

SOGDIAN TRACES IN CENTRAL ASIAN ONOMASTICS*

Orta Asya Onomastiğinde Soğudcanın İzleri

Согдийские следы в ономастике Средней Азии

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Özet: Soğudların, Orta Asya'nın çeşitli halklarıyla geçmişte yakın ilişkiler kurdukları çok iyi biliniyor. Çeşitli halklarla kurdukları bu ilişkilerin izlerini Orta Asya onomastiğinde de çok iyi görebilmekteyiz. Bu çalışmada, bu ilişkilerin onomastikteki yansımalarına ilişkin ufak bir kesit sunuluyor. Çalışma, Soğudcadaki addan sıfat yapan +*k ve +*k (yani: -*k ve -*k) eklerinin Orta Asya onomastiğindeki izleri üzerine kısaca bilgi vererek bu eklerle türemiş onomastik malzemeyi tanıtıyor. Bu malzemenin büyük bir bölümü Toharlara ilişkin, fakat aralarında Türkçe ve Moğolca olanlar da var. Çalışmanın sonunda, Toharların geçmişte Afganistan ve çevresindeki gerçek coğrafi dağılımlarını gösteren, sözü edilen Soğudca eklerle türetilmiş Tohar boy adı kökenli yer ve su adlarının gösterildiği bir harita da veriliyor. Çalışmada, Orta Asya'daki şu boy adları, boy adı kökenli yer ve su adları inceleniyor: Sogdak / Sugdak, Tograk / Tugrak, Tugarak, Tokarak / Tukarak, Toghârak, Tükrik, Sartak(tay), Ogrâk / Ugrâk.

Anahtar kelimeler: Soğudlar, Toharlar, onomastik, boy adı kökenli yer adları / su adları, Orta Asya yer adları, Afganistan, Toharistan

Abstract: It is a well-known fact that the Sogdians were in close contact with various peoples in Central Asia. The traces of their relations with various peoples can also be seen very well in the onomastics of Central Asia. The present study provides a small cross-section with regard to the traces of these relations in onomastics. The study gives a brief overview on the traces of the Sogdian denominal adjective suffixes +*k and +*k (i.e. -*k and -*k) in the onomastics of Central Asia as well as introduces the onomastic material derived with these Sogdian suffixes. The greater part of this material concerns Tocharians, but there are also Turkic and Mongolian names among them. At the end of the study, a map is also given that is based on Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms formed with these Sogdian suffixes, which point to the former factual geographical distribution of Tocharians in and around Afghanistan. The study analyzes the following ethnonyms, ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in Central Asia: Sogdak / Sugdak, Tograk / Tugrak, Tugarak, Tokarak / Tukarak, Toghârak, Tükrik, Sartak(tay), Ogrâk / Ugrâk.

Key words: Sogdian, Tocharian, onomastics, ethnonym, ethnotoponym, ethnohydronym, Central Asian place names, Afghanistan, Tokharistan

Аннотация: Очень хорошо известно, что в прошлом согдийцы были в тесных отношениях с разными народами Средней Азии. Следы этих отношений очень хорошо отражены в ономастике Средней Азии. В статье исследуется некоторая часть этих отражений в ономастике. Точнее, исследуется согдийские окончания +*k и +*k употребленные в ономастике Средней Азии, вместе с этим дается ономастический материал образованный с этими окончаниями. Большая часть этого материала связана с тохарским языком, но есть некоторые примеры и из турецкого и монгольского. В конце исследования прилагается карта с

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указанием фактического географического распределения Тохаров в Афганистане и вокруг него, вместе с этим прилагается и карта где указаны топонимы образованные из этнических названий тохаров с согдийскими окончаниями. В данной статье рассмотрены ниже следующие названия народов и названия топонимов образованных из этих основ: Sogdak / Sugdak, Tograk / Tugrak, Tugarak, Tokarak / Tukarak, Toghārak, Tükrik, Sartak(tay), Ogrāk / Ugrāk.

Ключевые слова: согдийцы, тохары, ономастика, название топонимов образованных от названий этнонимов, топонимы в Средней Азии, Афганистан, Тохаристан.

It is a well-known fact that the Sogdians were in close contact with various peoples in Central Asia. The traces of their relations with various peoples can also be seen very well in the onomastics of Central Asia. The present study provides a small cross-section with regard to the traces of these relations in onomastics. More specifically, it gives a brief overview on the traces of the Sogdian denominal adjective suffixes +*k* and +*ik* (i.e. -*k* and -*ik*) in the onomastics of Central Asia as well as introduces the newly identified onomastic material derived with these Sogdian suffixes. The greater part of this material – as seen below – concerns Tocharians. Thus, at the end of the study, a map is also given that is based on Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms formed with these Sogdian suffixes, which point to the former factual geographical distribution of Tocharians in and around Afghanistan.

Before starting to examine the Central Asiatic onomastic material formed with these denominal suffixes, I think it would be useful to introduce the Sogdian adjectival suffix +*k* briefly for Turkologists. The +*k* is a well-known adjectival suffix in Sogdian (cf. *širak* ‘good’ from *šir-* (Sims-Williams 1989: 184), *pāḍak* ‘foot, leg’ from *pāḍ* (Gershevitch 1954: 149, etc.), or – as Prof. Sims-Williams writes – it is a suffix forming ethnic adjectives, i.e.: *kāšak* ‘native of Kašghar’ from the ancient geographical name *Kāš* (= *Kāšghar*) *pārsak* ‘Persian’ (Sims-Williams 1992: 40, 63)¹ or ‘the people of Pārs’ (from *Pārs* ‘the province Fars in Iran’) (Nyberg 1974: 151-152).

As seen above, the suffix +*k*, which makes adjectives and ethnic adjectives, is the well-known Sogdian suffix. This Sogdian suffix is, however, so far recognized in Turkological literature as a Turkic denominal noun suffix. This is why Tuguševa thinks that the suffix +*ak* in the ethnonym *Sogdak* in Old Turkic is a suffix of Turkic origin and the ethnonym *Sogdak* itself is a formation with this Turkic suffix (i.e. *Sogd+ak*) (Tuguševa 1998: 413).² However, as I have already indicated in my previous study, this is definitely a Sogdian suffix, and not Turkic (Aydemir 2009: 166, note 15).

¹ Cf. *kāše* < *kāšak* ‘kashgarien’ from *Kāš* = *Kāšghar* (Henning 1938: 567).

² The examples from various Turkic languages given by Tuguševa to prove that the +*ak* in *Sogdak* is a denominal noun suffix in Turkic, cannot serve as evidence since all the Kazakh and Kirghiz examples given by Tuguševa are actually regular derivations of the denominal noun suffix -(O)*k*, cf. Kazakh *aksak* ‘limping, lame’ (< *aksa-k*), Kirghiz *taymak* ‘stupid, etc.’ (< **tayma-k*; cf. also **tayma-š* > *taymaš* ‘to resist, to wrestle, fight’, etc.). Consequently, her assertion that the +*ak* denotes a pejorative content in Turkic, is also wrong. (cf. Tuguševa 1998: 413).

Since the Sogdian denominal adjective suffixes $+k$ and $+ik$ are not very well-known in Turkological or Central Asian studies, some Turkic and other Central Asian ethnonyms and place names formed with these Sogdian suffixes have remained unrecognized to date. In the following, some of these ethnonyms and place names formed with these Sogdian suffixes will be dealt with briefly.

Sogdak / Sugdak ‘Sogdian(s)’

The first of these formations is the ethnonym *Swgdak* / *Swgdāk* attested in the Old Turkic inscriptions Kül Tegin, Tunyukuk and Šine Usu (8th c.) as well as in the Turkic Xuanzang-Biography (late 10th c.) and in the DLT (11th c.), cf. KT, T, ŠU *Swgd(a)k*,³ HT V *Swgdak* (Tuguševa 1991: 77, V 64/5), DLT *Swgdāk*.⁴ The name *Swgdak* first appears, however, in the *Hou hanshu* (Enoki 1955: 51)⁵ the official history of the Later Han Dynasty, which was written in the 5th century but covers the history from 6 to 189 AD. In this Chinese source, *Swgdak* appears as the name of Sogdiana, i.e. as a geographical name, cf. *Su-te* 粟特 (**Si^wok-d’āk*) (Enoki 1955: 52).

As I already indicated, the name *Sogdak* / *Sugdak* is not a formation with the Turkic suffix $+ak$. As also seen from the Sogdian examples (*kāšak* ‘native of Kašghar’, *pārsak* ‘Persian; the people of Pārs’) mentioned above, the $+ak$ (i.e. $+k$) at the end of the name *Sogdak* / *Sugdak* is the Sogdian adjectival suffix. This Sogdian suffix – as seen below – is preserved in some ethnonyms and place names. It should, however, be emphasized that all the examples given below and formed with the Sogdian adjectival suffix $+k$ must be very early Sogdian formations, although they are attested very late in various sources. I think that they all are archaisms, preserved in different non-Iranic (mainly Turkic) languages of Central Asia.

Tugrak / Tograk ‘Tugrak tribe of Turks’

The *تُغْرَاق* *T^ugr^ak* or *T^ogr^ak* appears as a tribe of Turks in a Turkic source in the Persian language that was finished at the very beginning of the 13th century (1206), but originally covers the period before 13th century (Aydemir 2009: 162 ff.).⁶ The name first appears, however, in the first quarter of the 9th century in the Sogdian side of the

³ This can be interpreted as *Sogdak* or *Sugdak*.

⁴ The length of the *ā* in *Swgdāk* is secondary.

⁵ See also the related literature mentioned there; cf. Shiratori 1928: 81-145.

⁶ For details see also Ross 1927: 47 (†v). The author of this historical source is Fāhrūddīn Mubārakshāh. He began writing this work in 1193 and finished it in 1206 (Ross 1927, p. vi; Aydemir 2009: 162-165).

trilingual Karabalgasun inscription (ca. 808-821).⁷ In this inscription, it designates the Tocharians or their territory in the Tarim Basin (i.e. *ctβ' r twyr' k* 'the four Twyrak').⁸

It is not actually surprising that *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*) which originally designated Tocharians and their territory, appears at the end of the 12th century as a tribe of Turks in Central Asia. If we consider that the 12th century is the last stage of the linguistic assimilation of the Tocharians in the Tarim Basin (Aydemir 2009: 159-180), it is not at all surprising that the name *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*) appears as the name of a Turkic tribe in a historical source from the end of the 12th century. They were in all probability the last descendants of the Tocharians in the Tarim Basin before being completely assimilated in the 12th -13th centuries. Namely, the name *Twyrak* does not appear anymore in the sources after the 12th century, which obviously indicates that their ethnical and social status as a separate tribe, completely ceased in the 13th century.

The name *Tugrak* [tuɣrak] ~ *Tughrak* [tuχrak] also occurs in Southeast-Afghanistan (in former Tokharistan) as a place name (see map no. 3).⁹ As far as is known, this area – as a part of the Kushan Empire – was, from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, under the rule of the Yuezhi who were called *Tokharoi* 'Tocharians' by the Greeks. This area was therefore called *Tokharistan* from the 4th century. Consequently, it is not at all surprising that we find many ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms of Sogdian origin (i.e. names with Sogdian +*k* and -*ik*) which refer to Tocharians and to their location in the territory of the former Tokharistan.

The Turkic ethnonym *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*) is also a formation with this Sogdian adjectival suffix +*k*. The base of the name is *Twyr*, which can also be seen in the "Middle Persian *twyryst'n* = *twyr-istān*, i.e. the country where the Twyr are living" (Henning 1938: 551).¹⁰ The name *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*) is formed with this base, i.e. *Twyr* 'Tocharian(s)' > *Twgr*+*k* > *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*). The above-mentioned place name *Tug-*

⁷ According to Harmatta, this name actually first appears in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD as the name of the ruling dynasty of Asian Huns (Hsiung-nu) (Harmatta 1986, p. XIV, XVI, cf. p. XVII; see also Aydemir 2009: 159).

⁸ Cf. (1) *ctβ' r twyr' k* "vier toxrische" (sic!) (Hansen 1930: 20); (2) *ctβ' r twyr' k* 'the Four-Twyr (army)', where *twyr' k* designates "country (or nation)" (Henning 1938: 550); (3) cf. *ctβ' r twyr' k* 'the four Toyrak/Tuɣrak' (Harmatta 1986, XIV, XVI); (4) *ctβ' r twyr' k*, where Yoshida interprets it as "territory" (see Yoshida 1988: 34, 39); (5) *čatfār toyre* "La «terra dei Quattro Toyrī»" (= *Kucha, Karashahr, Kocho, Beshbalik*) (Provasi 2003: 407, note 11 and cf. *ibid.* p. 241).

⁹ This and other toponyms and hydronyms examined here have been collected from the official pages of the *National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency*, Bethesda, MD, USA (http://geographic.org/geographic_names/afghanistan/#T) and the <http://www.getamap.net/> (accessed: 16 July 2014).

¹⁰ As Henning stated, the form *twyryst'n*, written in Manichean script, proves that *γ* in *Twyr* was pronounced as *γ* (i.e. a voiced velar fricative) not as *χ* (in Sogdian characters *γ* and *χ* are written with the same sign) (*ibid.*). The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] in the Persian form *Tuyraq* / *Toyraaq* (i.e. ġ [ɣ]) and the voiced velar fricative ġ [ɣ] of the Uyghur toponyms *Tuğir töbä* and *Toğurik bulaq* (< **Tuğurik bulaq*) in Xinjiang seem to confirm this statement of Henning's (for the Uyghur toponyms see Aydemir 2014: 81-82).

rak and its version *Tugarak* (see below) in Afghanistan seem to indicate to a primary *u* (i.e. *Tugrak*) in the first syllable and not to *o* (i.e. *Tograk*).¹¹

Tugarak 'Tocharian(s)'

The place name *Tugarak* is a version of the above-mentioned *Tugrak* (or *Tograk*) and appears (1) among the place names of Xinjiang collected by A. von Le Coq (Le Coq 1922: 120; cf. Aydemir 2013: 88). There is no doubt that the place was named after the Tocharians living in the Tarim Basin. The name *Tugarak*, however, (2) also occurs in the Zabul Province in Afghanistan as the name of a small village (see map no. 4). This name is also a formation with the Sogdian adjectival suffix *+k*, i.e. **Tugar+*k > Tugarak*, where the base **Tugar* probably goes back to the name *Twyr* 'Tocharian(s)'

Tokarak ~ Tukarak 'Tocharian(s)'

This is another Sogdian exonym for Tocharians formed with the Sogdian adjectival suffix *+k* (i.e. *Twkar+*k > Tokarak ~ Tukarak*). The name can be seen as both a toponym and a hydronym in different places of Afghanistan and Pakistan, i.e. in the territory of the former Tokharistan, (alone or as a part of different names); e.g. *Tokarak ~ Tukarak, Tokarak Ghar, Tokarak, Jare Tokarak, Tokarak Sela ~ Tokarak Shelah, Tokarak ~ Tokarak Rud* (see the numbers 5, 7, 9, 10, 11 on the map). The name *Tokarak* is, however, formed not from the base *Twyr*, but from *Tokar*, a name of Tocharians that occurs both in the Old Turkic inscription Tunyukuk and in Tibetan sources. The name *Tokar* occurs as the name of a village near Hotan as well.¹²

Taghāarak 'Tocharian(s)'

Taghāarak (i.e. *Tayāarak*) occurs as the name of a spring and of an intermittent stream in Afghanistan (see the numbers 1 and 2 on the map). If we take into account the chronological order of appearance of Tocharian ethnonyms postulated by Hen-

¹¹ As for the name *T(w)gr(a)k* تُغْرَاق in Mubarakshah that Sir Denison Ross compared with the Turkic ethnonym *Ogrāk* (or *Ugrāk*) اُغْرَاق in the DLT, Togan suggested that Ross was right, but that it should rather be read يُغْرَاق (sic), which is the name of *Saif-uddin Ugrak* (one of the principal generals of the army of the Khvarizmshahs in Afghanistan, see Togan 1932: 851). I do not agree with Togan. The *T(w)gr(a)k* تُغْرَاق in Mubarakshah and the *Ogrāk* (or *Ugrāk*) اُغْرَاق in the DLT are two different Turkic ethnonyms and not to be confused with each other. Furthermore, the تُغْرَاق in Mubarakshah (and not يُغْرَاق as Togan writes) is not a damaged form of *Ogrāk / Ugrāk* اُغْرَاق or يُغْرَاق as Togan suggested (*ibid.*).

¹² Cf. *Tokar* is a village about 9 km north of Qarakaš (Moyu) near Hotan in Xinjiang (for more information see Aydemir 2013: 79).

ning (Henning 1938: 562), the form *Tayāarak* is comparatively the most archaic Sogdian exonym for Tocharians among the names mentioned above.¹³

Let us examine how this Sogdian form emerged. It may have occurred in two ways: (1) *Tayāarak* < *Tayār*: The base form *Tayār* (in *Tayāarak*) can be shown as the name of different geographic places in today's Afghanistan,¹⁴ i.e. *Taghār* تَغَار [*Tayār*] with a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (*Tayār* < **taywār* < **taywār*). *Taghār* [*Tayār*] is the other form of the name *Tachār* تَخَار [*Taxār*] (*Taxār* < **taxwār* < **taxwār*) which is the name of a province in the northeast of today's Afghanistan¹⁵ (i.e. in the former Tokharistan; for *Taxār* cf. also *Taxār+istan* in Yaqut's "Dictionary of Countries" from the 13th c., see Marquart 1901: 229). Thus, both of the forms may be explained as follows:

Tayār < **taywār* < **taywār* (*tayūār*)¹⁶

Taxār < **taxwār* < **taxwār* (*taxūār*)¹⁷

So it seems possible that the form *Tayāarak* may have been formed from the base *Tayār* with the Sogdian adjectival +*k*, i.e. *Tayār* 'Tocharian(s)' +*k*: *Tayār*+*k* > *Tayāarak*. (2) *Tayāarak* < **taywāarak*: Sogdian texts (economic records in the book *Nāfnāmak* – about 800 AD) give the form *tyw'r'k*, which – according to Blažek and Schwarz – may be vocalized as **taywāarak* (or **taxwāarak*) (Blažek/Schwarz 2008: 55).¹⁸ The Sogdian exonym *Taghāarak* (i.e. *Tayāarak*) may just go back to the form **taywāarak* vocalized by Blažek and Schwarz. The base **Taywār* of the form **taywāarak* cannot be attested. However, in Chinese historical sources we find it in the form **Taxwār*. Pelliot proposed interpreting *Dayuan* 大宛, a designation of Fergana, as **Taxwar* (= **Taxwār*) (Pulleyblank 1962: 90, Pulleyblank 1966: 22, Pulleyblank 1995: 424; Blažek/Schwarz 2008:

¹³ The toponym *Tuhulu* 吐葫芦 (the name of a township in the northeast of Hami/Qumul) and the ethnonym *Tuhuluo* 吐呼罗 in Weishu (6th c., in Bactria) refer to a **tʰo-ɣo-lɔ* (= 吐葫芦), i.e. **tāyārā* (< **tayāre* < **tayāarak*) or a **tʰo-ɣo-la* (= 吐呼罗), i.e. **tāxāra* (< **taxāre* < **taxāarak*).

¹⁴ E.g. see the "http://geographic.org/geographic_names" and "www.geonames.org" (accessed: 16 July 2014).

¹⁵ The province was named after the Takhar clan living there. Consequently, the question arises as to whether the members of the clan *Takhar* in the north-east of today's Afghanistan are the descendants of the former Tocharians. It should not be forgotten that the area where the Takhar live is precisely the territory of the former Tokharistan and this territory was named *Taxār+istan* in Yaqut's "Dictionary of Countries" from the 13th century. But we do not necessarily have to assume that they are descendants of the Tocharians. It is also conceivable that they only inherited the name of the *Taxār-ians* (Tocharians) when they (i.e. their ancestors) were under the rule of the Tocharians.

¹⁶ The form *tayūār* is already attested in the form *tyw'r'k* in Sogdian texts, see number (2) below.

¹⁷ The form *taxūār* (or *tāxūār*) was already attested by the Syriac *thwstn*, in the Singanfu inscription, i.e. *tāxūāristan* and the well-known form *Toxār* (*Tuxār*) is developed from the form *tāxūār* (Henning 1938: 545, 547).

¹⁸ Charib vocalized *tyw'r'k*, however, as "tuxvārē" (Charib 2004: 387a).

55).¹⁹ On the other hand, the names of Tocharians *tu-huo-luo* 吐火羅 (i.e. *tʰɔ'-xwa'-la = *tāχwāra < *tāχwāre < *taχwāarak) in Sui-shu (7th c.) and *tu-huo-luo* 吐火羅 ~ *du-huo-luo* 覩貨羅 (i.e. *tɔ'-xwa^h-la = *tāχwāra < *tāχwāre < *taχwāarak) in the Xuanzang Biography (7th c.) also seem to refer to an ancient and archaic form *taχwāarak. Thus it is reasonable to assume a form *Taywār with a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] to be a version of the form *Taχwār (Dayuan 大宛) of Chinese sources. Based on this, our *Tayāarak* may also go back to the form *taywāarak (tɣw'r'k) of Sogdian texts which seems to be derived from a form *taywār (~*taχwār) with the Sogdian adjectival +k (i.e. *tɣw'r > *tɣw'r+k > *taywāarak > *taywāarak > Tayāarak). Summary:

- (1) tχwr²⁰ ~ *tɣw'r > *taywār (*taywār) > *taywāarak > Tayār +k > Tayāarak or
- (2) tχwr ~ *tɣw'r > *tɣw'r +k > *taywāarak/*taywāarak > *taywāarak > Tayāarak.

Tūkrīk 'Tocharian(s)'

Tūkrīk (توکریک) is a very small village in Ghaznī in Afghanistan (see no. 8 on the map). Two kilometers north of the village there is also an intermittent stream with the name *Darah-ye Tūkrīk* (دره توکریک).²¹ *Tūkrīk* goes back to a form *Twyrīk (i.e. *Tūkrīk* < *Twyr+ik*) or *Tugurīk* (< *Twyr+ik*) which can be shown in many places in Xinjiang as a geographical name as I have recently already indicated (Aydemir 2013: 81-84).²² The form *Tūkrīk* or its trisyllabic version *Tugurīk* is one of the Sogdian exonyms for the Tocharians. The +ik is, namely, a Sogdian adjectival suffix. This suffix can also be seen in the Sogdian endonym *Swyḏīk* (Gharib 2004, p. xiv, b) (< *Swyḏ+ik*) 'Sogdian(s)' or in the name *t'uχari-k'* of Tocharians in Armenian (from the end of the 7th c., cf. Marquart 1901: 57), where the -i (in *T'uχari-k'*) – as Bailey stated – certainly goes back to the Sogdian +i < +ik (Bailey 1937: 890, note 1, and Sims-Williams 1989: 190; cf. Aydemir 2009: 163, note 6),²³ i.e. Armenian *T'uχari* < **Tuχarīk* < *Tuχar+ik*. The form *Tugur* in *Tugurīk* is a development of *Twyr* 'Tocharian(s)' (i.e. *Tugur* < *Twyr*). Some

¹⁹ Cf. "Early Middle Chinese *dājū-ʔuan* or *da^h-ʔuan*" (Pulleyblank 1995: 424). This **Tāχwār* undoubtedly goes back to the form *tχwār* (*təχwār*, *taχwār*) which was already attested by the Syriac *thwrstn*, in the Singanfu inscription, i.e. *təχwārīstan* as Henning stated (Henning 1938: 545).

²⁰ This form was already attested by the Syriac *thwrstn*, in the Singanfu inscription, i.e. *təχwārīstan* (Henning 1938: 545, 547).

²¹ http://www.geonames.org/maps/google_33.812_68.022.html (accessed: 24 October 2014).

²² I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Sims-Williams for drawing my attention to the fact that the form "*twyryk*" (instead of *twyryl* 'Tuyrīl/Toyrlī') in the *Sogdian Dictionary*, which Gharib transcribes as "tux(ā)riik" (see Gharib 2004: 393a), is wrong, and cannot be used to explain the place name *Tūkrīk* in Afghanistan. After all, as Henning pointed out, the name of the painter in the Sogdian text, is not *Twyryk* 'Tocharian', but *Twyryl* = *Toyrlī* (a common Turkish name) (see Henning 1946: 714).

²³ For ethnonyms and hydronyms with +ik in Xinjiang, see Aydemir 2013: 81-86.

versions of *Twyr* (i.e. *Tügür*, *Tügir*, *Tuğir*) can be observed as ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms in the northern half of Xinjiang (Aydemir 2013: 81-84).

It should, however, be noted that the form *Tugurik* can only be attested in the east and northeast of Kucha. This Sogdian exonym for Tocharians cannot be found westwards of Kucha. I find this very interesting. This – in my opinion – means, namely, that the Tocharian population with the name *Tugurik*, probably as one of the four relatively large groups of Tocharians in historical Xinjiang lived mostly in the eastern and northeastern areas of Kucha (Aydemir 2013: 92). One small group of Tuguriks seems, however, to have migrated from the Tarim Basin to the west, i.e. to the eastern part of Afghanistan (see no. 8 on the map). Even though there is no certainty, it seems reasonable to think that these four groups of Tocharian ethnonyms may refer to the four largest groups of Tocharians in historical Xinjiang and *Tugurik* (or *Tükrük* in Afghanistan) was one of these four Tocharian groups, i.e.:

1. *Tugurik* (= Chin. *Tugulike* 图古里克) (< *Twyr+ik* / *Tuyur+ik*)
2. *Tuhulu* (土葫芦, 吐葫芦), *Tuohula* (托乎拉), *Tuhula* (吐乎拉)
3. *Tugur/Tugir/Tügür* (< *Twyr* in *twyryst'n* in Manichean script)
4. *Tugrak/Tograk* (< *Twyr'k* in Karabalgasun inscription) (Aydemir 2013: 76-82).

The name *Tugurik* appears among the Chinese place names as *Tugulike* 图古里克 (i.e. Chin. *Tugulike* ← Sogdian exonym *Tugurük*) (Aydemir 2013: 77, 82-84).

Sartak (in *Sartaktai* ‘Sartaktai people; Muslim’)

Sartaktai is the Mongolian form of the name *Sartak*, probably a Sogdian designation for the Sarts. The form *Sartaktai* first occurs in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (13th c.). In medieval Mongolian it generally referred to Muslims (Rybatzki 2006: 717).

Sartaktai is a formation with the Mongolian denominal suffix *+tai* and derived from the Sogdian exonym *Sartak*. The form *Sartak* itself, however, is a formation with the Sogdian adjectival *+k* and derived from the ethnonym *Sart* ‘Tājik(s)’ (< Skr. *sartha* ‘merchant’),²⁴ i.e. *Sart+’k* > *Sartak* → Mo. *Sartak+tai* > *Sartaktai*.²⁵ The connection

²⁴ The ethnonym *Sart* is attested in Old Turkic in the sense of ‘merchant’. As Clauson stated, it retained this meaning until the 11th century but in the medieval period came to mean ‘town dweller’ as opposed to ‘nomad’, and more specifically ‘an Iranian’, as opposed to ‘a Turk’; it retained this meaning in Russian Turkistan until the 19th century (Clauson 1972: 846). The name *Sart* today lives on as a clan name of the Kirghiz (Inan 1925: 264). For the name *Sart* in historical sources and its connotations see Zieme 2005: 531-539.

²⁵ Rybatzki, however, interprets the name *Sartaqtai* in Middle Mongolian as follows: Turkic/Uyghur *Sart* → MMo. **Sarta* > MMo. *Sarta+q+tai* and *Sarta+q+čün* (Rybatzki 2006: 717). Rachewiltz thinks that it is a formation with the denominal noun suffix *+γ/+g* in Mongolian. According to him it is possible that the Uyghur “*sart* has been ‘mongolized’ as a proper name with the addition of such a suffix”. Therefore, he postulates the following development: Uyghur *Sart* → PMo. **Sarta* > **Sarta+γ* > *Sartay* (= MMo. *Sartaq*) (Rachewiltz 2005: 93-95).

between the forms *Sart* ‘Tajik’ and *Sartak* is the same as in *Sogd* ‘Sogdian’ and *Sogdak* ‘id.’. The form *Sartak*, however, cannot – as far as I know – be shown as an ethnonym in historical sources. It may have been used in the past for Sarts. Both of the forms (*Sartak* and *Sartaktai*) also occur as personal names in medieval Mongolian. It is well known that *Sartak* was the name of the eldest son of Batu Khan. He was probably named *Sartak* in order to commemorate the victory of the Mongols over the sedentary Muslim population of Iranian origin in Central Asia at the time of expansion of the Mongols, as was the tradition in the Mongol aristocracy.

Ogrāk ‘a tribe of Karakhanid Turks’

In the DLT we find the tribal name *Ogrāk* اُغراق of Karakhanid Turks. The DLT describes it as follows: “A tribe of Turks inhabiting a frontier district called” *Kara Yığāç* (DLT I, p. 72).²⁶ I think the name *Ogrāk* may be the Sogdian designation for the Karakhanid tribe *Ogur* (i.e. *Ogrāk* < *Ogur*+*k* < *Ogur*). The tribe *Ogur* (or *Ugur* < *Ogur*) اُغور is attested in the above-mentioned Turkic source from the very beginning of the 13th century (1206) (Ross 1927: 47/47). This source describes *Ogur* (or *Ugur*) as a tribe of Turks (ترککن). The *Ogur* (or *Ugur*) اُغور cannot be a damaged form or a miswriting of the name *Oguz* (i.e. *Ogur* اُغور instead of *Oguz* اُغز), because the name *Oguz* اُغز is also mentioned in the same place in the Turkic source as another tribe of Turks. This fact excludes the possibility that it is a damaged form of the name *Oguz* اُغز.

Other facts also seem to support this conclusion: (1) In the same place in the Turkic source another Turkic tribal name *Karagur* (قراغور) is also mentioned, which – in my opinion – goes back to a form **Kara Ogur* ‘Black Ogur(s)’ (i.e. *Karagur* < **Kara Ogur*; cf. *Šaragur* ‘Yellow/White Ogur(s)’ < **Šara Ogur*). If we take into consideration that the attributive adjective *kara* ‘black’ was a frequent component of the Turkic and Mongolian ethnonyms, but – as Clauson stated – often with metaphorical and pejorative meanings, i.e. “*kara bodun* ‘the ordinary people’ (as opposed to the aristocracy)” (Clauson 1972: 643b), then it is no surprise that the name *Ogur* (or *Ugur*) appears with the attributive adjective *kara*. (2) The other ethnonyms with and without the attributive adjective *kara* in the same place in the Turkic source (e.g. *Tatar* ~ *Kara Tatar*, *Hazar* ~ *Kara Hazar*, *Tibet* ~ *Kara Tibet*, etc.) also support the fact that such a

However, these solutions cannot be accepted, since – as far as I know – there is no phonological development $-γ > -q$ in Mongolian and the denominal noun suffix $+γ / +q$ in question does not form ethnic names or adjectives. The development in Mongolian is in the direction of $-q > -γ$, i.e. the Sogdian (or other Iranian) exonym *Sartaq* → MMo. *Sartaq* > *Sartaγ*.

²⁶ Tahsin Banguoğlu tried to localize the district *Kara Yığāç* on the basis of some information in the DLT and thought that it may have been near the Ili River to the south of Lake Balkhash or near the Ebi (Ebinur) Lake. He localized it on the map at the end of his article, however, to the south-east of the Ebi Lake (Banguoğlu 1958: 93). As the DLT speaks about a “frontier district” and it refers to the frontier between Karakhanids and Uyghurs, Banguoğlu’s localization seems to be right.

parallelism can also be seen between the ethnonyms *Ogur* and *Karagur*, where *Karagur* may go back to a form **Kara Ogur* (or **Kara Ugur*) 'Black Ogur(s)'.

As for the historical background of the name *Ogur* it has long been known that the Ogurs migrated westwards from the Kazakh steppe. Their homeland was originally the southern part of the Kazakh steppe, i.e. the region of the middle course of the Syr Darya river (Czeglédy 1969: 92; cf. Harmatta 1992: 257). So it is no surprise at all that we also find a few tribes (i.e. *Ogur* and *Ograk*) as relics of Ogurs among the tribes of Turks in Central Asia at the end of the 12th century. We do not necessarily have to assume that they were descendants of the Ogurs. It is also conceivable that they only inherited the name of the Ogurs when they (i.e. their ancestors) were a part of the tribal organization of the Ogurs. In summary, we can say that the relation between *Ogur* and *Ograk* is the same as in *Sogd* and *Sogdak* or as in other instances mentioned above, i.e.:

- Swyd* > *Sugdak* ~ *Sogdak*
Twyr > *Tugrak* ~ *Tograk*
Tugur > *Tugurak*
Tγw'r > *Tγw'r'k*
Tokar > *Tukarak* ~ *Tokarak*
Sart > *Sartak*
Ogur > (**Ogurak* >) *Ograk* / *Ugrak*

Conclusion

These formations with *+ak* raise the question as to (1) whether they are indeed of Sogdian origin, and (2) when they may have actually occurred. Naturally, it cannot be excluded that some of them may have occurred in one or another Iranian language. These and similar questions, of course, necessitate further investigations (especially on the Iranian side). However, the fact that – as Prof. Sims-Williams stated – the *+ak* is “a suffix forming ethnic adjectives” in Sogdian and the other Sogdian examples such as (1) *kāš+ak* ‘native of Kašghar’, (2) *pārs+ak* ‘Persian; the people of Pārs’, (3) *Twyr+’k* ‘Tocharian(s)’ in the Karabalgasun inscription, (4) *T’uχari* in *Tuχarik*’ (< **Tuχarik+k*’ < **Tuχar+’ik*) ‘Tocharians’ in Armenian (7th c.), and (5) the Sogdian endonym *Swyd’ik* (< *Swyd+’ik*) ‘Sogdian(s)’ mentioned above together indicate that the Central Asian forms discussed above may also be interpreted as formations with the Sogdian adjectival *+’k* and *+’ik*. Their chronology does, of course, necessitate further research, but as a working hypothesis it can be suggested in advance that they may

also have occurred at the same time as the other Sogdian formations with +*k* and +*ik* (i.e. *kāšak*, *pārsak*, *Twyr'k*, *Tuḫarīk*, *Swyḏīk*, etc.).

Finally, it should be noted that I have examined all these names and questions from a Turkologist's point of view, and I, therefore, do not think that I have fully answered every question referred to above. Certainly, there are still questions that demand further examination and some aspects of them necessitate additional expansion, too. I hope, however, they will be clarified by future studies.

ABBREVIATIONS

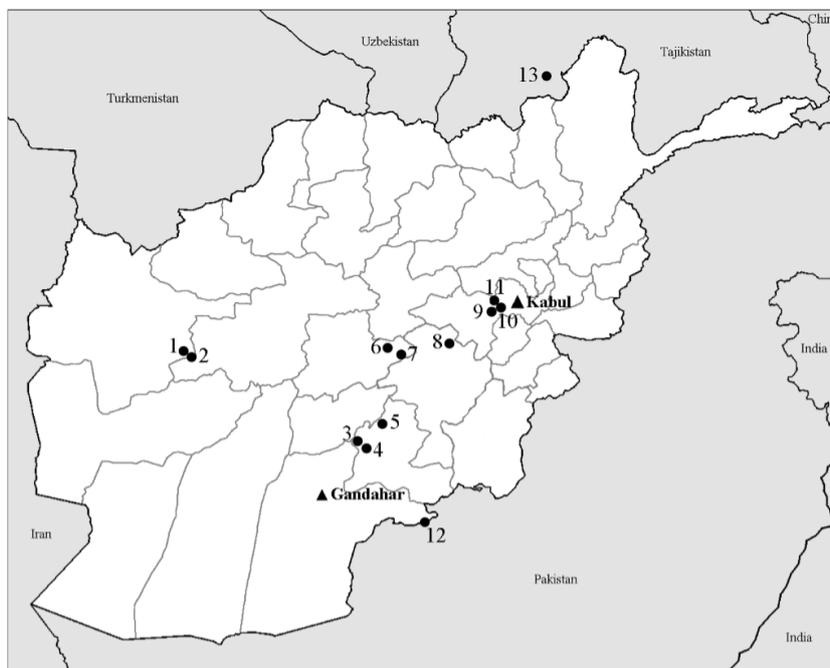
Chin.	Chinese	PMo.	Pre-classical Mongolian
KT	Kül Tegin inscription	Skr.	Sanskrit
MMo.	Middle Mongolian	ŠU	Šine Usu inscription
Mo.	Mongolian	T	Tunyukuk inscription

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Tocharian ethnotoponyms and ethnohydronyms of Sogdian(?) origin in and around Afghanistan (i.e. +*k* and +*ik* formations)

Afghanistan

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Taghārak</i> | (33° 44' 18" N, 63° 13' 39" E) intermittent stream |
| 2. <i>Taghārak</i> | (33° 43' 53" N, 63° 14' 05" E) spring |
| 3. <i>Tugrak ~ Tughrak</i> | (32° 06' 29" N, 66° 04' 09" E) populated place |
| 4. <i>Tūgarak</i> | (32° 14' 03" N, 66° 26' 02" E) populated place |
| 5. <i>Tokarak ~ Tukarak</i> | (32° 42' 22" N, 66° 49' 39" E) populated place |
| 6. <i>Jare Tokarak</i> | (33° 32' 41" N, 66° 52' 15" E) intermittent stream |
| 7. <i>Tokarak Sela ~ Tokarak Shelah</i> | (33° 30' 11" N, 67° 09' 11" E) intermittent stream |
| 8. <i>Tūkrīk</i> | (33° 47' 51" N, 68° 00' 58" E) populated place |
| 9. <i>Tokarak ~ Tukarak</i> | (34° 18' 25" N, 68° 41' 58" E) populated place |
| 10. <i>Tokarak Ghar</i> | (34° 17' 12" N, 68° 43' 06" E) mountain |
| 11. <i>Tokarak</i> | (34° 19' 29" N, 68° 41' 49" E) intermittent stream |

Pakistan

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 12. <i>Tokarak ~ Tokarak Rūd</i> | (31° 13' 21" N, 67° 25' 33" E) stream |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

Tajikistan

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 13. <i>Tugarak</i> | (37° 48' 00" N, 69° 40' 19" E) populated place |
|--------------------|--|