

Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in Xinjiang.*

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Abstract: As far as is known, Tocharians were the oldest inhabitants of Xinjiang and they were present in that area since before our era. Their Turkification and total linguistic assimilation probably took place in the 12th–13th centuries. Thus, there are many unsolved problems and unknown aspects with regard to Tocharian-Turkic linguistic and ethnic relations. One of these problems is whether or not the Tocharian ethnonyms occurring in Old Turkic (*Twqry*, *Twq'ry*) and Sogdian (*Twyr'k*) sources can be shown in the toponymy of Xinjiang. To solve this problem, the present study investigates Uighur and Chinese place names and tries to list Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in and around Xinjiang. At the end of the study, a map based on Tocharian ethnonyms is also given to show the former geographical distribution of Tocharians in Xinjiang.

Key words: Tocharians, ethnotoponyms, ethnohydronyms, exonyms, Tocharian place names, Uighur place names

Doęu Türkistan'da Tohar Kavim Adlarından Yapılmış Yer ve Su Adları

Özet: Bilindięi gibi Toharlar Doęu Türkistan'ın en eski sakinlerindendi ve milattan önceki dönemlerden beri o bölgede yaşıyorlardı. Türkleşmeleri ve dilsel bakımdan tamamen asimile olmaları muhtemelen 12.-13. yüzyıllarda cereyan etti. Dolayısıyla, Tohar-Türk dil ve etnik ilişkilerinin bilinmeyen pek çok yönü ve çözüm bekleyen pek çok problemi var. Bu problemlerden biri, Eski Türkçe (*Twqry*, *Twq'ry*) ve Soędca (*Twyr'k*) kaynaklardaki Tohar kavim adlarının Doęu Türkistan yer adlarında yaşayıp yaşamadığı meselesidir. Çalışma, bu problemi çözmek için Doęu Türkistan ve çevresindeki Uygur ve Çin yer adlarını inceleyerek, Tohar kavim adından yapılmış yer ve su adlarının bir listesini çıkarmaya çalışıyor. Çalışmanın sonunda, Toharların geçmişte Doęu Türkistan'daki coęrafi dağılımlarını gösteren, Tohar kavim adlarına dayalı bir harita da veriliyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: Toharlar, etnotoponim, etnohidronim, eksonim (dış adlandırma), Tohar yer adları, Uygur yer adları

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*dedicated to Professor Klaus Röhrborn
on the 75th anniversary of his birth*

1. There are many unsolved problems and unknown aspects with regard to Tocharian-Turkic linguistic and ethnic relations. One of these problems is whether or not the Tocharian ethnonyms occurring in Old Turkic sources can be shown in the toponymy of Xinjiang.

At the very beginning of my research, my main goal was to examine whether the Old Turkic ethnonyms *Twqry* ‘Tocharian’ and *[T]wq’ry* ‘id.’ of Sogdian origin as well as Sogd. *Twyr’k* ‘id.’ (in: *ctβ’r twyr’k* ‘the four Tuyrāk/Toyāk’) in the Sogdian version of the trilingual Karabalgasun inscription (9th c.) occur as place names in Xinjiang.¹ Their occurrence as place names would namely help to reconstruct their phonetic shapes in Old Turkic correctly.

However, this main goal reached an impasse at the very beginning of my research and it became clear that, because of the similar phonetic shape of the Sogdian *Twyr’k* [Tuyrāk/Toyāk], the Old Turkic *Twqry* [Tuyrī / Tuyrī / Tuyre] (or less probably [Toyrī / Toyri / Toyre]) and the Uighur words *toğraq* (ğ = γ) توغراق ‘poplar (tree)’ and *toğri* ‘straight’ occurring in the Uighur place names, it is almost impossible to clearly show the ethnonyms *Twyr’k* or *Twryy* in the toponymy of Xinjiang. The lack of historical, local historical and archaeological studies concerning the toponyms or hydronyms in question further complicates this problem. Thus, in numerous dubious cases of toponyms and hydronyms, it is – for the time being – almost impossible to clearly determine whether the toponym or hydronym in question is a Tocharian ethnonym (i.e., *Twyr’k*, *Twqry*) or a Uighur common word (i.e., *toğraq*, *toğri*). The Uighur and Chinese toponymical literature interprets these types of toponyms or hydronyms in every instance as common words. This problem will be described in detail at the end of this study (see section 10 below).

In the course of research into the three Tocharian ethnonyms mentioned above (i.e. *Twyr’k*, *Twqry*, *[T]wq’ry*), I have extended my research to include the other well-known or less well-known names of Tocharians, too. Thus, various Tocharian ethnonyms in the toponymy of Xinjiang will be examined below without aiming at completeness.

Although some Tocharian ethnotoponyms remain outside of the political borders of present-day Xinjiang (see sections 6.4 and 7.2 below), I investigate

¹ For the Turkic background of these ethnonyms, see Aydemir 2009:163, 166.

them in this study to show that the northeastern geographic distribution of the Tocharians exceeded the current political borders of Xinjiang.

The main difficulties in studying Tocharian place names in Xinjiang are as follows: (1) The incontinuity of Tocharian settlements and the loss of the place names because of this. 2. The lack of detailed knowledge of associative relations concerning the place name in question. 3. The lack of historical, local historical and archaeological research concerning the places in question. 4. The transformative effect of folk etymology. 5. The transformative effect of Chinese (morphological² and phonological). 6. Inaccurate geographical determination of historical records and recent works in some cases. 7. Official modifications of place names. 8. The loss of the Tocharian place names because of the interlingual allonymy. 9. Research material is not easily accessible to Western scholars, etc.

As far as is known, Tocharians were the oldest inhabitants of Xinjiang and they were present in these areas since before our era. Their total linguistic assimilation probably took place in the 12th and 13th centuries.³ Thus, in principle, a fair number of Tocharian place names, i.e., the substrate layer of Tocharian place names, should be taken into consideration (such as micro- and macro-toponyms, ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms). We should consider three basic groups of the substrate layer of Tocharian place names:

- (1) The place names of Tocharian origin.
- (2) The *Endonym*⁴ group of the geographical names given by the Tocharians themselves.
- (3) The *Exonym* group of the geographical names given by others referring to Tocharians or their location. These are ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms. In one case (see *Tügürmiti* in section 6.5 below) a place name of appellative origin generated from an ethnonym referring to Tocharians also occurs.

In this study, only the exonym group will be examined. As far as I know the Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in and around Xinjiang have not been investigated or collected yet. Thus, this study makes an attempt, without aiming at completeness, to collect the Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms from Chinese and Uighur sources available to me, and finally to transfer the data to a map (see below), which will help to map the former factual geographical distribution and location of Tocharians in Xinjiang. This is important because, although we know from historical sources that the

² See Abdurashid 2006:136.

³ See Aydemir 2009:168-177.

⁴ An *endonym* can also be a borrowing.

Tocharians were present throughout Xinjiang, because of the lack of research we still have no comprehensive view of what is of Tocharian origin in the macro- and micro-toponymy of present-day Xinjiang. There is no doubt that much remains to be done to research the substrate layer of Tocharian place names.

2. *Tuhuluo, Tuholuo, Tuholuo*

The name *Tuhuluo* and its variants as place names can be observed today in Xinjiang in many places (see below). Although in the Chinese historical records several variations of this name are found, they do not refer to Xinjiang, but to Bactria.⁵

The first mention of this ethnonym occurs in the form *Tuhuluo* 吐呼罗 in Weishu (6th c.). Henning reconstructed this form as **Tuχura* / **Toχora* based on research by Pelliot.⁶ In Suishu (7th c.) it appears as *Tuholuo* 吐火羅.⁷ In *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 “Report on the Western Regions of the Great Tang [Dynasty]” (7th c.) and in the Chinese Xuanzang biography (7th c.) both of the forms *Tuholuo* 覩貨羅⁸ ~ *Tuholuo* 吐火羅⁹ occur. Based on my preliminary research relatively large numbers of these types of Tocharian place names (*exonyms*) can be shown in Xinjiang (see map at the end). They are as follows:

3. *Tuhulu, Tuxulu,*

3.1. *Tuhulu* 吐葫芦 (Uig. *Tuxulu* تۇخۇلو, colloquial *Toχolo*)¹⁰ is the Chinese name of a township (*xiang* 乡) in the northeast of Qumul (Hami).¹¹ It belongs to the Aratürük (Yiwu) County (see map no. 1). But this township also had another Tocharian name in the past besides *Tuhulu*. Namely, in the 9th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志,¹² this township is mentioned as *Tugulike* 图古里克 (see map no. 2, and also section 8 below).¹³ What is more, on the historical map of *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志, an official description of the western territories from the 18th century, only *Tugulike* 图古里克 can be seen, rather

⁵ Today Afghanistan and the border regions of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

⁶ Henning 1938:546; Pelliot 1936:264.

⁷ Pulleyblank reconstructs it as “T^u-huo-lo (Tochara)”, see Pulleyblank 1966:31.

⁸ See Taishō, no. 248a15, 250a10, 13, 14, 15-16, 19, 20, 24 and Aydemir 2009:163, note 6.

⁹ See Taishō, no. 228a03 and 872a06.

¹⁰ Chin. *Tuhulu xiang* 吐葫芦乡 ‘the Tuhulu Township’, Uig. *Tuxulu yezisi* تۇخۇلو يېزىسى ‘the Tuxulu Village’ Sabit/Nasir 1994:444b, 642c.

¹¹ In brackets are the Chinese equivalents in Pinyin.

¹² The book illustrated with many maps is a detailed description of the region of Xinjiang from the Qing period (1644-1911). It was compiled in 1756 and completed in 1782.

¹³ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:183, 188, note 34; for 大图古里 on the historical map, see p. 65.

then *Tuhulu* 吐葫芦.¹⁴ This fact indicates that this township had two names of Tocharian origin in the past. The Chinese scientific literature correctly associates the name *Tuhulu* with the Tocharians.¹⁵

In my opinion, the Chinese form *Tugulike* is certainly of Sogdian origin. I assume that the name *Tuhulu* (< **Tuχura*) as a version of *Tuhula* (< **Tuχura*) is also of Sogdian origin, i.e.:

- a) Uig. *Tuχulu* ← Chin. *Tuhulu* < **Tuχura* ← Sogd. **Tuγure* < **Tuγurak* < **Tuγur* ‘Tocharian(s)’ + Sogd. -’k.
- b) Chin. *Tugulike* ← Sogd. **Tuγurīk* < **Tuγur* ‘Tocharian(s)’ + Sogd. -’k.¹⁶

This question, however, necessitates further examinations. According to Owen Lattimore the name *Tuhulu* referred to the Aratürük County in the 1920s.¹⁷ Today, however, *Tuhulu* (吐葫芦) refers only to the township in Aratürük. As the name *Tuhulu* has not been newly created, it is certain that both names (*Tugulike* and *Tuhulu*) existed side by side in the past. At this point another question arises. Namely, it is currently not very clear why today only the name *Tuhulu* as the name of this township emerges instead of the former *Tugulike* in *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志.

So the Chin. *Yiwu*, Uig. *Aratürük* ~ *Artürük* of Turkic origin, the *Tuhulu* and the former *Tugulike* of Sogdian origin are the different names (*interlingual allonyms*) of this county.

3.2. ***Tuhulu*** is the Chinese name of a village 50 km east of the Anxi (安西) County in the Gansu Province (see map no. 3). According to Wang, this area is considered to include the eastern settlements of the Tocharians and archaeological finds confirm the presence of Tocharians there.¹⁸

3.3. ***Tuhuluquan*** ‘The Tuhulu Spring’ (< *Tuhulu* + Chin. *quan* 泉 ‘spring’) is the name of a spring in a valley about 120 km west of Dunhuang in the Gansu Province (see map no. 4).¹⁹ The spring seems to have first been named by the Chinese since the Uighur publisher of the XHT listed it with the Chin. word *quan* ‘spring’ and not with the Uig. word *bulaq* ‘spring’ as in many other cases of Uighur hydronyms in the XHT (cf. *Togirikti bulaq* ‘The Togirikti Spring’, i.e., ‘the Spring of the Togiriks (= Tocharians)’ (see section 7.3 below) or *Tatarbulaq* ‘the Tatar Spring’, etc.).

¹⁴ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:65.

¹⁵ Wang 1987:69; Zhong 2008:937.

¹⁶ The Sogdian -’k is an adjectival ending, see Bailey 1937:890, note 1; Sims-Williams 1989:190; cf. Aydemir, 2009:163, note 6.

¹⁷ Lattimore 1995:372.

¹⁸ Wang 1987:68.

¹⁹ XHT 1966:112.

3.4. **Tuhulu** (in: *Da tuhulu* 大吐葫芦 ‘The Big Tuhulu’) appears in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) as the name of a kurgan (see map no. 5) on the east bank of the *Tugulike River* (now *Queergouhe* 雀尔沟河 ‘the Queergou River’) in the Qutubi (Hutubi) County within the borders of the village *Tugulike* of the small town (*zhen* 镇) *Dafeng* 大丰. This kurgan also had two other Tocharian names. (1) One of them was *Tugulike* 图古里克 ~ 土古里克 (see map no. 5a).²⁰ The Chin. *Tugulike* goes back to a form *Tugurik*, which – as already mentioned above – is a Sogdian name for Tocharians (i.e., Chin. *Tugulike* ← Sogd. **Tuγurīk*, see section 3.1 above). *Tugulike* as the name of the village or river must have been transferred to the kurgan. Lin Zexu 林则徐 (1785–1850) writes in his book *Hege jicheng* 荷戈纪程 that the kurgan *Tugulike* is also commonly known as *Tuhulu* 土葫芦.²¹ (2) The other one was *Tuguli* 土古里 (see map no. 5b, and section 9 below). This name occurs in the book *Yili riji* 伊犁日记 ‘Ili Diary’ (18th. c.).²² So the kurgan in question has three names of ethnotoponymic origin: 1. *Tuhulu*, 2. *Tugulike*, 3. *Tuguli*. The last two of them, i.e., *Tugulike* (< Sogd. *Tuγurīk*) and *Tuguli* (← Sogd. **Tuγurī* < Sogd. **Tuγurīk*, see section 8.2.3 below), are certainly of Sogdian origin. The first one, i.e., *Tuhulu* (cf. Uig. *Tuχulu* above), seems to be of Sogdian origin as well.

4. *Tuohula, Toχula*

4.1. **Tuohula** 托乎拉 (Uig. *Toχula* توخۇلا ← Chin. *Tuhula* < **Tuχura*) is the Chinese name of a number of settlements. This toponym appears:

(1) as the name of a number of villages (*cun* 村) in the Konašähär (Wensu) County in Aksu (Akesu) (see map no. 8), in the Kuča (Kuche) County (see map no. 6),²³ in Bügür (Luntai) (see map no. 9), Heijing (see map no. 10), Hotan (Hetian) (see map no. 11),²⁴ and in Qaraqaš (Moyu) (see map no. 12),²⁵

(2) as a township in Qaraqaš (Moyu) (see map no. 13);²⁶

(3) and as the name of a road in Konašähär (Wensu) (see map no. 14).²⁷

4.2. **Tohulibazar** (< *Tohula bazar*) is a small town in the Qaraqaš (Moyu) County about 25 km northeast of Hotan (see map no. 13).²⁸ The *-i* in

²⁰ Zhong 2008:934.

²¹ Zhong 2008:928.

²² Zhong 2008:928.

²³ *Tuohula* 托乎拉 can also be seen with other characters as *Tuhula* 吐乎拉 (see Sabit/Nasir 1994:444b).

²⁴ Sabit/Nasir 1994:444b, 454b, 455a. For the Uig. *Toχula* in Konašähär, see also XHT 1966:115.

²⁵ Sabit/Nasir 1994:455a. The last one can also be seen with other characters as *Tuohula* 托胡拉.

²⁶ Sabit/Nasir 1994:455a. This can also be seen with other characters as *Tuohula* 托胡拉.

²⁷ Sabit/Nasir 1994:454b.

²⁸ XHT 1966:155, 157, 161.

Tohuli goes back to an *-a*, i.e. *Tohuli* < *Tohula*. This kind of sound change is a well-known modern Uighur phenomenon. Since the XHT does not give the Chinese equivalents of the place names, it is not clear how this name is written in Chinese (*Tuohula* 托乎拉 or *Tuohula* 托胡拉?). The second term *bazar* corresponds to the Chin. *zhen* 镇 ‘town’.

5. *Tuokaer, Tokar*

Tuokaer 托喀尔 (Uig. *Tokar* توکار)²⁹ is a village about 9 km. north of Qaraqaş (Moyu) near Hotan (Hetian) (see map no. 14). This is the only village with this name that I have found in the records and maps of Xinjiang. The Old Turkic *Tokar* as an ethnic name in the 45th line of the Old Turkic runic text Tunyukuk (8th c.) also supports the assumption that the form *Tokar* with *-k-* has existed since ancient times.³⁰ This name appears in the form *Thokar*, which refers to “a people in Kan-su”,³¹ in the Tibetan sources as well³².

6. *Tugeer, Tuğir, Tuğur, Tügür*

All these forms (*ğ* = *γ*) are developments of a form **Tuγr* ‘Tocharian(s)’ (see the development diagram in section 6.5 below).

6.1. ***Tugeer tuobie*** 托格尔托别 (← Uig. *Tuğir töbä* تۇغىر تۆبە ‘The Tuğir Hill’)³³ is the name of two hills (1) about 80 km north of Köktogay (Fuyun) County in the northeast of Xinjiang (see map no. 15), and (2) in Konašähär (Wensu) in Aksu (Akesu) (see map no. 16). Both of them are of Uighur origin. The Chinese *Tugeer tuobie* is of Uighur origin and goes back to the Uig. *Tuğir töbä*.

6.2. ***Tuogeer tuobie shan*** 托格尔托别山 ‘The Tuogeer Tuobie Mountain’ (← Uig. *Tuğur töbä teği* تۇغۇر تۆبە تېغى ‘The Tugur Töbe Mountain’)³⁴ is the name of a 2129 m high mountain, about 380 km northwest of the Barköl Lake in the Barköl Kazakh Autonomous County (see map no. 17). This name also has another version with *-o-*, i.e., *Toğirtöbä* (see map no. 18),³⁵ which developed from *Tuğir töbä* (i.e., *Toğirtöbä* ‘id.’ < *Tuğir töbä*). The Chinese *Tugeer tuobie* is of Uighur origin.

²⁹ Chin. *Tuokaercun* 托喀尔村, Uig. *Tokar kanti* توکار كەنتى ‘the Tokar village’, see Sabit/Nasir 1994:455a.

³⁰ Based on the research of Henning, Rybatzki thinks that the Old Turkic form *Tokar* refers to the inhabitants of Bactria (Rybatzki 1997:116, note 309). According to Henning, namely, the form *Toxār* (*Tuγār*) was used as the name of Bactria (Henning 1938:549 and 1949:158).

³¹ Tarn 1951:515.

³² Bailey 1937:888.

³³ Sabit/Nasir 1994:452a.

³⁴ Sabit/Nasir 1994:443a.

³⁵ XHT 1966:98.

6.3. *Tuoguer tage shan* 托古尔塔格山 ‘The Tuoguer Tage Mountain’ (← Uig. *Tügür tağ* تاغ توگور ‘The Tügür Mountain’) is the Chin. name of a mountain in the region of Turfan (Tulufan) (see map no. 19).³⁶ For the development of the form *Tügür* with front vowels see the development diagram below in 6.5. The Chinese *Tuoguer tage* is of Uighur origin.

6.4. *Tugurnur* (< *Tuğur* ‘Tocharian(s)’ + Mo. *nur* ‘lake’) ‘The Lake Tugur’ is the name of a lake just in the north-east corner of Xinjiang in the Köktogay (Fuyun) County in northwest Mongolia (s. map no. 23).³⁷ The name of the lake seems to have been given by Mongolian. This means that the northeastern geographic distribution of the Tocharians exceeded the current political borders of Xinjiang. Thus it is conceivable that we might find further place names of this kind in that area. Therefore the investigation of Tocharian place names should be extended beyond the present borders of Xinjiang, especially towards the regions of Western Mongolia.

6.5. *Tugumaiticun* 吐格买提村 (Uig. *Tügür miti kanti* توگور مستى كەنتى ‘The Tügür Miti Village’) is a village next to the township *Tugumaitixian* 吐格买提乡 (Uig. *Tügür miti yezisi* توگور مستى يېزىسى) about 30 km. north of the Artux (Atushi) in the Kizilsu Kirghiz Autonomous Prefecture (see map no. 20, 21).³⁸ This name can also be seen in the form *Tügürmiti*.³⁹

The Uig. *Tügürmiti* ~ *Tügür miti* may have emerged from a contamination of the Chin. *Tugumaiti* and the Uig. **Tügürmet* (< *Tügür+met*), where *met* is the shortened form of the personal name *Mehmet* (< Ar. *Muḥammad*), and *Tügür* ‘Tocharian’ an appellative of the personal name *Mehmet*, i.e.:

- a) Chin. *Tugumaiti* ← Uig. **Tügürmet* < *Tügür* + *met* < *Tügür* + *Memet* < *Tügür* ‘Tocharian’ + *Mehmet*.
- b) Chin. *Tugumaiti* ~ Uig. **Tügürmet* → Uig. **Tügürmeti* > *Tügürmiti* ~ *Tügür miti*.

The shortened form *met* is a frequent component of Uighur personal names and toponyms, cf. the personal names *Arzemet* ~ *Arzumet* (< *Arzu+Mehmet*) as components of Uig. toponyms.⁴⁰ The shape *miti* (in *Tügür miti*) is probably caused by the fact that the Uig. *met* is rendered in Chin. – because of the Chinese syllable structure – with the characters *maiti* 买提 (i.e. Uig. *met* → Chin. *maiti*). Since the Uighurs did not know the origin of the name **Tügürmet*, they probably interpreted it (under the influence of the Chin.

³⁶ XHT 1966:454a. I was not able to identify a more detailed geographic position of this name.

³⁷ XHT 1966:90.

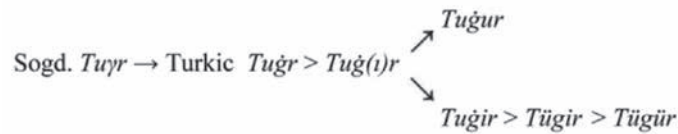
³⁸ XHT 1966:128.

³⁹ Sabit/Nasir 1994:128.

⁴⁰ Jarring 1997:37.

Tugumaiti) as **Tügürmeti* and then regularly *Tügürmiti* (i.e., **meti > miti*). The development *e > i* (i.e., **me-ti > mi-ti*) is seen quite regularly in the open and non-first syllable in modern Uighur.

So the village with the Uighur name *Tügür miti kánti* should have been named after a person with the name **Tügür Met* (< **Tügür Mehmet* ‘Tocharian Mehmet’), whose attribute *Tügür* (< *Tuğir*, see diagram below) probably referred to his Tocharian origin. As for the modern forms *Tuğir*, *Tugur*, *Tügür*, in view all these forms go back to the form **Tuγr* postulated by Henning, i.e.:



7. *Tugurik*, *Tögörük*, *Togirikti*

7.1. *Tugurik* (< *Tuğur* ‘Tocharian(s)’ + Sogd. *-ik*) is the Sogdian designation for the Tocharians. The *-ik* is a Sogdian adjectival ending. This ending can also be seen in the name *t’uχari-k’* of Tocharians in Armenian (from the end of the 7th c.), where the *-i* (in *t’uχari-k’*) goes back to the Sogd. *-ī < -ik*.⁴¹

The name *Tugurik* (*g = γ*) appears in Hauer’s Manchu dictionary as a toponym. Hauer’s definition of *Tugurik* is “Ort in Sinkiang”, i.e., ‘place in Xinjiang’ (see map no. 25).⁴² However, no further information is to be found in Hauer’s dictionary. So there is uncertainty as to which century and which Manchurian source this data originates from and which place it designates in Xinjiang. It is also not clear whether *Tugurik* in Hauer and the Manchu *Togorik* (< *Tugurik*) in the first volume of the Pentaglot Dictionary *Xiyu tong wenzhi* 西域同文志 (18th c.)⁴³ designate one and the same toponym. The latter, namely, is the name of a toponym in Barköl in the north of Qumul County (see map no. 29), which is referred to in the same entry in the Pentaglot Dictionary as *Tugulike* 图古里克 (< *Tugurik*). But for the time being it cannot be precisely localized. Perhaps it refers to the *Tuğir töbä* (~ *Toğirtöbä*, see map no. 17) in Barköl or to a place near it. This problem necessitates further research (cf. 8.2.2 below).

7.2. *Tögörük* (< *Tügürük* < *Tuğurik*) is the name of a town in Tsengel (Цэнгэл) in the Province Bayan-Ölgii in the northwest Mongolia (see map no.

⁴¹ See Bailey 1937:890, note 1; see also Aydemir, 2009:163, note 6.

⁴² Hauer 1955:921.

⁴³ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:235-4; cf. also Manchu *Togorik gool* in section 8.2.4 below.

22).⁴⁴ It is about 20 km from the border of Xinjiang, right in the northeast corner of Xinjiang and near *Tugurnur* (cf. *Tugurnur* in section 6.4). The presence of the Tocharians in this region requires further research.

7.3. **Togirikti** (in: Uig. *Togirikti bulaq* توگیریکتی بۇلاق⁴⁵ ‘The Togirikti Spring’, Chin. *Tuogurikebulake* 托古日克布拉格⁴⁶ < **Toğurik bulaq*). *Togirikti bulaq* ~ *Tuogurikebulake* are the names of one and the same village (*cun* 村) in the District Xihu of the Tarbagatay (Tacheng) County in the northwest of Ürümqi (see map no. 24).⁴⁷ The Chinese form *Tuogurikebulake* goes back to a Uig. **Toğurik bulaq* (< **Tuğurik bulaq*), which is an older form in comparison to Uig. *Togirikti bulaq* (< *Tuğirikti bulaq*). Uig. *Togirikti* is namely a form expanded with the “+*tl*, an instrumental suffix, dead in Turkic”,⁴⁸ but preserved in many Turkic place names in Xinjiang (*Sarimsaqti*, *Quduqti*, etc.)⁴⁹ and in Eurasia, i.e., Uig. *Togirikti* < *Tuğirik+ti*.

8. *Tugulike*

8.1. *Tugulike* goes back to a Sogdian form **Tuyurik* (see section 3.1 above). Zhong’s reconstruction **Tuguliq* for Chin. *Tugulike* 图古里克 is not correct in his toponymical dictionary. He is not sure of the origin of this toponym. He therefore thinks (1) with reference to *Xiyu tong wenzhi* 西域同文志 that *Tugulike* is of Mongolian origin (cf. LitMo. *tögürig* ‘circle, disk; circular, round’). Since the Mo. word means ‘round objects’, the toponym *Tugulike* – in his opinion – may refer to a ‘round area’. This is, of course, a folk etymology in *Xiyu tong wenzhi*. He thinks, alternatively, (2) it may be a historical heritage of Tocharian place names.⁵⁰

8.2. *Tugulike* 图古里克 also occurs in *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志, an illustrated book of Western regions, i.e., of Xinjiang. In this book, *Tugulike* refers to five different places, of which only three can be seen on the historical maps in *Xiyu tuzhi*.

8.2.1. The first of them refers to a township (*xiang* 乡) in the Aratürük (Yiwu) County in the northeast of Qumul (Hami) (see map no. 2., see also section 3.1 above).⁵¹ Today this township is known as *Tuhulu* 吐葫芦 (Uig. *Tuxulu* توخۇلۇ, see for more information section 3.1 above). The former

⁴⁴ XHT 1966:90.

⁴⁵ Sabit/Nasir 1994:454a, 641c.

⁴⁶ Sabit/Nasir 1994:454a, 641c.

⁴⁷ Sabit/Nasir 1994:454a.

⁴⁸ Menges 1995:115. The +*tl* is still productive in Tungus (*ibid.*).

⁴⁹ XHT 1966:90.

⁵⁰ Zhong 2008:928.

⁵¹ In the 9th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi*; cf. also Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:183, 188, note 34; for *Tugulike* 图古里克 on the historical map of *Xiyu tuzhi*, see p. 65.

Tugulike in *Xiyu tuzhi* and the *Tuhulu* used today are two different Tocharian names for one and the same place.

8.2.2. The Pentaglot Dictionary *Xiyu tong wenzhi* 西域同文志 of Manchurian, Mongolian, Tibetan, Chinese and Uighur compiled under the Qing in the 17th–18th centuries also refers to a toponym *Tugulike* 图古里克 in Barköl (see map no. 29, cf. section 7 above).⁵² Today, however, such a toponym cannot be found in Barköl. At least, I could not find such a toponym either in historical or in modern sources available to me.

It is therefore questionable (1) whether the place name *Tugulike* in Barköl referred to the *Tugir töbä* (~ *Toğirtöbä*, see map 17) in Barköl or to a place near it, or (2) whether *Tugulike* actually refers to the above-mentioned township *Tuhulu* 吐葫芦 (Uig. *Tuxulu* تۇخۇلو), i.e., to the Aratürük (Yiwu) County itself about 80 km southeast of the Barköl Lake, which was also known as *Tugulike* in the past (see map no. 2). The latter one seems, however, less probable. This question necessitates further research (cf. section 7 above).

8.2.3. *Tugulike* 图古里克 is a place name in the Qutubi (Hutubi) County in the 10th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi* (see map no. 7).⁵³ According to Zhong, this place name actually refers to a village (*cun* 村).⁵⁴ This village is now a part of the small town *Dafeng* 大丰 and consists of two parts, i.e., of *Da tugulike* 大图古里克 ‘The Big Tugulike’ and *Xiao tugulike* 小图古里克 ‘The Small Tugulike’.⁵⁵

So this village has two names, i.e., *Tugulike* 图古里克 and *Tuguli* 图古里 (s. map, No. 7),⁵⁶ which indicates that *Tugulike* and *Tuguli* (as the Sogdian designations of this former Tocharian village) existed in the past side by side. In the book *Xinjiang tuzhi* 新疆图志,⁵⁷ the name of the village appears in the west of Qutubi as *Da tuguli* 大土古里 ‘The Big Tuguli’ and *Da tugulike* 大土古里 ‘The Big Tugulike’ (see section 9.2 below).⁵⁸

The name *Tugulike* – as already mentioned above – goes back to a Sogdian form **Tuyurīk* (see section 3.1 above). For the form *Tuguli* and its origin see below 9.2.

⁵² Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:235-4. The Uighur equivalent of the Chin. *Tugulike* 图古里克 is given as *Tüg^hrik* تۇگرىك in the same entry and the Mo. equivalent as *Tügürīk*. The Uighur form can also be read as *Tügrik*.

⁵³ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:194, 197, note 20; for *Tugulike* 图古里克 on the historical map of *Xiyu tuzhi*, see p. 67.

⁵⁴ Zhong 2008:934.

⁵⁵ Zhong 2008:934.

⁵⁶ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:197, note 20.

⁵⁷ A chronicle of Xinjiang Province from the Qing period (1644-1911) published in 1911.

⁵⁸ Zhong 2008:934. It is possible that this comment in *Xinjiang tuzhi* actually refers to the town *Dafeng* 大丰. There is a village about 15 km. west of Qutubi with the Uighur name *Qongtuqul* [qɔŋtuqul] (see XHT 1966:43a) < Uig. *čong* ‘groß’ + Chin. *tuguli* < **tuguri* < **tugurik* ‘Tocharian(s)’. This may be identical with the village named in the records as *Da tuguli* 大图古里 (and also *Da tugulike* 大图古里克).

8.2.4. In the 10th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi*, *Tugulike* 图古里克 (in: *Tugulike guole* 图古里克郭勒) appears as the name of the river 22 km to the west of the small town *Dafeng* 大丰 in the Qutubi (Hutubi) County (see map no. 26). The river comes from the north side of the Tianshan Mountains and flows through the pond *Tugulike* 图古里克 (see map no. 27) in a northeasterly direction.⁵⁹ It is known as *Queergouhe* 雀尔沟河 ‘The Queergouhe River’ today.⁶⁰ The Chin. *Tugulike guole* goes back to a Mo. **Tugurik gol*/**Tugurik gool*, where Mo. *gol* (< *gool*) or *gool* (*g* = *γ*) means ‘river; river bed’.⁶¹ However, in the 5th chapter of the Pentaglot Dictionary *Xiyu tong wenzhi* 西域同文志 (18th c.), this toponym appears in the Mo. script with front vowels, i.e., Mo. *Tügürük gool* (< *gool*). The Uighur version of the same entry occurs with front vowels as well, i.e., *Tügürük göl* توکۈرۈک گول. The front vocalic forms are secondary developments, i.e., *Tügürük* < *Tugurik*. The Manchu version of the same entry is, however, with velar vowels *Togorik gool* (< *Tugurik gool*).⁶²

8.2.5. In the 10th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi* a pond named *Tugulike* 图古里克 (see map no. 27, cf. section 8.2.4 above) is mentioned 50 li (1 li = 500 m.) east of *Yangbalegaxun* 阳巴勒噶逊 and 80 li from the *Sulai* 绥来 – now Manas (Manasi) – County to the northwest.⁶³ I assume that the pond in *Xiyu tuzhi* is identical with the pond that is about 12 km east of the Manas County and about 25 km northwest of the small town *Dafeng* 大丰 (between the villages *Zuoshacun* 左哨村 and *Chaichangcun* 柴场村).⁶⁴ The river with the former name *Tugulike guole* 图古里克郭勒⁶⁵ flows through this pond in a northeasterly direction (see section 8.2.4 above). So it seems very likely that *Tugulike* as the name of the river has been transferred to the pond.

8.2.6. In the 13th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi*, the name *Tugulike* 图古里克 appears as a toponym.⁶⁶ On the map in *Xiyu tuzhi*, *Tugulike* 图古里克 is located to the southwest of Lake Balkhash in Kazakhstan, where the Ili River flows into Lake Balkhash (see map no. 28).⁶⁷ According to the geographical description in *Xiyu tuzhi*, *Tugulike* is in the northern part of the Ili River, where the streams *Talegeer* 塔勒噶尔 and *Guerbanalimantu* 古尔班阿里璊图 flow

⁵⁹ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:194, 197, note 20.

⁶⁰ Zhong 2008:928.

⁶¹ Cf. LitMo. *gool* (Lessing 1960:362), cf. LitMo. *gool* (Kara 1998:108).

⁶² *Xiyu tong wenzhi*, p. 235/89-90.

⁶³ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:194, 197, note 20.

⁶⁴ For the precise geographical location of these villages, see http://www.cfguide.com/town/baojiadian_676712424.htm [Accessed 20.08.2013].

⁶⁵ Now *Queergouhe* 雀尔沟河.

⁶⁶ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:221, 227, note 16.

⁶⁷ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:73.

into Ili River.⁶⁸ For the time being we do not know more about it. The precise geographical location of this toponym requires further research.

9. *Tuguli*

9.1. *Tuguli* 土古里 (see map no. 5b, cf. no. 27) appears in the book *Yili riji* 伊犁日記 ‘Ili Diary’ (18. c.) as the name of a kurgan on the east bank of the *Tugulike River* (now *Queergouhe* 雀尔沟河 ‘the Queergou River’) within the borders of the village *Tugulike* of the small town *Dafeng* 大丰 in the Qutubi (Hutubi) County.⁶⁹ This kurgan also has two other names, i.e., (1) *Tugulike* and (2) *Tuhulu*, see section 3.4 above. It appears likely that *Tugulike* as the name of the river has been transferred to the kurgan, and not vice versa.

9.2. *Tuguli* 图古里 (see map no. 7) is a place name in the Qutubi (Hutubi) County in the 10th chapter of *Xiyu tuzhi*.⁷⁰ This place name actually refers to a village (*cun* 村).⁷¹ In the book *Xinjiang tuzhi* 新疆图志, the name of the village in the west of Qutubi appears as *Da tuguli* 大土古里 ‘The Big Tuguli’ and *Da tugulike* 大土古里克 ‘The Big Tugulike’ (see note 57 above).⁷² So the village has two names, i.e., *Tuguli* 图古里 and *Tugulike* 图古里克 (in: *Da tugulike* 大图古里克 ~ *Xiao tugulike* 小图古里克, see section 8.2.3 above).

Chin. *Tuguli* (1) goes back to a form **Tuγurī*, which may be a shortened form of the Sogdian **Tuγurīk* (see section 3.1 above, cf. Sogd. *-ī* < *-īk*, in section 7 above). (2) However, although less probable, it cannot be excluded with absolute certainty that the form **Tuγuri* goes back not to a **Tuγurīk*, but to another Sogdian form **Twγry* (Old Turkic *Twqry* ‘Tocharian’),⁷³ and because of the Chinese syllable structure, the Sogdian **Twγry* became *Tuγuli* in Chinese, i.e.:

- a) Chin. *Tuguli* ← Sogd. **Tuγurī* < **Tuγurīk*, or
- b) Chin. *Tuguli* ← ? Sogd. **Twγry* < Sogd. *Twγr’k*.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:221, 227, note 16; for *Tugulike* 图古里克 on the historical map of *Xiyu tuzhi*, see *ibid.*, p.

⁷³ Zhong 2008:928.

⁶⁹ Zhong 2008:928.

⁷⁰ Zhong/Wang/Han 2002:197, note 20.

⁷¹ Zhong 2008:934.

⁷² Zhong 2008:934.

⁷³ For Old Turkic *Twqry*, see Aydemir 2009:165-167.

⁷⁴ For the Turkic background of the Sogd. *Twγr’k*, see Aydemir 2009:159-168.

10. The problem of the Tocharian ethnonyms *Twyr'k*, *Twryr* and *[T]wq'ry* as toponyms.

As indicated at the beginning of this study, at the very start of my research my main goal was to examine whether Old Turkic *twry* and *[t]wq'ry* as well as Sogd. *twyr'k* occur as place names in Xinjiang. Their occurrence as place names could have helped to reconstruct their phonetic shapes correctly. However, already during the initial stage of my research it became clear that, because of the similar phonetic shape of the Sogdian *twyr'k*, Turkic *twry* and the Uighur words *toğraq* ($\dot{g} = \gamma$) توغراق ‘poplar (tree)’ and *toğri* ‘straight’ in the Uighur place names, it would – for the time being – be almost impossible to clearly show the ethnonyms *Twyr'k* or *Twryr* as place names in Xinjiang.

10.1. *Twyr'k*:

It is not clear whether Uig. *Toğraq* (in: *Toğraq mähällä* ~ *Toğraq mähällisi*,⁷⁵ which is interpreted as ‘the poplar village’ now) refers to the former Tocharian (i.e., *Tuyrāk/Toyāk*) inhabitants of the village (i.e., ‘the Tuyrāk/Toyāk Village’), and the interpretation of ‘the poplar village’ emerged later through a folk etymology, or whether it was actually named after poplar (Uig. *toğraq*) trees. This is because, it is structurally identical with the Uig. toponyms *Türk mähällä*⁷⁶ ‘the Turk Village / the village of the Turks’ and *Huyzu mähällisi*⁷⁷ ‘the Hui (Chinese Muslim) village / the village of the Hui people’.

What should we think in the case of the toponym *Toğraqmazar* (< *Toğraq mazar*) in Uighur? Based on *Tungganmazar* (< *Tunggan mazar*) ‘the Tunggan (Chinese Muslim) tomb’, should it be interpreted as ‘the Tuyrāk/Toyāk Tomb’ or as ‘the tomb with poplars’?

The situation is the same in the case of *Toğraqbulaq* (< *Toğraq bulaq*) ‘the poplar spring’ in Uighur.⁷⁸ On the basis of Uig. *Tatarbulaq*⁷⁹ (< *Tatar bulaq*) ‘the Tatar spring’, it may also be interpreted as ‘the Tuyrāk/Toyāk spring’. The case of Chin. *Tuhuluquan* ‘the Tuhulu spring’ in Gansu (see section 3.3 above) or Uig. *Toğurikti bulaq* ‘the Togirikti Spring’ (i.e., ‘the Spring of the Togiriks = Tocharians’, see section 7.3 above) would also support this kind of interpretation.

Only in one case, i.e., in the case of Uig. *Toğraqir mähällisi* مەھەللىسى توغراقىر (< *Toğraq ir mähällisi* < **Toyāk/Toyāk är mähällisi*), Chin.

⁷⁵ XHT 1966:125, 148, Sabit/Nasir 1994:452. Uig. *mähällä* (< Ar. *mahalla*) as a component in Uighur place names means ‘district, quarter, quarter of town, village’, see Jarring 1997:289.

⁷⁶ Sabit/Nasir 1994:452.

⁷⁷ XHT 1966:61.

⁷⁸ See Jarring 1997:468.

⁷⁹ XHT 1966:42.

Tuogelakeercun 托格拉克尔村⁸⁰ ‘The Tuogelakeer Village’ in the Aksu Prefecture, it seems possible to interpret the *Toğraq* (< ? Sogd. *Twyr’k* ‘Tocharian’) as an appellative of ethnonym origin (i.e., ‘the village of the Toyrak/Tuyrak man’), where *Toyrak/Tuyrak* is an appellative to the *ṭr* ‘man’ (cf. Uig. *ṭr* < *är* ‘man’)⁸¹ and probably refers to the Tocharian (i.e. *Toyrak/Tuyrak*) background of the man.

10.2. *Twqry*:

The situation is also the same in the case of the Old Turkic *twqry*. Because of the similar phonetic shape between the ethnonym *Twqry* ‘Tocharian’ and Uig. *toğri* ‘straight’ occurring in the place names in Xinjiang, it cannot be decided with absolute certainty in many dubious cases whether (1) the place name in question was named originally after Tocharians (i.e., *Twqry*) and later the ethnonym *Twqry* was reinterpreted as a Uighur word, i.e., as *toğri* ‘straight’ by folk etymology, or (2) the place name in question is actually of Uighur origin.

This first of all concerns the toponym *Toğri* توغرى (*ğ* = *γ*) in the list of Le Coq.⁸² Its precise geographical position in Xinjiang is not given in the list. According to him it means ‘gegenüber’ (i.e. ‘opposite’). The Uighur word does not, however, mean ‘opposite’, but ‘straight’. It is therefore not clear why Le Coq gives this meaning for Uig. *toğri* ‘straight’. This place name also occurs among the place names of Sven Hedin from the Lop Nor and Tarim Area (i.e., *Toyrī /Toghri* ‘the Straight’) alone or as a part of different toponyms and hydronyms (i.e., *Toyrī köl/Toghri köl* ‘the Straight Lake’, etc.).⁸³ However, the interpretation ‘the Straight’ of these toponyms is not convincing and the motivation behind them is not entirely clear. Historical, local historical and archaeological studies are needed to determine whether or not the name *Toyrī/Toghri* is identical with the ethnonym *Twqry* (i.e., *Toyrī/Toghri* ‘Tuγri’, *Toyrī köl/Toghri köl* ‘the Tuγri Lake’). It is namely possible that because of the phonetic similarity with the Uig. *toğri*, the former ethnonym *Twqry* was later reinterpreted by folk etymology as a common word of Uighur origin and so the interpretation of ‘the Straight’ emerged (cf. also the Tocharian hydronyms *Tugulike* 图古里克 ‘the Tugulike Pond’, see section 8.2.5, and *Tugurnur* ‘the Lake Tugur’, see section 6.4).

⁸⁰ Sabit/Nasir 1994:452b.

⁸¹ Hartmann 1905: 53b.

⁸² Le Coq 1922:118.

⁸³ See Jarring 1997:470.

10.3. [T]wq'ry, Tugarak

However, there is also another place name in the list of Le Coq, i.e., *Tugarak* ($g = \gamma$).⁸⁴ In the case of this place name, Le Coq wrongly refers to the other Uighur place name *Toyraq* in his list, which – in his opinion – means ‘poplar (tree)’. He also identifies it with the Uig. *toğrak* ‘poplar (tree)’. *Tugarak* and Uig. *toğrak* have, however, nothing to do with each other and Uig. *toğrak* ‘poplar’ has no **tugarak* variant.

Both of the place names (*Tugarak*, *Toyraq*, sic) are of unknown localization in the list of Le Coq. Le Coq does not give any geographical location. In Artux (Atushi) in the Kizilsu Kirghiz Autonomous Prefecture there is, however, a village with the name *Toyraq* about 20 km. southeast of the township *Tügürmiti* (for *Tügürmiti* see 6.5 above).⁸⁵ But there is also another village *Toyraq* in the Poskam County in the Kashgar Prefecture.⁸⁶ One of these may be identical with the place name in the list of Le Coq. In my opinion, it is highly probable, that the place names *Toyraq* refer not to a poplar tree, as Le Coq thinks, but to Tocharians, i.e., to the ethnonym *Twyr'k* in the Karabalgasun inscription and to the Turkic (Karakhanid) tribe *Twyrq* of Tocharian origin.⁸⁷ Of course, historical, local historical and archaeological studies are needed to determine whether or not these place names refer to Tocharians or to the Turkic tribe *Twyrq* in that area.

With regard to the place name *Tugarak*, I could not find such a place name in the sources available to me. Hence I have excluded it from the map. If it is not a piece of phantom data, then it is very valuable and a unique piece of data for the reconstruction of the first syllable labial vowels ($w = ou$) of the Sogdian exonyms for Tocharians, i.e., for Old Turkic *Twqry* (< Sogd. **Twryry*) and [T]wq'ry (← Sogd. **Twry'ry*) as well as for the Sogd. *Twyr'k* in the trilingual Karabalgasun inscription and other Tocharian ethnonyms (e.g., *Tugurik*, *Tuxulu*, etc.) in the toponymy of Xinjiang.⁸⁸ The Old Turkic [T]wq'ry⁸⁹ (10th c.) goes back to a Sogd. **Twyarik* or **Twyarak*. The last one (i.e. **Twyarak*) is perfectly identical with the toponym *Tugarak* ($g = \gamma$) in the list of Le Coq. But we should not draw any hasty conclusions concerning this *Tugarak* of unknown localization until we are certain that there really is such a toponym in Xinjiang. However, all these problems necessitate further research.

⁸⁴ Le Coq 1922:120.

⁸⁵ XHT 1966:128, Sabit/Nasir 1994:452a.

⁸⁶ XHT 1966:146.

⁸⁷ For the Turkic (Karakhanid) tribe of Tocharian origin, see Aydemir 2009:159-168

⁸⁸ For these ethnonyms, see Aydemir 2009.

⁸⁹ [T]wq'ry [Tuyari / Tuxari / Toyari / Tozari] or [Tuyare / Tuxare / Toyare / Tozare] as equivalent of *Tuhuoluo* 覩貨羅 (~ *Tuhuoluo* 吐火羅), see no. 228a03 and 872a06 in Taishō.

Of course, I do not think that I have fully explained every piece of toponomical data and question referred to above. Certainly, there are still questions, that need to be expanded on further or require additional examination and research. There are, of course, also other Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms not discussed here. But I hope and am confident that an increased number of Tocharian place names will be discovered through new research investigations in the future, which will clarify the problems discussed above and also the former factual geographical distribution of Tocharians in and around Xinjiang.

Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
Chin.	Chinese
LitMo.	see Lessing 1960, Kara 1998
Mo.	Mongolian
Uig.	Uighur
Sogd.	Sogdian
Tur.	Turkic

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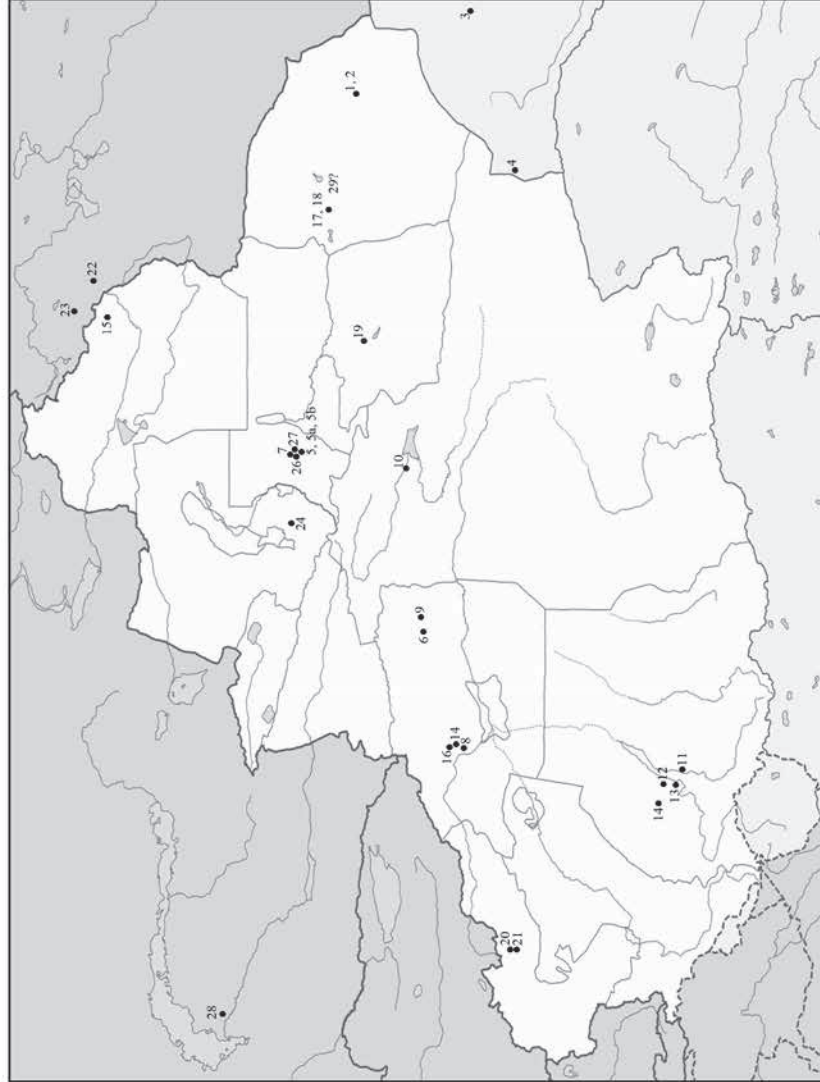
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Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in Xinjiang

- 1 *Tuqulu* t.
 - 2 *Tugulike* t.
 - 3 *Tubulu* t.
 - 4 *Tubuluqan* h.
 - 5 *Tubulu* t.
 - 5a *Tugulike* t.
 - 5b *Tuguli* t.
 - 6 *Toqula* t.
 - 7 *Tuguli–Tugulike–Tugur* t.
 - 8 *Toqula* t.
 - 9 *Toqula* t.
 - 10 *Toqula* t.
 - 11 *Toqula* t.
 - 12 *Toqula* t.
 - 13 *Toquli* t.
 - 14 *Tokar* t.
 - 15 *Tuqir* t.
 - 16 *Tuqir* t.
 - 17 *Tugur* t.
 - 18 *Togir* t.
 - 19 *Tugir* t.
 - 20 *Tugur* t.
 - 21 *Tugir* t.
 - 22 *Togorik* t.
 - 23 *Tugur* h.
 - 24 *Togorik* h.
 - 25 *Tugurik* t. (unknown localization)
 - 26 *Tugulike* h.
 - 27 *Tugulike* h.
 - 28 *Tugulike* t.
 - 29 *Togorik* t. (unknown localization)
- (t. = toponym, h. = hydronym)