* became voiceless.⁽³⁵⁾ According to S. MIZUTANI this phenomenon begun first in the first half of the 7th c. with the voiced sibilant initials *shenmu* 神母 *dz'-/dz-* and *xiamu* 匣母 *ɣ-* [MIZUTANI 1957, pp. 5-6]. This was proven by the phonetic notation in Sogdian or Tibetan scripts that the other voiced initials also gradually became voiceless in the 8th c. This change took place in the first half of the 8th c. for nearly all voiced initials, although there are some exceptions [TAKATA 1988, pp. 107-109; YOSHIDA 1994, p. 354, pp. 347-346]. After the voiced initials became voiceless, they were also used for the transcription of the Old Turkish voiced sounds.

The nasal initials such as *mingmu* 明母 *m-*, *weimu* 微母 *ɱ-/m-*, *nimu* 泥母 *n-*, *rimu* 日母 *ɳz-/ɳ-* and *yimu* 疑母 *ŋ-/ɳ-* were also affected by a phonetic change. They were denasalized and changed from *m-*, *ɱ-/*, *n-*, *ɳz-/ɳ-* and *ŋ-/ɳ-* to *^mb-*, *^ɱɳ-/^mɳ-*, *ⁿd-*, *^ɳz-/ⁿr-* and *^ŋg-*.⁽³⁶⁾ The denasalization was prevented in the initials with a nasal coda. According to S. MIZUTANI the denasalization which first began in the initial *rimu* 日母 was attested already at the beginning of the 7th c. in a wide area of North China as far as the city Luoyang 洛陽 [MIZUTANI 1957]. Those nasal initials were often, however, transcribed with the combination of nasals and voiced plosives in Sogdian or Tibetan phonetic notations from the 8th

(34) If only two phonetic values are given in this article, the first one is B. KARLGREN's reconstruction and the second is E. G. PULLEYBLANK's EMC. The value of LMC is given, if it is necessary for discussion.

(35) This fact is reflected in E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstruction of LMC, see table I.

(36) This phenomenon was first indicated by H. MASPERO and after him S. MIZUTANI investigated the process of denasalization in detail [MASPERO 1920; MIZUTANI 1957]. In E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstruction of LCM only the denasalization of the initials *weimu* 微母 *ɱ-/m-* and *rimu* 日母 *ɳz-/ɳ-* was considered. See also PULLEYBLANK 1984, p. 68.

or the 9th c.⁽³⁷⁾ This fact shows that the nasal initials did not completely lose their nasality at that moment, although a denasalization was surely in progress. This sound change is partly reflected in the phonetic transcriptions of Old Turkish words, too.⁽³⁸⁾

In the Chinese initials there was a distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants. In Old Turkish, in contrast, this difference was not attested. Both Chinese initials (aspirated and non-aspirated ones) were used in transcriptions, but we cannot recognise a special reason for distribution. Only the transcriptions of the dental sounds (*shetouyin* 舌頭音) form an exception. The non-aspirated dental initial *duanmu* 端母 *t-* was used for *t* in the middle of an Old Turkish word, while the aspirated one *toumu* 透母 *t'-/tʰ-* and the still voiced *dingmu* 定母 *d'-/d-* often stood for the transcription of the Old Turkish initial sound *t-*.⁽³⁹⁾

(37) On the phonetic notations in Tibetan script see TAKATA 1988, pp. 86-93, about those in Sogdian script see YOSHIDA 1994, p. 354. In Tibetan script the nasal initials were phonetically transcribed by the equivalent nasal sounds as well as by the voiced sounds with *'a-chung*. The initial *nimu* 泥母 *n-* was, for example, expressed by *n-* and *'d-*. The former one stands for the initial of the Chinese characters with a nasal coda, while the latter one is for that without any nasal coda. In Sogdian script the initials *mingmu* 明母 *m-* was, for example, transcribed by *'np-*. The letter *p* (*p* with an additional dot) stands here for the voiced plosive.

(38) See table I.1. Labials (*chunyin* 唇音), *mingmu* 明母; I.7. Paratal nasal (*banchiyin* 半齒音), *rimu* 日母. In this context the titles *maya/baya* and *mayatur/bayatur* has to be mentioned. According to Y. YOSHIDA's investigation, this title "was first pronounced *maya* but later the nasal element came to be lost to become *baya*" [YOSHIDA 2000, pp. 9-10]. It is difficult to know, when this sound change exactly happened. There are some translations which transcribe the initial sound with *mingmu* 明母 and stem from the period before the denasalisation happened. From the viewpoint of those Chinese attestations the sound change from *m-* to *b-* in Old Turkish had to happen only after the period of Chinese denasalisation.

(39) See table I.3. Dentals (*shetouyin* 舌頭音). P. PELLiot already indicated that the Old Turkish initial sound *t-* was often transcribed by the voiced initial *dingmu* 定母 *d'-/d-* [PELLiot 1915, p. 687].

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the laryngeal initials *xiaomu* 曉母 *x-* and *xiamu* 匣母 *y-* were used for the transcription of Old Turkish vowels in the initial position when they became voiceless after the sound change. The Old Turkish vowels in this position were otherwise transcribed by the other laryngeal initials without any consonant initials.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Hence the possibility that the Old Turkish words transcribed by both those laryngeal initials had a voiceless fricative sound in the initial position.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, this topic needs further investigation on the side of the Old Turkish phonology, too.

Now the correspondences which cannot be explained only on the basis of phonetic changes in Middle Chinese have to be taken into account. The first such case is the transcription of Old Turkish *d* with *laimu* 來母 *l-*. This Chinese initial usually corresponds to Old Turkish *r* or *l*, but in three examples only it is used for the transcription of the Old Turkish locative suffix *-dA*.⁽⁴²⁾ One reason for this unusual correspondence can probably be found on the Old Turkish side. It is well known that Uyghur script developed from Sogdian script. The letter for Old Turkish *d* was derived from *δ* (lamed) which was used for the Sogdian fricative sounds [*δ*] and [*θ*] [SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, pp. 353-354]. On the other hand, the letter *δ* in Sogdian was used not only for the transcription of the Sanskrit sound [*l*], but also for that of the initial *laimu* 來母 *l-* [CLAUSON 1962, pp. 104-105; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983, p. 135, fn. 26; YOSHIDA 1994, p. 353]. Therefore it can be assumed that both Sogdian *δ* and Uyghur *d* had a fricative phonetic value similar to [*l*]. The unusual transcriptions in question probably tried to transcribe this sound.

(40) See table I.9. Laryngeals (*houyin* 喉音), *yunmu* 云母 and *yimu* 以母.

(41) Among transcriptions in which the initial vowel is represented by those two initials there are those for *irkin* and *eltābār*. The title *eltābār* is attested in Bactrian documents, too. According to N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, the Bactrian form represents a pronunciation such as [hiltber] and its representation corresponds that of Chinese well, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011, p. 24.

(42) See, table I.4. Laterals (*bansheyin* 半舌音), *laimu* 來母.

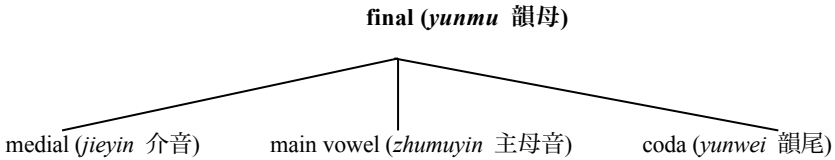
The other extraordinary correspondences can be found in the initial *chuanmu* 牀母 (K: *dʒ'ʰ*-, EMC: *ʒʰ*-, LMC: *ʃhʰ*-). This initial must correspond to Old Turkish *ʒ* or *ʃ* such as *shumu* 疏母 (K: *ʃ*-, EMC: *ʃ*-, LMC: *ʃ*-) and *shenmu* 審母 (K: *ʃ*-, EMC: *ʃ*-, LMC: *ʃ*-) which had a value comparable to *chuanmu* 牀母 after its phonetic change. Only two transcriptions, namely *silifa* 俟利發 (K: *dʒ'i lji pɿwət*, EMC: *ʒi'ʒi' li^h puat*, LMC: *ʃhɿr' li' fɿyat/fa:t*) for *eltäbär* and *sijin* 俟斤 (K: *dʒ'i kɿən*, EMC: *ʒi'ʒi' kin*, LMC: *ʃhɿr' kin*) for *irkin*, have come down to us with this initial and in both cases the same character *si* 俟 (K: *dʒ'i*, EMC: *ʒi'ʒi'*, LMC: *ʃhɿr'*) was used for the transcription of the Old Turkish vowel in the initial position. There is the character *yi* 佚 (K: *iʒt*, EMC: *jit*, LMC: *jit*) which has a shape very similar to the one in question and its initial belongs to *yunmu* 云母 *ø/j*-. This initial is more suitable for the transcription of the Old Turkish vowels.⁽⁴³⁾ Considering those facts, it is very probable that the character *si* 俟 was a mistake for *yi* 佚 and this mistake consequently occurred in all transcriptions containing this character.⁽⁴⁴⁾

(43) The final is perfectly acceptable, too. See table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝 in the rhyme group *zhiyun* 質韻. About this topic, see also PELLIOU 1929, pp. 225-229; PULLEYBLANK 1984, p. 171.

(44) As a further example of such a systematic mistake the transcription of *tegin* can be mentioned. In most cases the characters *tele* 特勒 (K: *d'ək lək*, EMC: *dək lək*, LMC: *tʰəək ləək*) were used for this word, although the variant *teqin* 特勤 (K: *d'ək g'ɿən*, EMC: *dək gɿn*, LMC: *tʰəək khɿn*) was the correct one. According to K. IWAMI's newest investigation the first erroneous variant appears even in the epitaph of a ruler of the Turkish clan Pugu 僕固 [IWAMI 2014, pp. 2-3]. Thus this confusion already happened in the period, when the Chinese had a close contact with Turkish people.

II.3. Correspondences of finals

Compared to the initials the correspondences of the finals (*yunmu* 韻母) between Middle Chinese and Old Turkish are different again. The structure of Chinese finals can be presented in the following manner:⁽⁴⁵⁾



In the character *mi* 蜜 (K: *mǐět*, EMC/LMC: *mjit*), for example, one can separate the initial *m-* and the final *-jět* or rather *-jit*. In the final the sound *-j-* or *-j-* in the head position is the medial (*jiejyin* 介音), while the sound *-ě-* or *-i-* and the consonant *-t* are each the main vowel (*zhumuyin* 主母音) and the coda (*yunwei* 韻尾). Many characters such as *mi* 蜜 had all those elements, but there were also characters such as *ge* 歌 (K: *kâ*, EMC/LMC: *ka*) or *pi* 毗 (K: *b'ji*, EMC: *bji*, LMC: *phji*) in which the sounds in the medial (*jiejyin* 介音) or the coda (*yunwei* 韻尾) position were lacking. Furthermore some characters such as *hui* 迴 (K: *yuâi*, EMC: *ɣwaj*, LMC: *xhuaj*) had a vowel in the coda position.

Chinese characters were traditionally classified into 16 groups called *she* 攝. The characters with the similar final belonged to the same *she* 攝-group. The *she* 攝-group was subdivided into several rhyme groups (= Chin. *yun* 韻). The characters belonging to the same rhyme had the same final with minor differences. Each *she* 攝 and *yun* 韻 were labelled with a representative character.

The *she* 攝-group for the characters with consonant coda were special. Altogether 6 consonants, *-ŋ*, *-n*, *-m*, *-k*, *-t* and *-p*, could appear in the coda position in Middle Chinese. The latter three (*-k*, *-t*, *-p*) which all belong to *rusheng* 入聲

⁽⁴⁵⁾ On the structure of Chinese finals, see e.g. PULLEYBLANK 1984, p. 80; BAXTER 1992, p. 6.

always form a parallel rhyme group to the first three (-*ŋ*, -*n*, -*m*) within the same *she* 攝-group. That is to say, in the *she* 攝-group to which the rhyme group with coda -*ŋ* belonged, for example, there was the parallel rhyme group with a coda -*k*. Both those rhyme groups had the same medial and main vowel.

Based on this traditional classification all characters are allocated to the appropriate groups as in table III and analysed. The results discussed in the following chapters are based on this analysis. In Old Turkish, front and back vowels form an opposition, but such a phenomena does not exist in Chinese. Thus it has to be taken into consideration how those differences in the Old Turkish vowels were reflected in Chinese. In the case of the characters with a consonantal coda, furthermore, it is also important how Chinese consonant codas were used in the transcriptions. Thus in the following analysis the Chinese characters are divided into two groups: those with vocalic codas and those with consonantal codas.

II.3.1. Finals containing vocalic codas

First, the correspondences in the characters with vocalic codas are analysed.⁽⁴⁶⁾ At the same time it is important to mention that in those characters only the initial was often used for transcriptions and the final did not play any role. Even in this case, the characters whose main vowel was suitable either for the preceding or for the following vowels in Old Turkish words were chosen.⁽⁴⁷⁾

⁽⁴⁶⁾ The correspondences of those characters are presented in the following tables III.1-6.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the transcription *momishi* 沒蜜施 (K: *muət mǐēt śiç*, EMC: *mət mjit eiš/ei*, LMC: *mut mjit ɣi*) for *bolmiš/bulmiš*, for example, the last character *shi* 施 is used for the transcription of the Old Turkish consonant -š. But the main vowel of this character is suitable for the Old Turkish vowel *e*, *i*, or *i* which appears before -š.

Table III.1 *guojiashe* 果假攝

OT Chin.	a		ä	ø
歌 â a a	賀 <u>alp</u> may <u>atur</u> /bay <u>atur</u> <u>maya</u> maya/ <u>baya</u> 阿 <u>altun</u> <u>apa</u> , <u>apa</u> <u>ata</u> 多 <u>ata</u> <u>Talas</u> 羅 <u>boyla</u> <u>-dÄ</u> <u>İšbara</u> <u>qara</u> <u>Qaraluq</u> <u>Talas</u> <u>Tongra</u> Yay <u>la</u> qar 何 <u>maya/baya</u>	可 <u>qayan</u> <u>qatun</u> 珂 <u>qara</u> <u>qayan</u> <u>qatun</u> 哥 <u>Qaraluq</u> <u>qarī</u> <u>Qaraluq</u> <u>-dÄ</u> <u>Qaraluq</u> qulavuz <u>Talas</u> <u>Toyla</u> 囉 <u>-dÄ</u> 他 <u>Tatpar</u> 陀 <u>Tatpar</u> 俄 <u>Tonga</u> 娥 <u>Tonga</u>	伽 <u>bilgä</u> el ögäsi 羅 <u>-dÄ</u> 邏 <u>-dÄ</u> 囉 <u>-dÄ</u> 迦 el ögäsi 可 <u>Käšdim</u> 娑 <u>säbüg</u> 娥 <u>Sälängä</u>	
戈 uâ a ua	摩 <u>maya</u> 波 <u>apa</u> <u>İšbara</u> <u>Tuba</u> 播 <u>Tuba</u>			婆 <u>yabyu</u>
麻 ₂ a, ai/ε, a				沙 <u>İšbara</u>
麻 ₃ ja ia ia	她 <u>yabyu</u> 爹 <u>ata</u> 也 <u>Bayarqu</u> 野 <u>Bayarqu</u> 車 <u>čaviš</u>			

Table III.2 yushe 遇攝

OT Chin.	u/o		ü/ö	ø	Others
模 uo, ɔ, uǎ	孤 <u>yabyu</u> 古 Bayar <u>qu</u> 固 Bayar <u>qu</u> 烏 <u>Ozmiš</u> 枯 <u>qurqapč'in</u> 庫 <u>qurqapč'in</u> 素 <u>sol</u>	都 <u>Tuba</u> 吐 <u>tudun</u> 烏 <u>ulay</u> 鄔 <u>ulay</u> 胡 <u>uluγ</u> 護 <u>yabyu</u> <u>yabyu</u>	都 <u>Ötükän</u> 於 <u>Ötükän</u> 烏 <u>Ötükän</u>	蘇 <u>Ozmiš</u>	吐 <u>eltäbär</u>
魚 iwo, iǎ, iǎ/yǎ	如 ĩnan <u>č(u)</u>				
虞 iu, uǎ, yǎ	朱 ĩnan <u>č(u)</u> 主 ĩnan <u>č(u)</u> 珠 ĩnan <u>č(u)</u>		附 <u>böri</u> 羽 <u>bügü</u> <u>ülüg</u> 于 <u>el ögäsi</u> 句 <u>küčlüg</u> <u>külüg</u> 俱 <u>külüg</u>	主 <u>küčlüg</u>	无 <u>mayä</u>

Table III.3 xieshe 蟹攝

OT Chin.	a	ä	e/i	ĩ	u/o
泰 âi, aj, aj	大 <u>tarqan</u>				
哈 âi, əj, aj	亥 <u>mayä</u> 哀 <u>buz ay</u> 愛 <u>ay</u>				
灰 uâi wəj uaj					裴 <u>boyla</u> 梅 <u>buyruq</u> 回 <u>Uyyur</u> 迴 <u>Uyyur</u>
祭 iǎi, iaj, iaj	曳 Bayar <u>qu</u>		曳 ĩrti <u>š</u>		
齊 iei ej iaj		帝 ĩstā <u>mi</u>	提 <u>tegin</u> 底 <u>eltermiš</u> 翳 <u>etmiš</u> 米 ĩstā <u>mi</u> 黎 <u>tāngri</u>	米 <u>Ozmiš</u>	

Table III.4 *zhishe* 止攝

OT Chin.	e/i	ĩ	ø	Others
支 ie iə/i i, ʒ	離 <u>bōrĩ</u> 斯 <u>el ögāsĩ</u> 移 <u>Īnāl</u> 騎 <u>Türgĩš</u>	彌 <u>Basmĩl</u> 弭 <u>bolmĩš/</u> <u>bulmĩš</u>	施 <u>bolmĩš/</u> <u>bulmĩš</u> <u>čavĩš</u> <u>eltermĩš</u> <u>etmĩš</u> <u>Ozmĩš</u> <u>tutmĩš</u> <u>Türgĩš</u> 斯 <u>Qırqıǵ</u> <u>qulavuz</u> <u>Talaš</u>	移 <u>yabyu</u>
之 i i/i i, ʀ, ʒ	思 <u>el ögāsĩ</u> 意 <u>eltābār</u> 俟 <u>eltābār, ĩrkin</u> 里 <u>tāngrĩ</u>		里 <u>eltermĩš</u> 始 <u>ĭšbara</u> 史 <u>Kāšdim</u> <u>ĭšbara</u> 疑 <u>tāngrĩ</u>	
脂 i i i, ʀ	毗 <u>bĩlgā</u> <u>čavĩš</u> 伊 <u>ellig</u> <u>eltermĩš</u> <u>eltermĩš</u> <u>Īnāl</u>	利 <u>eltermĩš</u> <u>kū(ĩ)</u> čor <u>tāngrĩ</u> <u>Tōlis</u> 梨 <u>tāngrĩ</u>	鼻 <u>čavĩš</u> 夷 <u>Īnan</u> 伊 <u>Īnanč(u)</u> 利 <u>qarĩ</u> <u>Qurıqan</u>	師 <u>buz ay</u> 尸 <u>čavĩš</u> 利 <u>ellig</u> <u>eltābār</u> <u>eltābār</u> 私 <u>Talaš</u>
微 ei, ij, i	希 <u>eltābār</u> <u>ĩrkin</u>			

Table III.5 *xiaoshe* 效攝

OT Chin.	ā
蕭 ieu, ɛw, iaw	調 <u>eltābār</u>

Table III.6 *liushe* 流攝

OT Chin.	u	ö	ø
侯 qu, əw, əw	鎗 <u>tudun</u> 茂 <u>buz ay</u>		
尤 iəu, uw, əw		牟 <u>bügü</u>	浮 <u>yabyu</u>

The majority of the Old Turkish words listed in table III has the vowels *a* and *ä*. Those vowels were transcribed by Chinese characters belonging to the rhyme groups *gujiaoshe* 果假攝, *xieshe* 蟹攝, or *xiaoshe* 效攝, which have the open or central vowel *â/a*, *a/a(ε)*, *ä/a*, *e/ε* or *â/ə* (LMC: all *a*) in the position of the main vowel.⁽⁴⁸⁾ All the characters used for the transcription of the Old Turkish front vowel *ä* have the half-open vowel *e/ε* (LMC: *a*)⁽⁴⁹⁾ except for the rhyme *gujiaoshe* 果假攝. The characters of the rhyme group *gujiaoshe* 果假攝 correspond both to the Old Turkish back vowel *a* and to the front one *ä*, but characters containing the medial *-i-* are predisposed to be used for the front one.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Among the transcriptions containing the Old Turkish vowels *a* and *ä* only the correspondence in *xielitufa* 頡利吐發 (K: *yiet lji t'uo piwət*, EMC: *yēt li^h tʰɔ' puat*, LMC: *xhjiat li' tʰuəʃ fjiat/fa:t*) for *eltäbär* strongly differs from the others. In this transcription the Old Turkish syllable *-tä-* was expressed by the character *tu* 吐 which belongs to the rhyme group *myun* 模韻 *-uo/-ɔ* (LMC: *-uə*) which otherwise stands for Old Turkish *u/ü* or *o/ö*. It is not clear why this character was used for the transcription *ä*. In most other transcriptions for *eltäbär* the element *-tä-* is not reflected. The only adequate transcription for it is *xielitiaofa* 頡利調發 (K: *yiet lji d'ieu piwət*, EMC: *yēt li^h dēw puat*, LMC: *xhjiat li' tʰiaw fjiat/fa:t*), but in this case, the sound *u/w* which normally does not reflect the Old Turkish vowels *a* and *ä* is present in the coda position. Thus there is the possibility that the element *-tä-* was very weakly pronounced in Old Turkish so that it was either completely ignored or only imprecisely reflected in the transcriptions.

The majority of Chinese characters used for the transcription of the Old Turkish vowels, *e*, *i* and *ï* belong to the rhyme group *zhishe* 止攝 and have the

(48) See table III.1. *gujiaoshe* 果假攝, III.3. *xieshe* 蟹攝, III.6. *xiaoshe* 效攝.

(49) Furthermore, in B. KARLGREN's reconstruction they have medial *-i-* which appears in E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstruction of LMC, too.

(50) Those characters are used for the transcription of *ya-*, too. In this case, the back vowel possibly sounds like the front vowel because of the preceding *y-*, see e.g. *ye* 也, *ye* 野 or *ye* 曳 for *Bayarqu* in table III.1. *gujiaoshe* 果假攝, *mayun* 麻韻₃ or in table III.3. *xieshe* 蟹攝, *jijun* 祭韻.

vowel *-i* or *-e/i* (LMC: *-i*, *-ɾ* or *-ʒ*) as the main vowel.⁽⁵¹⁾ Besides, the characters belonging to the rhyme group *qiyun* 齊韻 in *xieshe* 蟹攝 stand for those Old Turkish vowels.⁽⁵²⁾ Though one of the vowels *-e/-ε* (LMC: *-a*) in the main vowel position was more suitable for the transcription of the Old Turkish vowel *ä*, they have the additional vowel *-i* and the vowel coda *-i/-j*.⁽⁵³⁾ They were probably used for the transcription of the vowels *e*, *i* and *ī* because of the presence of this *i*-sound both in the main vowel and the coda positions. Those three Old Turkish vowels were, however, not distinguished from each other in the Chinese transcriptions.

The Old Turkish back vowels *o* and *u* were mainly transcribed with the Chinese characters belonging to the rhyme group *muyun* 模韻 *-uo/-ɔ* (LMC: *-uǎ*) in *yushe* 遇攝.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The other rhyme groups in the same *she* 攝-group, *yuyun* 魚韻 *-iwo/-iǎ* (LMC: *-iǎ/yǎ*) and *yuyun* 虞韻 *-ju/-uǎ* (LMC: *-yǎ*) were also used for the transcription of those Old Turkish vowels, but they were otherwise used more for the Old Turkish front vowels *ö* and *ü*. The examples in which the back vowel *o/u* were transcribed by both those rhyme groups are restricted to the word *Īnanč(u)*. Thus it is assumed that the back vowel *u* was realised as a front *ü* because of the influence of the previous consonant *č*. Besides, the characters belonging to the rhyme groups *huiyun* 灰韻 *-uǎi/-wǎj* (LMC: *-uaj*) and *houyun* 候韻 *-ǰu/-ǰw* (LMC: *-ǰw*) were used for the transcription of the back vowels *u/o*, too. They had the sound *-u/-w-* in the medial position and this sound was probably of importance for the transcription of those back vowels.⁽⁵⁵⁾

(51) See table III.4. *zhishe* 止攝.

(52) See table III.3. *xieshe* 蟹攝.

(53) This additional vowel exists only in B. KARLGREN's reconstruction and E. G. PULLEYBLANK's LMC.

(54) See table III.2. *yushe* 遇攝.

(55) On the rhyme group *huiyun* 灰韻 see table III.3. *xieshe* 蟹攝. On the rhyme group *houyun* 候韻 see table III.6. *liushe* 流攝. In the attested examples of the rhyme group *huiyun* 灰韻 not only the medial and main vowel *-uǎ-/wǎ-* (LMC: *-ua-*), but also the coda *-i/-j* were used for the transcription. In the choice of the characters of the rhyme group *huiyun* 灰韻 for the transcription, beside the medial *-u/-w-*, the existence of the coda *-i/-j* probably played an important role.

There are not many examples containing the Old Turkish front vowels *ö* and *ü*. In some transcriptions characters belonging the rhyme groups *muyun* 模韻 -uo/-ɔ (LMC: -uǎ) and *youyun* 尤韻 -iǰu/-uw (LMC: -əw) were used for them, but they were more suitable for the back vowels *o* and *u*, as we have already seen.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Otherwise the rhyme group *yuyun* 虞韻 -iǰu/-uǎ (LMC: -yǎ) consequently stood for both those front vowels with an exception of the transcription of *Īnanč(u)*, as mentioned above.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Hence it can be concluded that there was an attempt to distinguish front vowels from back ones.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In contrast, the differences between *o* and *u* and accordingly *ö* and *ü* were not reflected at all.

II.3.2. Finals containing the consonantal codas

II.3.2.1. Correspondences of medial and main vowels

In most of the transcriptions using the characters with the consonantal codas, all the elements, namely the initial, the medial, the main vowel and the consonantal coda, represent a certain Old Turkish sound. As discussed above, the rhyme groups with nasal codas had a parallel rhyme group with the *rusheng* 入聲-coda in the same *she* 攝-group. Thus it is counted on that both rhyme groups stood for the same Old Turkish vowel, although their codas had to correspond to different consonants.

(56) On the rhyme group *muyun* 模韻 see table III.2. *yushe* 遇攝. On the rhyme group *youyun* 尤韻 see table III.6. *liushe* 流攝. As the table shows, only one example belonging to the post-*Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國-period has come down to us from the rhyme group *youyun* 尤韻. Thus it is not sure which Old Turkish vowel was predominantly transcribed with the characters in this rhyme group, in practice.

(57) See table III.2. *yushe* 遇攝.

(58) According to B. KARLGREN the final of the rhyme group *yuyun* 虞韻 can be reconstructed as -iǰu, while that of the rhyme group 尤韻 has the sound -iǰu. Both have the medial -iǰ- in their reconstruction. This medial is suitable for transcribing the Old Turkish front vowels *ö/ü* together with the main vowel -u or rather -ǰu.

Table III.7 *xianshe* 咸攝

OT Chin.	-Am	-im	-an	-ap	-ab
覃 âṃ əṃ/am am			男 ĭnan		
合 âp əp/ap ap				合 alp qur <u>qap</u> č'in qur <u>qap</u> č'in	
談 âṃ am am	甘 qam	擔 Kašdim			
盍 âp ap ap				臘 alp	
嚴 iēm iam iam	劍 kām				
葉 iäp iap jiap					葉 yabyu
添 iem em iam	點 Ištāmi*				

Table III.8 shanshe 山攝

OT Chin.	-An	-at/d	-Ar/l
寒 ân, an, an	寒 <u>qayan</u> 難 <u>İnan</u> ĉ(u) 汗 <u>Muġan</u> qayan 杆 <u>Muġan</u>	杆 <u>Muġan</u> 幹 <u>Qurıġan</u> 干 <u>tarġan</u> 漢 <u>tarġan</u>	
曷 ât, at, at		達 <u>Tatpar</u>	葛 <u>Qarĭ, Qarluq</u> <u>Qaraluq*</u> Yaylaġar 怛 <u>Talas*</u> 咄 <u>Talas*</u> 達 <u>tarġan</u>

OT Chin.	-An	-at/d	-Ar/l	-Il/r -el/r	-Ol/r	Others
桓 uân, wan, uan	官 <u>tarġan</u> <u>tarġan</u>					
末 uât, wat, uat			鉢 <u>İšbara*</u> 鉢 <u>Tatpar</u>			
黠 ât, ät/et, at		察 <u>ĉad</u> 殺 <u>šad</u>	拔 <u>Tatpar</u>	黠 <u>Qırqız</u>		拔 <u>Başmıl*</u> 拔 <u>Bayarqu</u> 憂 <u>Qırqız*</u>
元 ien, ian, ian	健 <u>Ötükan</u> 鞬 <u>Ötükan</u>					
月 jwet, uat, yat			發 <u>eltäbär</u> <u>eltäbär</u>		闕 <u>köl</u> <u>kül(i) čor</u>	
仙 iän, ian, ian	仙 <u>Sälängä*</u>					
薛 iät, iat, iat		設 <u>šad</u>			啜 <u>kül(i) čor</u>	
屑 iet, et, iat			涅 <u>Inäl</u>	頤 <u>el elögisi</u> <u>eltäbär*</u> , <u>elteriš, irkin</u> 契 <u>Qırqız</u> ⁽⁵⁹⁾	跌 <u>elteriš*</u> 結 <u>Qırqız</u> <u>elteriš</u>	咍 <u>Irtiš</u>

(59) According to E. G. PULLEYBLANK's reconstruction this character belongs to the *qiyun* 迄韻. But *Guangyun* 廣韻 attached it to the *xieyun* 屑韻 and B. KARLGREN's reconstruction corresponds to it, too. The classification in this article follows that of *Guangyun* 廣韻 and B. KARLGREN. Even if E. G. PULLEYBLANK is right, the correspondence between the Chinese and Old Turkish sounds is, however, within the acceptable range.

Table III. 9 *zhenshe* 臻攝

OT Chin.	-An/-In	-Un	-(U)t	-(X)r/l	-Ur/l	Others
魂 uən wən un		敦 <u>altun</u> , <u>qatun</u> 頓 <u>qatun</u> 墩 <u>Tonyuquq</u> 屯 <u>udun</u> , <u>tudun</u>				頓 <u>tong</u> 墩 <u>tong</u>
沒 uət ət ut			汨 <u>qut</u> <u>qutluy*</u> 咄 <u>tutmis*</u> 骨 <u>qutluy*</u>	紇 <u>Qırqız</u> 窟 <u>qurqapčın</u> 咄 <u>qutluy*</u> 紇 <u>Tongra*</u> 屹 <u>Yaylaqar</u>	咄 <u>bayatur</u> / <u>mayatur</u> 沒 <u>bolmis</u> / <u>bulmis*</u> 骨 <u>qulavuz*</u> <u>Qurıqan*</u> 突 <u>Tölis*</u> 突 <u>Türgiş</u> 鶻 <u>Uyxur</u> 紇 <u>Uyxur</u> 喙 <u>uluy*</u>	骨 <u>Qırqız</u>
欣 jən in in	薰 <u>irkin</u> 斤 <u>ırkin</u> , <u>Ötükän</u> 筋 <u>irkin</u> 勤 <u>tegin</u> 勲 <u>tegin</u> , <u>tegin</u>					
迄 jət, it, it						屹 <u>Qırqız*</u>
文 juən, un, yn	軍 <u>Ötükän</u>	君 <u>kün</u>				
物 juət, ut, yt			鬱 <u>Ötükän*</u>		屈 <u>kül(ü)čor*</u>	拂 <u>qulavuz*</u>
櫛 jət, it, ət			瑟 <u>İstāmi*</u>			
眞 jčn, in, in	瑾 <u>irkin</u> 振 <u>qurqapčın</u> 眞 <u>qurqapčın</u>					鄰 <u>böri</u>
質 jčt it it			室 <u>İstāmi*</u>	密 <u>Basmıl</u> 蜜 <u>Basmıl</u> 苾 <u>bilgä</u> 乙 <u>irkin</u> 逸 <u>irkin</u>		悉 <u>Basmıl</u> 密 <u>bolmis/bulmis*</u> <u>İstāmi</u> , <u>Ozmis</u> <u>tutmis*</u> 蜜 <u>bolmis/bulmis*</u> <u>eltemis*</u> , <u>etmis*</u> , <u>İstāmi</u> 乙 <u>İsbara*</u> 失 <u>Töliş</u>
術 juət, wit, yt					聿 <u>bıng yul</u>	律 <u>kül(ü)čor*</u>

Table III.10 *dangshe* 宕攝

OT Chin.	-ay	ø
鐸 âk, ak, ak	莫 <u>mayatur</u> / <u>bayatur</u> * <u>maya</u> / <u>baya</u> *	搏 <u>apa</u> 洛 <u>Toyla</u> 搏 <u>apa</u> 樂 <u>Toyla</u>
藥 iak, iak, iak	藥 <u>Yaylaqar</u>	略 <u>İsbara</u>

Table III.11 *Zengshe* 曾攝

OT Chin.	-äng	-eg	-Uk/-Ug	Others
登 <u>tängri</u> 騰 <u>tängri</u> 滕 <u>tängri</u>				登 <u>tutmiš</u> *
德 äk, äk, äčk		特 <u>tegin</u> *	德 <u>Örükän</u> * 墨 <u>säbüg</u>	德 <u>etmiš</u>
蒸 <u>iəng</u> , iŋ, iəŋ				凝 <u>tängri</u>
職 <u>iək</u> , ik, ičk			力 <u>ellig</u> qut <u>lu</u> y	

Table III.12 *gengshe* 梗攝

OT Chin.	-ing
青 <u>ieng</u> , ejŋ, iajŋ	屏 <u>bīng</u> yul

Table III.13 *tongshe* 通攝

OT Chin.	-ong	-uq/-oq	-uŷ/-oŷ	-ük/-ög	Others
東 ₁ <u>ung</u> , əwŋ, əwŋ	同 <u>Tonga</u> * <u>Tongra</u> 東 <u>Tongra</u> *				
屋 ₁ <u>uk</u> , əwk, əwk		木 <u>Muqan</u> * 祿 <u>Qarluq</u> <u>Qaraluq</u> 谷 <u>Tonyuquq</u>	祿 <u>qutlu</u> y <u>u</u> <u>lu</u> y 獨 <u>Toyla</u>		篤 <u>qutlu</u> y
屋 ₃ <u>iuk</u> , uwk, iwk				陸 <u>külü</u> g 匍 <u>säbü</u> g 葡 <u>säbü</u> g	六 <u>aŋtun</u>
冬 <u>uog</u> , awŋ, əwŋ	統 <u>tong</u>				
沃 <u>uok</u> , awk, əwk				督 <u>Örükän</u> *	
燭 <u>iwok</u> , uawk, ywk		錄 <u>buyru</u> q 欲 <u>Tonyuquq</u> *		錄 <u>küçlü</u> g <u>külü</u> g <u>ülü</u> g	

The rhyme groups *tanyun* 覃韻 (K: *-âṁ*, EMC: *-əṁ/am*, LMC: *-am*), *heyun* 合韻 (K: *-âp*, EMC: *-əp/ap*, LMC: *-ap*), *tanyun* 談韻 (K: *-âṁ*, EMC: *-am*, LMC: *-am*), *heyun* 盍韻 (K: *-âp*, EMC: *-ap*, LMC: *-ap*), *yeyun* 葉韻 (K: *-jâp*, EMC: *-iap*, LMC: *-jiap*)⁽⁶⁰⁾, *kanyun* 寒韻 (K: *-ân*, EMC: *-an*, LMC: *-an*), *heyun* 曷韻 (K: *-ât*, EMC: *-at*, LMC: *-at*), *huanyun* 桓韻 (K: *-uân*, EMC: *-wan*, LMC: *-uan*), *moyun* 末韻 (K: *-uât*, EMC: *-wat*, LMC: *-uat*), *xueyun* 薛韻 (K: *-jât*, EMC: *-iat*, LMC: *-iat*)⁽⁶¹⁾, *duoyun* 鐸韻 (K: *-âk*, EMC: *-ak*, LMC: *-ak*), and *yaoyun* 藥韻 (K: *-jak*, EMC: *-iak*, LMC: *-iak*)⁽⁶²⁾ were used for the transcription of the Old Turkish back vowel *a* apart from two exceptions.⁽⁶³⁾ Those rhyme groups all had the main vowel *-â-* or *-â-* in B. KARLGREN's reconstruction and *-ə-* or *-a-* (LMC: *-a-*) in E. G. PULLEYBLANK's except for *xueyun* 薛韻, *yeyun* 葉韻 and *yaoyun* 藥韻 which had the main vowel *-ä-* or *-a-* in B. KARLGREN's reconstruction and *-a-* (LMC: *-a-*) in E. G. PULLEYBLANK's and medial *-j-/-i-* or *-i-* (LMC: *-ji-* or *-i-*). As the analysis below shows, the medial and the main vowels of the last three rhyme groups were more suitable for the front vowel *ä*. In the case of the last two rhyme groups, *yeyun* 葉韻 and *yaoyun* 藥韻, the medial sound was also used for the transcription of the consonant *y*, so that it is very probable that the characters in these rhyme groups were chosen for the transcription because of the combination of the sounds in the medial and main vowel position.

The Old Turkish vowel *ä* was, in contrast, transcribed by the characters belonging to the rhyme groups *yanyun* 嚴韻 (K: *-jēm*, EMC: *-iam*, LMC: *-iam*), *tianyun* 添韻 (K: *-iem*, EMC: *-em*, LMC: *-iam*)⁽⁶⁴⁾, *yuanyun* 元韻 (K: *-jēn*, EMC: *-ian*, LMC: *-ian*), *xianyun* 仙韻 (K: *-iän*, EMC: *-ian*, LMC: *-ian*)⁽⁶⁵⁾. Those four

(60) On those five rhyme groups see table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝.

(61) On those five rhyme groups see table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝.

(62) On those both rhyme groups see table III.10. *dangshe* 宕攝.

(63) Those exceptions appear in the rhymes *tanyun* 談韻 and *xueyun* 薛韻. See table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝, *dan* 擔 for *Käṣḍim* and table III.8. *shanse* 山攝, *chuo* 啜 for *kül(i) çor*.

(64) On both those rhyme groups, see table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝.

(65) On both those rhyme groups, see table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝.

rhyme groups had the medial and main vowels *-iɐ-/ia-* (LMC: *-ia*), *-ie-/ε-* (LMC: *-ia-*) or *-iä-/ia-* (LMC: *-ia-*).

The rhyme groups *xieyun* 屑韻 (K: *-iet*, EMC: *-et*, LMC: *-iat*)⁽⁶⁶⁾, *xinyun* 欣韻 (K: *-iən*, EMC: *-in*, LMC: *-in*), *qiyun* 迄韻 (K: *-iət*, EMC: *-it*, LMC: *-it*), *zhenyun* 真韻 (K: *-iĕn*, EMC: *-in*, LMC: *-in*), *zhiyun* 質韻 (K: *-iĕt*, EMC: *-it*, LMC: *-it*)⁽⁶⁷⁾, and *qingyun* 青韻 (K: *-ieng*, EMC: *-ejŋ*, LMC: *-iajŋ*)⁽⁶⁸⁾ were used for the transcription of the Old Turkish vowels *e*, *i* and *ī*. Most of them had the medial and main vowels *-iə-/i-* (LMC: *-i-*) and *-iĕ-/i-* (LMC: *-i-*). The rhyme groups *xieyun* 屑韻 and *qingyun* 青韻 had the sound *-ie-/ε-* (LMC: *-ia-*) which was used for the transcription of *ä*, too.

The rhyme groups *hunyun* 魂韻 (K: *-uən*, EMC: *-wən*, LMC: *-un*), *moyun* 沒韻 (K: *-uət*, EMC: *-wət*, LMC: *-ut*)⁽⁶⁹⁾, *dongyun* 東韻₁ (K: *-ung*, EMC: *-əwŋ*, LMC: *-əwŋ*) and *wuyung* 屋韻₁ (K: *-uk*, EMC: *-əwk*, LMC: *-əwk*)⁽⁷⁰⁾ usually transcribed the Old Turkish back vowels *o/u*. Those rhymes had the sound *-u-/w-* (LMC: *-u-*) either as the medial or as the main vowel. If they had another main vowel, it was the sound *-ə-*. This main vowel *-ə-* itself appeared in the characters used for the transcription *e*, *i* and *ī*, too. The difference between the characters transcribing *e/i/ī* and *o/u* was in the medial sound.⁽⁷¹⁾ Only the rhyme group *shuyun* 術韻 (K: *-iuĕt*, EMC: *-wit*, LMC: *-yt*)⁽⁷²⁾ forms an exception, because its vowel combination *-iu-* (in EMC: *-wi-*, LMC: *-y-*) was more suitable for the transcription of the front vowel *ö/ü*, as explained below. Only two examples for this rhyme group have come down to us: *yu* 聿 for *bīng yul* and *lū* 律 for *kūl(i) çor*. In the first case

(66) On this rhyme group, see table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝.

(67) On those four rhyme groups, see table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

(68) On this rhyme group, see table III.12. *gengshe* 梗攝.

(69) On both those rhyme groups, see table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

(70) On those rhyme groups, see table III.13. *tongshe* 通攝.

(71) Only the use of the character belonging to the rhyme group *moyun* 沒韻 for the transcription of the tribal name *Qirqiz* forms an exception. On this problem, see below.

(72) On this rhyme group, see table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

the medial *-j-* was very probably used for the transcription of the consonant *y*. In the latter case, for *kül(i) čor* there are other transcriptions in which the vowel *i* was not reflected. This indicates the possibility that the vowel *i* was pronounced very weakly, so that it was not given correctly in the transcription. If this is the case, the character belonging this rhyme group was chosen because of the front vowel *ü* in the first syllable of *kül(i) čor*.

The front vowels *ö/ü* tended to be transcribed, in contrast, by the characters belonging to the rhyme groups *yueyun* 月韻 (K: *-jwæt*, EMC: *-uat*, LMC: *-yat*)⁽⁷³⁾, *wenyun* 文韻 (K: *-juən*, EMC: *-un*, LMC: *-un*), *wuyun* 物韻 (K: *-juət*, EMC: *-ut*, LMC: *-ut*)⁽⁷⁴⁾, *wuyun* 屋韻₃ (K: *-juk*, EMC: *-uwk*, LMC: *-iwk*) and *zhuyun* 燭韻 (K: *-jwok*, EMC: *-uawk*, LMC: *-ywk*)⁽⁷⁵⁾. Their main vowels were different, but according to B. KARLGREN they all had the vowel combination *-ju-* or *-jw-* in the medial and accordingly main vowel position. This vowel combination was very suitable to the Old Turkish front vowel *ö/ü*, as the analysis of the characters with vocalic codas already indicated. Some examples from those rhyme groups, however, show other correspondences. One such example is *fa* 發 (K: *pjwæt*, EMC: *puat*, LMC: *fjyat/fa:t*) for *eltäbär*. This character belongs to the rhyme group *yueyun* 月韻 and represents the Old Turkish vowel *ä*. This transcription itself was, however, already attested in the period of *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麴氏高昌國. According to W. H. BAXTER the Old Chinese sound of the character in question was *pjat* which is more suitable for the front vowel *ä* [BAXTER 1992, p. 756]. This old transcription was probably retained, although its sound no longer corresponded exactly to the Old Turkish counterpart after the phonetic changes.

Compared to the correspondences of the characters with vocalic codas, the difference between the back and front vowels *o/u* and *ö/ü* was not very clearly reflected in the transcriptions using characters with consonantal codas. The rhyme

(73) On this rhyme group, see table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝.

(74) On both those rhyme groups, see table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

(75) On those three rhyme groups, see table III.13. *tongshe* 通攝.

group *woyun* 沃韻 (K: -uok, EMC: -awk, LMC: -əwk), for example, had to be used for the transcription of the back vowels *o/u*, as the examples of the parallel rhyme group *dongyun* 冬韻 clearly show. In the only attested example from this rhyme, however, it corresponded to the front vowel *ü*.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Otherwise among the examples belonging to the rhyme groups *wuyun* 物韻 (K: -juət, EMC: -ut, LMC: -ut) and *zhuyun* 燭韻 (K: -jwok, EMC: -uawk, LMC: -ywk) there are three in which the characters in this rhyme group were used for the transcription of the back vowel *u*: *fu* 拂 for *qulayuz*, *lu* 錄 for *buyruq* and *yu* 欲 for *Tonyuquq*. In the latter case it is very probable that the medial -j- was used for the transcription of the consonant *y*, while for the first two no reasonable explanation can be given.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Some examples belonging to other rhyme groups which were not mentioned above show correspondences with several different Old Turkish vowels. While the characters from the rhyme group *dengyun* 登韻 (K: -əng, EMC: -əŋ, LMC: -əǎŋ) stood only for the vowel *ä*, those of the parallel rhyme group *deyun* 德韻 (K: -əng, EMC: -əŋ, LMC: -əǎŋ) were used for the transcription of *ü* besides that of *e*. The characters belonging to the rhyme group *xiayun* 黠韻 (K: -ǎt, EMC: -ǎit/ε:t, LMC: -a:t) seem to have been used for the transcription of *a* and *ĩ*, but the examples in which the vowel *ĩ* is reflected by this rhyme group are all in the transcription of *Qırqız*. This name of a tribe was often transcribed with characters with an unsuitable vowel, so that those vague transcriptions were likely to have been caused by the pronunciation of the vowel *ĩ* which may have varied. Those rhyme groups seem to have corresponded to the various Old Turkish vowels without any rules, but the difference between the front and back vowels in Old Turkish may be reflected in the use of the different rhyme groups. Among the rhyme groups mentioned above both *dengyun* 登韻 and *deyun* 德韻 were rather reserved for the front vowels, the rhyme *xiayun* 黠韻 for the back ones.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ See table III.13. *tongshe* 通攝.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ The reason why the character *jun* 軍 of the rhyme group *wenyun* 文韻 -juən/-un (LMC: -un) was used for the transcription of *Ötükan* is not clear either.

As this analysis shows, comparing to the transcriptions using the characters with vocalic codas the difference between the front and back vowels were not very exactly reflected in those using characters containing consonantal codas. It is likely to have been caused by the fact that the consonant in the coda position had to be considered when those characters were chosen for transcriptions. Even so, obvious differences such as those between *a/ä* and *o,u/ö,ü* were clearly reflected.

II.3.2.2. Correspondences of consonantal codas

In the transcriptions using Chinese characters with consonantal codas the correspondences between the coda and the Old Turkish consonant play an important role, too. In Middle Chinese altogether six different consonants, namely three nasals *-m*, *-n* and *-ng/-ŋ* and three *rushen* 入聲-codas, *-p*, *-t* and *-k*, could appear in the coda position.

The nasal codas were mostly used for the Old Turkish nasal consonants *m*, *n*, and *ng*, although not many examples exist for those groups.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The correspondences, however, do not always form perfect parallels. There are examples in which a nasal coda corresponds to another Old Turkish nasal consonant. In the transcription *yinan* 夷男 for *İnan*, for example, the second character *nan* 男 (K: *nām*, EMC: *nəm/nam*, LMC: *nam*) transcribed the Old Turkish syllable *-nan*, although the nasal coda *-m* should correspond to Old Turkish *m* as in the other attested transcriptions.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Up to now, however, an example in which the nasal coda corresponds to the Old Turkish non-nasal consonant has not been found.

(78) On the characters with nasal codas, see the rhyme groups *tanyun* 覃韻, *tanyun* 談韻, *yanyun* 嚴韻, *tianyun* 添韻 in table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝; *hanyun* 寒韻, *huanyun* 桓韻, *yanyun* 元韻, *xianyun* 仙韻 in table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝; *hunyun* 魂韻, *xinyun* 欣韻, *wenyun* 文韻, *zhenyun* 真韻 in table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝; *dengyun* 登韻, *zhengyun* 蒸韻 in table III.11. *zengshe* 曾攝; *qingyun* 青韻 in table III.12. *gengshe* 梗攝; *tongyun* 東韻₁, *dongyun* 冬韻 in table III.13. *tongshe* 通攝.

(79) See table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝, *tanyun* 覃韻.

There is only one transcription in which a nasal coda was completely ignored in the transcription: *fulin* 附鄰 (K: *b'ju liěn*, EMC: *buǎ^h liǎ/li*, LMC: *fĥjyǎ`/fĥuǎ` li*) for *böri*.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Sometimes it seems as if the existence of the nasal codas was not taken into account in the transcriptions. In such cases, however, Chinese characters with nasal initials usually followed so that the both characters together transcribed the Old Turkish nasal sound as in the transcription *dengyili* 登疑梨 (K: *təng ngji lji*, EMC: *təŋ ɲi/ɲi li*, LMC: *təǎŋ ɲi li*) for *tängri*.⁽⁸¹⁾ The nasal coda of the first character *deng* 登 reflects the Old Turkish nasal *-ng-* together with the nasal initial of the second character *yi* 疑.⁽⁸²⁾

The correspondences of the *rusheng* 入聲–codas, *-p*, *-t* and *-k*, are a little more complicated than those of the nasal codas. According to H. ARISAKA those three consonants in the coda position were very weakly pronounced and were even realised as a glottal stop [ARISAKA 1936]. They all disappeared during the development to Early Mandarin, but in the period between the 6th and the 9th c., they were still realised and used in transcriptions.

For characters with coda *-p* there are only a few examples, but all of them correspond to the Old Turkish consonant *p* or *b* without any problem.⁽⁸³⁾

(80) See table III.9. *zhenxhe* 臻攝, *zhenyun* 真韻.

(81) Such a use of the consonant coda appears in the transcription using the characters with the *rusheng* 入聲–coda, too. In the tables those examples are marked with an asterisk after the words.

(82) In this context, the other transcriptions for *tängri*, *dengningli* 登凝梨 (K: *təng ngiǎng liei*, EMC: *təŋ ɲiŋ lej*, LMC: *təǎŋ ɲiǎŋ liaj*) and *dengningli* 登凝梨 (K: *təng ngiǎng lji*, EMC: *təŋ ɲiŋ li*, LMC: *təǎŋ ɲiǎŋ li*), require special care. In both transcriptions the nasal coda of the first character *deng* 登 and the initial of the second one *ning* 凝 stood together for the Old Turkish nasal *-ng-*, as in the above mentioned example. But the nasal coda of the second character did not correspond to any nasal sound. This superfluous nasal maybe had the function only to underline the Old Turkish nasal *-ng-*, although it is unclear whether this emphasis on the nasal sound was due to the Old Turkish pronunciation.

(83) See table III.7. *xianshe* 咸攝.

In contrast, the coda *-t* stands not only for the Old Turkish consonants *t* and *d*, as expected, but also for *r*, *l*, *ʃ* or *z*.⁽⁸⁴⁾ H. ARISAKA drew attention to the fact that this coda was represented by *r* in Tibetan script and reached a conclusion that this coda had the phonetic change *-r (-d) > -ʔ > ø*. According to him the phonetic value of this *-r* was not a strong *r*-sound, but it was a half-trilled *r* which was only “on-glide”.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The coda *-t* was transcribed with *-r* in Sogdian script already in the 8th c. without any exception, so that *-t* surely changed to *-r* at that time [YOSHIDA 1994, p. 334, p. 332]. The correspondences between the coda *-t* and the Old Turkish consonants *r* and *l* reflect this phonetic change. On the other hand, there are some example in which the coda *-t* was still used for the transcription of Old Turkish *d* or *t* in the final position even after this phonetic change, see *gu* 汨 (K: *kuət*, EMC: *kwət*, LMC: *kut*) for *qut*.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In Middle Chinese there was no alternative to this coda, to transcribe the consonant initial + vocal + final *d* or rather *t* with one character. Thus the characters with the coda *-t* were continuously used for this kind of transcriptions.

The correspondence of the coda *-t* to Old Turkish consonants *ʃ* or *z* is not completely unexplainable, but it has to be noted as an exception. The examples for this correspondence are either the very rare transcriptions or an imprecise one which was replaced by a precise one later.⁽⁸⁷⁾

(84) See table III.8. *shanshe* 山攝; table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

(85) ARISAKA 1936, p. 604. T. TAKATA who subsequently investigated the Chinese words phonetically transcribed in Tibetan script in detail supports H. ARISAKA’s assumption, too, see TAKATA 1988, pp. 155-156.

(86) This transcription is attested in the Kara Balgasun inscription, see MORIYASU & YOSHIDA & HAMILTON 2003, fig. 1, l. 1.

(87) On the first case, see *yedie* 曳咍 (K: *ǰäi d’iet*, EMC: *ǰiaǰʰ *tət*, LMC: *ǰiaǰʰ *tət*) for *Irtiṣ*. This transcription is attested only once in *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書. On the other hand, the transcriptions *qigu* 契骨 (K: *k’iet kuət*, EMC: *kʰit kwət*, LMC: *kʰit kut*) and so on for *Qırqız* or *wusumi* 烏蘇密 (K: *’uo suo mǐět*, EMC: *ʔə sɔ mit*, LMC: *ʔuǎ suǎ mit*) for *Ozmiṣ* belong to the latter case. Those were replaced by the more precise variants such as *xiajiasi* 黠戛斯 (K: *ǰāt kāt siǰ*, EMC: *ǰəit/ʔe:t kəit/ke:t siǎ/si*, LMC: *xǰja:t kja:t sǰ*) or

Besides, in terms of the characters with this coda it seems to be that only the initial, the medial and main vowels were used for the transcription and the coda was ignored. In most of those cases, however, the coda *-t* transcribed the Old Turkish consonants *t*, *s*, *š*, *z*, *l*, *r* or *č*. In the transcription *baximi* 拔悉密 (K: *b'wăt sĭĕt mĭĕt*, EMC: *bəit/be:t sit mit*, LMC: *pha:t sit mit*) for *Basmil*, for example, the coda *-t* of the first character *ba* 拔 was used for the transcription of the Old Turkish sibilant *s* together with the initial of the second one *xi* 悉.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Only the transcription for *Bayarqu* is an exception. This tribal name is attested in four different variants: *bayegu* 拔也古 (K: *b'wăt ĭa kuo*, EMC: *bəit/be:t ĭia' kɔ'*, LMC: *pha:t ĭia' kuǎ'*), *bayegu* 拔曳固 (K: *b'wăt ĭäi kuo*, EMC: *bəit/be:t ĭiajʰ kɔʰ*, LMC: *pha:t ĭiaj' kuǎ'*), *bayegu* 拔野古 (K: *b'wăt ĭa kuo*, EMC: *bəit/be:t ĭia' kɔ'*, LMC: *pha:t ĭia' kuǎ'*), or *bayegu* 拔野固 (K: *b'wăt ĭa kuo*, EMC: *bəit/be:t ĭia' kɔʰ*, LMC: *pha:t ĭia' kuǎ'*). In all of those variants the coda *-t* of the first character *ba* 拔 is consequently ignored. If one tries to reconstruct the Old Turkish word based on those transcriptions, the result is not *Bayarqu*, but *Baryaqu*. They probably indicated a metathesis of the consonants *y* and *r*, although the form *Baryaqu* is not attested in any sources, so far as I know.

The transcriptions *shidianmi* 室點密 (K: *šĭĕt tiem mĭĕt*, EMC: *ĕit tem' mit*, LMC: *šit tiam' mit*) and *shidianmi* 室點蜜 (K: *šĭĕt tiem mĭĕt*, EMC: *ĕit tem' mjit*, LMC: *šit tiam' mjit*) for *Ištāmi* and *tulishi* 突利失 (K: *t'uət lĭi šĭĕt*, EMC: *dwət liʰ ĕit*, LMC: *thut li'šit*) for *Tölis* are the only ones in which the coda *-t* was completely ignored. It is not clear why the coda was not used for the transcription. The first two transcribe the name of the younger brother of the founder of the first Turkish Kaganate. *Ištāmi* ruled the Western part of this Kaganate and had less contact with

wusumishi 烏蘇米施 (K: *'uo suo mieī šĭĕ*, EMC: *ʔɔ sɔ mej' ĕiǎ/ĕi*, LMC: *ʔuǎ suǎ mjiaj' šĭ*) based on more detailed information. In both, more precise variants the coda *-t* stood for Old Turkish *z* or *š* together with the initial of the following character. On this use of the coda *-t*, see below.

(88) Those examples are marked with an asterisk at the end of the word in the Table III.

China because of the far distance. A lack of detailed information in China could have caused this imprecise transcription. That could be the case, too, for the transcription of *Tölis*, because it is attested very rarely.

The coda *-k* corresponded to the Old Turkish velar and uvular consonants *y*, *q* or *g*. Besides, some characters with this coda were used for the transcriptions of the consonants *y*, *q*, *g* and *k* together with the initial of the following characters as in the case of the coda *-t*.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Compared with the other *rusheng* 入聲–codas which almost always correspond to a certain Old Turkish consonant, the coda *-k* is, however, often completely ignored.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This coda disappeared in Early Mandarin as in the other *rusheng* 入聲–codas, but the coda *-k* was clearly visible in the Tibetan sources transcribed in Tibetan script from 9th c. [TAKATA 1988, pp. 160-179]. Thus it is not probable that only this coda disappeared earlier than the other *rusheng* 入聲–codas. A solution of the question, why only the coda *-k* was not often used for transcriptions, needs further investigations.

III. The Old Turkish original word behind the transcription *Tujue* 突厥

III.1. Previous studies

In chapter II the phonetic correspondences between Middle Chinese and Old Turkish were investigated in detail. Using its result, the still unknown Old Turkish original words for some Chinese transcriptions can be reconstructed. One such example is the well-known transcription *Tujue* 突厥. This transcription appears as the name for the nomadic political unit ruling Mongolia and Central Asia between the 6th and the 8th c. in numerous Chinese sources almost without having any other variants. As discussed in the next chapter, both Chinese characters used for this

⁽⁸⁹⁾ See, e.g. *wudejian* 烏德鞬 (K: *ʼuo tək kɿɛn*, EMC: *ʔo tək kian*, LMC: *ʔuə tək kɿan*) for *Önikän*. The coda *-k* of the second character *de* 德 was used together with the initial of the third one *jian* 鞬 for the transcription of the Old Turkish velar *k*. Those examples are marked with an asterisk at the end of the word in the Table III.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ See, table III.10-13.

name did not have a suitable meaning for this nomadic empire and could not be interpreted as a Chinese word, it is a natural assumption that they were chosen only to transcribe a certain Old Turkish word phonetically.⁽⁹¹⁾ On the basis of their Middle Chinese sounds, K: *t'uət kiwət*, EMC: *dwət kuat*, LMC: *thut kyat*,⁽⁹²⁾ various Old Turkish words have been suggested as the original word for this transcription.

The first person to investigate this problem was J. MARQUART. He suggested as the original of *Tujue* 突厥 a self-designation *Türk*⁽⁹³⁾ with a plural suffix *-t* and saw the possibility of explaining all those elements as essentially Old Turkish.⁽⁹⁴⁾ His suggestion obtained the approval of many scholars including P. PELLIOU who, however, interpreted the plural suffix *-t* as a Mongolian one.⁽⁹⁵⁾ According to P. PELLIOU, this word was transmitted by the Mongolian nomads *Ruru* 蠕蠕 or rather *Rouran* 柔然 under whose rule the *Tujue* 突厥 had stood in former times.⁽⁹⁶⁾

(91) For a detailed investigation of this topic, see chapter III.2. below. Some researchers, after all, tried to interpret both these characters or one of them as Chinese. According to HAN-WOO CHOI, for example, the first character *tu* 突 should mean “wild” and the second one *jue* 厥 is used for the transcription of Old Turkish *kül* which was the self-designation of the Turkish people, in his opinion [CHOI 1990, pp. 68-70]. P. AALTO claimed that those characters must mean “wild dynasty” together [AALTO 1990, pp. 3-4]. None of those suggested meanings is, however, attested in fact, so that a further discussion of those assumptions is no longer needed.

(92) Although both B. KARLGREN and E. G. PULLEYBLANK gave only one reconstruction, according to *Guangyun* 廣韻 the second character has the other alternative sound, K: *kjuət*, EMC: *kut*, LMC: *kyat*. As clearly shown below, the differences of sounds between this variant and the one above given do not influence the result of the investigation on the original word of *Tujue* 突厥.

(93) On the use of the name *Türk* in history, see e.g. HAZAI 2002a. Much work has been devoted to its interpretation. This topic, however, goes beyond the scope of this article.

(94) MARQUART 1905, p. 252, fn. 3; 1914, p. 72, fn. 4. He himself, however, did not give any concrete explanation for the plural suffix *-t*.

(95) Scholars who have shared J. MARQUART's suggestion are e.g. H. ONOGAWA, O. PRITSACK, I. MIYAZAKI [ONOGAWA 1943, pp. 335-337; PRITSACK 1952, p. 77; MIYAZAKI 1952, p. 74]. On P. PELLIOU's investigation, see PELLIOU 1915.

(96) M. ERDAL considered the Mongolian origin of the plural suffix *-t* to be acceptable, too

J. HARMATTA evaluated the form suggested by J. MARQUART and P. PELLIOI as probably correct, but he reconstructed the form **Tirkit* or rather **Turkid* and interpreted it as the Sogdian plural form of *Türk* [HARMATTA 1972]. L. CLARK followed his interpretation of the plural suffix, although he preferred the J. MARQUART'S and P. PELLIOI'S reconstruction form **Türküt*.⁽⁹⁷⁾

In contrast, P. A. BOODBERG gave another form, **Türküz*, as the original word. In his opinion, the suffix *-z* can be explained as the archaic Old Turkish plural suffix [BOODBERG 1951].

Those theses mentioned above all regarded the original word behind the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 as the self-designation *Türk* with a plural suffix. In contrast, G. CLAUSEN, E. G. PULLEYBLANK and İ. KAFESOĞLU claimed that this transcription exactly corresponds to the self-designation *Türk* without any suffix.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Because their suggestion seemed at first glance to be more logical than others, it was supported by many scholars.⁽⁹⁹⁾

An assumption which obviously differs from the others was suggested by G. SCHMITT. In his opinion, the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 did not correspond to the self-designation, but was an Old Turkish common noun. He claimed that the original word behind the transcription had to be *tutgun* “Gefangener” and traced it back to the fact that the Turks were the slaves of their former rulers *Ruru* 蠕蠕

[ERDAL 2004, p. 158, fn. 273]. G. HAZAI, in contrast, critically reviewed it and himself followed J. HARMATTA'S suggestion mentioned below, see HAZAI 2002b.

(97) See, CLARK 1977, pp. 118-121. P. GOLDEN supports L. CLARK'S thesis, too [GOLDEN 1982, p. 40].

(98) CLAUSEN 1962, pp. 87-89; PULLEYBLANK 1965a; KAFESOĞLU 1966. The forms for the self-designation of the Turks suggested by them are, however, different. According to G. CLAUSEN the self-designation of the Turks was not *Türk*, but *Türkü*, while E. G. PULLEYBLANK considered the form *Türk* to be the correct one. İ. KAFESOĞLU supposed that the self-designation of *Tujue* 突厥 *Türk* was original *Törük* and that the Chinese transcription reflected this original one.

(99) E. G. PULLEYBLANK'S assumption was, for example, accepted by M. MORI [MORI 1972, pp. 191-192].

[SCHMITT 1977, pp. 179-181].

Against those old theses, CH. I. BECKWITH recently suggested a completely new one. He considers that *Tujue* 突厥 is a self-designation meaning “Rulers of the Türk” or “the Türk Rulers”. He refers to the transcription *Tuoba* 拓跋 (K: *t'âk b'wât*, EMC: *tʰak bat*, LMC: *tʰak phuat*) in which the second character *ba* 跋 belongs to the same rhyme group as *jue* 厥. Because *Tuoba* 拓跋 corresponds to *taβyač* with metathesis, namely *tayβač*, the original word behind the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 could be reconstructed as **türk-wač* [BECKWITH 2005, pp. 13-18; 2007].

It is noteworthy that numerous reconstructions were suggested on the basis of this single transcription and that up to now no concrete solution has been found. That is probably because in most of those theses the scholars concentrated exclusively only on the reconstruction of the Middle Chinese sounds of *Tujue* 突厥. There are indeed some theses which have taken the other Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, including Old Turkish words, for a comparison to *Tujue* 突厥 into consideration. To investigate the Old Turkish original word behind a certain transcription, however, the phonetic correspondences between Chinese and Old Turkish among the contemporary transcriptions have first to be ascertained systematically.

III.2. Reconstruction of the Old Turkish original word transcribed by *Tujue* 突厥

III.2.1. Phonetic preciseness of the transcription *Tujue* 突厥

The result of the analysis in chapter II now allows us to reconstruct the Old Turkish original word from the transcription *Tujue* 突厥. Before the original word of *Tujue* 突厥 is reconstructed based on their Middle Chinese sounds, the preciseness of this transcription has to be confirmed. Otherwise the result of the analysis in chapter II becomes irrelevant. When the Chinese transcribed the nomadic tribal names or names for their political units, they aimed to choose characters with negative meanings as in the case of *Ruru* 蠕蠕 “flexuous insects”. The nomads constantly

presented a serious threat to China and the Chinese expressed their animosity towards them in this manner. The transcriptions of Old Turkish nomadic tribal names, however, obviously differ from this tradition. As list II clearly shows, the Old Turkish tribal names or the names of their political units were transcribed rather with phonetic correctness in mind and in this the meaning of the characters chosen did not play an important role. There are imprecise transcriptions for some words, but in that case more precise variants also exist. Thus it is very probable that the Chinese attached great importance to making phonetically correct transcriptions of the Old Turkish words, in so far as they could. The transcription *Tujue* 突厥 could be seen in this light too. Since the first contact of the *Tujue* 突厥 with China in the eleventh year of the era named *Datong* 大統 in the *Xiwei* 西魏–dynasty was reported in Chinese sources, that transcription was almost consistently used except during certain periods as the designation of the Turkish Kaganate in Mongolia and its members.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ I have found only two further variants: *Tuque* 突闕 (K: *t'uət k'jwət*, EMC: *dwət k^huat*, LMC: *thut k^hyat*) and *Tuqu* 突屈 (K: *t'uət k'juət*, EMC: *dwət k^hut*, LMC: *thut k^hyt*).⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It is noteworthy that all the characters used for this transcription including both variants do not have any negative meanings.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Thus it is assumed that in this transcription phonetic preciseness was given great weight as in the transcriptions of many other Old Turkish words.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ See in *Zhoushu* 周書, volume 50, chapter *Yiyu* 異域.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The first variant appears in *Tongdian* 通典, volume 200, chapter *Bianfang* 邊防 16, and the latter one is attested in *Tongji* 通紀, volume 11, chapter *Tang Gaozu* 唐高祖, which was written by Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 in the second half of the 10th c. The character *que* 闕 belongs to the rhyme group *yueyun* 月韻 and *qu* 屈 to *wuyun* 物韻.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ The character *tu* 突 means “to butt, etc.” and *jue* 厥 “stone, short, it, etc.” [HYDCD, volume 8, p. 428, volume 1, p. 936]. The meaning of the character *que* 闕 is “gate, palace, etc.”, while the character *qu* 屈 has the meaning “to bend down” [HYDCD, volume 12, p. 147, volume 4, p. 27]. In this context, see fn. 91, too.

III.2.2. Reconstruction of the first character *tu* 突

Now, based on the Middle Chinese sounds of *Tujue* 突厥 (K: *t'uət kǐwət*, EMC: *dwət kuat*, LMC: *thut kyat*) its original Old Turkish word can be reconstructed. As mentioned above, up to now many various reconstructions were suggested for this single transcription. Most scholars think that its original word had to be closely connected to the self-designation of the *Tujue* 突厥, *Türk*, which appears in the Orkhon inscriptions. According to the analysis in chapter II the rhyme group *moyun* 沒韻 to which the first character *tu* 突 belongs was rather suitable for the transcription of back vowels *o/u*, but in the other transcriptions using this character it consistently corresponds to the front vowel *ö/ü*.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Furthermore the analysis in chapter II also showed that the difference between the front and back vowels was not always clearly reflected in transcriptions, if the characters had consonantal codas. The second character *jue* 厥 does not have any alveolar or retroflex consonants so that the coda *-t* of the character *tu* 突 had to stand alone for a certain consonant, very probably one of *t*, *d*, *r* or *l*. Considering the initial of the second character, *k-*, it is completely acceptable to reconstruct the first part of the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 as *Türk* as in most theses.

III.2.3. Reconstruction of the second character *jue* 厥

The problem is in the final of the second character *jue* 厥 which was very differently reconstructed in previous research. While some scholars took the coda *-t* into consideration in their reconstruction, others ignored it. The analysis in chapter II, however, clearly showed that the coda *-t* reflected a certain Old Turkish consonant in almost all transcriptions. If this coda stood alone for any Old Turkish consonant as in the case of the first character *tu* 突, it had to correspond to one of the above mentioned four consonants, *t*, *d*, *r* or *l*, with the greatest probability.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ See *tu* 突 for *Tölis* and *Türgiſ* in table III.9. *zhenshe* 臻攝.

In contrast, the vowel of the character *jue* 厥 can be reconstructed more easily. As already mentioned,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ this character had two different Middle Chinese sounds, K: *kjwət*, EMC: *kuat*, LMC: *kyat* and K: *kjuət*, EMC: *kut*, LMC: *kyat*. The first one belonged to the rhyme group *yueyun* 月韻, while the latter one was classified to *wuyun* 物韻. Both rhyme groups were mostly used for the transcription of the Old Turkish front vowels *ö* and *ü*. A front vowel in this second syllable is also expected from the reconstruction of the first part of *Tujue* 突厥, because of the vowel harmony in Old Turkish. The front vowel *ö*, however, appeared only rarely in the second syllable in Old Turkish, so that the acceptable vowel in this syllable has to be *ü*. Thus, the original word for the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 can be reconstructed only as *Türküt*, *Türküd*, *Türkür* or *Türkül*. Up to now, the latter three forms are not attested in any language monuments of the *Tujue* 突厥, while the first one appears in the Bugut inscription in Sogdian: *tr'wkt* (with metathesis).⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Thus one can reach the conclusion that *Tujue* 突厥 was the transcription of *Türküt*.

III.2.4. Original word of *Tujue* 突厥

This is the conclusion which many scholars already reached, but they interpreted the suffix *-t* differently. P. PELLIOU and his followers thought that it was the Mongolian plural suffix, while J. HARMATTA and L. CLARK considered it to be Sogdian in origin. In O. PRITSAK's opinion, a plural suffix *-t* essentially existed in Old Turkish and L. BAZIN and J. HAMILTON agreed with his thesis.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ See, fn. 92.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ This inscription was first investigated by S. G. KLJAŠTORNYJ and V. A. LIVŠIČ [KLJAŠTORNYJ & LIVŠIČ 1972]. Recently Y. YOSHIDA and T. MORIYASU studied it and were able to improve on some readings with important consequences for the history of Turks, see YOSHIDA & MORIYASU 1999.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Most of those studies were already mentioned in chapter III.1. L. BAZIN and J. HAMILTON did not directly deal with this topic, but they investigated the origin of the name Tibet, see [BAZIN & HAMILTON 1990].

The ethnic origin of the *Ruru* 蠕蠕 which P. PELLIOU considered to be Mongol, however, still remains to be established, so that their language remains obscure, too.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The plural suffix *-t* is certainly attested in Old Turkish, but there are only a few examples for it from the early period. Otherwise the plural suffix *-lar* had absolute priority. Thus it is rather unlikely that the Old Turkish plural suffix *-t* really existed. In contrast, the possibility that it was the Sogdian plural suffix is undeniable.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The Sogdians played an important role as political advisers, merchants, intermediates of cultures, etc. under the Turkish rulers and the Sogdian language was even possibly regarded as the official language in the first Turkish Kaganate [VON GABAIN 1983, p. 617; MORI 1976, p. 25; MORIYASU 1989, p. 13, p. 23, fn. 47]. Furthermore, their activities were not limited to the territory of the Turkish Kaganate. As the famous article in the Chinese sources shows, it was a Sogdian man named *An Nuopantuo* 安諾槃陀 who was sent to the first Turkish Kaganate from China as the first official envoy.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ This fact indicates that Sogdians and their language played an important role in the relationship between Chinese and Turks.

In this context, the newly found Sogdian fragment from Badam (= Chin. Badamu 巴達木) is noteworthy.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The content of this fragment is an official report on the Turks and the official seal of the Tang-dynasty was put on it. In the text the tribe name *Qar(a)luq* is mentioned and written in Sogdian script: *xr'r'wy*. This form differs from that in the Kara Balgasun inscription, *xr'lw*. This tribal name was also transcribed with Chinese characters in two different ways: *geluolu* 歌羅祿 (K: *kā lā luk*, EMC:

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ There are recently some investigations on this topic, but the persuasive conclusion was not presented, up to now, see e.g. VOVIN 2004, pp. 127-130; 2011. Even if the *Ruru* 蠕蠕 were Mongolian, it is another question through which language the *Ruru* 蠕蠕 and the Chinese communicated.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ On the Sogdian plural suffix *-t*, see GERSHEVITCH 1954, p. 184.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ This article was already mentioned above, see chapter III.2.1., especially fn. 100. On this topic, see also MORI 1967b, pp. 69-70; DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2005, pp. 204-205.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ This fragment was already investigated by Y. YOSHIDA [YOSHIDA 2007a, b]. The following description is based on his research.

ka la ləwk, LMC: *ka la ləwk*) amongst others and *gelu* 葛祿 (K: *kāt luk*, EMC: *ka ləwk*, LMC: *ka ləwk*).⁽¹¹¹⁾ While in the first variant three characters are used, the second one is transcribed with two characters. According to Y. YOSHIDA those variants reflect two different forms in Sogdian. The first one corresponds to the variant, *xr'r'wy*, with a vowel *-a-* in the middle of the word, while the second one suggests *xrlwy* without *-a-*. Thus he assumed that the Chinese transcribed those Old Turkish words based on the Sogdian pronunciation, because Sogdians were the source of information on the Turkish tribes. He also took account of the fact that a Sogdian man worked in the Tang-government as an official interpreter in the middle of the 7th c. and pointed to the possibility that those phonetic transcriptions were even made by Sogdians.⁽¹¹²⁾ In the case of the transcription for *Qar(a)luq* the variant with the vowel *-a-* is dominant in Chinese sources from the Tang-period, although the form without *-a-* appears in the Kara Balgasun inscription, the official monument of the East Uyghur Kaganate, so that this form seems to have been widespread in Old Turkish. This is also the case for the transcription *Tujue* 突厥. Its reconstructed Old Turkish original word *Türk(ü)t* is attested only once in the Bugut inscription and differs from the form *Türk* which was widespread in Old Turkish. Like the transcription for *Qar(a)luq* with three characters, it was probably Sogdians who mediated the name of the Turkish political unit and the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 was made based on information provided by them.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ The first one appears in sources from rather an earlier time than the second one. As Y. YOSHIDA correctly indicated, there is another example in terms of the second variant: *gelu* 割祿 [YOSHIDA 2007a, p. 51]. It is, however, first attested in the *Songshi* 宋史, so that it is not mentioned here.

⁽¹¹²⁾ See YOSHIDA 2007a, pp. 51-52; 2007b, pp. 49-50. Furthermore, in this context he discussed the original word behind the transcription *Tujue* 突厥 and mentioned my undergraduate thesis which is the starting point of this article, see YOSHIDA 2007a, p. 51; 2007b, pp. 50-51. The activity of the above mentioned Sogdian man is known from the discovery of the Sogdian grave which belonged to *Shi Hedan* 史訶耽 see, LUO 1996, pp. 55-77, pp. 206-211.

Abbreviations

AM	<i>Asia Major.</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i>
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient (Hanoi).</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal.</i>
Facs.	吐魯番出土文書（寫真版） <i>Tulufan chutu wenshu</i> [The fragments found in Turfan (with facsimiles)], 4 volumes, Beijing, 1992-1996.
HYDCD	漢語大詞典 <i>Hanyu dacidian</i> [The large Chinese dictionary], 12 volumes, Shanghai, 1986-1994.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne.</i>
Shike	隋唐五代石刻文獻全編 <i>Sui Tang Wudai shike wenxian quanbian</i> [The epigraphs in the Sui-, Tang- and Wudai-period], 4 volumes, Beijing, 2003.
SIAL	內陸アジア言語の研究 <i>Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū</i> [Engl. Subtitle: Studies on the Inner Asian Languages].
TP	<i>T'oung Pao.</i>
UAJ	<i>Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.</i>
UW	RÖHRBORN, KLAUS: <i>Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien.</i> Lief. 1-6, Wiesbaden 1977-1998
Wenshu	吐魯番出土文書 <i>Tulufan chutu wenshu</i> [The fragments found in Turfan], 10 volumes, Beijing, 1981-1991.

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Appendix

List I: Transcriptions from Turfan (in the period of *Qushi Gaochangguo* 麹氏高昌國) ⁽¹¹³⁾

OT	Chin.	K	P (EMC)	Quotations
apa	<i>abo</i> 阿博	â pāk	?a pak	d
	<i>abo</i> 阿搏	â pāk	?a pak	c
eltābār	<i>xiltfa</i> 希利發	xjɛi lji piwet	xij li ^h puat	QZB, r
irkin	<i>xijin</i> 希瑾	xjɛi kɛ̃n	xij kin'	QZB
	<i>xijin</i> 希瑾	xjɛi g'jɛ̃n	xij gin ^h	a, h
maya	<i>wuhai</i> 无亥	mju yâi	muɔ̃ yəj'	QZB
	<i>mohai</i> 摩亥(?)	muâ yâi	ma yəj'	r
	<i>wuhe</i> 无賀	mju yâ	muɔ̃ ya ^h	k, p
qayan	<i>kehan</i> 珂寒	*k'â yân	k ^h a yan	a, b, c, d, f, i, l, m, n, o
qatun	<i>kedun</i> 珂頓	*k'â tuən	k ^h a twən ^h	g
qurqapčîn	<i>kuhezhen</i> 枯合振	k'uo yâp tsjɛ̃n	k ^h ɔ̃ yəp/yap tɛ̃n ^h	c
tarqan	<i>daguan</i> 大官	d'âi kuân	daɣ ^h kwan	c, d, f, j, k, m
tegin	<i>tiqin</i> 提慙	d'iei g'jɛ̃n	dɛj gin	b, c, e, m, q
tudun	<i>toutun</i> 黠屯	*t'əu d'uən	t ^h əw dwən	QZB
yaybu	<i>shepohu</i> 蛇婆護	dz'ja b'uâ yuo	zia ba yɔ ^h	i
	<i>yifuhu</i> 移浮弧	iɛ b'jəu yuo	jiā/ji buw yɔ	f

⁽¹¹³⁾ As mentioned above, the transcriptions in this list correspond to the Chinese pronunciations which have more archaic features than those of Middle Chinese. Thus it would be necessary to quote the phonetic reconstructions of Old Chinese. Compared with Middle Chinese which is reconstructed with a certain guaranty because of the existence of the rhyme books such as *Qieyun* 切韻 and *Guangyun* 廣韻 and the Chinese pronunciations preserved in Asian countries like Korea, Vietnam and Japan, the reconstructions of Old Chinese is, however, difficult because of the lack of any reliable rhyme books. Thus the plausibility of the reconstruction cannot be compared with that of Middle Chinese. Several researchers work on this topic and some of them give different reconstructions, see e.g. BAXTER 1992. Because of the present condition of research the use of the reconstructions of Old Chinese has to be avoided.

List II: Transcriptions in Chinese sources

OT	Chin.	K	P (EMC) (LMC) ⁽¹¹⁴⁾	Quotations
alp	<i>he</i> 合	yâp	ɣəp/ɣap xɬap	KB, JTS etc.
	<i>hela</i> 賀臘	yâ lâp	ɣa ^h lap xɬia· lap	XTS
altun	<i>aliudun</i> 阿六敦	ʼâ l̥ɯk tuən	?a luwk twən ?a liwk tun	BS
apa	<i>abo</i> 阿波	ʼâ puâ	(E) ?a pa; (L) ?a pua	GC, SS, etc.
ata	<i>aduo</i> 阿多	ʼâ tâ	(E) ?a ta; (L) ?a ta	XTS
	<i>adie</i> 阿爹	ʼâ *dʼâ	(E) ?a tia; (L) ?a tia	JTS
ay	<i>ai</i> 愛	ʼâi	(E) ?əj ^h ; (L) ?aj·	KB, XTS
Basmīl	<i>baximi</i> 拔悉密	bʼwāt s̥jēt m̥jēt	bəit/be:t sit mit pɬia:t sit mit	TD, JTS
	<i>baximi</i> 拔悉彌	bʼwāt s̥jēt m̥jiɛ	bəit/be:t sit m̥jið/m̥ji pɬia:t sit m̥ji	TD, JTS
	<i>baximi</i> 拔悉蜜	bʼwāt s̥jēt m̥jēt	bəit/be:t sit m̥jit pɬia:t sit m̥jit	KB, JTS
Bayarqu	<i>bayegu</i> 拔也古	bʼwāt ɣa kuo	bəit/be:t ɣiaʼ kəʼ pɬia:t ɣiaʼ kuðʼ	SS, etc.
	<i>bayegu</i> 拔曳固	bʼwāt ɣäi kuo	bəit/be:t ɣiaj ^h kə ^h pɬia:t ɣiaj` kuðʼ	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>bayegu</i> 拔野古	bʼwāt ɣa kuo	bəit/be:t ɣiaʼ kəʼ pɬia:t ɣiaʼ kuðʼ	TD, etc.
	<i>bayegu</i> 拔野固	bʼwāt ɣa kuo	bəit/be:t ɣiaʼ kə ^h pɬia:t ɣiaʼ kuðʼ	XTS
bīng yul	<i>pingyu</i> 屏聿	bʼieng ɣuēt	bɛjŋ ɣwit pɬiajŋ ɣyt	CEZ(2)

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ If the both pronunciations stand in the same line in the following list, EMC is remarked as E in round brackets, while LMC is given as L. If they appear in two lines the pronunciation in the first line is EMC and in the second line LMC.

bilgä	<i>pijia</i> 毗伽	b'ji *g'jâ	bji gia pñji kñia	QJJ, BK, KB, TD, etc.
	<i>bijia</i> 苾伽	b'jēt *g'jâ	*bjit gia *pñjit kñia	KT, BQ, QJJ, XTS
bolmīš bulmīš	<i>momishi</i> 沒蜜施	muət mīēt śiç	mət mjit eið/ei mut mjit ši	KB, XTS
	<i>momishi</i> 沒密施	muət mīēt śiç	mət mit eið/ei mut mit ši	JTS
	<i>momishi</i> 沒弭施	muət mjiç śiç	mət mjið'/mji' eið/ei mut mji' ši	JTS
boyla	<i>peiluo</i> 裴羅	*b'uai lâ	bəj la pñuaj la	JTS, XTS
böri	<i>fuli</i> 附離	b'ju ljiç	buð ^h lið/li fñjyð'/fñuð ^h li	ZS, BS, XTS
	<i>fulin</i> 附鄰	b'ju liēn	buð ^h lin fñjyð'/fñuð ^h lin	TD
buyruq	<i>meilu</i> 梅錄	muai liwok	məj luawk muaj lywk	JTS, XTS
buz ay	<i>maoshiai</i> 茂師哀	məu ši 'ai	məw ^h ši ʔəj məw ^h şɾ ʔaj	XTS
bügü	<i>mouyu</i> 牟羽	mīəu jju	muw wuā' məw yā'	XTS
čad	<i>cha</i> 察	tş'ăt	tş ^h əit/tş ^h e:t tş ^h a:t	SS, etc.
čavīš	<i>chebishi</i> 車鼻施	tş'ja b'ji śiç	te ^h ia bji ^h eið/ei tş ^h ia pñji' ši	JTS, XTS
	<i>chepishi</i> 車毗尸	tş'ja b'ji śi	te ^h ia bji ei tş ^h ia pñji ši	GC

čor	<i>chuo</i> 啜 ⁽¹¹⁵⁾	tś'jwät	te ^h wiat tɕ ^h yat	GC, TD, JTS, XTS
-dA	<i>luo</i> 羅	lâ	(E) la; (L) la	XTS
	<i>luo</i> 囉	*lâ	(E) *la; (L) *la	KB, XTS
	<i>luo</i> 邏	*lâ	(E) la ^h ; (L) la ^ʼ	JTS, XTS
el	<i>xie</i> 頤	ȳiet	ȳet xh̥jiat	KB
ellig ⁽¹¹⁶⁾	<i>yili</i> 伊利	ʼi lji	?ji li ^h ?ji li ^ʼ	ZS, etc.
	<i>yili</i> 伊力	ʼi l̥ək	?ji lik ?ji liōk	ASM
el ögäsi	<i>xieyujiasi</i> 頤于伽思	ȳiet jju *g'jâ si	ȳet wuâ gia si/si xh̥jiat yâ kh̥ia sɿ	HCYPJ (5), KB, XTS
	<i>xieyujiasi</i> 頤于迦斯	ȳiet jju *k̥iâ siɕ	ȳet wuâ kia siō/si xh̥jiat yâ kia sɿ	JTS, XTS
eltäbär	<i>yilifa</i> 意利發	ʼi lji p̥iwet	?i ^h /?i ^h li ^h puat ?i ^ʼ li ^ʼ f̥jyat/fa:t	SS (12)
	<i>silifa</i> 俟利發	dz' i lji p̥iwet	z̥i ^ʼ /z̥i ^ʼ li ^h puat ʃh̥r ^ʼ li ^ʼ f̥jyat/fa:t	ZS, etc.
	<i>xielifa</i> 頤利發	ȳiet lji p̥iwet	ȳet li ^h puat xh̥jiat li ^ʼ f̥jyat/fa:t	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>xielitufa</i> 頤利吐發	ȳiet lji t'uo p̥iwet	ȳet li ^h t ^h ɔ' puat xh̥jiat li ^ʼ t ^h uō' f̥jyat/fat	JTS
	<i>xielitiaofa</i> 頤利調發	ȳiet lji d'ieu p̥iwet	ȳet li ^h dew puat xh̥jiat li ^ʼ thiaw f̥jyat/fat	CFYG (1000)
elteriš	<i>xiedielishi</i> 頤跌利施	ȳiet d'iet lji siɕ	ȳet det li ^h eiō/ei xh̥jiat thiāt li ^ʼ ɕi	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>xiedieyishi</i> 頤跌伊施	ȳiet d'iet ʼi siɕ	ȳet det ?ji eiō/ei xh̥jiat thiāt ?ji ɕi	XTS

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ B. KARLGREN recorded the other sound of this character *ŋwät*. Both *tś'jwät* and *ŋwät* have an initial suitable for the transcription of Old Turkish č.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ About the identification of this transcription, see MORI 1967a, p. 54, fn. 37; SUZUKI 2005, p. 46.

eltermiš	<i>yilidimishi</i> 伊里底蜜施	‘i lji tiei mǐět śię	ʔji li’/li’ teǵ’ mǵit eiǝ/ei ʔji li tiaǵ’ mǵit ǵi	XTS
etmiš	<i>yidemishi</i> 翳德蜜施	iei tək mǐět śię	ʔej ^h tək mǵit eiǝ/ei ʔjiaǵ’ tək mǵit ǵi	KB
Īnan	<i>yanan</i> 夷男	i nām	ji nām/nam ji nam	JTS, XTS, CFYG (956)
Īnanč(u)	<i>yananru</i> 伊難如	‘i nān nǐzwo	ʔji nan niǝ ʔji nan riǝ/ryǝ	QJJ, XTS
	<i>yananzhu</i> 伊難朱	‘i nān tsǐu	ʔji nan teuǝ ʔji nan tsyǝ	HCYPJ (5)
	<i>yananzhu</i> 伊難主	‘i nān tsǐu	ʔji nan teuǝ’ ʔji nan tsyǝ	KB
	<i>yananzhu</i> 伊難珠	‘i nān tsǐu	ʔji nan teuǝ ʔji nan tsyǝ	XTS
Īšbara	<i>shabolüe</i> 沙鉢略	ša *puât liak	ǵai/ǵe: pat liak ǵa: puat liak	SS, etc.
	<i>shiboluo</i> 始波羅	ši puâ lâ	ei’/ei’ pa la ǵi’ pua la	SS, BS, TD
	<i>shaboluo</i> 沙鉢羅	ša *pwât lâ	ǵai/ǵe: pat la ǵa: puat la	JTS, XTS, CFYG (1000)
	<i>yishiboluo</i> 乙史波羅	‘iēt ǵi puâ lâ	ʔit ǵi’/ǵi’ pa la ʔit ǵr’ pua la	SY, CL
Ināl	<i>ynie</i> 移涅	ię niet	jiǎ/ji net ji niat	TD, JTS
	<i>ynie</i> 伊涅	‘i niet	ʔji net ʔji niat	JTS
irkin	<i>sijin</i> 俟斤	dz’i kǐən	zǐ’/zǐ’ kin ǵhr’ kin	D, QJJ; SS etc.
	<i>xiejin</i> 頡斤	yiet kǐən	yēt kin xhjjat kin	KT, QJJ, XTS
	<i>xiejin</i> 頡筋	yiet kǐən	yēt kin xhjjat kin	TBK

	<i>yijin</i> 逸斤	ǰēt kǰən	ǰit kin ǰit kin	H
	<i>yijin</i> 乙斤	ǰēt kǰən	ʔit kin ʔit kin	JTS
Irtiš	<i>yedie</i> 曳咍	ǰai d'iet	ǰiaj ^h *tət ǰiaj ^h *tət	JTS
Ištāmi	<i>shidianmi</i> 室點密	šǰēt tiem mǰēt	eit tem' mit šit tiam' mit	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>shidianmi</i> 室點蜜	šǰēt tiem mǰēt	eit tem' mǰit šit tiam' mǰit	XTS
	<i>sedimi</i> 瑟帝米	šǰēt tiei miei	šit teǰ ^h mǰej' šət tiaj ^h mǰiaj ^h	XTS
kām	<i>jian</i> 劍	kǰəm	kiam ^h kiam ^h	XTS
Kāšdim	<i>keshidan</i> 可史擔	k'â šī tām	k ^h a' šī'/šī' tam k ^h a' šī' tam	TD
kōl	<i>que</i> 闕	k'ǰwət	k ^h uat k ^h yat	KT, KB, TD, JTS, XTS
küčlūg	<i>juzhulu</i> 句主錄	kǰu tšǰu lǰwok	kuǰ ^h teuǰ ^h luawk kyǰ ^h tšyǰ ^h lywk	JTS
(117) kül(i) čor	<i>qulūchuo</i> 屈律啜	k'ǰuət ǰuēt tš'ǰwät	k ^h ut lwit te ^h wiat k ^h yt lyt tš ^h yat	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>qulichuo</i> 屈利啜	k'ǰuət lǰi tš'ǰwät	k ^h ut li ^h te ^h wiat k ^h yt li ^h tš ^h yat	JTS
	<i>quechuo</i> 闕啜	k'ǰwət tš'ǰwät	k ^h uat te ^h wiat k ^h yat tš ^h yat	JTS
	<i>quelūchuo</i> 闕律啜	k'ǰwət ǰuēt tš'ǰwät	k ^h uat lwit te ^h wiat k ^h yat lyt tš ^h yat	XTS

(117) This term is composed of two words *kül(i)* and *čor* so that here only the first word has to be dealt with. But for the analysis of its transcriptions one has to take both words into consideration.

külüg	<i>julu</i> 俱陸	kju ljuuk	kuǝ luwk kyǝ liwk	JTS
	<i>julu</i> 俱錄	kju ljuok	kuǝ luawk kyǝ lywk	KB, JTS, XTS
	<i>julu</i> 句錄	kju ljuok	kuǝ ^h luawk kyǝ ^h lywk	JTS, XTS
kün	<i>jun</i> 君	kjuən	(E) kun; (L) kyn	CFYG (967)
maya/baya	<i>mohe</i> 莫何	mâk yâ	mak ya mak xña	SS etc.
	<i>mohe</i> 莫賀	mâk yâ	mak ya ^h mak xña ^h	TD, HCYPJ (5), QB, KB, XTS
mayatur/ bayatur	<i>moheduo</i> 莫賀咄	mâk yâ tuǝt	mak ya ^h *tǝt mak xña ^h *tut	SS, etc., H
Muqan	<i>muhan</i> 木汗	muk yân	mǝwk yan mǝwk xñan	ZS
	<i>muhan</i> 木杆	muk yân	mǝwk yan ^h mǝwk xñan ^h	ZS (9) etc.
	<i>mugan</i> 木杆	muk *kân	mǝwk *kan ^h mǝwk *kan ^h	BS
Ozmîş	<i>wusumishi</i> 烏蘇米施	uo suo miej' šíǝ	ʔǝ sǝ meǝ' eiǝ/ei ʔuǝ suǝ mjiaǝ' ǝi	JTS, XTS
	<i>wusumi</i> 烏蘇密	uo suo mjǝt	ʔǝ sǝ mit ʔuǝ suǝ mit	H
Ötükän	<i>wudujin</i> 於都斤	uo tuo kjuən	ʔǝ tǝ kin ʔuǝ tuǝ kin	ZS, BS, TD
	<i>yudujun</i> 鬱督軍	juǝt tuok kjuən	ʔut tawk kun ʔyt tawk kyn	TD, JTS, XTS, CFYG (956)
	<i>wudejian</i> 烏德健	uo tǝk g'ien	ʔǝ tǝk gian ^h ʔuǝ tǝǝk kñian ^h	JTS
	<i>wudejian</i> 烏德韃	uo tǝk kjuən	ʔǝ tǝk kian ʔuǝ tǝǝk kian	XTS
qam	<i>gan</i> 甘	kâm	(E) kam; (L) kam	XTS

qayan	<i>kehan</i> 可汗	k'â yân	k ^h a' yan k ^h a' xñan	ZS etc.
qara	<i>keluo</i> 珂羅	*k'â lâ	k ^h a la k ^h a la	TD
qari	<i>geli</i> 哥利	kâ lji	ka li ^h ka li'	TD
	<i>ge</i> 葛	kât	(E) kat; (L) kat	GC
Qarluq	<i>gelu</i> 葛祿	kât luk	kat ləwk kat ləwk	JTS, XTS
Qaraluq	<i>geluolu</i> 歌邏祿	kâ *lâ luk	ka la ^h ləwk ka la' ləwk	JTS, XTS
	<i>geluolu</i> 歌羅祿	kâ lâ luk	ka la ləwk ka la ləwk	TD, JTS, CFYG (956)
	<i>geluolu</i> 葛邏祿	kât *lâ luk	kat la ^h ləwk kat la' ləwk	TD, JTS, XTS, CFYG (956)
	<i>geluolu</i> 葛羅祿	kât lâ luk	kat la ləwk kat la ləwk	TD
	<i>geluolu</i> 哥邏祿	kâ *lâ luk	ka la ^h ləwk ka la' ləwk	TD (174), CFGY (656), I
qatun	<i>kedun</i> 可敦	k'â tuən	k ^h a' twən k ^h a' tun	JTS, XTS
Qırqız	<i>qigu</i> 契骨	k'iet kuət	k ^h it kwət k ^h it kut	ZS etc.
	<i>hegu</i> 紇骨	*ɣuət kuət	ɣət kwət xñət kut	SS, CFGY (956)
	<i>jiegu</i> 結骨	kiet kuət	kət kwət kjiat kut	TD, JTS, XTS, CFGY (1000)
	<i>xiajiasi</i> 黠戛斯	yăt kăt się	ɣəit/ɣe:t kəit/kɛ:t sið/si xñja:t kja:t sɤ	HCYPJ (2 etc.), JTS, XTS
	<i>hegusi</i> 紇挖斯	*ɣuət xjət się	ɣət *xīt sið/si xñət *xīt sɤ	HCYPJ (3 etc.), XTS

qulavuz	<i>guluofusi</i> 骨邏拂斯	kuət *lâ p'juət się	kwət la ^h p ^h ut sið/si kut la' fjt/fut sz	G
Qurıqan	<i>guligan</i> 骨利幹	kuət lji kân	kwət li ^h kan ^h kut li' kan'	A, TD, JTS, XTS
qurqapčîn	<i>kuhezhen</i> 窟合眞 ⁽¹¹⁸⁾	k'uət yâp tşjĕn	k ^h wət yəp/yap tein k ^h ut xĥap tşin	BS
	<i>kuhezhen</i> 庫合眞	k'uo yâp tşjĕn	k ^h ə ^h yəp/yap tein k ^h uð' xĥap tşin	SS
qut	<i>gu</i> 汨	kuət	kwət kut	KB, XTS
qutluy	<i>guduolu</i> 骨咄祿	kuət tuət luk	kwət *tət ləwk kut *tut ləwk	BK, KT, TD etc.
	<i>gudulu</i> 骨篤祿	kuət tuok luk	kwət təwk ləwk kut təwk ləwk	XTS
	<i>guduolu</i> 汨咄祿	kuət tuət luk	kwət *tət ləwk kut *tut ləwk	KB, JTS, XTS
	<i>guli</i> 骨力	kuət lĭək	kwət lik kut liðk	XTS
säbüg	<i>suomo</i> 娑墨	sâ mək	sa mək sa muðk	JTS, XTS
	<i>suofu</i> 娑蔔	sâ b'juk	sa buwk sa fĥjywk/fĥuwk	XTS
	<i>suofu</i> 娑蔔 ⁽¹¹⁹⁾	sâ *b'juk	sa buwk sa fĥjywk/fĥuwk	THY (100)

(118) There is the other variant *kuhanzhen* 窟含眞 in SS, too. As Y. YOSHIDA clearly showed, it is a writing mistake for the variant mentioned above [YOSHIDA 2011, pp. 6-7].

(119) It was originally written *pofu* 娑蔔. As RONG XIN-JIANG correctly indicated, it is a writing mistake for the variant mentioned above. He mentioned the other one *pobi* 娑鼻 attested in CFYG (998), p. 4033, which surely stands for the same Old Turkish word [RONG 2007, p. 37]. But this variant seems to have been made by someone from the other variants without listening to the real sounds of the original word. Thus I did not include it in the list.

Sälängä	<i>xian'e</i> 仙娥	šiän ngâ	sian ɲa sian ɲa	XTS
sol	<i>su</i> 素	suo	sɔ ^h suɔ̀	XTS
šad	<i>she</i> 設	šiät	ɕiat ɕiat	ZS etc.
	<i>sha</i> 殺	šăt	ʂəit/ʂɛ:t ʂa:t	TD, BK, JTS, XTS
Talas	<i>dalusi</i> 怛邏斯	tât *lâ siɕ	tat la ^h siɔ̃/si tat la` sɿ	JTS (128), XTS
	<i>dalusi</i> 咎邏斯	*tât *lâ siɕ	*tat la ^h siɔ̃/si *tat la` sɿ	CEZ (2), JTS
	<i>dalusi</i> 咎邏私	*tât *lâ si	*tat la ^h si *tat la` sɿ	XYJ (1)
	<i>duolusi</i> 多羅斯	tâ lâ siɕ	ta la siɔ̃/si ta la sɿ	JTS
	<i>duolusi</i> 多邏斯	tâ *lâ siɕ	ta la ^h siɔ̃/si ta la` sɿ	TD, JTS, XTS
tarqan	<i>dagan</i> 達干	d'ât kân	dat kan tʰat kan	TD, HCYPJ (5), C, E, KB, QJJ, BK
	<i>dahan</i> 達漢	d'ât xân	dat xan ^h tʰat xan`	H
	<i>daguan</i> 達官	d'ât kuân	dat kwan tʰat kuan	TD, TBK, JTS, XTS
Tatpar	<i>tabo</i> 他鉢	t'â *puât	tʰa pat tʰa puat	ZS etc.
	<i>tabo</i> 佗鉢	t'â *puât	tʰa pat tʰa puat	SS, XTS
	<i>daba</i> 達拔	d'ât b'wăt	dat bəit/be:t tʰat pʰa:t	ASM

tāngri	<i>dengli</i> 登利	təng lji	təŋ li ^h təðŋ li ^ˊ	QJJ, JTS, XTS
	<i>dengli</i> 登里	təng lji	təŋ li ^ˊ /li ^ˊ təðŋ li	QJJ, KB, JTS, XTS
	<i>tengli</i> 騰里	d'əng lji	dəŋ li ^ˊ /li ^ˊ tɕəðŋ li	JTS
	<i>tengli</i> 滕里	d'əng lji	dəŋ li ^ˊ /li ^ˊ tɕəðŋ li	XTS
	<i>dengningli</i> 登凝黎	təng ngiəŋg liei	təŋ ŋiŋ leʃ təðŋ ŋiðŋ liaj	ZS
	<i>dengningli</i> 登凝梨	təng ngiəŋg lji	təŋ ŋiŋ li təðŋ ŋiðŋ li	BS (99)
	<i>dengyili</i> 登疑梨	təng ngji lji	təŋ ŋi/ŋi li təðŋ ŋi li	TD
tegin	<i>teqin</i> 特勤	d'ək g'jən	dək gin tɕəðk kɕin	ZS etc., SY, CL, GC, KT, QB
	<i>teqin</i> 特懃	d'ək g'jən	dək gin tɕəðk kɕin	H
Toyla	<i>duluo</i> 獨洛	d'uk lāk	dəwk lak tɕəwk lak	SS, BS, TD
	<i>dule</i> 獨樂	d'uk lāk	dəwk lak tɕəwk lak	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>duluo</i> 獨邏	d'uk *lâ	dəwk la ^h tɕəwk la ^ˊ	JTS (199)
tong	<i>dun</i> 頓	tuən	tʷən ^h tun ^ˊ	XTS
	<i>tun</i> 墩	*t'uən	*tʰwən *tʰun	JTS
	<i>tong</i> 統	t'uong	tʰawŋ ^h tʰəwŋ ^ˊ	TD, JTS, XTS, CFYG (1000)

Tonga	<i>tong'e</i> 同俄	d'ung ngâ	dəwŋ ɲa tʰəwŋ ɲa	TD, JTS, XTS
	<i>tong'e</i> 同娥	d'ung ngâ	dəwŋ ɲa tʰəwŋ ɲa	JTS
Tongra	<i>dongheluo</i> 東紇羅	tung *ɣuət lâ	təwŋ ɣət la təwŋ xʰət la	BS (99)
	<i>tongluo</i> 同羅	d'ung lâ	dəwŋ la tʰəwŋ la	SS etc.
Tonyuquq	<i>tunyugu</i> 噉欲谷	t'uən iʷok kuk	*tʰwən juawk kəwk *tʰun jywk kəwk	TD, JTS, XTS
Tölis	<i>tuli</i> 突利	t'uət lji	dwət liʰ tʰut li`	SS, TD
	<i>tulishi</i> 突利失	t'uət lji śjēt	dwət liʰ ɛit tʰut li` ʒit	XTS
Tuba	<i>dubo</i> 都波	tuo puâ	tə pa tuɔ̃ pua	SS, TD
	<i>dubo</i> 都播	tuo puâ	tə paʰ tuɔ̃ pua`	XTS
tudun	<i>tutun</i> 吐屯	t'uo d'uən	tʰɔ̃' dwən tʰuɔ̃ tʰun	ZS etc.
tutmiš	<i>duodengmishi</i> 咄登密施	tuət təŋ mǝt śiɕ	*tət təŋ mit ɛiɔ̃/ɛi *tut təɔ̃ŋ mit ʒi	KB, JTS
Türgiŋ	<i>tuqishi</i> 突騎施	t'uət g'jiɕ śiɕ	dwət giɔ̃/gi ɛiɔ̃/ɛi tʰut kʰi ʒi	B, C, QJJ, TD, JTS, XTS
Uyɣur	<i>huihe</i> 迴紇	ɣuâi *ɣuət	ɣwəɣ ɣət xʰuaj xʰət	TD etc., CFYG (956)
	<i>huihu</i> 迴鶻	ɣuâi ɣuət	ɣwəɣ *ɣwət xʰuaj *xʰut	JTS, XTS
	<i>huihu</i> 回鶻	ɣuâi ɣuət	ɣwəɣ *ɣwət xʰuaj *xʰut	CG, KB, HCYPJ (3 etc.), XTS
	<i>huihe</i> 回紇	ɣuâi *ɣuət	ɣwəɣ ɣət xʰuaj xʰət	TD, XTS

ulay	wuluo 烏駱	ˈuo lâk	ʔɔ lak ʔuǎ lak	F
	wuluo 鄔落	*ˈuo lâk	ʔɔ lak ʔuǎ lak	CEZ (1)
uluy	hulu 胡祿	ɣuo luk	ɣɔ ləwk xɦuǎ ləwk	KB, E, JTS, XTS
	walu 嗚祿	*ˈuət luk	ʔwət ləwk ʔut ləwk	XTS
ülüg	yulu 羽錄	jiu liwɔk	wuǎ' luawk yǎ' lywk	KB, JTS, XTS
yabyu	yehu 葉護	jäp yuo	jiap ɣɔ ^h jiap xɦuǎ ^h	ZS etc.
Yaylaqar	yaoluoge 藥羅葛	jak lâ kât	jiak la kat jiak la kat	HCYPJ (13), JTS, XTS, CFYG (956)
	yaoluogu 藥羅訖	jak lâ *kuət	jiak la *kwət jiak la *kut	KB

(要旨)

6世紀から9世紀の漢文史料における 漢字音写された古代トルコ語

—— 突厥名称問題再考 ——

笠井 幸代

古代トルコ語を母語とするトルコ族は、特に6世紀半ばから9世紀半ばまでの間、モンゴル高原を本拠地としてその圧倒的な軍事力を背景にして隣接地域の歴史に多大な影響を及ぼした。この時代、突厥ならびに回鶻と称されるトルコ系遊牧帝国と、北に国境を接することになった歴代の中国王朝は、自らの国家保全のため彼等の動向に気を配り、関連情報の収集に努めた。その結果として、正史などの編纂漢籍はもちろんのこと、当時の外交問題に関わった官僚の文集、また中央アジア出土文献を含む漢文史料中にはトルコ族に関する情報が蓄積されることになった。その際、人名・称号・地名など、漢語に翻訳することの出来ない古代トルコ語の単語は、当時の漢字音である中古音を用いて漢字による音写という形で記録されることが多かった。遊牧民族であるトルコ族は、その移動の多い生活習慣も相まって、自らの言葉で自らの歴史や文化について書き残すという意識は薄く、約300年という長い存立期間にもかかわらず、彼等自身の手による一次史料の数は驚くほど少ない。それ故この時期のトルコ族の活動については、勢い漢文史料に頼らざるを得ないのであるが、このような史料を最大限に活用するためには、漢字による音写語とその原語となる古代トルコ語の対応を明らかにすることが不可欠である。しかしながら、これまで音写語とそれに対応する古代トルコ語の原語が個々に議論されることはあっても、音写語全体を対象とするような研究はいまだ存在していない。

そこで本稿ではまず、トルコ族と中国歴代王朝が最も密接な関係を持った6世紀半ばから9世紀半ばの期間に流入したと考えられる音写語を編纂史料から出土文献まで幅広く収集した。そのうち古代トルコ語との対応が明確なものを抽出したところ、83単語に対応する174種の音写語を得ることが出来た。つぎに、これら音写語に使用されている個々の漢字音を中国語音韻学の方法論に基づき、声母と韻尾に分け、それぞれがどのような古代トルコ語の音に対応するかを分析した。その結果、古代トルコ語の音写はある一定の規則に基づき行われていたことが判明した。つまり今後、ある音写語の漢字音を元に原語となった古代トルコ語を再構成しようとする場合、この規則を考慮しつつ行えば、信頼のおける結果にたどり着けるということである。裏を返せば、この規則を無視した再構成は信頼度に欠け、他に余程の好条件が重ならなければ受け入れることは難しいということになる。

以上の結果を有効に活用する一例として、本稿では長年議論されていた音写語「突厥」の原語を取り上げ、漢字音からの再構成を試みた。この音写語の原語となる古代トルコ語はこれまで、様々な学者により種々の形が提案されて来たが、その多くがトルコ族の自称である *Türk* に関連する単語であるという点で一致している。本稿での再構成もこれに大きく外れることはなく、既に提案された復元形の一つ **Türküt* が「突厥」の漢字音より導きだされる最も可能性の高い原語であるとの結果に達した。残る問題は *Türk* に続く接尾辞 *-(ü)t* を如何に解釈するかである。これまでの議論でもこれが複数接尾辞であるという点にほぼ異論は無かったものの、その起源については、①モンゴル語、②古代トルコ語、③ソグド語と意見が分かれていた。しかし最近になってトゥルフアの巴達木 (= *Badam*) から中国王朝の領域内で使用されたソグド語公文書が発見され、当該時代におけるソグド人の役割と彼等の言語であるソグド語の重要性が再認識される結果となった。トルコ族と中国王朝との最初の公式な接触にはソグド人が関与していたことは有名な事実であり、トルコ族の自称 *Türk* もソグド人の手を経て中国へ伝えられた可能性が高い。とすれば、それにソグド語の複数接尾辞が付された形が中国へ伝えられたとしても何ら不思議ではなく、「突厥」という音写語はこれを反映したものであったと考えるのが自然である。